IMT School for Advanced Studies, Lucca
Lucca, Italy

Picking up the Pieces from the Communist Past: Transitional Heritage after 1989 in Germany and Romania

PhD Program in Management and Development of
Cultural Heritage
XXVIII Cycle

By Laura Demeter

2017

To my family

Table of Content

Chapter I. Introduction

Chapter II. Theoretical Framework

Chapter III. From Monuments Preservation towards National Cultural Heritage Protection under State Socialism in the German Democratic Republic and Communist Romania

Chapter IV. Transitional Heritage: Continuities and Discontinuities in Heritage-Making Following Regime Change

Part I. Regime Change and Cultural Heritage Preservation. Continuities and Discontinuities in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) 1989-1990, and Post-Reunification(1990)

Part II: Regime Change and Cultural Heritage Preservation.
Continuities and Discontinuities after 1989 in Romania

Chapter V. Picking up the Pieces From the Past. Communist
Regimes' Legacy as Heritage for the Future

Chapter VI. General Conclusions

Institutions, Organisations Names and Accronyms[1]

Central and Eastern Europe - CEE
Federal Republic of Germany - FRG
Democratic Republic of Germany - GDR
Popular Republic of Romania - R.P.R.
Socialist Republic of Romania - R.S.R.
European Heritage Year - EAHY
Free Europe Radio Station - Radio Europa Liberă

Romania
Association for the Protection of Historic and Arts Monuments - Asociația pentru protecția monumentelor istorice și de artă
Archives of the National Institute for Preservation - Arhivele Institutului Național pentru Patrimoniu (I.N.P.)
Central Council of the Communist Party of Romania - Consiliul Central al Partidului Comunist Romîn (C.C. of P.C.R.)
Commission for Architecture and Systematisation – Comisia pentru Arhitectură și Sistematizare
State Committee for Constructions, Architecture and Systematisation - Comitetul de stat pentru Construcții, Arhitectură și Sistematizare (C.S.C.A.S.)
Commission for Preservation of Historic Monuments in exile - Comitetul pentru Apărărea Monumentelor Istorice din Exil
Council for Culture and Socialist Education - Consiliul pentru Cultură și Educație Socialistă (C.C.E.S.)
Directorate for Historic Monuments - Direcția Generală a Monumentelor Istorice (D.M.I.)
Directorate for Historic and Artistic Monuments - Direcția Generală a Monumentelor Istorice și de Artă (D.M.I.A.)
Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony - Direcția Patrimoniului Cultural Național (D.P.C.N.)
Directorate for Monuments, Ensembles and Historic Sites - Direcția Monumentelor Istorice, Ansambluri și Siteuri (D.M.A.S.I.)
History Museum of the Communist Party, of the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement of Romania - Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Comunist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romînia
Institute for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Communist Regime - Institutul pentru Investigarea Crimelor Regimului Comunist (I.I.C.C.R.)
Museum of the Romanian Peasant - Muzeul Țăranului Român (M.Ț.R.)
Municipal Archives Bucharest - Arhivele Municipiului București
National Council for the Study of Securitatea Archives - Consiliul Național pentru Studiere Archivelor Securității (A.C.N.S.A.S.)
National Archives Bucharest - Arhivele Naționale București (A.N.I.C.)
National History Museum of Romania - Muzeul Național de Istorie al României (M.N.I.R.)

---

[1] All translations of institutions' names, quotations here and in the textbody from French, German,

State Committee for Culture and Arts - Comisia de Stat pentru Cultură și Arte (C.S.A.C.)
National Commission for Museums and Collections - Comisia Națională pentru Muzee și Colecții (C.M.C.)
National Commission for Historic Monuments, Ensembles and Sites - Comisia Națională pentru Monumente Istorice, Ansambluri și Site - uri (C.N.M.A.S.I.)
National Commission of Historic Monuments - Comisia Națională pentru Monumente Istorice (C.N.M.I.)
County Offices for National Cultural Heritage - Oficiile Județene pentru Patrimonial Cultural Național
Regional Commissions for Monuments, Ensembles and Sites - Comisiile Zonale pentru Monumente Istorice, Ansambluri și Situri (C.Z.M.A.S.I.)

Democratic Republic of Germany and Federal Republic of Germany
Archaeological state office - Archäologisches Landesamt
Arts and Antiquities - Kunst und Antiquitäten
Association for monuments preservation in the Federal Republic of Germany – Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege in Bundesrepublik Deutschland
Centralised commission for monuments - Zentrale Denkmalkommission
Central expert body for local museums - Zentrale Fachstelle für Heimatmuseen
Central expert body for monuments preservation - Zentraler Fachausschuß Denkmalpflege (ZFA)
Chamber of Architects – Bund der Architekten der DDR (BdA)
Commission for the protection of arts - Kunstschutzkommission
Commission for the protection of culture - Kulturschutzkommission
Commission of inquiry for the reappraisal of history and consequences of the SED Dictatorship in Germany - Enquette Kommission zur Aufarbeitung von Geschichte und Folgen der SED-Diktatur in Deutschland
Department for Built- and Garden Preservation - Fachabteilung Bau- und Gartendenkmalpflege
Departments for national education at local and regional level - Dezernenten für Volksbildung der Stadt- und Landkreise
Federal Archives in Berlin – Bundesarchiv Berlin
Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship - Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED Diktatur
Federal centre for political education - Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung
Federal office for central services and estate enquiries - Bundesamt für Zentrale Dienste und offene Vermögensfragen (BADV)
Federal state office for preservation of Berlin - Landesdenkmalamt Berlin
German Historical Museum - Deutsches Historisches Museum (DHM)
German Institute for Museum, Monuments- and Tradition Preservation - Deutsches Institut für Museums-, Denkmal- und Heimatpflege
German Association for Culture - Deutscher Kulturbund
History Alliance for Coming to Terms with the SED Dictatorship - Geschichtsverbund Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktaur
Institute for Museology – Institut für Museumswesen (IfM)
Institute for Monuments Preservation - Institut für Denkmalpflege
Lower/Upper administration for monuments protection - Untere/Obere Denkmalschutzbehörde

Supreme administration for monuments protection - Oberste Denkmalschutzbehörde

Local museums - Bezirksmuseen

Museums' Council - Rat für Museumswesen

Museum for German History - Museum für Deutsche Geschichte (MfDG)

National council of the GDR for the preservation and dissemination of the German cultural heritage - Nationales Rat der DDR zur Pflege und Verbreitung des deutschen Kulturerbes

People's Chamber - Volkskammer

Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation - Stiftung Preussische Kulturbesitz

Republican museums - Republik Museen

Research Institute for the Theory and Architectural History - Forschungsinstitut für Theorie und Geschichte der Baukunst

Senate administration for cultural affairs - Senatsverwaltung für Kulturelle Angelegenheiten

Senate administration for city development and environment protection - Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz

Society for Monuments Preservation - Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege

State Archives in Berlin – Landesarchiv Berlin

State commission for arts affairs and administration of arts of the federal states - Staatliche Kommission für Kunstangelegenheiten, Verwaltung für Kunstangelegenheiten der Länder

Acknowledgements

VITA

Current position

Research Assistant IOS Leibniz Institute for East- and Southeast European Study, Regensburg, Germany, since September 2017

H2020 EU Project Reflective Societies: COURAGE. Cultural Opposition: Understanding the Cultural Heritage of Dissent in the Former Socialist Countries

Education

PhD Candidate in Management and Development of Cultural Heritage, IMT School for Advanced Studies Lucca, Italy (since Febr. 2013)

MA. World Heritage Studies (UNESCO Programme), Brandenburg University of Technology, Cottbus, Germany, 2011

BA. Art History and Italian, Ruhr-University, Bochum, Germany, 2007

Diploma History, Bucharest University, Romania, 2001

Research activities

Junior Visiting Fellow at Leibniz Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning (IRS), Berlin, Germany, 2016

Research Fellow at Vera & Donald Blinken Open Society Archives, Budapest, Hungary, 2016

Research Visiting Scholar at Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam (ZZF), Germany, 2016

Research Visiting Scholar at the National History Museum and Romanian Peasant Museum, Bucharest, Romania, 2015

Research Visiting Scholar at Critical Heritage Studies Group, Gothenburg University, Sweden, 2015

Research Visiting Scholar at the Conservation Department, TU Berlin, Germany, 2014

Research Visiting Scholar at the Museum for German History, Berlin, Germany, 2014

International exchange programmes and scholarships	Travel Grant Canada Research Chair in Urban Heritage of UQAM's School of Management, Montreal, June 2016
	Grant as Junior Visiting Fellow at Leibniz Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning (IRS), Berlin, Germany, October 2016
	Research Grant from the International Visegrad Fund, Budapest, Hungary, July, 2016
	Erasmus+Mobility Consortium Scholarship, Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam (ZZF), Germany, 2016
	Erasmus+Mobility Consortium Scholarship, Gothenburg University, Sweden, 2015
	Full Scholarship for the PhD Studies from the Italian Ministry of Culture, 2013-2016
	Leonardo Scholarship, London, UK, 2011
	'Ioan Rațiu Foundation' Scholar Grant, London, UK, 2010
	University Bucharest, Study Grant, 2000-2001
	Erasmus/Socrates Scholarship, Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany, 2000-2001

Publications

Demeter, Laura. "Picking up the pieces: traces of the communist past in Bucharest and Berlin", in *ICOM International Conference: Museums and Politics, Conference Proceedings,* 9-14 Sept. 2014, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Russia (2014): 323-334.

Demeter, Laura. "Assessing the cultural value of the communist legacy in Romania", in *Heritage 2014: proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Heritage and Sustainable Development*. Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development, (2014): 531-540. ISBN 978-989-98013-6-3

Demeter, Laura. "Value creation mechanisms and the heritisation of the communist legacy in Romania", in *The Right to [World] Heritage: conference proceedings.* IAWHP, (2014): 8-20. ISBN 978-3-00-047536-8

Book Review: Eriksen, Anne: *From Antiquities to Heritage. Transformations of Cultural Memory (Time and the World. Interdisciplinary Studies in Cultural Transformations*). New York: Berghahn Books, 2014. ISBN 978-1-78238-298-0; VII, 179.
http://www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/rezbuecher-21402?title=a-eriksen-from-antiquities-to-heritage&recno=44&page=3&q=&sort=&fq=&total=14416

Presentations

Conferences and invited presentations

49ᵗʰ Annual Association for Slavic, East European & Eurasian Studies Convention, Chicago, USA, Nov. 2017

Communist Legacy and Public Discourse on the Communist Past in Southeastern Europe, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, University of Tirana, Albania, Oct.2017

18th Annual Cambridge Heritage Research Group Seminar: *Heritage and Revolution. First as a Tragedy, then as Farce?* McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge University, UK, May 2017

Presentation at Leibniz Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning (IRS), Erkner, Germany, Oct.2016

Presentation at Vera & Donald Blinken Open Society Archives, Budapest, Hungary, July, 2016

Summer School: '*Museums and Controversial Collections. Politics and Policies of Heritage-Making in Post-colonial and Post-socialist Contexts*' (HeMaMuse), Istanbul, Turkey, June-July, 2016

Biennial Conference: *What does Heritage Change?* Association of Critical Heritage, Canada Research Chair in Urban

Heritage of UQAM's School of Management, Montreal, Canada, June 2016

Presentation at the Doctoral Seminar, Centre for Contemporary History, Potsdam, Germany, May, 2016

Poster Presentation at the International Conference *Museums*: *Places of Authenticity*, Leibniz Research Group ‚Historical Authenticity', Römisch-Germanisches Zentral Museum, Mainz, Germany, March, 2016

International Conference: *Berlin - Discontinuities: Temporalities, Politics, Urbanity*. University of d'Artois, Research Centers Discontinuités and CREHS, Arras, France, Oct. 2015

The 3rd Heritage Forum of Central Europe: *The City*. International Cultural Centre, Krakow, Poland, Sept. 2015

Presentation at the Chair for Conservation, Gothenburg University, Sweden, Prof. Ingrid M. Holenberg, March 2015

Presentation at the Chair for Conservation, Technical University Berlin, Germany, Prof. Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, Jan.2015

The Right to (World) Heritage, International Association of World Heritage Professionals e.V., BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg, Germany, Oct.2014

20th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, Istanbul Technical University, Turkey, Sept.2014

International Conference: *Museum and Politics*, ICOM Russia, ICOM Germany and ICOM USA, St. Petersburg, Russia, Sept.2014

4th International Conference on *Heritage and Sustainable Development*, Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development, Guimaraes, Portugal, July 2014

Poster Presentation at the World Heritage Studies Alumni Conference *World Heritage and Sustainable Development*, Brandenburg Technical University Cottbus, June 2011

Presentation on the topic *Negotiating the Communist Past in Museums* at the Workshop Romanian-Moldavian Days, SSEES, University College London, UK, 2011

Abstract

Starting from the premises that not everything is heritage nor will acquire the official recognition as heritage, but anything has the potential to become heritage, in this research I introduce the analysis of 'transitional heritage'. This aims to highlight heritage making processes in the context of regime change after 1989 in Germany and Romania. This research is informed by theories in political sciences which discuss regime change and transitional justice. In addition, critical heritage studies provided the basis upon which heritage-making processes were analysed in the context of transformation processes, focusing on countries in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989. Therefore this research aims to provide a better understanding of the conditions affecting heritage preservation and protection, in particular in countries emerging from authoritarian regimes of governance, and which subsequently engaged on the paths to society democratisation. Hence a critical approach to heritage-making processes and discourses emerging in former communist countries such as Germany and Romania is proposed for the analysis. This research aims to cover the gap in heritage studies by bringing to attention heritage-making processes during communism, hence adopting a long duree approach for the analysis of institutions, norms and heritage practices in former communist countries. Various case studies from Bucharest and Berlin reveal the complex mechanisms involved in the process of heritage-making when dealing with the legacies of the communist regimes. This is relevant to be highlighted in order to better understand current failures or successes of the decisions affecting heritage preservation and its protection in the aformentioned countries. In line with the discourse encouraged by critical heritage studies, this research proposes an alternative to analysing and understanding heritage mechanisms within fragile political contexts. By doing so this research is questioning the internationally established discourse on 'socialist heritage'.

List of Tables

Appendix

Chapter I. Introduction

1.1. Background and Statement of the Problem

Following the turbulent 20th century history, countries such as Germany and Romania pursued their paths towards establishing democratic regimes of governance. Condemning the communist regime played an important role in the agenda of the newly established governments after 1989. This has taken various forms throughout all the former communist countries of Europe.[2] These varied from parliamentary laws and resolutions, to general declarations of condemnation of the previous regimes, to public speeches by high-level government officials. The goal of such actions was to make a clear distinction between the newly established governments and the previous state socialist regimes.[3]

These recent developments created the conditions and emphasized particular practices and discourses of memorialization, commemoration and preservation of the recent past in Central and Eastern European countries. Hence when engaging with the legacy of the communist regimes in the aftermath of the regime collapse, special attention has been dedicated to creating new memorials, museums, and monuments committed to commemorating victims and condemning perpetrators. This is a subject which has been thoroughly researched in the field of museums, heritage preservation and memory studies. However, the transition period following the political change of 1989 strongly affected heritage-making processes, institutions and discourses in complex ways. The former political systems collapsed leaving large material remains, some of them being already identified as heritage, others in need of value, role and function reassessment and renegotiation. Nevertheless, the legacy of the communist regimes cannot be reduced only to the impressive collection of the material assets waiting for their musealisation and patrimonialisation.

Various studies in political sciences have analysed how societies in Central and Eastern Europe engaged on their paths towards democracy, by focusing in particular on the various impacts of the democratization reforms adopted after 1989. However, in the field of cultural heritage less attention was given to the analysis of continuities and discontinuities in heritage-making, of discourses and institutions, enabled by the political change of 1989. Meanwhile, the connection between the adoption of various transitional justice tools and their consequences for cultural heritage preservation and protection is also an understudied theme of this topic. Recently an increasing interest is manifested to analyse transitional justice tools in the context of debates concerning identity creation, reconciliation and memorialization processes. However, how and if the interpretation and re-evaluation of the recent past and its legacies have been facilitated by various transitional justice measures, need further

---

[2] In this research I will make use of the terms communist and socialist reigmes interchangeble, when referring to the forms of governance established following the Second World War in Central and Eastern European countries under Soviet influence. Yet state socialism will be referred when discussing developments in the Democratic Republic of Germany and communist regime in Romania.
[3] de Greiff, Pablo, "Theorising Transitional Justice", In *Transitional Justice*, Melissa S. Williams, Rosemary Nagy and John Elster eds., New York: University Press, (2009): 31-78.

discussion. More precisely, to what extent can various heritigisation processes and discourses be considered the consequence of symbolic and judicial manifestations of transitional justice when dealing with the past legacies of authoritarian regimes?

Therefore, the purpose of this research is to critically investigate the development of cultural heritage and its preservation and protection in countries emerging from authoritarian regimes of governance. By questioning different ways of understanding and theorizing heritage and its preservation, the focus of this research is devoted not only to the critique addressed to the discipline/theory itself but it also aims at identifying the impacts of democratization of heritage in societies following regime change. Therefore, this research adopts a critical approach to the development of cultural heritage protection and preservation in the context of regime change in Germany and Romania, following the collapse of communism. Moreover, it aims to highlight continuities and discontinuities in heritage-making on the background of democratization processes these countries underwent in the aftermath of regime change. For this, we adopt a long duree perspective to discuss heritage and socialism/communism by not only focusing on the post 1989 developments. First, we discuss conditions created already during state socialism to ensure heritage protection and preservation by the state. In this respect, normative and institutional frameworks will be analysed. Additionally, the process of heritage listing and assessment mechanims of the value of heritage will be elaborated. The research thus aims at highlighting early conditions which facilitated heritage preservation of socialism's achievements, namely already during the socialist regimes. As following, it will be demonstrated that heritage-making in the aftermath of the collapse of communism in 1989 was strongly informed by early developments created by the socialist regimes. In addition to that, also discourses and measures whithin which communist regimes were addressed after 1989, have greatly impacted the heritigisation processes, such as the politics of coming to terms with the past and the adoption of transitional justice measures. Finally, this research questions the extent to which heritage became a means to symbolically addressing abuses of the past regimes. More precisely, to what extent can various heritigisation processes be considered the consequence of non-judicial and judicial manifestations of transitional justice when dealing with the past legacies of authoritarian regimes, and equally a trigger for justice?

Starting with the premise that not everything is heritage nor neccessarily acquires the official recognition as heritage, but anything has the potential to become heritage, in this research I introduce the analysis of 'transitional heritage'. This aims at providing a better understanding of the complex processes affecting heritage-making, in particular in countries emerging from authoritarian regimes of governance, and which subsequently engaged on the paths to society democratisation. In line with the current understanding of 'heritage as a process' and 'heritage as change', discussed by scholars in critical heritage studies, this research aims to propose an alternative to analysing and understanding heritage creation in fragile political contexts such as sudden political change, followed by major institutional, normative and discursive reforms.

Hence, a critical approach to heritage-making and discourses emerging in former communist countries such as Germany and Romania

immediately after the political change of 1989 has been adopted. Various case studies from Berlin and Bucharest will, however, reveal continuities and discontinuities from the period prior to 1989, when dealing with the legacies representative for the socialist regimes. This is relevant to be highlighted in order to better understand current failures or successes of the decisions affecting heritage preservation from the communist period in the above-mentioned countries. Adopting a critical approach to the current dominant discourse on 'socialist heritage'/'communist heritage', this research demonstrates the vague understanding of 'socialist heritage' in the post 1989 context. In that respect normative and institutional frameworks developed by the state during communism will be discussed. Within this framework discourses and processes of heritage listing and assessment of value will be considered. Following, this thesis will show that the socialist state displayed an increasing interest in patrimonial processes motivated by various conditions in the GDR and Romania. This will also higlight that socialism/communism and its achievements became a subject of preservation and musealisation prior to the 1989 events. As a consequence, we reveal that communist regimes actively engaged in the creation of a national cultural heritage, and preservation and musealisation of socialism. Yet the studies after 1989 which discuss 'socialist heritage' considered less connections with heritage in socialism/communism and the national cultural heritage of the socialist regimes. Subsequently, the impact of the regime change on the 'national cultural heritage' of the communist regimes, and more broadly the change of value discourse and heritage listing processes , will be highlighted.

In addition, in the process of overcoming the communist regimes and its legacies, often previously locally developed models, practices, legislation and institutions involved in heritage creation and its preservation were contested, reformed, replaced, maintained or dismissed. Subsequently, efforts were made to align responsible institutions to the Western tradition (Western German model in the case of Eastern Germany, or international models such as UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICOM, etc. in Romania), perceived as more valuable and appropriate in the context of regime change than the previous 'ideologically burdened' practices and discourses. In this sense in particular the Anglo-Saxon, French and Western German tradition for understanding heritage and its preservation was regarded as a source of innovation for theorizing and developing models for managing preservation and ensuring heritage protection.

Thereofore this thesis will demonstrate that processes of heritage-making in particular in the context of regime change are complex, and require a long duree approach in order to better understand developments in Germany and Romania after 1989.

1.2. Aims and Significance of the Research

The purpose of this research is to fill a gap in the field of heritage studies and to go beyond the discourse analysis on the intangible significance of what the recent past means today for the former socialist/communist countries such as Germany and Romania. That is, to go beyond the analysis of how it is perceived and if, then interpreted, remembered or simply forgotten.

The main contribution of this research in heritage studies lies in highlighting the complex nature of the legitimisation of heritage in societies in the context of regime change and overcoming authoritarian regimes of governance. Informed by theories from political sciences that discuss regime change and the adoption of transitional justice in the process of democratisation of societies in Central and Eastern Europe post 1989, this research focuses on their impact on heritagisation processes. In order to explain heritage-making in the context of regime change, this research introduces the concept of 'transitional heritage'. This will be employed in order to emphasise the transformative and temporary condition of heritigisation processes whithin fragile social, economic and political contexts, exemplified here by major changes following 1989 in Germany and Romania.

This research questions the current mainstream literature that analyses heritigisation processes in Central and Eastern Europe. These tend to prioritise developments emerging after 1989, focusing on the production of new heritage and consolidating the dominant idea of the 'socialist heritage'. However, these focus less on the causes of such developments. The shift from one political regime to another opened up the discussion on how and what to safeguard from what was once representative for the communist regimes. In that sense, the significance of this study lies in adopting a long duree approach concerning the conditions under which preserving the communist heritage became a responsibility for the society. Namely, not only after 1989, but early before 1989 as the case of the GDR and communist Romania politics for preservation and musealisation reveal. In order to better understand conditions created for heritage-making, the role of the state prior and following regime change through the means of institutions and normative frameworks will be discussed. The impact of the regime change will be highlighted by identifying continuities and discontinuities in heritage legislation, institutions, practices of preservation, and evaluation of the material legacy of the recent past. Various case studies from Berlin and Bucharest, either movable or immovable, will be discussed in order to reveal the increasing interest of the socialist state in the patrimonial practices for various meansgoing thus beyond the mere ideological approach when analysing these regimes' legacies. This is important to highlight in order to question what was subjected to the post-1989 emergent 'socialist heritage'/'communist heritage'.

Also considering in this analysis the adoption of transitional justice tools is relevant in order to capture a wider state policy approach regarding the legacies of non-democratic regimes. A major criticism addressed to the research conducted on transitional justice mechanisms is the fact that it addressed mainly right-doing approaches in the field of politics and justice. On this background it did not question aspects of economics, social and culture in the aftermath of political change or conflict, nor even question economic or cultural aspects which lead to conflict or system change. Therefore this research aims to identify the extent of the adoption of the various tools from transitional justice which impacted and created the premises and conditions for the way heritage preservation was addressed and dealt within the aftermath of the 1989 political change.

Various issues affecting heritage after 1989 can be discussed within the framework of 'transitional heritage' among which:

➢   Iconoclasm vs. preservation,

- ➢ Reform of cultural institutions,
- ➢ Truth-telling and instating historic commission responsible for addressing the basis for discussion of future preservation actions,
- ➢ Evaluating and re-evaluating heritage lists and preservation policies,
- ➢ Changing narratives, values and meaning,
- ➢ Memorialisation, reconciliation and commemorations,
- ➢ Judicial measures: redefining legal conditions for preservation. Ownership and restitution play a significant part in restating justice in the context of abusive policies and state nationalisation practices. Yet due to the complexity of the subject this particular subject will not be explored in this thesis.

1.3. Main Research Questions

This thesis is motivated by the main question: what becomes heritage in the context of regime change, in particular in societies aiming for democratisation which adopted measures of transitional justice in order to address abuses of past regimes? More specifically, how are ideas (discourses) transformed into actions, and how is German and Romanian society dealing with the legacies from the recent past? As such, I am interested in identifying when, what, and under which circumstances legacies of the communist regimes are in the process of being identified, recognized and treated as heritage (or not), and what implications these actions have in the politics of preservation.

In this light, further sub-questions will be raised, on how and by whom 'national heritage' is being reassessed, and consequently recognised (or not) as part of the new dominant official heritage when major political changes impact previous institutions, discourses and decision-making processes in preservation. Hence, the subject of the analysis will be, among others, the inherited 'national cultural heritage' from communism - meaning assets which received iconic status and recognition already during the communist regime, - along with the inherited material legacies built, or museums and museum's collections associated with the regime's most significant achievements.

Further questions will be raised on which basis the democratic approach after 1989 in heritage-making processes was constructed, and nonetheless which selection mechanisms and conditions were set in place for dealing with the legacies of communist regimes. Moreover, this research will address the validity of the mechanisms involved in the process of the creation of 'heritage'. Therefore, the assessment of the significance, value and meaning, will be discussed focusing on how this practice is reflected by state regulations and other means of state intervention.

1.4. Research Design and Methodology

In order to ellaborate the theoretical part of the research we adopt an interdisciplinary approach. The strong interdisciplinary character is demonstrated by bringing into analysis various research methods and theories from multiple disciplines such as history, conservation of historic buildings, museum studies, heritage studies and political sciences. The scope of such an approach, based on the case studies analyses, is to demonstrate the

complexities of heritage-making processes in the context of regime change. This will be exemplified by political changes of 1989 in Germany and Romania.

Besides documenting diversity and complexity in the processes of heritage-making, by employing case study analysis, the thesis aims at questioning the variation or similarities encountered across cases. Also continuities and discontinuities in heritage-making in time and various political regimes will be highlighted. The latter are exemplified by socialist and liberal capitalist democracies. Against a socio-political and historical backdrop, we discuss patterns of change and transformation both past and present in heritage-making, by using various case studies from Bucharest and Berlin. These have been chosen due to their association with various regime's means of representation. Meaning from the built environment, such as: the Victory of Socialism civic centre in Bucharest, the Palace of the Republic and the Karl-Marx Allee in Berlin, to the dissolved museums and their collections: the Museum of the Communist Party in Bucharest and the Museum for German History in Berlin. The scope of such a diverse analysis is to emphasise the complexities these societies encountered in heritage-making in the context of political changes of 1989.[4]

Different cultures produce in time different understandings, and categories of appreciation of various assets of cultural interest as heritage. Therefore a critical analysis of the key concepts used throughout the research will be provided. The aim is to provide a clear understanding of the evolution, differences and commonalities in the use of 'patrimony', 'cultural heritage' and 'kulturelles Erbe'. This contribution is required considering that each of the specified concepts had its own historical evolution, meaning and use. This analysis is informed by studies in critical heritage, and archival documentation covering debates concerning the understanding of heritage during communism.

The institutional framework of heritage preservation will be studied not only historically but also comparatively, therefore contributing to the wider study of modern institutional, policy and property cultures. Adopting such an approach it will be revealed what does and what does not become heritage under various political regimes, and in particular in fragile political contexts such as regime change. Also it will be discussed how things become repositories of historicity and value, by what symbolic manipulations, discourses and negotiations. My analysis of the mechanisms of assessment of the 'potential' heritage value attributed to the material legacy from the socialist past, will start from the premises that 'heritage' is not an intrinsic characteristic but rather socially, historically, politically and culturally constructed and contested. Therefore, a thorough analysis of the alternative models of value creation in heritage and heritage listing is provided for a better understanding of alternative heritage-making mechanisms and legitimisation of heritage discourses, going thus beyond the dominant 'authorised heritage discourse'.

Qualitative fieldwork information gathered as a result of the interviews conducted with various actors involved in the preservation decision-making official bodies and museum curators, will complement archival information, legal documents and policies in heritage preservation and

---

[4] Hamel, Jacques, Dufour Stephane and Dominic Fortin, eds. *Case study methods*, (Newbury Park: SAGE Publications, 1993).

protection. Semi-structured interviews have been conducted with experts involved in the field of heritage preservation both during the communist regime and afterwards, during the research activity conducted in 2015 and 2016 in Bucharest and Berlin.[5]

The use of historiographical sources, based on the use of archival material, aims at reconstructing the history of heritage institutions, normative frameworks and discourses both during and after communism in Germany and Romania. Analysing archival documentation between 1948 and the 1990s contribute to revealing strategies and decisions in ensuring continuities and discontinuities in heritage-making and how various actors involved in decision processes contributed and positioned themselves to such decisions in time. The research aims to understand how actors involved in the processes of heritigisation relate to political climates by comparing their statements from after 1990 to archival documentary information capturing positions prior to 1989. The framework within which the use of archives is situated aims to explain the methods employed to interpret the compilation and assessment of the archive as historical text within the field of heritage.

The research also deals with the analysis of how legal documents, policies and political discourses impact heritage production. The methodological principle used in constructing the legislative history is based on the analysis of the legislative archives that enhance the understanding of the historical dimensions of heritage protection. As following, a summation of the legislative procedures in the laws of heritage-making and protection will be delivered. Then an explanation of the source, purpose and scope of the archival materials that constitute the building blocks of the legislative history in communist Germany and Romania, and immediately after the political change of 1989, will be provided. By doing so I will highlight the significance of the the cultural heritage law also in the context of transformation processes affecting heritage mechanisms. Moreover, I will highlight how the regime collapse and the subsequent processes of transition and its accompanying transformation impacted normative and institutional frameworks, in addition to discourses on the recent past.

These will contribute to developing a coherent understanding of the heritage-making processes, and discourse and its change throughout time. More precisely, it will facilitate to identify processes affecting heritage before and after 1989.

In order to provide a thorough analysis of the historic period starting coming in to power of the communist regimes and its dramatic changes (1949-1989), a content analyses of the archival documentation will be employed. This has been required considering the limited publication record issued after 1989 on these topics, in particular in Romania. Contemporary academic research on cultural heritage preservation during communism in Romania is limited. The reasons for this current state of the art are complex. Almost 45 years of politicised patrimonial institutions and policies, and chaotic reforms of cultural institutions following the regime change in December 1989,

---

[5] Interview with Simina Bădică, Director Archives Museum of Romanian Peasant December 2013, Ion Blăjan July 2015. Beyer de Hahn, Curator DHM Berlin, August 2014; Hubertus Staroste, Jan 2015, State Office for Monuments Preservation Berlin; Peter Derer, Architect July 2015, Bucharest; Ruxandra Nemțeanu, Architect July 2015, Bucharest.

make it difficult to reconstruct a coherent narrative on Romania's state and institutional approach to heritage preservation. Following the historical break of 1989 these were nevertheless shadowed by abuses and corruption, unreformed institutions, endorsed by the lack of an active legislation to ensure heritage preservation and protection. In addition to these conditions, abuses following the political change committed by institutions or individuals involved in managing heritage and its restitutions, determined state institutions to adopt a restrictive policy to replying any request regarding information on heritage preservation issues. Also the current understanding of the communist regime in Romania as a 'criminal regime', officially declared[6] once Romania's admission to the European Union was guaranteed, and its still contested practices in heritage preservation, made the investigation and acquiring information on such matters difficult.

The collection of textual material, and limited visual documentation, contained in archival collections of various institutions in the field of preservation and cultural institutions, has been carried out. A rich documentation concerning heritage preservation and protection during socialism in the GDR has been consulted in 2014 in the Federal Archives and State Archives in Berlin. Furthermore the case study of the Museum for German History (MfDG) and the transition towards the German Historical Museum in Berlin, have been consulted in the Archives of the German Historical Museum and State Offices for Preservation in Berlin.

Extensive research activities were conducted in Romania during the summer of 2015, December 2015, and the spring of 2016 in: the Archives of the Institute for Preservation in Bucharest, National Archives, the Municipal Archives of Bucharest, Secret Services Archives (A.C.N.S.A.S.) and the Archives of the National History Museum and of the Museum of the Romanian Peasant in Bucharest. The research of the Securitatea files made available by A.C.N.S.A.S., has been finalised in March 2016. In addition, holdings from the Free Europe Radio Station[7] in the Open Society Archives in Budapest, have been consulted in July 2016. In particular the Archives holding former Securitatea files concerning the activity of surveillance in the field of heritage, and files from the National Archives and National Institute for Patrimony proved a significant source for reconstructing the administrative mechanism for managing heritage under socialism in Romania. But nevertheless I have to mention with great regret the position adopted by the Ministry of Culture in Romania, which almost 30 years after the regime change is still not granting access to external researchers in its archives. In addition, due to the great political instability for the past four years, I experienced at least three minister changes following to which six requests have been submitted to access the archives, without any success to this date.

Archival material documenting the organisation and activities of institutions responsible for the preservation of national cultural heritage prior

[6] Comisia Prezidenţială pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din Romania. Raport Final. Bucureşti 2006.
https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/File/RAPORT%20FINAL_%20CADCR.pdf [accessed January 2017]
[7] A broadcasting institution based in Munich which aired during the Cold War in Central and Eastern European countries, with the purpose of informing citizens about abusive politics of the socialist regimes, relying thus often on information provided by dissidents.

to 1989, were scattered during the 1990s between several newly founded/reformed institutions, such as: the Archives of the current Institute for Heritage Preservation in Bucharest, the Ministry of Culture, National Archives, National History Museum, Museum of Arts of Bucharest, and the Chamber of Architects in Bucharest. However, accessing such documentation was difficult. Either due to restrictive policies of various institutions granting limited or no access to information. Also relevant archival material has been completely lost such as the Archive of the Commission for Historic Monuments; or their destination is still unknown, such as the Archive of the Museum for the Communist Party in Bucharest. Therefore, the main sources of information covering in particular the period after 1977, when the Commission for Historic Monuments was officially terminated, has been provided by the archival documentation of Securitatea (Secret Services) files (now on hold by A.C.N.S.A.S. Bucharest). This documentation was issued as a consequence of Securitatea surveillance activities, revealing a major interest of the state in monitoring and counteracting negative reactions emerging nationally and abroad against state intervention in heritage preservation issues. Additionally, a great amount of information was collected from the documentation issued by the Securitatea surveillance apparatus.[*] This was responsible for registering after 1970s various 'abuses' committed by institutions and members of the Communist Party, and Romanian or foreign citizens. Furthermore, dissident reactions and actions against abusive measures affecting heritage have been analysed. Often these were registered and transmitted nationally and internationally via Radio Free Europe (accessed at Open Society Archives in Budapest). Together with contemporary press documentation, these are making possible reconstructing the complex image of the state of the art of cultural heritage during communist Romania, in particular during the 1980s, a period unexplored yet in heritage studies.

However, one needs to take into consideration that the activity of processing documentation on hold by various Romanian state archives or institution's archives is still an on-going process. Therefore this research aims to cover information provided at the present time, and it can not be understood as a closed project; but even more, it is desired to offer an alternative to current limited debates on cultural heritage preservation during communism in

---

[*] The Romanian secret political police was set up under the direction of the NKVD agents soon after Soviet troops entered Bucharest on 30 August 1945. Three years later together with miliția the Patriotic Guards troops and secret service agents, was turned into a repression agency called upon 'to eradicate existing political institutions and social structures to consolidate communist power, and ensure compliance once change was effected. According to Decree 221 of 30 August 1948, the Securitatea included ten directorates on domestic intelligence, countersabotage, counter-espionage in prisons and the police, counter-espionage in the armed forces, penal investigation, protection of ministers, technology (telephone tapping and eavesdropping), cadres, political (responsible for the Communist Party purity) and administration, and four auxiliary departments on mail interception, surveillance, eavesdropping, and cipher.' (Stan 2009, 129) Although in 1951, the Securitatea was restructured, including additional foreign intelligence services and auxiliary departments dedicated to archives and transport of secret documents, this structure was retained, except minor changes, until 1989. 'The Securitatea sought to defend the country against foreign intelligence penetration and engage in industrial and scientific espionage abroad, but the bulk of its daily activity was directed against the Romanian people. This is why it resembled a repressive political police more than a Western style intelligence service compatible with democracy.' (Stan 2009, 130) 'Once the Ceaușescu regime collapsed, the Securitatea was declared officially dismantled, although the country's new leaders were careful to keep the secret agents and secret archives close by.' (Stan 2009, 132)

Romania, and therefore to trigger and encourage to further research in this field, once additional documentation will be made available.

Also various aspects of this research have been already published following numerous conference participations. Issues concerning heritage evaluation of the museums' collections and built environment in Berlin and Bucharest have been already discussed in various articles, and will be extensively analysed in this research providing additional information.

1.5. Structure of the Thesis

The Introduction is followed by four main research chapters, as outlined below:

Chapter II. Theoretical Framework

The second chapter introduces the theoretical framework of the research. For this the main concepts such as heritage, kulturelles Erbe and patrimony will be discussed, informed by Hartog's theory on heritage as a manifestation of various regimes of historicity.[*] Informed by studies in critical heritage, this chapter discusses the emergence of heritage in the global context on the background of international developments and intersections with local/national contexts. In this respect a particular attention will be given to developments under UNESCO and its affiliated bodies, going however beyond the dominant discourse within which these developments have been considered until present, as a main Western product. In the background of the emergence of two global competitive models of modernity, promoted by state socialism and liberal democracies, this chapter discusses the limited research concerning the contribution to heritage discourses and practices developed by state socialism/communist regimes, and its contribution to the international projects of UNESCO and its affiliated bodies. Moreover, it indicates the increasing interest of nation states, independent of their political regime, in engaging in the international project as a means of political legitimisation, which will be exemplified in the third chapter of the thesis when introducing heritage-making during communism. A particular attention is dedicated to processes of heritage-making, focusing on heritage listing and value assessment of heritage. This chapter covers a gap in the topic by discussing alternative models of heritage-making, introducing the Soviet model, and questioning thus the predominant discourse emergent in post 1989 referring to 'socialist heritage' or 'communist heritage'. It rather proposes a look into the heritage-making process during communism as subjected to a network of various actors and social processes, which will be exemplified in the third chapter.

Chapter III. From Monuments Preservation to National Cultural Heritage Protection under State Socialism in the German Democratic Republic and Communist Romania

---

[*] Hartog, François. *Regimes of Historicity, Presentism and Experiences of Time*. [Translated by Saskia Brown], New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.

This chapter discusses the consolidation of the heritage field as a matter of state interest under the communist regimes. Divided into two major parts, institutions, normative frameworks and concepts will be analysed in the above-mentioned countries. Going beyond the mere analysis of ideological aspects when referring to socialist states, this chapter discusses the increasing interest of the state in controlling and managing heritage as source of political legitimisation as demonstrated by both countries, but also economic resource to be accumulated by the state. Additionally, by adopting a marxist-lenininst approach to conceptualising heritage as a process of dialectical and historical materialism, this chapter reveals that both regimes actively engaged in consolidating their national identity, which found expression in the creation of the national heritage lists and developing systematic mechanisms for the heritage evaluation, not discussed in the field of heritage studies yet.

PART I: Between Modernity and Tradition: The Emergence of a Centralised Model for the Preservation and Protection of National Cultural Heritage in the German Democratic Republic

This part focuses on the initiative of the emergent socialist German state following the Second World War to consolidate a centralised mechanism for dealing with 'kulturelles Erbe' (cultural heritage), through the means of institutions and administrative bodies, and normative frameworks. First an analysis of the emergence of the conceptualisation of heritage in relation to the socialist ideology will be briefly discussed. Then the consolidation of institutions for dealing with 'kulturelles Erbe' will be briefly pointed out. A particular attention will be given to the development of the normative framework, which also set the conditions for heritage listing and heritage evaluation, movable or immovable. Due to political conditions starting in 1961 which repositioned the GDR on the international scene, this chapter will highlight the impact for the heritage field. This aimed at legitimising the GDR as the sole German nation state, the reason for which theorising the GDR's achievements became an issue in the field of heritage preservation and musealisation, and eventually made subject of official listing as national heritage. This innovative aspect will be highlighted demonstrating that achievments under the socialist regime have been subjected to state protection and listing prior to the 1989 events. Also the relationship with international bodies such as UNESCO and ICOMOS will be briefly touched upon, demonstrating the active contribution of socialist states in the international project of heritage, questioning therefore the dominant discourse of UNESCO programme as a model rooted in the Western ideology and tradition. This eventually contributes to opening the debates towards a more complex analysis of the international bodies in question.

PART II: From Historic Monuments Preservation to National Cultural Patrimony: Bureaucratisation of Cultural Heritage Preservation and Protection, and its Controversies in Communist Romania

The following sub-chapter proposes a comprehensive analysis of the heritage preservation institutions, legislation and discourses in Romania after coming

into power of the communist regime, and focusing on the period during Nicolae Ceaușescu's leadership (1965-1989). A short introduction will provide an overview of the measures adopted immediately after the Second World War after coming to power of the communist regime to ensure heritage preservation and protection. This aims at highlighting transformations in the field under state supervision aiming at developing an bureaucratic mechanism for managing heritage preservation and protection in detriment to expert knowledge. For this the consolidation of institutions and normative frameworks under state guidance will be discussed. Furthermore this chapter demonstrates that heritage listing and mechanisms of heritage evaluation were developed in the context of abusive nationalisation measures, which eventually guaranteed property transfer into state ownership. Moreover, Romania will be discussed also in the background of dramatic austerity measures and abusive modernisation projects which eventually impacted negatively the state of conservation and preservation nationwide. A specificity concerning the Romanian case will be highlighted, namely the intervention of Securitatea services to ensure heritage preservation and protection as a means to guarantee 'state security'. Another innovative aspect will be brought in discussion in this chapter, namely the abusive destruction of cultural heritage during the 1980s which had a strong international echo. This will be discussed focusing on the dissident activity and their international lobbying activity, which was followed by Romania's sanctioning against violations of human rights in the 1989. The relationship with the international bodies will be equally considered, demonstrating thus that communist regimes' interest in the international project has to be case dependent analysed, highlighted by the 'exceptional' position adopted by Romania in particular during the 1980s.

Chapter IV. Transitional Heritage: Continuities and Discontinuities in Heritage-making following Regime Change

After demonstrating the awareness and concrete measures concerning the heritigisation of the communist regimes' achievements prior to 1989, this chapter introduces 'transitional heritage' as a means to address processes of heritage-making in the context of regime change. Informed by the theories from political sciences which discuss regime change, transition and democratisation of CEE countries following the 1989 collapse of communism, this chapter discusses conditions created in societies that adopted transitional justices measures to address abuses of the past regime. These together with discursive approaches of coming to terms with the recent past will be discussed highlighting the strong impact on heritage-making and discourses of preservation when referring in particular to the material legacy of the communist regimes.

In this respect, this chapter discusses the role of the state in managing heritage in the context of major economic, cultural, political and social change. The role of the state in managing transformation processes of institutions or normative frameworks, was also instrumental in consolidating the discourses about how to manage the legacy from communism. Both the German and Romanian experience of dealing with the past regimes will be extensively discussed on the background of the impact of various measures promoted in transitional justice. Drawing on theories from political sciences at first concepts

such as regime change, transition and transitional justice will be explained. Equally 'Aufarbeitung' and 'coming to terms with the past' will be only briefly introduced, as these made subject already of extensive research. Then this chapter provides the theoretical approach for 'transitional heritage'. This will be discussed highlighting the consequences of various transitional justice measures for heritage preservation and protection. Respectively the impact of institutional change, lustration measures, cultural heritage law, discourses addressing abuses of the regimes by historic commissions and experts, and memorialisation and reconciliation processes will be briefly explained, and in details analysed for each country separately.

PART I. Regime Change and Cultural Heritage Preservation. Continuities and Discontinuities in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) 1989-1990, and Post Reunification of Germany

Discussing the legal and institutional transformation of the former centralised mechanism of protection established by the GDR, this chapter focuses moreover on the processes of decentralisation and reform of institutions of monuments preservation and protection, and normative frameworks in Berlin, following the Berlin Wall fall (1989) and the reunification of Germany (1990). Following, a selective process of dealing with the heritage of former GDR took place, demonstrating a strong submmission of the expert knowledge, civil society interests to the political discourses. For this, processes of re-evaluation of the GDR 'national cultural heritage' and new heritage listings will be discussed, in addition to the memorialisation processes emerging after post 1989.

PART II: Regime Change and Cultural Heritage Preservation. Continuities and Discontinuities after 1989 in Romania

The Romanian experience of dealing with the abusive legacy of institutional and administrative bodies, and the abusive normative frameworks, will be discussed in the context of the transition from communism. This will be introduced first by studies in transitional justice which discuss the process of coming to terms with the past and the adoption of various transtional justice measures for addressing abuses of the communist regime. On the background of a great continuity of the former political elites it demonstrates that experts' interest in reforming and creating autonomous bodies for dealing with heritage and abuses committed during the communist regime, have been strongly impacted by a lack of support for a consistent transformation. Instead a continuation of the former centralised administrative bodies, and submission of the institutions to the Ministry of Culture will be revealed as the premises for a further politicisation of the patrimonial sector. Moreover, the normative framework was slowly tailored to the conditions inherited from communism, and missed the opportunity to address past abuses and immediate needs to ensure protection and preservation of heritage. Furthermore, it will be analysed the process of re-evaluation of the communist regime's 'national heritage', questioning thus the validity of the dominant 'socialist heritage'/'communist heritage' concept. Also engaging with the recent past will be analysed focusing

on processes of symbolically addressing material legacy asssociated with the regime and its ideology.

Chapter V: Picking up the Pieces from the Past. Legacies from Communism as Heritage for the Future

This chapter draws on the theoretical part developed in the previous chapters which discussed the presentist approach to heritage-making after 1989 in Germany and Romania, as being strongly discursively informed by the politics of transitional justice and coming to terms with the past. By introducing four different case studies from Berlin and Bucharest it emphasises when, what, and under which circumstances the material legacy of the highly debated and contested political regimes was subjected to processes of being identified, recognized and treated as heritage (or not). More precisely, the legacy of the past regime is referring to material culture granted protected status as national heritage already by the socialist regime. In addition, inherited material culture which became subject of contested debates in the post 1989 context concerning its significance for the newly established political regimes will be discussed. This chapter adopts a long duree perspective for revealing continuities and discontinuities in the processes of heritage-making when referring to the recent past. For this, a particular attention will be given to assessing the significance, value and meaning when specifically dealing with representative legacies for the communist regime's legitimisation. Following, a case study analysis will be conducted including the most prominent built assets during the communist regimes as a means of power representation, meaning the urban developments in Berlin and Bucharest. These include the administrative and political built developments, such as palaces for socialism, and civic centres. Another venue of investigation is provided by the less known to the public legacies of the past regime after 1989, such as the museums and their collections developed by the regime as museums of history in Berlin and of the Communist Party, both dedicated again to addressing the achievements under the communist regimes.

Chapter VI: Concluding Remarks

The thesis is concluded with final remarks introducing the innovative contribution to the field, by equally outlining limitations of this research, and potential developments in research to be further explored.

The thesis finishes with References and Appendices.

'Don't let all the talk about preservation fool you: all heritage is change'.
(Hafstein Vladimar Tr. 2007) [10]

Chapter II. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Heritage and Regimes of historicity

Analysing the literature published until present reveals that defining 'heritage' as a concept and understanding its scope opens up a myriad of alternatives.[11] Heritage has predominantly been addressed in its various forms, and less in its historical development. Thus, authors draw attention on the presentist situated significance of 'heritage'[12], and the lack of 'historical depth'[13] in the ways it has been conceptualised.

  The French historian Francois Hartog has extensively detailed the relationship between 'regimes of historicity', 'presentism', and 'heritage'. The term 'regime of historicity' was coined by the author as a methodological tool to explain changing conceptions and practices of historical time, and in particular, to describe how societies conceptualise time and how they deal with it. Thus in Hartog's work, 'regime of historicity' is considered a method, while 'presentism' is the hypothesis. In turn, the author argues that 'the modern regime of historicity, which characterised the nation-building era, imposed the future as [a] dominant time – category. History was interpreted from the point of view of the future in a strongly teleological approach. Since the 1970s, and more evidently after 1989, it is the present that has progressively become dominant.'[14]

[10] Hafstein, Vladimar Tr. "Claiming Culture: Intangible Heritage Inc., Folklore©, Traditional Knowledge™," In *Prädikat "Heritage". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen,* edited by Bendix Regina, 75-100, (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007): 75.

[11] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Theorising Heritage", *Ethnomusicology*, vol.39, no.3, (1995): 367-380; Pearce, Susan. "The construction and analysis of the cultural heritage: Some thoughts", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.4, no.1, (1998): 1-9; Howard, Peter. *Heritage Management, Interpretation, Identity*, (New York: Continuum, 2003); Ahmad, Yahaya. "The scope and definitions of heritage: From tangible to intangible", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 3 (2006): 292-300; Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2006); Graham, Brian, Howard, Peter, eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, (Ashgate Publishing, 2008); Harrison, Rodney. "What is Heritage?", In *Understanding the politics of heritage*, edited by Rodney Harrison, 5-42. (Manchester University Press, 2009); Harrison, Rodney. *Heritage Critical Approaches*, (Routledge, 2013); Kuutma, Kristin. "Concepts and contingencies in heritage politics", In *Anthropological perspectives on intangible heritage,* edited by Kuutma Kristin, Arizpe Lourdes, Amescua Cristina, 1-17, (Springer Briefs in Environment, Security, Development and Peace, vol.6, 2013); Waterton Emma, Watson Sheila. *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

[12] Hartog, François. *Regimes of Historicity, Presentism and Experiences of Time*. [Translated by Saskia Brown], (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015); Lowenthal, David. *Possessed by the Past: Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, (New York: The Free Press, 1996); Eriksen, Anne. *From Antiquities to Heritage. Transformation of Cultural Memory*, (Berghahn Books, 2014).

[13] Harvey, David C., "Heritage pasts and heritage presents: Temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies", *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* vol. 7, no.4, (2001): 319–338.

[14] Calligaro, Oriane. "Legitimation through remembrance? The changing regimes of historicity of European integration", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, (2015): 331.

Hartog has employed the concept for the first time during the 1980s. However, it was because of the events of 1989 in Europe that he pursued its reconsideration and re-contextualisation.[15] This emerged as an outcome of an interdisciplinary approach between history and anthropology, which he then developed during his research stage at the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin in 1994. This was a time when the traces of the Berlin Wall were still visible, as described by the author,

> [...] when the city centre was one huge building site of work in progress or still to come, when arguments already raged about the project to rebuild the City Palace, and when the huge, dilapidated buildings in the East, their façades riddled with bullet holes, made visible a time which, over there, has passed differently. It would be wrong, of course, to say that time had stood still. But, with its vast empty expanses, its cleared spaces, and its "shades", Berlin seemed a perfect city for historians, where more than elsewhere the unthought of time - and not only its forgetting, repression, or denial - could come to surface.[16]

Just as the visible marks of the recent past in Berlin sparked a series of debates during the 1990s, also to be addressed by this thesis, the personal experience of Hartog in the city at that time, and his subsequent revised theory on 'regimes of historicity' motivated the theoretical analysis of this research. In Berlin, more than elsewhere in Europe, the political events of 1989 - 1990 and their impact, triggered the author to raise a series of questions which emerged not only as a consequence of his personal experience with the city, but were also pertinent at the time.

> What should the relations with the past be, or rather with the pasts in the plural, but also, and no less importantly, with the future? Not forgetting the present, while also avoiding the other extreme, that of being blind to anything beyond it. In other words: how to inhabit the present, in the most literal sense? What should be destroyed, preserved, reconstructed, or built, and how? For any decisions and actions to be taken, relations to time had first to be clarified.[17]

The explanation provided by Hartog on 'regimes of historicity' is two-fold:

> [...] in a restricted sense, as the way in which a given society approaches its past and reflects upon it; and in a broader sense, as "the modalities of self consciousness" that each and every society adopts in its constructions of time and its perceptions. (...) More specifically, it is a tool for comparing different types of history, and also for highlighting modes of relation to time, and exploring forms of

---

[15] Hartog, François. "An end and a beginning", *The UNESCO Courier, A New Look at the History of Communism,* (May 1994): 9-12.
[16] Hartog 2015, 9-10.
[17] Idem 10.

temporal experience here and elsewhere, today and in the past - in short, it serves to exploring ways of being in time.[18]

Thus the author focuses on the manifestation of new regimes of historicity rather than on its causes, and uses the 'presentist' regime, defined by the categories of past and future, in order to determine what the present is or it is not.[19] As the author argues 'to characterise our present, I have used the term "presentism". (…) I used the term because I wanted to compare today's present with those of the past.'[20]

> My hypothesis of presentism does not automatically imply that I condemn or I am hostile to "the present". My position is neither nostalgic, (in relation to another, better regime) nor accusatory, but it also rejects any uncritical acceptance of the present order of time as it stands.[21]

Raising the question of whether one can currently speak about a new regime of historicity 'centred on the present', Hartog confronts on the two key concepts: memory and heritage as the 'symptoms of our relation to time'.[22] The author identified the increasing popularity during the 1980s of the following 'keywords', which strongly impacted the way one deals in the present with its own past, namely memory, identity, commemoration and heritage. He then discussed the notion of heritage, and its relationship with the present, in various epochs. He emphasises that:

> [it] certainly never thrived on continuity, but rather on breaks in and challenges to the order of time (…) In the long duree of Western history, the notion has gone through several states, each of which has corresponded to periods of heightened questioning of the order of time. One resorts to heritage in times of crisis. Given these "moments" of heritage, it is impossible to settle on a single meaning of the term. Across the centuries, heritage-type practices have shaped different times of heritage. These correspond to different ways of articulating the present and the past, in the first instance, but with the Revolution, the future too; the times of heritage thus reflect different ways of articulating past, present and future.[23]

Of particular interest for the theoretical framework of this research is the author's approach to heritage, as one of the diverse manifestations of 'presentist regimes of historicity', which this research is following. The author emphasised the fact that heritage is a 'notion with a history' of its own (also discussed by Harvey 2001; Waterton and Watson 2013; Harrison 2013), experienced differently in various parts of Western Europe, which nevertheless shared several conditions from its origins: 'a tradition of collecting, a concern

---

[18] Idem, 9.
[19] Calligaro 2015, 331.
[20] Hartog 2015, 196.
[21] Idem xvii.
[22] Idem 11.
[23] Idem 189-190.

for conservation and restoration, and the gradual elaboration of the category of the historic monument. These were necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for the emergence of "heritage".'[24] Going through various historic periods, starting from antiquity until the French Revolution, the author delivers an overview of the emergence of the patrimonial practice in Western Europe, and henceforth of the concept of heritage and its specific understanding in various periods of history, which nevertheless are considered significant for the construction of the European identity. He then analyses the relationship with the present in those specific historic periods, which essentially have marked the Western European culture, such as 'the Homeric present, the present of the classical philosophers, the renaissance humanists' present, the eschatological or messianic present, and the modern present, produced by the modern regime of historicity.'[25] Hartog highlights a trend in Western Europe after the Second World War concerning a diversification of heritage and its decentralisation, despite the fact that by the end of the 1959 the concept of 'historic monument' was still referring to masterpieces and major 'art works of humanity'.

Calligaro's analysis on the attempts of European institutions since the 1950s to root the European project in a common European past narrative, points out that European integration in the 1970s marks a 'shift in the regime of historicity'. In 1974 the European Parliament introduced in the European institutional arena the concept of "European cultural heritage". In the resolution on the protection of Europe's architectural and artistic heritage (1975 European Charter of the Architectural Heritage), heritage was presented as an efficient and consensual way of materialising a common European memory. Thus:

> [...] the future ceased to be the dominant category, giving way to an increasing focus on memory, mainly observable trough the political use of heritage. (…) The use and overuse of the past by EU actors is the symptom of a crisis of European integration: promises of future achievements are no longer sufficient to foster legitimacy and solidarity, and both of which are increasingly searched for in representations of a supposedly common and often distorted past.[26]

On a similar note, Hartog also discussed the significance of the 1970s in Western Europe, when one saw an increasing emphasis on heritage, a process described by the author as 'heritagisation'. Heritagisation has been used also by Walsh (1992) to refer to 'the process by which objects and places are transformed from functional "things" into objects of display and exhibition'.[27]

The emergence of heritage, in particular in France, is associated by Hartog with the declaration of 1980 being Heritage Year, a trigger to diversify and to decentralise heritage, although he further points its emergence to the background of the loss of authority of the notion of 'national heritage'.[28] If 'the national interest' was starting with the Loi sur les Monuments Historique, the criterion (1913) according to which the historic monument would be listed in

---

[24] Idem 152.
[25] Idem 196.
[26] Calligaro 2015, 332.
[27] Harrison 2013a, 69.
[28] Hartog 2015, 119.

France, this would be replaced by Malraux legislation in the 1960s with the 'public interest from the point of view of history or art'.[29] However, the monument and its material conceptualisation still constituted the main components, despite the fact that the Malraux's law expanded the categories and criteria for listing monuments.[30]

Meanwhile, in West Germany the concern for the extension of monument prevailed: Denkmal Erweiterung (Sauerländer 1975) - mainly referring to the extention of the categories defined as heritage such as industrial heritage-, while the Democratic Republic prioritised debates concerning the relationship between heritage, history and tradition (Schlenker 1977; Thiele 1980; Meier and Schmidt 1988). De-centralised politics of preservation was nothing new for the Federal Republic of Germany. However, the 1970s were a period when Western federal states adopted coherent legislation ensuring the protection of the 'Denkmale'. Yet these focused still on the predominant material historic monument. Meanwhile, in the GDR, national cultural heritage was subjected to centralised legislation and administration, a subject to be extensively detailed in the following chapter.

During this period Great Britain was fully engaging in the phenomenon of the 'Heritage Industry', coined by Hewison (1987), and described as 'the sanitasation and commercialisation of the version of the past produced as heritage'.[31] Howard has also discussed the speedy development of the 'heritage industry', marked by the emergence of new museums, theme parks and heritage centres following the Second World War in Great Britain. First initiatives were devoted to saving 'the heritage of the landed aristocracy and gentry', and as Howard rightly highlights, 'not ostensibly for their direct benefit'.[32] If prior heritage was an issue for a limited group including experts and policy makers who had hegemonic interests in giving prominence to valuable artefacts, Howard argues that heritage became 'customer-led, defined by the user not by the authority.'[33] This 'heritage boom' in the Anglo-Saxon context is associated by Winter with social and economic decline during the 1970s, and increasing conservatism and nostalgic politics.[34] Additionally, Smith makes the point that 'cultural pride' in social and cultural continuity might be an argument for the role that Great Britain played in supporting heritage development.[35]

Harrison has also addressed the fact that prior to 1980 heritage 'tended to recongnise only the remarkable - the greatest, the oldest, biggest and best. In this way, a canonical model of heritage was produced that was distinguished markedly from the everyday'.[36] Nevertheless the 'heritage industry' phenomena starting from the 1980s in Great Britain had a major impact in shifting the focus from the object's preservation to its social and cultural significance and context, contrary for example to the developments in

---

[29] Idem 184.
[30] Four Pierre-Alain, "La protection du patrimoine et sa genèse ", Fiche de Synthèse, Agenda métropolitain-Gros plan: Quand le patrimoine devient un ressort de la modernité, Automne, (2003): 6.
[31] Harrison 2013a, 69.
[32] Howard, Peter. *Heritage Management, Interpretation, Identity*, (New York: Continuum, 2003): 36.
[33] Idem 33.
[34] Winter, Tim. "Heritage studies and the privileging of theory", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, (2013): 558.
[35] Smith 2006, 39.
[36] Harrison 2013, 18.

Western Germany where the traditional focus on materiality and its authenticity prevailed.

Thus heritage in the Anglo-Saxon context became a subject of enquiry of cultural and social processes, increasingly from the 1980s.[37] Ever since the idea emerged that heritage is not something intrinsic, but rather it is made, as Howard argues 'not everything is heritage but anything could become heritage'.[38] Moreover 'anything that someone wishes to conserve or to collect, and to pass on to future generation' can be called 'heritage'.[39] Harrison contended this shift in the Anglo-Saxon context due to the neoliberal economic approaches in the West, which 'forced' heritage to market itself to broader audiences 'as it was incorporated into an emerging experience economy'. Thus one identifies a shift from 'the canonical to more representative approaches, and encompass aspects of both "high" and "popular" culture'.[40] Key concepts predominantly theorised in the Anglo-Saxon context throughout the 1980s and 1990s, such as authenticity, community participation, identity and commodification, are extremely relevant also for the present analysis of heritage theory, argue Waterton and Watson.[41]

2.2. Defining the terms: Heritage, Patrimony and kulturelles Erbe

Starting from Lowenthal's understanding (1996) of the concept of 'global patrimony', identified as a consequence of the European colonial conquests and accumulation, one could argue that 'heritage' itself as a concept stands for the current understanding of the globally not only acknowledged and acquired patrimony, but also for the current increasing standardised preservation and protection practices and discourses, and nevertheless increasing awareness for protection of valuable legacies.

In this sense the concept of 'heritage', which was nurtured and flourished in the Anglo-Saxon context, cannot be understood as a simplistic association and translation of concepts such as the French 'patrimoine' or German 'Erbe', a relationship extensively discussed by Swenson.[42] The author highlighted the semantic differentiation between the concepts and their emergence as a consequence of knowledge transfer between England, France and Germany, focusing however only on the eighteenth and ninetheenth century developments, without providing an analysis of current particularities. Nevertheless Oulebsir and Swenson (2015) indicate the need to study such concepts in their social context in order to capture their significance, meaning in the context of emergent debates concerning protection and preservation, and

---

[37] Waterton, Emma, Watson, Sheila. "Framing theory: towards a critical imagination in heritage studies", *International Journal of Heritage studies*, vol.19, no.6, (2013): 550.
[38] Howard 2003, 7.
[39] Idem 4.
[40] Harrison 2013a, 18.
[41] Waterton and Watson 2013, 546-561.
[42] Swenson, Astrid. "Heritage", "Patrimoine" und "Kulturerbe": Eine vergleichende historische Semantik" [Heritage, patrimoine and Kulturerbe: a comparative historical semantic], In *Prädikat "Heritage". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*, edited by Hemme Dorothee, Tauschek Markus, Bendix Regina, 53-74, (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007); Swenson, Astrid. *The Rise of Heritage. Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England 1789-1914*, (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

their institutionalisation at national and international levels. [43] Similarly, Dormaels' ethymological analysis of the words 'heritage' and 'patrimony' indicates the problematic use in French and Spanish, highlighting the terminological ambiguity depending on 'cultural, social and other contexts'.[44] A further attempt to explore the distinction or similarities between the notions heritage and patrimoine in the French and English speaking countries is delivered by Morisset, arguing that 'heritage comes from the past, while patrimony looks into the future'. For Morisset

> [...] patrimony has more to do with a mental construct than the heritage object's received materiality. From this standpoint it can be considered, as we have, that patrimony teaches us more about the people who have patrimonialised it than it does about the past to which the act of patrimonialisation supposedly refers. (...) Two different ways of summing up the issue seem to echo this divide between the concept of *patrimoine* and heritage, according to which the first refers almost naturally to a process of creation, while the second carries that connotation of heredity.[45]

Focusing on the built environment, Morisset introduced 'regimes of authenticity' in order to highlight the 'performative act' of patrimony as distinctive from 'heritage', arguing that 'patrimony produces reality, the fact of being real in relation to an origin of some kind. Patrimony, a creature of the present destined for the future, is linked in most instances with the past, but always with an origin to which it provides a connection'.[46]

Despite the fact that Howard identifies the French correspondent to heritage as 'patrimony', he limits the correspondence to the concept of 'familial' descent, whereas the German 'Denkmalpflege' (traduced by the author as monument restoration) traditionally implies the act of preservation, restoration and conservation of historic monuments. Thus I would argue their commemoration, as suggested by Howard, it is not implied by the German concept, and the choice to associate 'Denkmalpflege' as the equivalent to 'heritage', as further suggested by the author, is misleading.[47] The practice of preserving monuments in the German context (Denkmalpflege), and their protection (Denkmalschutz), are clearly defined activities, primordially making the object, its materiality and supposed instrinsic value subject of interest with reference to the historic monument (Denkmal). These concepts, extensively explained in their diverse meaning and attributions by Hammer (1995)[48], have been prone to extensive change, and parallel developments due to parallel

[43] Oulebsir Nabila, Swenson Astrid. "Patrimoine: voyages des mots. Heritage, Erbe, Beni culturali, Turâth, Tigemmi", *Patrimoine et Architecture,* 21-22, (2015): 10-23.

[44] Dormaels, Mathieu. "The concept behind the word. Translation issues in definitions of heritage", In *Understanding Heritage. Perspectives in Heritage Studies*, edited by Albert Marie-Therese, Bernecker Roland, Rudolff Britta, 107-117, (Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, 2013): 114.

[45] Morisset, Lucie K. "Patrimony, the concept, the object, the memory, and the Palimpsest: a view from the history of architecture", *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 35, no. 2, (2010): 54.

[46] Idem 60.

[47] Howard 2003, 8.

[48] Hammer, Felix. *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Denkmalrechts* [Historical development of monuments protection legislation], (Tübingen: J.C.B Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995).

political regimes installed in post war Germany, while the negatively impacted German 'Erbe' by its misuse during the Third Reich was less in use, according to Oulebsir and Swenson (2015). For this reason, according to the authors, the concept of 'Kulturerbe' (cultural heritage) gained rather prominence in the post war Eastern Germany, and less in the Federal Germany where 'Denkmal' was rather employed. [49] Nevertheless, an increasing interest was manifested following the regime change of 1990 towards a revised theoretisation of 'Erbe' and 'Denkmal', due not only of the inherited built legacy of the GDR, but also to the recent exposure to the global experience of heritage, as it will be later addressed in this research.

2.3. Heritage goes global

In line with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's argument (2006) this research will focus on the national and international negotiation of heritage and its making, reflecting thus contact zones between the two. However, in his approach Hartog, as most authors (Harvey 2001, Jokilehto 2002, Howard 2003, Harrison 2013), primarily focused on the emergence of patrimonial awareness and 'heritage' in Western Europe.

Building on the presentist approach to heritage, Eriksen has also delivered an insightful analysis of the emergence and evolution of concepts such as 'antiquarianism', 'monuments preservation' and 'cultural heritage', albeit in the context of Nordic culture, as an expression of the various ways of engaging with the past and its material legacy. The relationship between 'heritage' and 'presentism' has been detailed by Eriksen in the last chapter of her book. [50] The author concluded that old objects made subject of inquiry starting in the eighteenth century as a reflection of the change of experiences of time and temporality. Also the terminological developments from the eighteenth century dominated by 'antiquarianism', 'historic monument' in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, and the contemporary cultural 'heritage' are the expression of various and different 'regimes of historicity', argues Eriksen. Furthermore, the author demonstrated how these concepts emerged in strong connection with political legitimisation of power, while the emergence of national identity played a significant role. Yet the concept of 'heritage' brings another dimension which goes beyond the power of the nation state, instead it becomes a global issue, addressing common global political concerns and priorities. Again the 'regimes of historicity' is employed to explain what the author calls the regime of our times, meaning 'the presentism', as an expression of the experience of temporality 'distinctive to our own time'. [51]

Therefore, one could acknowledge the prominence of 'heritage' in the global context as a further development in understanding the relationship with the past and responsibilities assumed for the future in the present. In addition to these, preservation and conservation philosophies and practices that emerged in Western Europe, conributed to an increasing awareness and knowledge for valuing and preserving valuable cultural assets or practices,

---

[49] Oulebsir and Swenson 2015, 20.
[50] Eriksen 2014.
[51] Idem 142.

inspired and triggered globally to further developments. These eventually have been accomodated, changed, or contested by local practices and discourses.

On a similar note Poulios, argues that the Western European approach to conservation was transferred, and even imposed, in other parts of the world, envisaging indigenous/non-Western cultures through Western eyes, in a broader context of colonialism. [52] Therefore it has been argued that the increasing popularisation of heritage globally during the second half of the twentieth century was in tune with its developments in Western Europe. This came with the backdrop of profound changes impacting economic, social and political environments, a period which has been addressed by Harrison as 'late-modern' in order to clearly delineate a new distinct period of history. [53]

Therefore one can argue that what was understood during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries under the concepts of 'patrimoine' and 'Erbe' is representative only for a fraction of the components that the current understanding of 'patrimoine', 'Kulturerbe' and internationally prominent 'heritage' cover. Starting in the late twentieth century under 'heritage', the concern for protection and preservation has been addressed beyond the material and monumental, and its hyperbolised aestehticisation, or national interest. Rather it globally expanded the understanding of preservation and protection to its wider tailored management and diversified categories of interest. Yet as Hartog states 'what distinguishes the contemporary burst in heritage activity from the preceding phases is the variety of its forms and its strongly presentist character, while the present itself has extended immeasurably.' [54]

This is according to Harrison also translated into an increasing variety of assets that became the subject of interest for preservation and protection:

> […] the globalisation and expansion of particular definitions of heritage throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have had important material implications, which have rarely been considered alongside their discursive concequences. (...) The globalisation of heritage, then, is far more than the adoption of international treaties and conventions, but a far broader (and yet intimately connected) process by which the world is simultaneously materially and discursively transformed. [55]

In this sense the current understanding of 'heritage' and its international prominence can be framed among the by-products of the late twentieth century globalisation and 'late-modernity' (Harrison 2013a). This contributed in particular to raising awareness and adapting practices and knowledge of managing preservation, commemoration, reconciliation, historical justice, and appreciation of legacies from the past in diverse socio-political, cultural, economic and geographical contexts, including those communities and countries with radically different approaches to heritage-types activities. Public participation, ensuring diversity, involving multiple stakeholders, economic

[52] Poulios, Ioannis. "Moving beyond a values-based approach to heritage conservation", *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, vol.12, no.2, (2010): 171.
[53] Harrison 2013a, 76.
[54] Hartog 2015, 190.
[55] Harrison 2015, 309.

sustainability, managing heritage, the impact of climate change, migration and digitisation of heritage among other actions have more recently become predominant in the discourse of 'heritagisation' all over the world.

Beyond the concept of heritage addressed by Hartog in relation to 'presentism', 'the nation' in the context of globalisation and universalisation of heritage also finds itself challenged, putting the nation's history and identity discourse into question. Hartog argues that,

> [...] the nation should no longer be imposing its own values but rather safeguarding with all speed what in the present moment, immediately and even urgently is considered to be "heritage" by the various social players. The monument itself tends to be replaced by the memorial', while 'heritage should not be viewed in relation to the past but in relation to the present, as a category of action of the present on the present'.[56]

The relationship between the internationally developed heritage practices and the national and local perspectives, are subject of an essays collection edited by Labadi and Long (2010), who express their hope that 'global concern around heritage moves way beyond the popular notion of protecting old buildings'.[57] Despite the fact that globalisation is predominantely associated with Westernisation (Winter 2013)[58], the emergence of the Cold War conflict following the Second World War set the world in two competing forms of globalisation, argue Labadi and Long (2010):

> The competition between the two superpowers and the blocs that they dominated (but did not control) was ideological, cultural, economic, political and, no least, military. (...) The collapse of the Soviet Union did not mean the clearing of the last barrier to globalisation: it represented the triumph of one of the competing globalisations, free market capitalism, over the other, state socialism.[59]

Thus, various authors argued that the globalisation of heritage governance and stewardship was essentially a Western construct, and that it became subject of global concern since the end of the Second World War, and more increasingly after the establishment of the world heritage system, in which UNESCO and its advisory bodies ICOMOS, ICOM, IUCN, played a major role.[60] Nevertheless UNESCO eventually succeeded in engaging both the socialist and capitalist blocs in the internationalist project to which Soviet Union adhered in April 1954.[61] Meanwhile, the UN would become a platform for states aiming for self-determination from the beginning of the 1950s and 1960s 'to express their

---

[56] Hartog 2015, 184f.

[57] Labadi Sophia, Long Colin, eds. *Heritage and Globalisation. Key Issues in Cultural Heritage*, (Routledge, 2010): 2.

[58] Winter, Tim. "Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 19, no.6, (2013): 532-545.

[59] Labadi and Long 2010, 3.

[60] Smith 2004, 2006; Labadi and Long 2010; Harrison 2013, 2015; Winter 2015; Meskell, Lynn, ed. *Global Heritage: A reader*, (Willey Blackwell, 2015).

[61] Armstrong, John A. "The Soviet attitude toward UNESCO". *International Organization*, 8, (1954): 217-233.

frustration', and later 'the destructive geo-political environment (being) created by the Cold War.'[62]

Yet developments during the Cold War of states under Soviet sphere of influence and their engagement with, and contribution to the universalist project enhanced by UNESCO in heritage, have been less discussed. These will be briefly addressed in this research when discussing the construction of the patrimonial awareness during communism in Romania and Germany, by questioning their relationship and contribution (or lack of it) to the global agenda. This aims thus at covering the gap in current debates concerning the relationship between heritage and globalisation, which to date focused moreover on three major issues, according to Harrison, namely: technical expertise, World Heritage and economic tourism/development.[63]

A significant contribution and alternative to standardise the understanding of the concept of heritage globally, has also been offered by the multiple international conventions, recommendations, charters and resolutions that have been introduced by international organisations such as UNESCO and its advisory bodies. These have for example coined the idea of 'world heritage'.[64] Although UNESCO was not the originator of the concept of 'heritage' and its associated practices, 'no one could dispute that is today the indisputable global-level instrument which mobilises resources, reproduces dominant arguments and rationales, establishes program agendas and policies, and dispenses status surrounding the conservation and preservation of the thing called "heritage",' argues Askew.[65]

Despite the fact that UNESCO and ICOMOS have been at forefront of defining terminology and scope of heritage since 1965, a lack of uniformity in its understanding and application persisted in various countries and between the two bodies.[66] The evolution from 'historic monument', coined by the Venice charter in 1964 to 'monument' and 'site' issued by the Constitutive Assembly of ICOMOS 1965, and 'cultural heritage' introduced by the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1972, are only few examples to be mentioned.[67]

A further distinction was made during the Constitutive Assembly of ICOMOS in 1965, between movable and immovable heritage, by setting up clear responsibilities for ICOMOS and ICOM regarding museum's collections and architectural heritage, in order to avoid overlapping expertise between the two bodies.[68] It should be noted here that ICOM was the first international

[62] Winter, Tim. "Heritage diplomacy", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.21, no.19, (2015): 1002.

[63] Harrison, Rodney. "Heritage and globalisation", In *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research,* edited by Waterton Emma, Watson Sheila, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015a): 304.

[64] To be noted the World Heritage Convention has been adopted by 193 nation states worldwide independent of the nature of their political regime and tradition in preservation as of 31st of January 2017.
For an introduction in the foundation of the organisations see Jokilehto, Jukka. *ICCROM and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage. A history of the organisation's first 50 years, 1959-2009*, ICCROM Conservation Studies 11, (ICCROM Rome, 2011).

[65] Askew, Marc. "The magic list of global status: UNESCO, World Heritage and the agendas of states", In *Heritage and Globalisation. Key Issues in Cultural Heritage*, edited by Labadi Sophia, Long Colin, 17-19, (Routledge, 2010): 19.

[66] Ahmad 2006, 294.

[67] https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf [Last accessed 03.04.2017], http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/ [last accessed 03.04.2017]

[68] Ahmad 2006, 294.

organisation established in Paris following the Second World War in 1946 to deal with heritage, yet it was not as part of UNESCO at the time.[69] Its mission was to ensure 'the conservation, continuation, and communication to society of the world's natural and cultural heritage, present and future, tangible and intangible'.[70] Later in 1968 this division was confirmed when 'cultural property' was regrouped and defined as movable and immovable.[71] However UNESCO dropped off from its definition of movable and immovable cutural property with the adoption of the World Heritage Convention in 1972, which introduced 'cultural and natural heritage'.[72] In UNESCO's understanding, at a global level 'cultural heritage' included now 'monuments, sites and groups of buildings', a division which remained unaltered until present day. However, the terminology used in the procedure of inscription on the World Heritage list makes reference to 'cultural property' and 'natural property' instead of 'cultural and natural heritage',[73] an issue analysed in detail by various authors.[74]

Following the shift of the global power relationship in post Cold War world, UNESCO priorities were also re-oriented towards the promotion of 'global justice' and 'peacemaking', for which 'culture' played a significant role, both in the process of peacekeeping and in meeting its goals such as promoting 'diversity' and 'cultural rights'.[75] Therefore the World Heritage Centre (WHC) has been set up in 1992 with the aim of coordinating within UNESCO all matters related to the Heritage Convention.[76]

Logan (2001), Smith (2006), Harrison (2013), Gfeller (2015) have discussed the implications of the World Heritage Convention in the application of a set of modern, post-Enlightenment ideas about heritage and the past which:

> […] developed in Euro-American contexts over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to countries and communities with radically different conceptions of heritage. This coupled with the abundance and globalisation of heritage in late-modern societies (as a consequence not only of the work of UNESCO and its avidsory bodies, but also of broader processes of the restructuring of global economies, the growth of international heritage tourism, and the increasingly transnational flows of people, capital, ideas and images).[77]

---

[69] Gfeller, Aurelie Elisa, Eisenberg Jaci. "UNESCO and the shaping of global heritage", In *A history of UNESCO. Global actions and impacts,* edited by Duedahl, Poul, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016): 280.

[70] Jokilehto 2011, 7.

[71] UNESCO Recommendation Concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works, 11 November 1968, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13085&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.ht ml [last accessed 03.04.2017]

[72] For the evolution of global heritage governance, see Gfeller, Aurelie Elisa. "Negotiating the meaning of global heritage: 'cultural landscapes' in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 1972-92*", *Journal of Global History*, no.8, (2013): 483-503.

[73] Ahmad 2006, 295.

[74] Prott Lyndel V., O'Keefe Patrick J. "Cultural heritage or cultural property?" *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 1, (1992): 307-320; Hafstein 2007; Weigelt, Frank Andre. "Von 'Cultural Property' zu 'Cultural Heritage'. Die UNESCO-Konzeption im Wandel der Zeit" [From cultural property to cultural heritage. UNESCO's concepts transformation in time], In *Prädikat "Heritage". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*, edited by Bendix Regina et al., 129-146, (Berlin LIT Verlag, 2007).

[75] Askew 2010, 24.

[76] Meskell et al. 2015.

[77] Harisson 2013a, 140.

A detailed analysis of the emergence of the 'conservation' paradigm within the World Heritage Convention starting in the 1980s is provided by Cameron and Rössler, who argue that international assistance and listing were initially prioritised by the international community.[28]

However, the emergence of the World Heritage Convention continues to be theorised as a predominantly Western project (Harrison 2013a), an issue which has to be critically addressed and further researched, since its emergence was rooted during the period of the Cold War divides which set the world under the spheres of influence of two competitive models for modernity: liberal capitalist and state socialism. This prevented and curtailed transnational flows of people, capital and knowledge. And yet UNESCO engaged both sides in the common universalist project, while to date the support and active contribution of communist countries has not been discussed in this context, reason for which it will be briefly addressed in this research. Thus one can not limit the association with UNESCO's project in heritage preservation only to the Western paradigm, while the rest of the world is reduced only to simple recipients of the Westernised UNESCO's contribution to the universalist and international heritage project.

As such it is not surprising that the relationship and impact of the international organisation was studied from the perspective of a centre-periphery relationship, and it addressed less local contributions to shaping global projects, as previously mentioned. Moreover as Cesari states

> […] we tend to look at the workings of the international heritage regime from a top-down perspective, namely, by concentrating on what happens to the global heritage discourse once it is in action. It is crucial, however, to understand these processes from below as well, which means to understand the reasons why a group of people decides to appropriate the language of heritage to further their goals, and the kinds of imaginaries and expectations elicited by the heritage discourse.[29]

In her paper, Gfeller addressed this issue when discussing the adoption of the Global Strategy for a Representative and Credible World Heritage List (1994) and its contribution to shaping a 'global heritage discourse'. The latter is understood as the 'global reach' of 'intergovernmental mechanisms of heritage governance, most notably those programmes advanced by UNESCO (....) whether it be via law, planning regulations, or the creation of an internationally roaming symbolic economy of heritage value'.[30] As Gfeller indicates, cultural influences' did not involve an unidrectional flow from a single centre to a periphery defined in post-colonial terms, nor did they imply an assertive

[28] Cameron, Christina, Mechtild, Rössler. "The shift towards conservation, early history of the 1972 World Heritage Convention and the Global Heritage Convention", In *Understanding Heritage. Perspectives in Heritage Studies*, edited by Albert Marie-Therese, Bernecker Roland, Rudolff Britta, 69-76, (Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, 2013).

[29] de Cesari, Chiara. "Thinking through heritage regimes", In *Heritage Regimes and the State*, edited by Bendix Regina, Eggert Aditya, Peselmann Arnika, Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property, vol.6, (Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2012):406.

[30] Winter 2015, 1006.

reaction on the part of the post-colonial world'.[81] Moreover, as pointed out by Askew, the enthusiastic engagement with the World Heritage Convention and heritage is in part explained by the fact it enables nation states to legitimise certain national and identitary goals. Furthermore, UNESCO's heritage agenda did not contribute, according to the author, to 'overcome[ing] nation-state-based power structures and nationalist agendas, but rather [to] enhanc[ing] them'.[82] A similar idea is also expressed by de Cesari, who argues that the role of UNESCO empowers the nation state and vice-versa 'given the supervisory function this international agency often carries out vis-à-vis the state'.[83]

UNESCO's nomination process and the global acknowledgement of the heritage sites predominantly becomes a tool for nation states to promote their own domestic agenda and state nationalism.[84] This leads Winter to characterise heritage as a 'network of networks', within which the state 'appears to be the enduringly powerful actor'. Thus, heritage appears rather as a 'plethora of systems of rule which do not coalesce into a single architecture of "global governance".'[85]

2.4. Critical approaches to heritage

Numerous authors from critical heritage studies[86] have criticised UNESCO's definition of heritage coined by the 1972 Convention to residing in monumental, tangible 'things', a physical artefact or record. Regional and global transformations, either in terms of geo-politics, economic and geo-cultural, triggered however the need to re-address heritage and its meaning. The 'authorised heritage discouse' coined by Smith (2006), indicating a Western rooted discourse prioritising aesthetic and material qualities of heritage, has encountered increasing opposition which was expressed in the emergent critical heritage studies. In her publication Smith (2006) questions the standardised approach to heritage, which according to the author was defined as:

> […] the authorised heritage discourse, which takes its cue from the grand narratives of Western national and elite class experiences, and reinforces ideas of innate cultural value tied to time depth, monumentality, expert knowledge and aesthetics. (…) It is also a discourse that is open to contestation, not just from external groups but from within as well – as there are heritage experts who actively work to facilitate the broadening of the definition of heritage, and to develop inclusive practices that acknowledge the diversity of heritage experiences.[87]

---

[80] Gfeller, Aurelie Elisa. "Anthropologizing and indigenizing heritage: the origins of the UNESCO Global Strategy for a representative, balanced and credible World Heritage List", *Journal of Social Archaeology*, vol.15, no.3, (2015): 336-386.
[81] Askew 2010, 20.
[82] de Cesari 2012, 400.
[83] Askew 2010, 23.
[84] Winter 2015,1006.
[85] Harvey 2001, Smith 2006, Harrison 2013, Winter 2013.
[86] Smith 2006, 299.

Implied by Smith's statement that 'there is no such thing as heritage'[88] but rather a series of social practices, authors in critical heritage studies emphasise heritage as 'a process' and a 'series of discursive practices', strongly enhanced by debates on issues of power, identity and control, instead of heritage-as-things left over from the past.[89] On the same note Harrison highlights that:

> […] heritage is not a passive process of simply preserving things from the past that remain, but an active process of assembling a series of objects, places and practices that we choose to hold up as a mirror to the present, associated with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into the future. (...) So heritage as a concept is constantly evolving, and the way in which the term is understood is always ambiguous and never certain.[90]

For Harrison, heritage, moreover, is not a 'thing or historical or political movement, but refers to a set of attitudes to, and relationships with, the past. These relationships are characterised by a reverence and attachement to select objects, places and practices that are thought to connect with or exemplify the past in some way.'[91] Thus the contemporary heritage project is merely related, according to Harrison, to the Western European post-Enlightenment understanding of the world and of the experience of modernity and progress, what makes the author conclude that 'heritage is thus both a product and produced of Western modernity'.[92] A similar idea has been shared also by Bendix, Hemme, Tauschek (2007) in the interdisciplinary collection of articles that problematised heritage as a product of post-modernity.[93]

Following, an increasing appeal expressed by the authors in critical heritage studies encourages us to critically address the emergence of heritage in relation to the social, political, economic and cultural changes.[94] Moreover an increasing interest was expressed for discussing the social and cultural context of heritage, and to avoid prioritising the inherent value of objects. Instead, heritage itself becomes a discourse, 'not so much about the past, but certainly about the present'.[95] Heritage thus is increasingly debated as contingent and context dependent[96], as 'essentially intangible common'[97], 'present-centred cultural practice and an instrument of cultural power'[98]. Kuutma higlighted the current understanding of heritage as a 'social construction and cultural practice', whereas the distinction between tangible and intangible emerged, according to the author, for political and organisational reasons.[99] However,

---

[88] Idem 13ff.
[89] Smith 2006; Harrison 2013; Winter 2013; Harvey 2001.
[90] Harrison 2013a, 4f.
[91] Idem 14.
[92] Idem 39.
[93] Hemme, Dorothee, Tauschek, Markus, Bendix, Regina, eds. *Prädikat "Heritage". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen* [Predicat "heritage". Value creation from cultural resources], (Berlin LIT Verlag, 2007).
[94] Winter 2013, 558.
[95] Waterton and Watson 2015, 9.
[96] Winter 2014.
[97] Smith 2006, Harrison 2015a,b.
[98] Harvey 2001, 336.
[99] Kuutma, Kristin. "Between arbitration and engineering concepts and contingencies in the shaping of

one needs indeed to go beyond the understanding of heritage as a cultural practice, process, knowledge and discourses (Smith 2006), and adopt a wider and integrated approach within which social, political, and economic frameworks which facilitate (or not) heritage-making and its conceptualisation are being equally considered.

In particular, the idea that the appreciation of heritage is predominately due to attached values and meanings, has been emphasised. This has been indicated by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett discussing heritage as 'a mode of cultural production' and 'adding value'.[100] This brought to the fore the idea in the late twentieth century, that heritage values are not intrinsic, contributing thus to the consolidation of the concept of representativeness.[101] This is particularly evident, according to Viejo-Rose and Stig Sørensen, moreover when one addresses the destruction and reconstruction of heritage.[102] Both authors argue that the deliberate destruction of heritage rarely happend in times of armed conflict because of its materiality alone. For both authors 'all cultural heritage is living heritage. Futhermore, heritage is assembled from a continuous process of selection; at any given moment the narrative of the past, what is or is not heritage, is selected according to the needs of that moment as well as projections of the future'.[103]

The processes of selection of assets and the categorisation of heritage, along with the assesment of value of heritage, have been extensively discussed in heritage studies, albeit predominantley in relationship with the internationally established World Heritage list, a significant tool introduced by the Convention of 1972. Thus in the following, a brief overview of the state of the art of such debates will be briefly introduced. However, the focus of this research lies on problematising the significance of the local practices of evaluating and listing heritage, going thus beyond the global practice of listing world heritage.

2.4.1. Heritage-making Processes: Heritage listing and value assessment

Different cultures produce different understandings and categories of appreciation of various assets of cultural interest as heritage in time. In the European tradition, heritage was according to experts' analysis as a work of art, or a record of the past, for which values were attributed as a result of scientific selection, strictly linked to its materiality and the knowledge that it aimed to preserve. The employement of alledgedly scientific processes for the identification, selection and analysis of heritage, including categorisation and cataloguing (listing and typologies) served nevertheless to legitimise certain dominant identitary narratives. This pattern has been extensively discussed by Harrison (2013, 2015), indicating the source of inspiration in the French model developed following the French Revolution, which according to the author was

---

heritage regimes", In *Heritage Regimes and the State*, edited by Bendix Regina et al., Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property, vol.6, (Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2012): 24.
[100] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 370.
[101] Harrison, Rodney. "What is Heritage?", In *Understanding the politics of heritage*, edited by Rodney Harrison, (Manchester University Press, 2009): 26.
[102] Viejo-Rose, Dacia, Stig Sørensen, Marie, Louise, "Cultural heritage and armed conflict: New questions for an old relationship", In *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, edited by Waterton Emma, Watson Sheila, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015): 293.
[103] Viejo-Rose and Stig Sørensen 2015, 293.

'followed time and again in the inventories adopted by other nation-states, and eventually by UNESCO in its World Heritage list'.[104]

The traditional discourse that heritage values are inherent to objects or places dominated the heritage discourse promoted in the European culture until recently. This, as already mentioned, has been identified by Smith as the 'authorised heritage discourse', which 'priviledges monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building'.[105] According to the author the Western AHD predominantely emphasised the idea that 'heritage *is* material: it is an object, place or landscape',[106] which was also reflected in the process of heritage listing. The increasing awareness of the patrimonial protection and emergence of the idea of 'heritage as a list of places and landscapes' was associated by Harrison with the idea of risk and loss emerging in the Western context of modern development generated by capitalist industrialisation. 'At its heart was the concept of the public sphere, and the idea that certain great monuments, buildings and landscapes needed to be conserved by, and for, the public as part of a broader conversation about what was important from the past in forming a set of values for the appropriate functioning of societies in the present.'[107] Harrison further argues that 'all of these ideas would prove fundamental to the emergence of the World Heritage concept in the later part of the twentieth century'.[108]

An additional component in the process of managing loss and risk, Harrison reveals the increasing intervention of the state to controlling heritage. This was achieved by enlarging the definition of heritage and increasing the levels of state control through the means of legislation and its implications in the listing process. This process was identified by the author to considerably accelerate from the late 1960s in the United States and England, and overlapped with post-war international developments in the field[109], 'as the state increasingly sought to control heritage, it also sought to redefine it so as to increase its influence over an ever-broadening range of objects, buildings and landscapes'.[110] Parallel with the increasing interest of the state in heritage, Harrison identifies an additional aspect that majorly impacted such developments, namely professionalistion and bureaucratisation, which:

> [...] took heritage out of the hands of amateurs and enthusiastic members of the public, and put its control into the hands of the "experts". (...) Heritage was a specialised field to be undertaken by professionals, specialists, "experts", and became increasingly caught up in bureaucratic planning processes. This effectively severed heritage from the local and redeveloped it as a national, state-controlled, professional practice.[111]

---

[104] Harrison 2013a, 44.
[105] Smith 2006, 11.
[106] Idem 164.
[107] Harrison 2013a, 46.
[108] Idem 46.
[109] Idem 50; 56.
[110] Idem 47.
[111] Idem 56.

A similar idea is also promoted also by Tauschek (2012) and de Cesari (2009) highlighting that the increasing bureaucratisation of heritigisation 'triggers extended surveys and inventories of cultural sites and practices, as well as new regulations to what is "authentic" and worth preserving, how this is to be done, and who are the legitimate stakeholders and tradition bearers'.[112]

Nevertheless, a more democratic approach emerged in the process of identification and making of heritage, highlighting its intangible aspect (Viejo-Rose, Stieg Sorensen, 2015), and taking into account the contributions of multiple stakeholders. Not only are experts involved in this process but also individuals, communities or institutions, contribute to identifying and developing frameworks and practices, in order to assess and recognize the meaning, value, cultural significance of objects, collections, buildings, natural assets or places as being worthy of preservation and protection. Thus the main idea that emerged in the current heritage discourse is that heritage status and identified values, which qualify objects for this status, are not intrinsic to objects but that they emerge 'out of the interaction of an artefact and its contexts'.[113] Smith contributed to promoting the idea that heritage is not found but made.[114] The author has extensively argued that 'the idea of heritage is used to construct, reconstruct, and negotiate a range of identities and social and cultural values and meanings in the present.' [115] However, different and conflicting values can be associated with the same cultural property by different individuals and communities,[116] as much as in time similar cultural property can be differently valued as communities change. As Szmygin concludes, 'in practice, preservation of the heritage does not consist in wholesome maintenance of the substance and the form of an object. There are simply too many monuments to keep them all in their authentic state.'[117] Thus, heritage is rather associated with managing processes of 'change' rather than 'things'.[118] In line with Smith's approach to heritage as place, one can argue that preserving and managing heritage is eventually about 'the preservation and regulation of the cultural values and meanings associated with the heritage place itself. (…) As cultural tools in the process of remembering and meaning making, heritage places are (…) intimately about negotiating cultural change'.[119] A similar idea is shared also by Hafstein who's approach opened this chapter emphasising that 'heritage is about change. Don't let all the talk about preservation fool you: all heritage is change'.[120]

Yet despite the fact that it has been acknowledged that heritage is made, the values and significance for which heritage is identified as such are submitted to change, and heritage eventually to a great extent is a matter of

---

[112] de Cesari 2012, 409.
[113] Mason Randall, "Assessing values in conservation planning. Methodological issues and choices", In *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage, Research Report*, edited by de la Torre Marta, 5-31, The Getty Conservation Institute, (Los Angeles: The Getty Trust, 2002): 8.
[114] Smith 2006, 3.
[115] Idem 3.
[116] Ashworth 1998,112.
[117] Szmygin Bogusław, "Classification of historical monuments", In *Values and Criteria in Heritage Conservation*. Proceedings of the International Conference of ICOMOS, ICCROM and Fondazione Romualdo del Bianco March, edited by Tomaszewski, Andrzej, (2008): 153
[118] Idem 155.
[119] Smith 2006, 294-295.
[120] Hafstein 2007, 75.

managing change, heritage lists and values for which assets have been listed at their time extensively remained unchallenged and unchanged. This issue will be in the following addressed.

2.4.1.1. Heritage listing

Harrison has extensively elaborated on the role of heritage lists and listing, in particular focusing on the World Heritage lists (2013, 2015). In his analysis of the history and development at institutional and conceptual level of the World Heritage listing, rooted in the World Heritage Convention 1972, he emphasised the predominance of Western intervention in the project, by drawing its inspiration from the European tradition considered an export model to places where such tradition was beforehand non existant.

If processes of 'assembling, categorisation, comparison, classification, ordering and reassembling' are identified as central for museums activities,[121] central to heritage is 'categorisation and listing', according to Harrison. Thus 'heritage (...) can not exist independently of a process of categorising, ordering, listing and subsequently conserving and/or archiving it'.[122] Precisely this model, according to Harrison, was exported outside the European context, while UNESCO and its advisory bodies played a significant role in canonising these activities:

> The creative friction generated by the application of the rather limited definition of heritage embodied in the World Heritage Convention, which had developed largely in North America, Western Europe and Britain over the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to countries and communities with radically different understandings of the relationships between people, their environments and the past, would have an important influence on the changing definitions of heritage that developed as a result of the work of UNESCO and its advisory bodies over the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.[123]

A further category subjected to UNESCO listing was added following the adoption of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (2003), and extensively discussed by Kuutma (2007), Haftstein (2009), and Tauschek (2011) among others. This will not make subject of attention in this research.[124] As Harrison further argues, the context within which heritage emerges is essential. Subsequently, the author introduced the idea that heritage lists are deeply connected to the 'development of a contemporary endangerment sensibility' which ultimately generates from local to international organisations and institutions their 'own endangered worlds'.[125] For Harrison, 'the listing of heritage sites on various registers, and the classificatory schemes that

[121] Harrison, Rodney. "World Heritage listing and the globalisation of the endangerment sensibility", In *Endangerment, Biodiversity and Culture,* edited by Vidal Fernando, Dias Nelia, (Routledge Environmental Humanities Series, 2015b): 198.
[122] Harrison 2013a, 6.
[123] Idem 94.
[124] Kuutma 2007; Tauschek, Markus. "Reflections on the metacultural nature of intangible cultural heritage", *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, vol. 5, no.2, (2011): 49-64.
[125] Harrison 2015b, 213.

accompany these processes, can be seen to be linked directly to the project of modernity and its management of time and risk.'[126] Thus it has been:

> […] often invoked in the context of debates and protests about things and practices that are considered to be threatened or at risk. That risk might simply be implicit threat of time itself-forgetting, decaying, erroding or becoming worn with age. More often, the threat is one of demolition or destruction - the flattening of a building, bulldosing of a tree, the destruction of a tract of landscape by mining, perhaps, or even more seriously, the extinction of a plant or animal species, or the genocide of a group of people during times of war.[127]

Additionally on the background of massive economic and social transformations impacting Western Europe starting from the 1970s, Harrison associates categorisation and listing with a 'process concerned with the management of waste'.[128]

> This shift in museological modes of collection from objects in museums to places on municipal, regional, national and international heritage registers can be understood to be an extension of a process which was largely concerned with the management of redundant objects, buildings and landscapes that were perceived to be too valuable to simply discard. Heritage has shifted from a process of the production of a public sphere in the eighteen century to one of nation-building in the nineteenth and twentieth, to become concerned largely with the management of redundancy and waste in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.[129]

Under these circumstances Harrison highlighted that despite the fact there are 'differences between the operations of museums and heritage registers, the World Heritage list has had the effect of making fixed places "mobile" and susceptible to administration in sites far removed from their physical locations. In many ways, the documents that describe and collect these places, and that are the focus of administrative work, become more instrumental than the "actual" places themselves. (...) Furthermore, like museums, UNESCO's List and its associated guidelines have come to play a key role in attributing value by way of increasingly refined criteria and the forms of expertise that are defined in relation to them.'[130] The author also discusses the significance of such global lists focusing on the ways they operate for the identification, categorisation and designation of objects, places and practices of heritage that simultaneously specify and operationalize global (and globalising) categories of endangerement and their management. [131] This being the outcome nevertheless according to the author not only of the current understanding of heritage, 'but more broadly in helping shape the contemporary world and our

---

[126] Harrison 2013a, 29.
[127] Idem 7.
[128] Idem 81.
[129] Ibidem.
[130] Harrison 2015b, 198.
[131] Harrison 2015b, 203.

experience of it'.[132] On a similar note, Smith (2006) discusses the process of heritage listing as a 'performance of meaning making'.

> For any item or event of heritage to be listed as either a "masterpiece"or as a "world heritage" site its cultural values must, by definition, be pronounced and vital. While the list may be aimed at protection, what it does first and foremost is proclaim the cultural values and meanings that are given authority and legitimacy. Protection is then afforded through the authority given to those values - but what lies at the heart of the sense of "protection" its the preservation of the legitimacy of certain cultural values, historical and social experiences and understandings about the world. [133]

Harrison highlighted the increasing role of the state through the means of the administration and legislative control over heritage, therefore shifting away from the idea of preservation of assets from potential threats or for the public interest. It is argued by the author that this shift is due to increasing economic interest and neoliberal policies experienced during the late-modern period, by identifying 'the potential of heritage for local, regional and national income generation.'[134] Thus he ascribed the increasing interest in the World Heritage listing in its potential for commodification, arguing that following 1972, 'governments and local businesses and interest groups would increasingly see World Heritage lisiting as an opportunity for revitalising and contributing to national, regional and local economies.' Moreover he identifies the economic interest as one of the reasons 'why the World Heritage list has expanded at such an impressive rate and why States Parties were keen to ratify the Convention.'[135]

Additionally to Harrison (2013a) and Smith (2006), Gfeller has also discussed the emergence of the World Heritage listing starting in 1978, when the first 12 heritage sites have been nominated. A particular attention has been given to discussing the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), not only because it introduced natural and cultural heritage as the main categories, but also because it introduced the exceptionality of the heritage as a criteria for its hierarchisation. Namely, it included the specificity of 'outstanding universal value', a concept which was never subject to an operational definition and nor explicitly defined[136], yet extensively discussed by Labadi in relationship with the nation states approach to the concept.[137] As defined by UNESCO, the role of the Convention is to encourage the identification, protection, and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of 'outstanding universal value to humanity.' For this reason a central component of the Convention was the elaboration of the World Heritage list. A further

[132] Harrison 2013a, 67.
[133] Smith 2006, 112.
[134] Harrison 2013a, 83.
[135] Idem 89.
[136] Frey, Bruno S., Steiner Lasse. "World Heritage List: does it make sense?" *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol.17, no.5, (2011): 560.
[137] Labadi, Sophia. *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value. Value-based Analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions*, (Altamira Press, 2013).

significant part to it, which became the responsibility of the ICOMOS President Michel Parent, namely to elaborate the Operational Guidelines aimed at setting the criteria based on which World Heritage list should be issued. These were however, according to Gfeller, originating in art-historical, archaeological and architectural disciplines, being limited to the historic and aesthetic value, thus rooted in the Western European tradition of conservation.[138]

According to Schmitt, quoted by Rao (2010) 'UNESCO's World Heritage list servers as reference for what is worth preserving for future generations' globally.[139] However, the Eurocentric dominance and approach of the World Heritage list has been extensively questioned by Gfeller and others (Meskell 2002, Labadi 2007, Labadi 2013, Harrison 2013). These authors argue the European approach has dominated the ICOMOS understanding until at least the beginning of the 1990s. A significant shift followed once its leadership was taken by the Canadian conservationist Herb Stovel, who pleaded for a future ICOMOS approach beyond Europe.[140] This has been further triggered by the proposal of French born Romanian-Jewish anthropologist Isac Chiva, who fled Romania for Paris once the communist regime took power. He perpetuated a strong collaboration with Claude Levi-Strauss, whose contribution to cultural relativism and UNESCO has been briefly discussed by Eriksen.[141] Chiva, an expert in French rural and European rural societies, promoted the concept of 'anthropological heritage' (patrimoine ethnologique) 'a term coined to designate social and cultural practices, including crafts and techniques', which according to Gfeller had a major impact at the beginning of the 1990s on the anthropological turn in World Heritage.[142] In her endeavour, Gfeller argues, Chiva 'pleaded for broadening the notion of cultural "World Heritage" beyond its tangible architectural and archaeological underpinnings. (…) He deplored that "the intellectual field" of the World Heritage Convention had remained limited to "material" and "monumental" aspects. (…) Chiva believed that vernacular architecture could only be studied by considering both its "material" and its "social and mental" dimensions.'[143] Consequently, Gfeller highlights the fact that a growing understanding of the social processes embedded in heritage-making processes emerged during these debates post 1990.

Yet what Harrison and others did not take into account is the fact that the emergence of the UNESCO heritage project happend during the Cold War period, when competitive models for modernity would spread around the world. One needs on this background to make a distinction between the role of UNESCO and the heritage project in particular during the 1970s and 1980s. During this period numerous nation states would seek for their legitimisation (considering the post-colonial states and communist regimes newly reshaped after the Second World War) by actively becoming involved in the international program of UNESCO. Another shift of priorities can be noted after 1990 with

[138] Gfeller 2015, 370.
[139] Rao, Kishore. "A new paradigm for the identification, nomination and inscription of properties on the World Heritage list", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.16, no.3, (2010): 161.
[140] Gfeller 2015, 371.
[141] Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. "Between universalism and relativism: a critique of the UNESCO concept of culture", In *Culture and Rights. Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Cowan Jane K., Dembour Marie-Benedicte, Wilson Richard A., (Cambridge University Press, 2002): 128.
[142] Gfeller 2015, 375-376.
[143] Idem 376.

the collapse of the Berlin Wall, and redesigning global politics following the dismissal of Soviet Union, when the UNESCO's mission was reconsidered.

Therefore, following a closer scrutiny of the number of nominated sites during the first years after the adoption of the Convention until 1989 one identifies that Western European countries such as Spain (1982 ratified the Convention), Great Britain (1984), Germany (1976) and France (1975), Greece (1981) had the highest number of sites included in the World Heritage list in Europe.[144] Indeed one can identify a predominance of the Western European cultural sites, while not all Western European state parties that had ratified already during the 1980s the Convention also listed sites until 1989, such as Sweden or Denmark. However, the major gap in the listing process surfaced after 1990 when African states that actively contributed to the listing process during the 1980s, to some extent did not register any additional site after 1990, while the end of the Cold War brought on a new geo-political constellation, including new emergent independent states or Germany being re-united. Also, one identifies an increasing interest among the North African states, neighboring countries to Egypt, in the UNESCO heritage project prior to 1989 such as Libya, Alergia, Tunisia, while the internationally acclaimed safeguarding project in Egypt was actually followed by the inclusion of its main sites on the list by the end of the 1970s and added only one after 1990. Moreover, European states continued the trend of nominating sites and to some extent countries such as Italy experienced a boom of the listed sites starting the 1990s with almost 25 new inscriptions during the 1990s alone.

Thus one has to question the motivation and implications of the listing developments registered in the early stages of UNESCO during the 1970s and 1980s in Western Europe and North America, in comparison to the countries under the Soviet block and former colonies and new emergent states, some supporting the socialist block while others the non-aligned movement. Additionally, to the increasing interest in tourism, also addressed by Harrison (2013), the issue of state prestige equally played a significant role in a first stage of UNESCO's heritage listing prior to 1989, aiming for state legitimisation in particular of newly emergent nation states, and targeting the emergent global tourism economy. While global economy rapidly spread after 1990, numerous African countries would succumb to various political conflicts and instability and extreme violence, thus strongly impacting the stability in region with long term effects also for the heritage project. Thus one can identify that the unbalanced listing situation consolidated moreover during the 1990s when Eastern and Western European states intensively engaged in the process of World Heritage listing, while many of the aforementioned non - European countries stoped engaging in the UNESCO project of listing. Overcoming economic, natural, political distress and instabilities, sensitive security conditions in many of these areas were ultimately prioritised over the grand project of nation building and the tourism industry.

In the process of heritage listing starting the 1990s new administrative measures were undertaken by setting up the World Heritage Centre in 1992, as the main coordinator within UNESCO of all matters related to World Heritage. This eventually impacted the modus operandi of UNESCO activities, among these also being the process of heritage listing. Prior to that a priority of the

---

[144] http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/[accessed last 27.04.2017]

evaluation of heritage was assigned to the Advisory Bodies of the World Heritage Committee, while currently this is the outcome of actions of the state parties that submit the nomination, the Advisory Bodies ICOMOS and IUCN, and the Committee decide formally on the inclusion or not in the WHL. This increasing bureaucratisation also explains the difficulties of state members to engage in the UNESCO project under conditions of lack of political stability.[145] Following, the adoption of the Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List in 1994 the UNESCO World Heritage Centre was established in order to address a more representative and balanced World Heritage list, overcoming the European dominance, and to move towards a more anthropological approach rather than purely a material and art-historian view of cultural heritage. This has eventually paved the way for the inscription of wider types of heritage including vernacular and twentieth century architecture, industrial heritage, and trade and pilgrimage routes, as well as heritage sites associated with negative events in human history.[146]

The evaluation of the twentieth century architecture for the World Heritage listing became therefore another issue of interest for UNESCO nominations. This is extensively reflected by the World Heritage programme and papers series dedicated to the 'Identification and Documentation of Modern Heritage' and considered under threat, however 'worthy of preservation and transmission to future generations for reasons of cultural identity in relation to aspects of continuity and change'.[147] Authors such as Natalia Dushkina (2007), and Harrison et.al. (2010) have extensively discussed the process of evaluation of twentieth century heritage, which began according to the authors to be a matter of interest for the international bodies such as ICOMOS starting 1985.[148] Since then its significance in the World Heritage listing has been discussed, yet with a focus on the built environment which included early modernist architecture.[149] Dushkina, however emphasised the limited representation of the modernist architecture on the World Heritage lists, arguing for this state of the art among others significant value misunderstanding, and the national legislation which limits such inscriptions also because of the age value requirements and the lack of adequate heritage policy in this direction.[150]

The beneficial consequences and the detrimental results of the World heritage listing have been elaborated by Frey and Steiner, and Casini, who also highlighted the difficulties emerging from the politics of national states to nominate sites of national importance. Casini elaborated on the relationship between the national and international regulation of historic buildings,

[145] Frey and Steiner 2011, 556-557.
[146] Gfeller 2015, 378-379.
[147] 'Identification and Documentation of Modern Heritage', World Heritage Papers, 5, June 2003 [available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/series/5/, last accessed 16.05.2017]
[148] Harrison, Rodney, Ferguson, Rebecca, Weinbren, Daniel. "Heritage and the recent and contemporary past", In *Understanding heritage and memory*, edited by Benton Tim, 277-315, (Manchester University Press, 2010).
[149] Haspel, Jörg, Petzet, Michael, Zalivako, Anke, Ziesemer, John, eds. *The Soviet Heritage and European Modernism,* Heritage at Risk Special Edition edited by ICOMOS Publication, (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2006).
[150] Dushkina, Natalia. "World heritage list: Evaluating the 20ᵗʰ century heritage", In *Values and criteria in heritage conservation*. Proceedings of the International Conference of ICOMOS, ICCROM and Fondazione Romualdo del Bianco, Florence, Edizioni Polistampa, edited by Tomaszewski, Andrzej, (2008): 420.

focusing on the national project of UNESCO heritage listing. He highlighted this endeavour as a means of the nation states to 'enact nationalistic policies of protection for their architectural treasures'.[151] While Frey and Steiner pointed out that national lists, not everywhere in the world established, experience such a great exposure and public attention as the international established heritage lists.[152]

Moreover, UNESCO listing has recently received criticism. This has been raised by Labadi (2007) either in terms of its European predominance, or the increasing politicisation of the process of listing to the detriment of expert knowledge, with policy trumping technical expertise (Meskell 2012, 2015). On a similar note Askew (2010) criticised the contribution of UNESCO for establishing and perpetuatig 'the technical and symbolic legitimacy of its ever-growing list of World Heritage sites', by arguing that 'these lists also act as status-conferring artefacts in the competition between the nation states for global status and for their own internal purposes' and global visibility.[153] This issue has been further detailed by Schmitt in his paper on global cultural governance, and the role of the World Heritage Convention and pressures in the listing procedure.[154] The study conducted by Meskell et al. (2015), on the nomination pressures for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage list, argues that:

> [...] inscription has become a political tool for nations to bolster their sovereign interests, using global patrimony as a pawn. Collective decision-making and the overarching responsibility of the conservation of sites, once the remit of national delegates with heritage expertise, have been replaced by excessive backstage lobbying by politicians (...) and the bargaining power of nations with geo-political alliances based on geography, religion, trade partnership or anti-Western sentiment.[155]

These present developments, according to Meskell et al., reveal that world heritage listing became an 'arena for international tensions, political alliance building and challenges to global cooperation'.[156]

Yet the procedure of heritage listing is far more complex when addressing such practices at the nation-states level, going beyond the international sphere dominated by the World Heritage model or the national project aiming for international recognition. Despite the fact that heritage has been increasingly addressed with reference to the economic, social, and cultural context this has not taken into account the impact for the procedure of heritage listing, which often relies on national state as the main stakeholder.

---

[151] Casini, Lorenzo. "International regulation of historic buildings and nationalism: the role of UNESCO", *Community Interests Across International Law*, edited by Eyal Benvenisti, Georg Nolte, OUP, forthcoming.
[152] Frey and Steiner, 2011.
[153] Askew 2010, 21.
[154] Schmitt, Thomas M. "Global cultural governance. Decision-making concerning World Heritage between politics and science", *Erkunde*, vol.63, no.2, (2009): 103-121.
[155] Meskell, Lynn, Liuzza C. Bertacchini E., Saccone D. "Multilateralism and UNESCO World Heritage: decision-making, state parties and political processes", *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* vol.21, no.5, (2015): 427.
[156] Meskell et al. 2015, 430.

Moreover, despite the fact it has been acknowledged by various authors (Smith 2006, Harrison 2013) that value and meaning of heritage are never fixed but always submitted to change over time and renegotiated in new cultural contexts and administrative frameworks, one aspect however remains constant. Namely, heritage listing and the values for which objects have been acknowledged as valuable heritage have seldom been submitted to change and re-evaluation. As Harrison (2013a,b, 2015) argues, heritage listed by Western European countries has not been submitted to revision, following to which a mechanism of de-accessioning of sites from heritage lists followed. Major intervention has occurred only in regard to single assets which might be subject to de-listing when physical decay is irreversible, or risk factors impact the values and majorly curtail the significance for which these have been listed. This is however not surprising, as the heritage lists are often the responsibility of the nation state, these did not undergo revision as long as the state in question and his raison d'etre have not been contested.

Nevertheless Harrison argues 'classificatory systems should not be considered as fixed, and the process of classification should be understood as involving mutually constructive "looping effects" between the taxonomic system and its objects.'[157] If indeed the World heritage list and national heritage lists in Western Europe were not submitted for re-evaluation, nor the values for which sites have been listed, this research explores a different situation. Namely, heritage re-evaluation processes in national contexts after 1989 in CEE. This will be explored in the fourth chapter by introducing 'transitional heritage' in Germany and Romania.

2.4.1.2. Values assessment of heritage

As discussed by Howard, heritage is not 'a static phenomenon' or a 'product', and assets do not automatically hold the intrinsic status of heritage, until they are identified and recognised as such.[158] According to the author, constructing heritage is merely the result of an evolving process of value adding, selective and subjective of anything that someone wishes to preserve or to collect in present time. Objects, collections, buildings, natural assets and places enter the heritage world as a result of conscious decision-making processes regarding their cultural significance, while people identify which meaning and value they embody.

> The heritage process depends on the values that people invest in the heritage phenomena, on the different kinds of ways in which things are viewed (…) To understand the heritage value of any particular item we need to grasp where all the stakeholders are "coming from" and what values they bring to it. Only then can a sensible interpretation policy be formulate.[159]

Throuought time, heritage protection and preservation evolved towards ensuring the integrity of the values for which one decided to preserve the past.

---

[157] Harrison 2015b, 197.
[158] Howard 2003, 7.
[159] Idem 12.

Thus the idea one protects the 'values' and not the fabric, or items, buildings, objects per se, which are ultimately associated with the material culture, became part of the current narrative associated to heritage values. This reinforces the idea expressed by Viejo-Rose and Stieg Sørensen, which is that every heritage is intangible heritage (2015). Tunbridge and Ashworth have equally discussed the current use of heritage as a concept and a practice which they associate with the global social practice of engaging with the past legacies and selection mechanisms. For this reason both authors argue that heritage:

> [it] is thus a product of the present, purposefully developed in response to current needs or demands for it, and shaped by those requirements. (…) The present selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future.[160]

Within the international framework various models of heritage evaluation and selection have emerged and have been implemented globally. Starting from Riegl's typology, indicated by Labadi as the oldest of the value-systems which essentially systematically focused on artistic values (1903), to Burra Charter's model issued first in 1979 (revised in 1981, 1988, 1999) which successfully included social values, and continues until present day to be in use. These reflect how gradually heritage values have diversified from the most traditional historical, aesthetic and scientific, to environmental, symbolic, social, and spiritual values.

Yet most of the value based approaches, as Labadi (2007) argues, fail to address the economic and market value, which might reveal the belief that 'cultural heritage sites lack any market value'. The only exception noted by the author have been studies of the anglo-american institutions such as English Heritage (1997)[161] and the Getty Conservation Institute (Mason, de la Torre 2002)[162], or Throsby (2006) who focused on the utility of preserving the past as well as its financial consequences, or the debates concerning the institutional, instrumental and intrinsic values of cultural institutions, such as museums, for communities, extensively discussed by Scott (2009).[163]

Watson and González-Rodriguez highlight that 'conventional economic analyses of heritage tend to focus on identifying and measuring the inherent value of objects, how this translates into exchange value in terms of a consumer's willingness to pay, [and] the modalities of management that support such processes. (…) Heritage as a "good" thus takes its place in the post-industrial service economy as something that represents value that people are willing to pay for, either to access or simply preserve, in the interests of some higher ideal related to cultural and/or aesthetic value.'[164]

[160] Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, 6.
[161] English Heritage, Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future, (London: English Heritage,1997).
[162] Labadi, Sophia. "Representations of the nation and cultural diversity in discourse on World Heritage", Journal of Social Archaeology, Sage Publications, vol.7, no.147, (2007): 149.
[163] Scott, Carol A. "Exploring the evidence base for museum value", Museum Management and Curatorship, vol.24, no.3, (2009): 195-212.
[164] Watson, Steve, González-Rodriguez, Rosario M., "Heritage economies: The past meets the future in the mall", In The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research, edited by Waterton Emma, Watson Sheila, (Palgrave Macmillan 2015): 461-462.

Thus cultural value based models, and in particular the ecomomic value, have been discussed moreover in the context of liberal free markets and post-industrialisation, which developed in the West, and increasingly recently in the background of the neoliberal economic practices and implications for communities in the global context.[165] However, the value of heritage as always negotiable and relative, either in the marketplace or in its institutionalised frameworks, or in case of lacking free liberal markets due to the political and social contexts, requires further attention. Of particular interest for this research is to highlight the shift of values regime experienced during the transition from the socialist to liberal capitalist market economies, which emerged following regime change in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989. However, in order to provide a better understanding of these processes, this research will first introduce the value-based models developed by socialist states in order to assess the cultural and economic significance of heritage aimed to be preserved and protected.

Additionally, only recently have debates emerged about the reductionist and exclusivist character of various typologies identified for assessing the cultural significance based on the value assessment, or the unstable nature of the systems of classification, since they can't provide an absolute and comprehensive definition of the values of a site or assets of cultural interest.[166]

A significant shift from the dominant monumental and architectural conception of cultural heritage has been noted starting from the 1990s. This has been facilitated following the adoption of the Nara Document on Authenticity concerning the assessment of heritage in 1994 which basically questioned 'priviledged values deeply rooted in European conservation theory'. Alternatively the Nara document acknowledged that 'all judgements about values attributed to cultural properties', including authenticity, might 'differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity on fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural context to which they belong.'[167] Additionally, by adopting the significance criteria introduced by the Burra Charter issued by ICOMOS Australia (1979, substantially revised in 1999), and of intangible heritage, a widening and democratisation of the World Heritage since the 1990s has been taking place. Yet this was further attributed to the nation-state authoritative power to which the capacity for innovation and coercion ultimately sits.[168]

Nevertheless heritage was predominantly framed by the various assessment models as a 'set of positive characteristics or qualities perceived in cultural objects or sites by certain individuals or groups'.[169] This approach

[165] Coombe, Rosemary J., Weiss, Lindsay M. *Neoliberalism, heritage regimes, and cultural rights*, In *Global Heritage: A reader*, edited by Meskell Lynn, 43-70, (Willey Blackwell 2015).

[166] McClelland A., Peel D.Lerm, Hayes Ch-M., Montgomery I. *A Value-Based Approach to Heritage Planning: Raising Awareness of the Dark Side of Destruction and Conservation,* vol.84, no.5, (2013): 593.

[167] Nara Conference on Authenticity, 1994, 47. https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf [accessed last 05.04.2017]

[168] Aknew 2010, 32.

[169] Mason, Randall. "Assessing values in conservation planning: Methodological issues and choices", In *Values and Heritage Conservation*. Research Report. The Getty Conservation Institute, edited by de la Torre Marta, 5-31, (Los Angeles: The Getty Trust, 2002): 7.

tended to highlight mainly positive characteristics associated with expressions of heritage value to the detriment of others, which might be equally significant but yet they embody negative meanings or characteristics. McClelland suggests that in order to provide a more inclusive approach in the value assessment process a later category could be included, which shall encompass the negative meanings attributed to heritage assets, identified by Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper as the 'discord value' (Streit Wert).[170] As Dolff-Bonekämper states: 'How can anyone claim that cultural heritage only embodies positive historical, artistic and ethical values (truth, beauty and goodness), when heritage often comes down from periods of deep social and political conflict?'[171], thus indicating in the dissonant nature of heritage (Smith 2006).

Nonetheless assessing the cultural value of immovable heritage has been extensively analysed in the literature, and various systematic approaches and typologies have been identified and elaborated, predominantly in the field of conservation-planning, in order to better ensure decision-making processes when managing the asset (e.g Alois Riegel 1903, Burra Charter by ICOMOS Australia 1979-1999, English Heritage 1997, Mason 2002). Even though experts such as Worthing and Bond (2008), and Laenen (2007) suggest that a value-based assessment can be applied to any kind of cultural heritage or built assets when assessing cultural significance, - and there is no inherent difference between the heritage values associated with movable, immovable and intangible heritage -,[172] very little information is provided in the literature on the existence or application of systematic mechanisms of value assessment of the museums collections, or generally to movable assets, or of the criteria of selection upon which assets are qualified or disqualified for being part of the heritage registers/inventories/lists.

There are only few examples, such as the Wavery criteria, established in 1952 in the UK by the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art and Objects of Cultural Interest in order to manage the export of cultural goods over borders, or policies for de-accessioning collections in UK as a way of managing the issue of sustainability and accumulation within collections.[173] Currently, the major contribution acknowledged in the debate of assessing the value of cultural heritage, especially in the field of conservation, is the initiative of ICOMOS Australia which introducing the significance method (Burra Charter 1979/1999), emphasized *why* and *how* assets are culturally valuable. As this practice of assessment became common in the field of material built heritage, it later also provided the inspiration for assessing the cultural significance of movable heritage, such as museums collections ('Significance, a Guide to Assessing the Significance of Cultural Heritage Collections', published by the Commonwealth Australia, on behalf of the Heritage

---

[170] McClelland et.al. 2013, 593.

[171] Dolff-Bonekämper Gabi, quoted by McClelland et.al. 2013, 595; Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi. "Denkmale der Zeitgeschichte-Wie bestimmen wir ihren Wert?" [Monuments of contemporary history-How do we assess their value?], In *Kulturerbe-Denkmalpflege-Zeitgeschichte*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, (Forum Berlin, 2000): 17-18, 35-38.

[172] Worthing, D., Bond S. *The Role of Cultural Significance*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008); Laenen Mark, "Reflections on heritage values", In *Values and Criteria in Heritage Conservation*. Proceedings of the International Conference of ICOMOS, ICCROM and Fondazione Romualdo del Bianco March 2007, edited by Tomaszewski, Andrzej, (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2008): 101-109.

[173] http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/what-we-do/supporting-museums/cultural-property/export-controls/reviewing-committee/

Collections Council, 2001). An updated version 'Significance 2.' Was published in 2009. [174] The purpose of the Guide was to introduce an overarching framework for assessing the layers of meaning, and values of collections or objects which are on hold in archives, museums, libraries and art museums, in order to provide a sound basis on which decision-making processes will be made on management, conservation, preservation, designation as national heritage, access etc.[175]

Keeping in mind the nature of the birth of the museum, rooted in the revolutionary times of the nineteenth century, and in terms with Nick Merriman that 'not all museum collections should be accorded the same treatment and valuation (…) different kinds of museums - and different kinds of collections - might have different life-cycles and trajectories',[176] this research will further exemplify the problematic when dealing with regime change. Moreover issues such as: inheriting and evaluating collections and museums, built assets ultimately labeled as 'uncomfortable', will be problematised. Thus demonstrating indeed that not all museums and collections, built heritage are accorded the same treatment.

In line with Askew's argument that the current heritage discourse 'misrecongnizes the real locus of power and exploitation in the global heritage game, which is the nation-state',[177] this research will focus on the role of the nation-state in ensuring heritage-making and its protection. Also it will be demonstrated that the globally promoted UNESCO's heritage agenda is equally an instrument of UNESCO's specialists and professional bodies, as of the nation states agenda.

Furthermore, this research seeks to address heritage as a reflection of the 'presentist regime of historicity' as defined by Hartog. What Hartog indicates is that engaging with the past, present and future is a process that has its own history, and mapping the way it has been dealt with in various historical periods, one can add to a fuller and more nuanced understanding of the process involving heritage today.

Most authors have, however, traced the emergence of the patrimonial awareness and the role of the state by predominantely referring to the Western European tradition.[178] Scholars that discuss heritage-making process in Central and Eastern Europe also tend to adopt a long duree approach highlighting rather developments in Western Europe. These overlook providing an understanding on the local tradition and developments throughout history in heritage-making processes, and moreover during the socialist regime.[179] This reinforces Winter's statement that 'indeed, many of the key texts in the field, (...) have advanced conceptualisations of heritage, and its rise", in relation with the sociocultural shifts that have taken place in the West, and most notably Western Europe'.[180] If much research has traced heritage-making processes and their emergence in Western capitalist countries, the protection, safeguarding

---

[174] http://arts.gov.au/sites/default/File/resources-publications/significance-2.0/pdfs/significance-2.0.pdf
[175] http://www.collectionsaustralia.net/sector_info_item/5
[176] Merriman Nick, *Museum collections and sustainability*, Clore Leadership Fellow, (2004): 42.
[177] Askew 2010, 23.
[178] Hartog 2015; Harvey 2001; Jokilehto 2002.
[179] Rampley 2012.
[180] Winter 2013, 3-4.

but also destruction of heritage during the Cold War in socialist Eastern and Central Europe has been addressed far less, and it is only recently that the endeavor has become a growing interest in particular in recent German context.[181]

As highlighted by Hartog with reference to the consequences of the French Revolution, 'the passage from one regime to another involves periods of overlap. Interferences occur, with often-tragic consequences'.[182] Yet the recent transitions following the dismissal of communist regimes in CEE with its continuities and discontinuities in heritage, deserve further attention. Countries in these regions have re-positioned themselves internationally ideologically, economically and politically in the aftermath of the regime change following 1989. Therefore, this research aims at covering the gap by not only addressing curent debates on heritage in CEE, but moreover highlighting transitions between two dominant regimes that governed the world after the Second World War, namely state socialism and liberal democracies.

Thus, the impact of the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was not only to be accounted by Germans, but also deeply impacted extensive regime change throughout CEE, to which also the field of heritage responded. Hence, the purpose of this research is to provide a comprehensive approach to heritage as a concept and practice in Germany and Romania by highlighting the transition from heritage-making mechanisms under the socialist regimes and during the Cold War, to liberal democracies and the wide implications of the regime change following 1989.

These will be introduced following a short anaylsis demonstrating alternative developments in heritage-making, exemplified by the Soviet model of monuments preservation and protection. This extensively influenced developments in these countries -and beyond- following the Second World War. Subsequently, heritage-making processes during communism in Romania and the GDR will be further detailed in the third chapter. This aims at providing a sound understanding of the evolution of the patrimonial awareness in particular in relationship with the state. Equally, locally developed mechanisms and emergent concepts will be discussed, but nevertheless by also highlighting also points of intersection with the internationally promoted discourse in the field.

2.4.2 Current state of the art: A Critic of the heritage discourse of 'socialist heritage'

Numerous recent studies dealing with CEE addressed the processes of coming to terms with the legacy of the communist regimes following regime change. These extensively discussed recent projects of historical re-evaluation,

---

[181] Pfundt, Karin. *Die Gründung des Museums für Deutsche Geschichte 1952 in der DDR.* [The foundation of the Museum for German History 1952 in the GDR] Diplomarbeit (Berlin, 1993/1994); Groys, Boris. "The Struggle against the museum; or, the display of art in totalitarian space", In *Museum Culture. Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, edited by Sherman,D.J., Rogoff,I., 144-162, (London: Routledge, 1994); Schumacher-Lange, Silke. *Denkmalpflege und Repräsentationskultur in der DDR. Der Wiederaufbau der Straße Unter den Linden 1945–1989* [Monuments preservation and culture of representation in the GDR. The reconstruction of the avenue Unter den Linden 1945-1989], Dissertation (Hildesheim, 2012); Sandomirskaia Irina "Catastrophe, Restoration, and Kunstwollen: Igor Grabar, cultural heritage, and Soviet reuses of the past", *Ab Imperio*, (2015): 1- 23; Rampley 2012.
[182] Hartog 2015, 107.

including musealisation, memorialisation, commemoration and preservation of the communist regimes material legacy.[183] These have, however, focused to a great extent on current concerns about engaging with the ideological transformation and material legacy of the communist regimes which contributed to coining the dominant heritage discourse referred to as 'socialist/communist heritage'. Although no extensive research has been conducted on the current understanding of concept 'socialist/communist heritage', meaning what precisely is addressing and making subject of interest, one can argue that its present use was strongly informed by the on-going debates concerning the significance of the communist regimes, and the public narrative of coming to terms with the past.

   Yet one needs to make a distinction between the growing interest and presentist pursuit (Hartog 2015) for the identification of various categories of assets associated with the ideology of the regime, as 'socialist/communist heritage'. This has been discursively constructed in the context of regime change, and it has often dismissed a long durée approach to understanding 'heritage in Socialism' and 'heritage of Socialism' which finds its origin in the regime's own politics of heritigisation. The relationship between heritage, socialism, history and tradition, and more generally heritage in state socialism or communism, has been extensively problematised prior to 1989 (Schlenker 1977; Thiele 1980; Baller 1984; Meier, Schmidt 1988), and recently by González (2016). [184]

   Thus it seems that 'socialist heritage' is mentioned rather as a vague general category when referring to the 'material heritage left by over 40 years of communism'[185], and the ideology of the regime with its social, cultural and political implications. A common association was made by Light in his

[183] Petzet, Michael. "Denkmäler im Umbruch? Einführung in die Tagung Bildersturm in Osteuropa" [Monuments and change? Introduction to the workshop iconoclasm in Eastern Europe], In *Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistische Ära im Umbruch*, 13, edited by ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees, (1994) 9-13; Poria Yaniv, Ivanov Stanislav, Webster, Craig. "Attitudes and willingness to donate towards heritage restoration: an exploratory study about Bulgarian socialist monuments", *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, vol.9, no.1, (2014): 68-74; Cohen, Jean-Louis. "Preserving Modernism: A Russian exception?", In *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, vol.5, no.1, Special Issue on the Preservation of Soviet Heritage (Summer, 2008): x-xvi; Pop-Eleches, Grigore. "Historical legacies and post-communist regime change", *The Journal of Politics*, vol.69, no.4, (2007): 908-926; Light, Duncan, Young, Craig. "Public space and the material legacies of communism in Bucharest", In *Post-Communist Romania at Twenty-Five. Linking Past Present and Future*, edited by Lavinia Stan, Diane Vancea, 41-63, (Lexington Books, 2015); Mink, Georges, Neumayer, Laure eds. *History, memory and politics in Central and Eastern Europe, Memory Games*, (Palgrave Macmillan 2013); Rampley 2012; Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi, van Voolen Edward, eds. (Idee und Konzeption in Zusammenarbeit mit Carolin Schönemann und Inge Zimmermann), *Denkmale und kulturelles Gedächtnis nach dem Ende der Ost-West-Konfrontation* [Monuments and cultural memory after the East-West confrontation], Akademie der Künste, Dokumentation der Internationalen Fachtagung vom 18.bis 22. November 1998 in Berlin, Jovis Verlag; Stan Lavinia, Turcescu Lucian, eds. *Justice, Memory and Redress in Romania. New Insights*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017).

[184] Schlenker, Wolfram. *Das "Kulturelle Erbe" in der DDR. Gesellschaftliche Entwicklung und Kulturpolitik 1945-1965* [Cultural heritage in the GDR. Social development and cultural politics 1945-1965], (Stuttgart: J.B Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1977); Thiele, Gerhard. "Denkmale der Geschichte der DDR", *Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege*, (Oktober 1989): 10-15; Baller, Eleazar. *Communism and Cultural Heritage*, (USSR: Progress Publishers, 1984 English translation); Meier, Helmut, Schimdt, Walter. *Erbe und Tradition in der DDR. Die Diskussion der Historiker* [Heritage and tradition in the GDR. A conversation among historians], (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1988); González, Pablo Alonso, "Communism and cultural heritage: the quest for continuity", *International Journal of Cultural Heritage Studies*, 2016b.

[185] Purchla, Jacek. "Dilemma of post totalitarian heritage (Polish experiences)", (2008): 366.

tentative to defining 'heritage of communism', when discussing the state of the art after 1989 in Romania, arguing that 'heritage is conventionally defined in terms of age and/or value: hence, heritage consists of physical relics from the past, of sufficient value to merit conservation. Clearly, Romania's communist legacy cannot adequately be defined in such a way.'[186] Light focused in his statement on sites associated with the legacy of Ceaușescu's built projects and the revolution of 1989, considered as the main touristic attractions immediately after the regime change. Additionally, 'Soviet heritage' has been alternatively used in order to define the material legacy of Socialist Realism as defined by Brandt as the architecture starting in 1930 as 'opposed to the classic modernity, which emerged not only in Soviet Russia, but following the Second World War gain recognition in urban planning an architectural development of the Soviet dominated Eastern block'[187], risking thus a generalisation and reductive approach concerning the legacy of the Soviet regime and its architectural developments.

Thus one can identify that recent studies focused predominantly on the material legacy, and in particular on 'objects' (being built or movable) created under the auspices of the regime, whose further existence and meaning came under scrutiny once the regimes became obsolete across Central and Eastern European countries and beyond.[188] Their further existence has been questioned due to their association with the memory, nostalgia and ideology of the regime considered as illegitime in the newly created political context.[189] Furthermore the subject of contestation has also been the appreciation or reinterpretation of the artistic qualities, historic relevance, and symbolic meaning.[190] Alternative solutions for its 'political decontamination'[191] have been

[186] Light, Duncan. "Tourism and Romania's communist past: Coming to terms with an unwanted heritage", In *Post-Communist Romania. Coming to terms with transition*, edited by Light, Duncan, Phinnemore, David, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2001): 60.

[187] *Socialism Realism and Socialist Modernism. World Heritage Proposals from Central and Eastern Europe.* Documentation of the European expert meeting of ICOMOS on the feasibility of an international serial nomination of 20th century monuments and sites in post-socialist countries for the UNESCO World Heritage List, Warsaw 14-15th of April, 2013. ICOMOS Journals of the German National Committee LVIII; Brandt Sigrid, Kurzstatement anlässlich des ICOMOS-Workshops "European Heritage Label und Weltkulturerbe" am 20./21. November 2009 in Berlin, kunsttexte.de 1/2010-1,2.

[188] Cavalcanti, Maria de Betania. "Totalitarian states and their influence on city-form: The case of Bucharest", *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, vol. 9, no. 4, Theme Issue: Influences on Urban Form, (1992): 275-286; Ioan, Augustin. "Urban policies and the politics of public space in Bucharest", In *The urban mosaic of post-socialist Europe. Space, Institutions and Policy*, edited by Tsenkova Sasha, Nedović-Budić Zorica, 337-349, (Heidelberg, New York: Physica-Verlag, A Springer Company, 2006); Schofield, John, Cocroft, Wayne, eds. *A Fearsome Heritage. Diverse legacies of the Cold War*, (California: Left Coast Press, 2007); Czepczyński, Mariusz. *Cultural Landscape of Post-Socialist Cities. Representation of Powers and Needs*, (Adlershot: Ashgate, 2008); Forest, Benjamin, Johnson, Juliet, eds. *Soviet-Era Monuments and Post-Soviet National Identity in Moscow*, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Published by Blackwell Publishing, vol.92, no.3, (2002): 524-547.

[189] Iosa, Ioana. *L'héritage urban de Ceaușescu: Fardeau ou saut en avant*? [Urban heritage of Ceaușescu: Fake or a step forward] (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); Jordan, Jennifer A. *Structures of Memory. Understanding Urban Change in Berlin and Beyond*, (Stanford University Press, 2006); James, Jason. *Preservation and National Belonging in Eastern Germany. Heritage Fetishism and Redeeming Germanness*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Tulbure, Irina. "From Casa Scînteii to Casa Poporului and Back. Architecture as Icon of a Totalitarian Regime", In *Printed in Red. Architectural Writings during Communism*, *Studies in History & Theory of Architecture*, vol.1, (2013): 78-89.

[190] Tomaszewski, Andrzej. "Zwischen Ideologie, Politik und Kunst: Denkmäler der Kommunistischen Ära" [Between ideology, politics and arts: monuments from the communist era], In *Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistische Ära im Umbruch*, edited by ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees, vol.13, (1994): 29-33; Dolff-Bonekämper 2000, 17-18, 35-38.

debated, considering various strategies of commodification, preservation or removal, appropriate use and valorisation.[192]

Alternatively, an increasing interest was manifested concerning the 'heritage of atrocity' (Purchla 2008) that focused predominantly on the memory of traumatic past events during the regime, reconciliation, commemoration and memorialisation processes, decommunisation by less discussing such practices in their long duree perspectives, as highlighted by González.[193]. These have been rather inspired from the 'difficult heritage' approach to the Nazi regime legacy (Macdonald 2008), to which the communist regimes have been compared, and equally considered a dictatorial and criminal political regime (Tismăneanu 2013).[194] Furthermore, an increasing recent body of publications discussed the 'dissonance', 'difficult heritage', or 'negative heritage' associated with human rights abuses, trauma and atrocities to which also those committed by totalitarian and authoritarian regimes have been accounted.[195]

From current practices of reconciliation and memorialisation of victims of the communist regime, to preservation of built environment and monuments, including musealisation of Communism, the material legacy originated in the communist ideology and the heritigisation of the ideology itself, has received a great deal of attention.[196] Yet further issues remain open for debate when questioning how to deal with the legacy of the communist regimes, and nevertheless what precisely makes the subject of attention of the newly created and ambigous category of 'socialist/communist heritage'.

[192] Spelsberg, Irmela. "Between historical commemoration and political decontamination", In *Values and Criteria in Heritage Conservation.* Proceedings of the International Conference of ICOMOS, ICCROM and Fondazione Romualdo del Bianco March 2007, Florence, edited by Tomaszewski, Andrzej, (Edizioni Polistampa, 2008): 353-362.

[192] Gamboni, Dario. "Die Zerstörung kommunistischer Denkmäler als Bildersturm–Historische und typologische Fragestellungen" [The destruction of communist monuments as iconoclasm–Historical and typological enquires], In *Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistischen Ära im Umbruch,* edited by ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomittees, vol.13, (1994): 19-28; Light, 2001; Bădică, Simina. *Curating communism. A comparative history of museological practices in post-war (1946-1958) and post-communist Romania,* Dissertation (Budapest, 2013); Haspel Jörg, Szmygin Bogusław, eds., *Architecture of the second half of the 20ᵗʰ century-studies and protection*, ICOMOS Polska, ICOMOS Deutschland, Warszawa-Berlin, 2010; Purchla 2008.

[193] González, Pablo Alonso. "The organisation of commemorative space in postcolonial Cuba: From civic square to Square of the Revolution", *Organisation*, vol.23, no.1, (2016c)*:* 47-70.

[194] Macdonald, Sharon. *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond,* (London: Routledge, 2008); Tismăneanu, Vladimir. *Diavolul în Istorie. Comunism, Fascism și câteva Lecții ale Secolului XX* [The devil in history. Communism, fascism and some lessons of the twentieth century], (Translation from English by Marius Stan) (București: Humanitas, 2013).

[195] Tunbridge J.E., Ashworth Gregory J. *Dissonant Heritage. The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict,* (John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 1996); Veen, Hans-Joachim, Knigge, Volkhard, eds. *Denkmäler demokratischer Umbrüche nach 1945* [Monuments of democratic upheaval after 1945], (Köln Weimar Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014); Trinidad, Rico. "Negative heritage: The place of conflict in world heritage", *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites,* vol.10, no.4, (November, 2008): 344-352; Leach, Neil, ed. *Architecture and Revolution. Contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, (London, New York: Routledge, 1999); Manchin, Anna. "Staging traumatic memory: Competing narratives of state violence in post-communist Hungarian museums", *East European Jewish Affairs,* vol.45, no.2-3, (2015): 236-251.

[196] Pușcă, Anca. "Re-thinking (Post) communism after the aesthetic turn: Art and politics in the Romanian context", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* (2017): 1-8; Preda, Caterina. "Art and politics in Postcommunist Romania: Changes and continuities", *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society,* vol.42, no.3, (2012)*:* 116-127; Dragan, Klaic, "Remembering and forgetting communist cultural production", In *Heritage, Memory & Identity*, edited by Anheier Helmut, Raj Isar Yudhishthir, 177-186, The Cultures and Globalisation Series 4, Sage Publications, 2011; González Pablo Alonso 2016a.

Additionally, there is great need for clarification over the extent to which the acquired or officially celebrated 'national cultural heritage' during communism became the subject of attention and re-evaluation in due course of the regime change, thus reflecting in this context Riegls distinction between gewollten and gewordenen Denkmale.[197]

In order to highlight the problematic and ambiguous nature of the extensively adopted 'socialist heritage', this research will first question how communist regimes officially engaged in processes of heritigisation. For this institutions, norms and discourses will be analysed, questioning what precisely made subject of interest for preservation and protection under the communist regimes themselves, so that it was eventually acknowledged as 'national heritage'. This will highlight what González extensively discussed when referring to the 'transformation of ideology in heritage'.[198] On the background of detailed enquiries about how ideological changes take on material form, the author argues that in the context of the post-1990s transformations, exemplified by Cuba, 'heritage no longer functions as a means to convey ideological content; rather, new ideological contents are rapidly materialised to achieve heritage status (...) Raw ideology becomes bare heritage. The underlying logic of this process is to provide legitimacy to the regime by compressing time and history into heritage with the aim of conveying a sense of historic depth'.[199]

Furthermore, this research will question to what extent the regime change of 1989 - and as well as the following transition from state socialism to liberal capitalism in Romania and Germany - was also followed by a re-evaluation and selection of the communist 'national heritage', in addition to post 1989 initiatives of engaging with the legacy of the regime yet to be defined (identified). This research will thus highlight a series of continuities and discontinuities in processes of heritigisation facilitated by the historical break, going beyond the mere tendency after 1989 of 'transformation of ideology into heritage' (González 2016a).

Following the regime dismissal in 1989, new museums which engaged in displaying communism emerged throughout former socialist countries, being either state supported or privately managed. These ranged from displaying its crimes, perpetrators, and victims, to exhibiting every day life under communism, propaganda art, and Socialism Realism. Also it engaged in re-assessing the museological concept and transformation of the ideologised narrative concerning communism.[200] Yet as Simina Badică (2014) argued in her doctoral research, museums dedicated to communism are not a phenomenon of the post 1989 events. By discussing the museum memorial and Party

[197] Riegl, Alois. *Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und Seine Entstehung* [The modern monuments cult. Its being and its origin], Wien u. Leipzig, 1903.
[198] González 2016a, b, c.
[199] González 2016a, 149.
[200] González, Pablo Alonso 2016a, 139-159; Bădică, Simina. "The Black hole paradigm. Exhibiting communism in post-communist Romania". In *History of Communism in Europe, Politics of Memory in Post-communist Europe* edited by Neamțu Mihai, 81-99, vol.1, (Bucharest: Zeta Books, 2010); Petkova-Campbell, Gabriela. "Uses and exploitation of history: Official history, propaganda and mythmaking in Bulgarian museums", In *Great Narratives of the Past. Traditions and Revisions in National Museums*, edited by Poulot Dominique, Bodenstein Felicity, Lanzarote Guiral José María, Conference Proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Paris 29 June–1 July and 25-26 November 2011. (Linköping University Electronic Press: http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=078, 2011)

museum developments in communist Romania, the author sheds light on the emergence of museums dedicated to communism. Namely, in the aftermath of the Second World War, a museum type inspired from the Soviet museology which had its predecessor in Lenin Museums and Revolutionary Museums, widely spread accross socialist countries. These museum developments during communism, and their re-orientation following the dismissal of communism, have received less attention in the research dedicated to museums of communism after 1989. Going beyond Groy's general analysis on museums in Soviet communism, and Soviet communism as museum exhibits,[201] a few studies have nevertheless addressed museums foundations in its wider understanding following coming to power of the Communist Party in most socialist countries. These have however focused on museological concepts, museographical strategies to organising the museum space and display of objects/text, narrative discourses, or regime's ideology conveyed into heritage[202]. Less attention was asigned to study the provenance of the assets displayed, acquisition strategies, and museums buildings, thus overlooking abusively implemented measures concerning the nationalisation of properties made by the state. This ultimately ensured the transfer of valuable assets into museums collections as part of the national heritage of the regime. The abusive measure of nationalisation ensured state ownership over a great amount of valuable assets, not only movable but also immovable, abusively infringing on citizens' private property rights. As such, one can argue that a great amount of museums founded by the regime - going beyond museums dedicated to Communism - is rooted in the abusively implemeted politics of the socialist state of nationalisation and confiscation of valuable assets. This further raises a series of questions concerning the legitimacy of such institutions and their collections in the aftermath of the regime change. Thus one can argue that a great part of museums developments in CEE, not only those depicting the evolution and history of the Communist Party, can be understood as part of the legacy of the communist regimes. Therefore not only objects abusively appropriated, acquired or commissioned for such purposes, were included but also historic houses, which have been eventually nationalised with the aim of housing such institutions. Consequently, further research is required in this direction, as none of the indicated research dealing with museums in general and collections development during the recent past, discussed also issues related to provenance, ownership, and restitutions in the aftermath of the 1989 events, questioning thus their further legitimacy in the newly created political context.

---

[201] Groys, Boris. "The Struggle against the museum; or, the display of art in totalitarian space", In *Museum Culture. Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, edited by Sherman, D. J. & Rogoff, I., 144-162, (London: Routledge, 1994).

[202] Andrews, Mary-Elizabeth. "The GDR belongs in the museum": East Germany's National Historical Museum and the negotiation of shifting identities", In *Building Identity: The Making of National Museums and Identity Politics*, edited by Yui-tan Chang and Suzanne MacLeod, 91-110, Taipei: National Museum of History, 2013; Andrews, Mary-Elizabeth. "Memory of the Nation": Making and re-making German history in the Berlin Zeughaus," Doctoral Thesis, (Sydney, September, 2014); Bădică 2013; Ilie, Cornel Constantin. *Regimul Comunist şi Muzeele de Istorie din România* [The communist regime and history museums in Romania], Editura Dobrogea, 2013; González, Pablo Alonso. "Museums in revolution: changing national narratives in revolutionary Cuba between 1959 and 1990", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Routledge, 2014.

The built environment raised equal interest among authors engaging in debates concerning the preservation of the 'Stalinist' architecture. This emerged despite the fact that twentieth century architecture, and in particular socialist achievements, became the subject of preservation for the socialist states prior to 1989 and prior to the Western European countries.[203] In addition to the Berlin Wall nomination by Germany in the UNESCO Memory of the World registry[204], Poland counts to date as one of the few countries among former socialist states which inscribed on the national list (2007) and aimed at listing on the World Heritage list its most prominent 'Stalinist architecture', the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw. This was considered 'a statue of tyranny and symbol of enslavement and Sovietisation – (is) a classic example of the dissonant heritage'.[205]

Studies have focused either on the 'dissonant' character of such legacy or on current strategies of integration, 'de-communisation' of urban space or preservation of built legacy of the regime in the context of processes of urban development and transformation.[206] These were however predominately informed by the anti-communist discourse. Yet the preservation and heritage protection strategies created during communism, and in particular the protection of its contemporary achievements, and their re-evaluation on the background of institutional and legislative reform in the context of regime change of 1989, have received less attention.[207] Additionally, when discussing the built legacy of the past regime, one needs to take into account the ambiguity concerning conceptualisations such as 'socialist architecture' or 'socialist style', raised by Popescu and others in the collection of articles issued by the Journal of Architecture in 2009, questioning modernism's ambivalence of meaning in the polarised postwar Europe.[208]

[203] Ferkai, András. "Recording and preserving the modern heritage in Hungary", In *Modern Movement Heritage*, edited by Cunningham Allen, 37-41, (London, New York: E & FN SPON Routledge, 1998).

[204] http://www.unesco.org/archives/multimedia/?pg=33&s=films_details&id=2819 [accessed last Sept. 2017]

[205] For more details see the ICOMOS publication following the conference whose aim was to discuss the potential for preservation of the Stalinist architecture in former socialist countries: *Stalinistische Architektur unter Denkmalschutz?* 1995, Eine Tagung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees von ICOMOS und der Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz in der Architektenkammer Berlin, 6-9.09.1995, ICOMOS Journals of the German National Committee XX; Haspel Jörg, "Nach dem Fall des Eisernen Vorhangs-Das architektonische Erbe des Sozialistischen Realismus in Berlin", In *Architecture of the second half of the 20ᵗ century. Studies and Protection*, edited by Szmygin Bogusław, Haspel Jörg, 77-91, ICOMOS Polska, ICOMOS Germany, (Warsaw, Berlin,2010); Tulbure 2013.

[206] Young, Craig, Kaczmarek, Sylvia. "The socialist past and postsocialist urban identity in Central and Eastern Europe: The case of Lodz, Poland", *European Urban and Regional Studies*, (2008): 15-53; Light, Duncan. "Gazing on Communism: Heritage tourism and post-communist identities in Germany, Hungary and Romania", *Tourism Geographies 2*, (2000a): 157–176; Light, Duncan. "An unwanted past: Contemporary tourism and the heritage of communism in Romania", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6, (2000b): 145–160; Light, Duncan, Young, Craig. "Urban space, political identity and the unwanted legacies of state socialism: Bucharest's problematic Centru Civic in the post-socialist era", *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, vol.41, no.4, (2013): 515-535; Barris, Roann. "Contested mythologies: The architectural deconstruction of a totalitarian culture", *Journal of Architectural Education*, no. 54, vol.4, (2013): 229-237.

[207] González, Pablo Alonso. "Conceptualising cultural heritage as a common", In *Identity and Heritage. Contemporary challenges in a Globalised World*, edited by Biehl Peter F., Comer Douglas C., Prescott Christopher, Soderland Hilary A., 27-35, (Springer Briefs in Archaeology, 2015): 30.

[208] Popescu, Carmen. "Looking West: emulation and limitation in Romanian architectural discourse", *The Journal of Architecture*, vol.14, no.1, (2009): 109-128; Popescu, Carmen. "Introductory argument: architecture of the Communist Bloc in the mirror", *The Journal of Architecture*, vol.14, no.1, (2009): 1-6;

Thus in order to better understand current conditions and processes of engaging with the legacy of the communist regimes, it is necesary to facilitate the understanding of the heritigisation of socialism/communism from a long duree perspective. This will be considered in this research by first analysing how communist regimes engaged with and facilitated heritage protection and preservation, and nevertheless to what extent the regime actively sought to ensure preserving its own present achievements. This is important to be discussed in order to highlight the fact that present trends in the preservation and protection of the legacy of communism in Central and Eastern Europe have been informed by earlier conditions created by the regimes themselves, whether they are institutional, normative or discursive.

Therefore this research will address issues that have been understudied such as the heritage-making processes in former communist countries. It will do this by starting off with the theoretisation of the concept of heritage during communism, and the consolidation of the role of the state and bureaucratisation of heritage-making processes. Subsequently, it will discuss the reform of the institutions and legislative norms which enabled at local, national and international level to engage with the legacy of the recent past in the context of regime change following 1989. Furthermore, it will identify mechanisms that have been created in order to assess and legitimise the legacy of the recent past as heritage, by focusing on the value assemement and heritage listing processses which will be extensively discussed in particular case studies from Berlin and Bucharest.

However, a brief overview of the institutionalisation initiatives, and normative frameworks introduced by the Soviets to ensure heritage preservation and protection, and the theoretical approach to heritage and socialism/communism, will be first introduced and extensively elaborated in the following chapters in reference with developments in GDR and socialist Romania.

2.5. Alternative heritage discourses and heritage making processes in the Soviet context: A brief introduction to legislation and institutions

If the current approach to heritage is dominated by the Anglo-Saxon model as a source of innovation, with often deep economic implications, in a non-Western context the heritigisation phenomenon continues to be perceived as 'either imitative, alternative, deviation or an extension of the Western praxis'.[209] As Howard recalls Ashworth's understanding of the prevalent ideas which lay at the ground of understanding 'heritage attitudes', one of this is the desire of revolutionary governments in France and later in Russia 'not to destroy the palaces of the old regimes but to adopt and adapt them to the new order.'[210]

As the development of monuments protection and preservation has been extensively analysed on the background of the French Revolution, less attention has been dedicated to developments in CEE following the emergence of the Soviet nation-state, and in particular following its consolidation in the

"Behind the Iron Curtain: architecture in the former communist bloc, between isolation and fascination", *The Journal of Architecture*, vol.14, Issue 1, 2009.
[209] Winter, Tim. "Heritage studies and the privileging of theory", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.20, no.5. (2014): 566.
[210] Howard 2003, 41.

region after the Second World War. Furthermore, within these debates no reference has been made to alternative heritage discourses and models of evaluation which have been elaborated for instance by the communist regimes. These practices were however a subject of particular interest for the newly established communist regimes in the post-war context. Consequently it will be briefly introduced in the Soviet context, and more extensively ellaborated in the following chapters when discussing the process of heritage-making in Democratic Republic of Germany and communist Romania, with a focus on the process of heritage listing and value assement mechanisms.

2.5.1.   Theorising heritage in socialism

The emergence of the concept of cultural heritage has been extensively explored in the Anglo-Saxon literature which predominantly makes reference to its origin in the Western experience of preservation and protection, as previously discussed.[211]

However, the emergence of the patrimonial awareness and its theoretisation following the Second World War in CEE countries, deserve here a brief introduction. Along with already mentioned German authors who particularly discussed the role of Erbe (Heritage) and tradition during the GDR - which will be discussed in the following chapter -, a significant theoretical contribution to conceptualisation of heritage and Socialism is provided by the Russian theoretist Eleazar Baller's publication on 'Communism and Cultural Heritage' issued in Moscow (first issued in 1966, translated in German in 1968 and in English in 1984), deserves here attention.[212] González's analysis of Baller's work highlights Baller's contribution to better understanding the logics of cultural heritage in communist countries. His significant contribution lies in discussing heritage in the context of 'change and continuity with traditions, narratives and identities of previous society, and in the process of transforming citizens into "new men".'[213] The author argues that Baller's analysis on the use of heritage by communist regimes varies from the liberal democracies only 'in degree'.

> As in liberal democracies and totalitarian states, communist regimes have used history and heritage to disseminate and give tangible form to official ideology, and its representations in the forms of a metanarrative and a series of myths and symbols. The new symbolic order rested upon a disciplinary institutional framework that rendered power circulatory and prevented deviation from the official authorised discourse (Smith 2006). This contrasts with the supposedly "neutral" and a-ideological character of heritage in capitalist societies.[214]

According to Baller cultural heritage cannot be understood as 'something immutable: the culture of any historical epoch at any specific moment always comprises both incorporated and newly-created cultural heritage. The cultural

---

[211] Lowenthal 1986, Smith 2006, Harrison 2013a.
[212] See Baller 1984.
[213] See González 2016b.
[214] González 2016b, 9.

bonds and the cultural values emerging today on the basis of yesterday's cultural heritage will tomorrow constitute an ingredient of the cultural heritage which will be passed on to a new generation.' [215] The author delivered a comprehensive definition on the meaning of cultural heritage, which:

> [...] in the broader sense of the word, it implies a complex of the bonds, relations and results of the material and spiritual production of the preceding historical epochs, while, in the narrower sense of the word, it is a complex of spiritual values transmitted by mankind down the generations, critically mastered, developed and utilised in the context of the concrete historical objectives of the particular age, and in compliance with the objective criteria of social progress. [216]

In Baller's understanding cultural heritage thus encompassed equally material and immaterial achievements of past and present generations, understood as a set of values critically assessed in relationship with each other in time and by generations, among which he also accounted the achievements of the socialist realism art. Thus heritage is not just about 'objects' whose further protection should be ensured, but a social complex of values whose further perpetuation should be facilitated. Thus the assessment and evaluation of the cultural and historic monuments had to be conducted following a 'Marxist analysis and dialectical criterion'. [217]

Preserving cultural heritage in communism was not understood as an absolute measure to ensure authority of the regime in the historical processes, and preservation of the materiality. It was rather considered a transient process in the development of culture, and ensuring preservation of various values not solely of 'things'. Thus patrimonial awareness was going beyond the material understanding or appreciation, and it was rather significant for social and cultural development.

Despite the fact that the Soviet law on the protection of monuments analysed by Feldbrugge (1998), which will be also briefly introduced, did not deliver a definition by what was meant cultural value, in Baller's understanding it encompassed 'the creativity of all the foregoing generations concentrated and objectified ("actualised") in cultural values.' [218] Baller did not deny the significance of the legacy of past generations, but even more he indicated the necessity for its protection and its further development as 'priceless treasury of eternity', a responsibility assigned to 'each person rather than by some individuals'. [219] A significant contribution of the Soviet towards preservation was the preservation of valuable cultural assets for the 'sake of the people', an approach which one will see was reflected also by the institutional framework. [220]

Furthermore, the Soviet understanding of the relationship with time went beyond the responsibility of ensuring the preservation of heritage from the past for the future, but moreover for the 'eternity'. Nevertheless Baller shed

---

[215] Baller 1984, 66.
[216] Idem 66.
[217] Idem 188.
[218] Idem 8.
[219] Ibidem.
[220] Sandomirskaia 2015, 10.

light on the awareness concerning cultural heritage and its global significance by questioning 'what has to be inherited from the treasury of world culture, and in what way the people may use the cultural values created in the far and near historical past and produced by capitalist society today'.[21] Yet the author's undertaking on heritage and continuity focused on what one would nowadays call intangible heritage, namely 'heritage in the sphere of spiritual culture' and its role in the process of transition from one historical period to another.[22] In this respect he stated that:

> [...] during the transition from one historical epoch to another, the spiritual life of society will contain not only relations of spiritual production and spiritual values advantageous for the new generations, but also relations in this sphere which will be preserved for some time (such as relations between the nation and the personality, physical and mental labor, system of education and upbringing, activities of various cultural mass media, etc.) along with the remnants of old ideological forms which not only fail to comply with, but also tend to be hostile to, the requirements of the new epoch. (…) Thus to inherit does not mean merely to accept all the inherited values. (…) In the process of cultural inheritance some values are therefore preserved and utilised partially or completely, while other values are partially altered, reconsidered or completely discarded. (…) And no matter what turns culture is likely to take in its development, mankind never renounces the results it has achieved, for no further progress would be conceivable without their utilisation. At the same time, every new landmark in the process of cognition always proves to be a historically transient one and the knowledge amassed by humanity always proves to be relative truth.[23]

Furthermore, Baller acknowledges the significance of the recognition of past negative experiences in the development of culture. In his assertion he emphasises the significance of the later, which 'may often prove more productive for the progress of world culture than the positive connections, if only because even a mere accumulation of positive knowledge is impossible without overcoming numerous mistakes and delusions on the thorny path of cognition'.[24] This was considered an essential endeavour in the process of ensuring historic continuity, as one cannot limit himself 'by the examination of various positive aspects of continuity, such as what is preserved in the process of development, how to reassess the values accumulated by the preceding generations, what is the importance of this heritage for the progressive development of society, etc.'[25]

González further indicates that despite the fact communist countries have greatly adhered to the Soviet practices and aesthetics, they have also developed variations in terms of heritage politics and policies. However, one needs to understand also the flexibility within the Soviet model of framing

---

[21] Baller 1984, 9.
[22] Idem 58.
[23] Idem 58f.
[24] Idem 59.
[25] Idem 60.

heritage, while agency of the state and the Party was essential, various individuals have equally impacted the way the field developed. Integrative part of heritage as social action is also developing the legal and institutional framework within which heritage is framed. Thus in the following a brief description of the emergence of the legislative framework and the agency behind the institutionalisation of the patrimonial awareness in the Soviet context will be introduced.

2.5.2.   Soviet legislation: short historical overview

A brief overview aims at introducing major steps undertaken by the Soviet regime to frame the practice and discourse on monuments preservation. In that respect Feldburgge's analysis on the emergence of the Soviet normative framework, and the collection of legal documents curated in 2008 by 'Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism' provided a great deal of details. The protection of monuments was, according to Feldburgge, an issue for the Soviet administrative law, although it regarded also aspects of interest for the civil and criminal law. However, as the author further highlights, the protection of nature and environmental law have been regulated first, mainly due to their higher enconomic interest.[26] The decree issued in April 1918 on the Monuments of the Republic was the first to regulate monuments in Soviet Russia, however by referring to removal of the monuments of the former regime. Shortly after, the Decree on Registration and Protection of Monuments of Art and Antiquity in the Possession of Private Persons, Societies, and Institutions was issued (ammended in 1923 and 1924). The latter granted extensive responsibility to a Commission for the protection and registration of monuments.[27] However, as Feldbrugge provides no clear definition of 'monument', and with authorities being granted the right to decide whether objects presented for registration were to be declared monuments or not, their confiscation by the authorities was therefore facilitated.

In the aftermath of the Second World war the Soviets issued a comprehensive law concerning the protection of monuments of culture. The Law of 1948 was issued as a reaction to the destructions caused during the war and 'revolutionary vandalism' during the 1920s and 1930s.[28] Feldbrugge, argues that the system of classifying monuments introduced by this law laid the basis for the mechanism used throughout the regime. Even more, the concepts of monuments of history and culture will be perpetuated throughout the regime. According to the Law, cultural monuments encompased 'architectural monuments (included freestanding monuments and monumental

---

[26] Feldbrugge F.J.M., "Monuments in Soviet law", In *Soviet Administrative Law: Theory and Policy*, edited by Ginsburgs George, Ajany Gianmaria, van den Berg Ger P., Simons William B., (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1998): 193.
[27] Ibidem.
[28] "The USSR's 1948 Instructions for the identification, registration, maintenance, and restoration of architectural monuments under state protection", translated by Richard Anderson, *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, vol.5, no.1, Special Issue on the preservation of Soviet heritage, (Summer 2008): 64-72.

groups (ensembles, complexes), works of monumental painting and applied art'.[229]

A more comprehensive normative framework followed in 1973: the federal Law on the Protection and Use of Monuments of History and Culture, which came after several Soviet republics developed a series of legislative norms during the 1960s.[230] Common for the republican and federal laws was the definition given in its first article to monuments of history and culture, which were: 'constructions, memorial locations and objects, connected with historical events in the life of the people with the development of society and the state, and products of material and spiritual creativity, representing historical, scientific, artistic or other cultural value'.[231] The identified categories movable or immovable were: monuments of history, archaeology, urban planning and architecture (which also included landscape gardening and natural landscapes), art, and documentary monuments (audio, visual and written documents) (Art.9/1973). These were registered for their significance as monuments of local, republican or all-union, by the responsible authorities. These included: ancient documents by the State Archives, movable monuments by the Ministry of Culture, and state owned immovable monuments by the USSR Council of Ministers.[232] Objects belonging to the museums fund, or libraries and archives were submitted to different rules of registration.[233] Yet according to Feldbrugge, the Law guaranteed private citizens ownership of monuments which were: 'objects of antiquity, products of fine art and of decorative and applied arts, structures, manuscripts, collections, rare printed editions, and other objects and documents which represent a significant historical, scientific, artistic, or other cultural value'(Art 12/973).[234] However, the state would retain the pre-emption right in case of sale (Art.4/1973). While exporting monuments was generally prohibited, it was allowed in case of temporary international cultural exchanges, to be undertaken by the Ministry of Culture or the Chief Archives Department.[235] Feldburgge concludes that the monument is defined by the Soviet law as 'anything which is recognised as such by the competent authorities. (...) However "cultural value" is the wider category, the genus proximum'.[236]

Nevertheless, the preservation of cultural and historic monuments was guaranteed also by the USSR Constitution which stated that 'concern for the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural values is a duty and obligation of citizens of the USSR'.[237] Similar to the Eastern German experience, a National Association for Monuments Protection was organised in the mid 1960s with the purpose of engaging citizens on a voluntary basis to

---

[229] Section I: Identification, Registration, and Documentation of Architectural Monuments, Art.2, Art.3/1948, *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, vol.5, no.1, Special Issue on the preservation of Soviet heritage (Summer 2008): 65.
[230] "1973 Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: On the protection and use of historic and cultural monuments"; In *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, vol.5, no.1, Special Issue on the Preservation of Soviet Heritage, (Summer 2008): 74-80.
[231] Feldbrugge F.J.M.1998, 197.
[232] Idem 198-199.
[233] Idem 200.
[234] Ibidem.
[235] Idem 208.
[236] Ibidem.
[237] Article 68 of the Constitution of the USSR, quoted by Baller 1984, 195.

actively participate in the protection of monuments of history and culture at the republican level, while the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture was organised at the federal level, which 'enjoyed the status of a semi-official agency, administering monuments protection in the Russian republic in tandem with the RSFSR Ministry of Culture'.[238] Otherwise a state administrative mechanism, based on the councils of ministers and executive committes at lower administrative level, has been created in order to ensure the registration, maintenance and protection of monuments, an administrative model which one will see has been adopted by various socialist states. Additional agencies have been empowered in their spheres of competence to 'issue generally binding instructions'.

However, the Law reflects the spirit of time by emphasising in particular the political and ideological value of the monuments, as much as their contribution to the education of the people. Despite its strongly ideologised component, the legislation from the 1970s introduced innovative components, such the creation of the urban zones and protected landscapes.

2.5.3.   Institutional consolidation

The analysis of Sandomirskaia reflects the significant contribution of Igor Grabar's complex personality in establishing significant institutions of culture in early Soviet Russia such as the Museum Department, reforming the Tretiakov Gallery, or establishing the department on monuments protection and restoration.[239] Moreover, as argued by the author, Grabar actively engaged in the safeguarding and protection of 'cultural valuables' threatened by the Bolshevik rioting in 1918-1919. Sandomirskaia is attributing to Grabar the appeals for:

> [...] collection, saving, and protection of "cultural" valuables, that is, property from private collections that the regime had alienated and the "masses" were squandering. It was his idea to curb uncontrollable destruction by announcing nationwide campaign of museum preservation. Countless museums administered by regions, districts, the state, or otherwise, were hammered together out of expropriated collections by Narkompros under Grabar's supervision and placed in expropriated palaces converted into museums. Grabar thus not only suggested to the Bolsheviks that confiscations could produce value but also assisted in solving a logistical problem that arose in the campaign when confiscated art stated flooding in and needed to be accumulated and redirected to sales, storage, or destruction.[240]

As the author further states the classification of the confiscated assets as 'museum valuables' opened up a new path to museums as 'places where the objects would be preserved and studied, and the "revolutionary masses" could acquaint themselves with their national heritage instead of vandalizing it.'[241] This required a reorganisation of the museums collections, according to the

---

[238] Feldbrugge F.J.M.1998, 209.
[239] Sandomirskaia 2015, 1- 23.
[240] Idem 11.
[241] Idem 11f.

author based on 'scientific art-historical principles' for which Grabar was again responsible. Yet Grabar's strategy seemed rather motivated to consolidate his position in research amongst competitive art historians, despite the fact that methods of preservation and restoration had existed also prior to the 1917-1918 events. Nevertheless, the intervention of Grabar emphasised the awareness of the economic value of confiscated assets, along with their aesthetic value as monuments. Sandomirskaia discussed in this context the emerging awareness concerning 'the aesthetic value of artistic monuments into the exchange value of a marketable commodity'.[242]

As discussed by González, heritage is eventually constituted as 'a social object' where the 'construction of heritage objects is an emergent process involving a relational interplay of knowledge, information, expert regimes, emotions and institutions'.[243] Sandomirskaia's analysis on the resurgence of the Russian icon from a religious artefact into a valuable heritage object of the Soviet regime is exemplary for highlighting the complexity of the heritage-making processes. This was embedded not only in the ideological narrative of the time, but in a network of political, scientific, diplomatic, and cultural factors which eventually transformed the religious orthodox icon into cultural capital and a source of legitimacy of the regime.[244] Despite the fact the orthodox icon was spread also in the Romanian context, this did not experience such prominence for the regime and preservation authorities, only following the political regime change in the 1990s. Thus, the appreciation and transforming of a religious artefact such as the orthodox icon into a patrimonial object can be indeed ascribed to the ingenious skills of the Grabar of developing strategies and a network of actors of value ascription.

Thus, following the lines of González one can argue indeed that equally during communism 'the value of heritage is sustained by relational networks comprising evaluations without any fundamental essence or basis. Similar to marketing and the service economy, what matters for the construction of heritage is not the object in itself, but the affective and social environment where it can make sense and become valuable.'[245]

Concluding Remarks

This chapter aimed to introduce the theoretical framework of the research. By adopting Hartog's understanding to heritage as a reflection of the presentist approach to define the relationship with time, this thesis discusses the emergence of heritage as a reflection of various regimes of historicity. Informed by critical heritage studies, concepts such as heritage, Kulturerbe and patrimony have been discussed in their own historical developments. A particular attention has been given to discussing heritage and its emergence in the global context, on the background of international developments promoted by UNESCO and its affiliated bodies. As a consequence of this approach it has revealed that research has generally addressed developments in heritage preservation and protection in CEE by arguing the patrimonial awareness

---

[242] Ibidem.
[243] González 2015, 30.
[244] Sandomirskaia 2015, 21.
[245] González 2015, 31.

rooted in the French revolutionary tradition, limiting the approach to the Western tradition.

Subsequently, this chapter highlighted the gap in research of discussing developments and contributions in Romania and Germany following the Second World War. Namely, the emergence of patrimonial practices and discourses during communism. On the background of the emergence of two global competitive models of modernity, promoted by state socialism and liberal democracies, this chapter indicated the lack of research concerning the contribution to heritage discourses and practices developed by state socialism and its contribution to the international projects of UNESCO and its affiliated bodies. The latter tend to be discussed as a predominantely Western product which globally triggered local developments. However, this chapter indicated the increasing interest of nation states, independent of their political regime, in engaging in the international project as a means of political legitimisation, which will be exemplified in the following chapter. Furthermore, heritage-making processes such as heritage listing and heritage assessment have been rather discussed in the context of the international projects. Less attention was assigned to the national context, or even more to heritage evaluation mechanisms developed in state socialism, and for various categories such as movable assets. As a consequence, this chapter adopted a critical approach to the development of the concept 'socialist heritage' in the post 1989 context. In that respect the general and ambigous presentist approach to the legacy of the communist regimes in CEE, and discourses of coming to terms with the recent past which triggered its preservation, were discussed. The ambiguity of the concept was criticised as a consequence of the fact that following regime change in CEE countries, limited research adopted a long duree perspective to discuss heritage-making processes. This prevented debates and analysis concerning 'heritage in state socialism' and developments of 'heritage of socialism' by the regimes themselves, which eventually informed decision making processes following the events of 1989. As a consequence, for a better understanding of what makes the legacy of the former socialist regimes, this chapter aimed at introducing the general framework developed by Soviet Russia in the field. It therefore demonstrated that heritage-making goes beyond the creation of conditions for the preservation and protection of objects and state ideology, but moreover as concluded by González it was equally embeded in a network where social procesess and various actors equally brought their positive or to some extent negative contribution. As the Soviet developed model has influenced to some extent developments in the GDR and Romania prior to 1989, these will be extensively elaborated in the following chapter

Chapter III. From Monuments Preservation to National Cultural Heritage Protection under State Socialism in the German Democratic Republic and Communist Romania

PART I: Between Modernity and Tradition: The Emergence of a Centralised Model for the Preservation and Protection of National Cultural Heritage in the German Democratic Republic

3. Introduction

The establishment of the GDR in 1949 meant also a re - evaluation of the idea of the German nation state. A first stage can be identified after the Second World War, until 1961, during which the GDR's promoted political discourse stood under the pressures of the transition towards state socialism. During this period the regime engaged in consolidating at international level its image as the sole legitimate German nation state, and therefore it promoted the idea that the reunification of Germany can be achieved only under its legitimacy. The approach of the director of the Research Institute for the Theory and Architectural History, Dr. Hans Müther, during the 1950s concerning the role of cultural heritage (Kulturerbe) in the national identity formation process for the newly created German state, captured the spirit of the time:

> The cultural heritage of the German people belongs to the most significant testimonies of its national development. Its conceptual and material preservation and research, its constant development through continuous achievements in the present and in the future, are the responsibility of the people and a significant contribution to preservation of the unity of the German culture and to safeguarding and development of the national existence of the German people and its characteristic "Heimatbild".[246]

However, this historical and political rhetoric shifted after the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. As a consequence, the socialist regime engaged in consolidating the awareness of GDR as a legitimate state independent of the Federal Republic of Germany, aiming for its legitimisation by the FRG and at international level by joining the UN structures. Since its foundation the GDR regime engaged in promoting its own interpretation of history, thus consolidating the narrative of the national history of the German people at first,

---

[246] BArch DH2/21188: Müther, Hans. *Denkmalschutz in der DDR und Verbesserung der Pflege von Baudenkmalen,* Deutsche Bauakademie, Forschungsinstitut für Theorie und Geschichte der Baukunst, (1953): 6.
'Das kulturelle Erbe des deutschen Volkes gehört zu den wichtigsten Zeugnissen seiner nationalen Entwicklung. Seine ideelle und materielle Pflege und Erforschung, seine ständige Bereicherung durch fortschrittliche Errungenschaften unserer Zeit und der zukünftigen Gesellschaft sind daher vom ganzen Volke getragen und ein entscheidender Beitrag zur Erhaltung einer einheitlichen deutschen Kultur und zur Sicherung und Fortentwicklung der nationalen Existenz des deutschen Volkes und seines charakteristischen Heimatbildes.'

nevertheless by prioritising the history of socialism and of the Revolutionary Workers Party.[247]

Conditioned by geo-political, economic, administrative and cultural changes following the Second World War, the regime engaged in processes of developing an administrative mechanism, as well as the institutionalisation and regulation of heritage preservation and its protection. Additionally, the relationship between tradition and heritage became a subject of interest in particular for historians being thus actively debated, on the background of the fact that de-nazification in the GDR did not facilitate a continuation of the actors involved in the field during the Nazi regime as in the Federal Republic after 1945.[248]

Therefore a series of publications contemporary with the events allow us to grasp on the regime's understanding of heritage and its relationship with socialism.[249] Along with contemporary publications issued by the Institute for Monuments Preservation such as 'Materialien und Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik', various contributions under the guidance of the experts who throughout the regime maintained their positions and actively contributed to shaping the field of preservation have been extensively considered in this research.[250] In order to reconstruct the contribution of the socialist state to the development of heritage preservation and its protection, this chapter is equally informed by various archival documents issued by the responsible actors in the field.[251]

Current studies addressing heritage developments in Germany from a long duree perspective have rather focused on Western Germany, often omitting developments or contributions to the field in the GDR. Alternatively these have predominantely discussed the ideological and political instrumentalisation by the GDR regime, focusing moreover on the built environment.[252] Hammer's contribution to the legal developments in the field

[247] Meier, Schmidt 1988, 14.

[248] Kiesow, Gottfried. *Denkmalpflege in Deutschland. Eine Einführung* [Monuments preservation in Germany. An introduction], (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2000): 51.

[249] Meier, Schimdt 1988; Schlenker 1977.

[250] Deiters, Ludwig. "Zum kulturpolitischen Interesse der Gesellschaft an den Denkmalen" [Concerning the cultural-political interest of the society in monuments], In *Denkmapflege in unserer Zeit*, edited by Deutscher Kulturbund mit dem Institut für Denkmalpflege, 196-?; Deiters, Ludwig. *Denkmale der Geschichte und Kultur* [Monuments of history and culture], edited by Institut für Denkmalpflege, (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1974); Deiters, Ludwig. "Zur Denkmalpflege in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [Concerning monuments protection in the socialist society], In *Materialien und Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, edited by Institut für Denkmalpflege der DDR, (1971): 5-41; Placzek Adolf K., Senkevitch Anatole, Jr., Knapas Rainer, Kalinowski Wojciech, Sekulič-Gvozadnovič Sena, Entz Geza, Deiters Ludiwg, Shvidkosky Oleg A., Greceanu Eugenia, Marinescu Constantine, Hruška Emanuel, Bliznakov Milka T., "Proceedings of the Seminar on Architecture and Historic Preservation in Central and Eastern Europe", New York, 28-30 November 1975, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol.38, no.2 (May 1979): 123-175; *Drei Jahrzehnte Denkmalpflege in der DDR*, edited by Kulturbund der DDR, Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege, 1980; Hütter Elisabeth, Magirius Heinrich, *Zum Verständnis der Denkmalpflege in der DDR* [Understanding monuments preservation in the GDR], Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 53. Bd., H. 3, (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag GmbH, 1990): 397-407; Goralczyk Peter, Symposium: *Nachdenken über Denkmalpflege* [Reflections concerning monuments preservation] (Teil 4), Vortrag, In kunsttexte.de 2/(2005): 1-7.

[251] In particular archival material from the Bundesarchiv, Landesarchiv and Landesdenkmalamt in Berlin have been consulted for this sub-chapter.

[252] Falser, Michael. *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität. Zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland* [Between identity and authenticity. A political history concerning monuments preservation in Germany], (Thelem Universitätsverlag&Buchhandel, 2008); Trimborn, Jürgen.

has briefly discussed legal frameworks developed by the GDR. However, this contribution can be counted among the studies which perpetuated the discourse concerning the ideologisation of the communist regime and its association with the totalitarian Nazi regime. As a consequence, the author indicates the paradoxical situation in the GDR, namely despite the developed legal and institutional frameworks to ensure heritage preservation and protection, one can rather identify that cultural heritage was moreover impacted by ideologically motivated destruction or alternatively selective protection.[253] A similar approach arguing the paradox identified in the practice as opposite to the institutional and legal frameworks was adopted by Odendahl. The author elaborated a comprehensive legal study on norms concerning cultural goods protection, extensively discussing the legislative development in the GDR.[254] The Law on cultural goods protection from the 1980s and regime's involvement in the illegal sales of movable assets was made subject of analysis of Blutke's research on the activity of sales points such as Kunst und Antiquitäten (Arts and Antiquities).[255] A further analysis of the legal framework concerning the protection of the built environment in GDR was delivered by Kiesow.[256] Kiesow's short presentation of the GDR legal and institutional framework is rather discussed in a comparative manner with the developments in West Germany at the time. However, the author is focusing on processes of reconstruction of the built environment and the role of preservation in this context. The monuments preservation law of 1975 issued by the GDR, and urban preservation politics in the context of urban renewal in Halle and Magdeburg between the 1970s and 1990s, have been analysed in the doctoral research of Kletsch. This research adds to the recent doctoral researches which addressed GDR preservation politics, nevertheless predominatly focusing on the built environment. [257] While the recent contribution of Trötschel-Daniels discusses the concept 'Denkmal' within the legal framework issued in 1975, in comparison to contemporary developments in the Federal Republic, indicating common traits and diversity.[258]

Denkmale als Inszenierungen im öffentlichen Raum. Ein Blick auf die gegenwärtige Denkmalpolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland aus denkmalpflegerischer und medienwissenschaftlicher Sicht [Monuments as orchestration in public space. A view on current monuments politics in Federal Republic of Germany from a monuments preservation and media perspective], (Köln: Verlag Ralf Leppin, 1997); Kirchner, Jörg. "Denkmalpflege und Stadtplanung in der DDR nach 1945" [Monuments preservation and city planning in the GDR after 945], In *Zeitschichten: Erkennen und Erhalten–Denkmalpflege in Deutschland; 100 Jahre Handbuch von Georg Dehio*; Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Residenzschloss, edited by Scheurmann Ingrid, 148-152, (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005); Schmidt, Leo. *Einführung in die Denkmalpflege* [Introduction to monuments preservation], (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008); Tauschek, Markus. *Kulturerbe, eine Einführung* [Cultural heritage. An introduction], (Berlin: Reimer Kulturwissenschaften, 2013).

[253] Hammer 1995.

[254] Odendahl, Kerstin. *Kulturgüterschutz: Entwicklung, Struktur und Dogmatik eines ebenenübergreifenden Normensystem* [Cultural goods protection: development, structure and dogma of an all-comprehensive system of norms], (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

[255] Blutke, Günter. *Obskure Geschäfte mit Kunst und Antiquitäten. Ein Kriminalreport.* [Obscure businesses with arts and antiquities. A criminal report] (Berlin: LinksDruck Verlag).

[256] Kiesow 2000.

[257] Keltsch, Sandra. "Stadterneuerung und städtebauliche Denkmalpflege in der DDR zwischen 1970 und 1990. Dargestellt an der Entwicklung von Denkmalstädten in Sachsen-Anhalt" [City renewal and built preservation in the GDR between 1970-1990. Exemplified by developments in cities in Sachsen-Anhalt]. Dissertation, (Leipzig 2012).

[258] Trötschel-Daniels, Bianka. "Kann den Beton Denkmal sein? Zum Denkmalbegriff im Denkmalpflegegesetz der DDR von 1975" [Can concrete become heritage? Concerning the concept of

The first years of development of preservation mechanisms under GDR guidance have been discussed by Brandt, who discussed in her doctoral thesis monuments preservation as a reponsibility for 'Kulturpolitik'. Yet the author focused on the built environment, and more specifically on the regional contribution to the field in Dresden.[259] A similar approach was adopted by Schumacher-Lange, who discussed the preservation project of the avenue Unter den Linden in Berlin, on the background of GDR preservation strategies as part of 'Repräsentationskultur'. In this particular case monuments preservation or destruction were analysed as part of state legitimisation strategies. Additionally to the case study in Berlin, the author discussed the administrative structures in preservation as part of the wider political and ideological framework.[260] Wüllner's description in the unpublished doctoral thesis on the state of the art of monuments preservation under GDR institutions, focuses specifically on the developments concerning the built environment in Thuringia. However, this research is representative for the dominant narrative emergent after 1989 arguing that: 'at a first glance the general outcome in monuments preservation in the GDR is disillusioning: outrageous demolitions of palaces and religious buildings. Ruined historic cities caused by neglect dominate the cityscape, together with the large socialist housing estates which became the symbol of a state and its nemesis'.[261] The collection of articles under the guidance of the experts from the State Office for Monuments Preservation in Berlin, Jörg Haspel and Hubertus Staroste, brings a significant contribution to the understanding the field as it included a retrospective of the main experts in the field of preservation in the GDR, such as the former general conservators of the Institute for Monuments Preservation, Ludwig Deiters, and initially the director of Berlins' Office Peter Goralczyk.[262]

Additionally, current studies that analysed GDR politics of preservation have questioned GDR projects from a comparative perspective, contrasting it to the developments in the Federal Republic. Moreover, these have predominantely focused on the built heritage, without pursuing an extensive anaylsis of ‚Kulturerbe' in its wider approach including movable and natural assets, or even conceptually to discuss the meaning of ‚Kulturerbe' and ‚Denkmalpflege' in two distinct political regimes and ideologies.[263]

monument in the monuments preservation law of the GDR from 1975], In *BetonSalon. Neue Positionen zur Architektur der späten Moderne*, edited by Mager Tino, Trötschel-Daniels, Bianka, 127-139, (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag).

[259] Brandt, Sigrid. *Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in der SBZ/DDR. Dargestellt an Beispielen aus dem sächsischen Raum 1945-1961* [History of monuments preservation in the GDR. Exemplified by cases from the Saxon region 1945-1961], (Lukas Verlag, 2003).

[260] Schumacher-Lange, Silke. *Denkmalpflege und Repräsentationskultur in der DDR. Der Wiederaufbau der Straße Unter den Linden 1945-1989* [Monuments preservation and culture of representation in the GDR. The reconstruction of the avenue Unter den Linden 1945-1989]. Dissertation, (Hildesheim, 2012).

[261] Wüllner, Katja. *Hinter der Fassade–Das institutionelle System der Denkmalpflege in der DDR untersucht am Beispiel der thüringischen Städte Erfurt, Weimar und Eisenach* [Beyond the façade-institutional system of preservation in the GDR exemplified by Thuringian cities of Erfurt, Weimar and Eisenach], Dissertation (Cottbus-Senftenberg, 2015): 5.

[262] Haspel, Jörg, Staroste, Hubert, eds. *Denkmalpflege in der DDR. Rückblicke, Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin* [Monuments protection in the GDR. Retrospective, contributions to monuments preservation in Berlin], Band 41, (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2014).

[263] Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi, Kier, Hiltrud eds. *Städtebau und Staatsbau im 20.Jahrhundert* [City construction and state building in the 20th century], (München Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1996); Dolff-Bonekämper Gabi, van Voolen Edward 1998; *Verfallen und vergessen oder aufgehoben und geschützt? Architektur und Städtebau der DDR-Geschichte, Bedeutung, Umgang, Erhaltung*- [Decayed and

Authors have often considered 1975 - the European Heritage Year - the pillar following to which modern developments in the monuments preservation have been undertaken, accounting this trend also for GDR.[264] For this reason authors approached the comparison with the GDR starting from the year 1975, while less attention was assigned to the developments in the GDR prior to 1975 when compared to the developments in West Germany.[265] The impact of the European Heritage Year on heritage debates in Federal Germany and member states of the European Council has been extensively discussed in the volume edited by Falser and Lipp.[266]

Yet one can also argue that the international agenda of GDR in the heritage field such as the active involvement in the UNESCO project, and the questionable involvement in the European Council projects have not been to date extensively detailed, rather only generally mentioned.[267] However, crediting 1975 as significant for heritage developments in the GDR is rather misleading, as the GDR was not a member of the European Council and its heritage projects. Additionally, this argument is outlined by the authors without pursuing any extensive research on the relationships concerning heritage with the former socialist states, to which GDR maintained a close collaboration. The connection with the former socialist Poland or Czechoslovakia being only briefly touched upon by Brandt (2003).

Nevertheless, extensive research emerged after 1989 problematising the preservation of the GDR's modernist built legacy, briefly labelled as the OST-Moderne, within the wider concept of post-war modernism - Nachkriegsmoderne.[268] However, one can identify that the dominant narrative on this issue is discussed in the context of competitive developments between East and West. Authors often tend to present GDR developments, as succintly articulated by Brülls, that 'in almost fourty years in the GDR one can not

forgotten or repealed and protected? Architecture and city building in the GDR–History, significance, dealing with, protecting], edited by Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz, Band 51, 2. Auflage, (Bonn, 1997); *Auf dem Weg ins 21. Jahrhundert–Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege in Deutschland*, edited by Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz, Band 51, 1. Auflage, (Bonn, 1999); *Denkmalkultur zwischen Erinnerung und Zukunft, Deutschland*, Dokumentation der Tagung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz am 20./21. Oktober 2003 in Brandenburg an der Havel, edited by Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz, Band 70, 1. (Bonn, 2003).

[264] Schmidt 2008; Hammer 1995; Kiesow 2000; Kirschbaum, Julian. "Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit. *Das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975*" [A future for our past. The European Heritage Year 1975], In *Zeitschichten: Erkennen und Erhalten–Denkmalpflege in Deutschland; 100 Jahre Handbuch von Georg Dehio*; Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Residenzschloss, edited by Scheurmann Ingrid, 166-169, (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005).

[265] Schmidt 2008; Falser Michael, Lipp Wilfried, eds. *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit. Zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)* [A future for our past. 40th Jubilee of the European Heritage Year (1975-2015)], ICOMOS Austria, Monumenta Series III, (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015); Brandt 2003.

[266] Falser and Lipp, 2015.

[267] Hammer 1995; Brandt, Sigrid. *Die Frage einer Beteiligung am 'Europäischen Jahr des Kulturerbes' kann nur von den Regierungen der sozialistischen Länder entschieden werden-Positionen und Realisiertes in der DDR* [The question concerning the contribution to the 'European Heritage Year' can be decided only by the socialist countries-Decisions and achievements in the GDR], In Falser and Lipp (2015): 358-366.

[268] Escherich, Mark, ed. *Denkmal OST-Moderne Aneignung und Erhaltung des baulichen Erbes der Nachkriegsmoderne* [Monument EAST-Modern. Appropriation and preservation of the built heritage from post war modernity], Stadtentwicklung & Denkmalpflege, vol. 16, Jovis Diskurs; Escherich, Mark, ed. *Denkmal OST-Moderne II. Denkmalpflegerische Praxis der Nachkriegsmoderne* [Monument EAST-Modern. Appropriation and preservation of the built heritage from post war modernity], Stadtentwicklung & Denkmalpflege, vol. 18, Jovis Diskurs.

account anything as comparable with the great architectural achievements from Western Germany'.[269] Yet to a great extent authors focused on post 1990 conditions for preservation of the GDR legacy without extensively considering the conditions created by the regime and its initiatives of preservation and protection of the contemporary achievements under the regime.[270] These will be briefly introduced in this chapter, and extensively discussed in the last chapter presenting the case studies.

In the following, this chapter will first briefly discuss the consolidation of the heritage preservation and protection in the GDR not only as a means to political legitimisation of the regime, but also state mechanisms to integrating cultural matters into the state administration. Thus the subject of analysis, additionally to the theoretisation of Kulturerbe and Denkmal throughout the regime, is provided by the intervention of the state in heritage through the means of legislation and developing a centralised state administration. Going beyond the ideological instrumentalisation of heritage, this chapter aims at pointing out however aspects introduced by the socialist regime that aimed to facilitate the bureaucratisation of heritage preservation and protection. Furthermore, it will also contribute to identify which mechanisms have been adopted to ensure heritage-making. As such evaluation of heritage and heritage listing will be discussed. This will be elaborated on the background of adopting measures to opening the field of preservation to social classes and categories which were until that date excluded from the patrimonial process. Additionally, this research aims at highlighting the involvement of the regime with the international networks of preservation. As such the relationship with the socialist countries but also globally will be briefly touched upon, by highlighting GDR's involvement in the international heritage project of UNESCO and ICOMOS.

3.1. Theorising Kulturerbe (cultural heritage), Denkmalpflege (monuments preservation) and Denkmalschutz (monuments protection) in state socialism

For Schlenker heritage preservation in the GDR was understood under two main conditions, namely its close connection with the marxist-leninist theory and with the considerably social, cultural, and political transformations after the Second World War.[271] After the Second World War, antifascism became in a first stage GDR's regime ideology, and experienced a re-orientation towards socialism and a marxist-leninist approach following the Second Party Conference from 1952.[272] Additionally, one has to account the agenda of

---

[269] Brülls, Holger. "Denkmalschutz für gerade vergangene Gegenwart?" [Monuments protection for the recent past?], In *Zeitschichten: Erkennen und Erhalten–Denkmalpflege in Deutschland; 100 Jahre Handbuch von Georg Dehio*; Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Residenzschloss, edited by Scheurmann Ingrid, (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005): 293.
'In fast vierzig Jahren DDR ist so gut wie nichts entstanden, was mit den Spitzenwerken der Architektur in Westdeutschland auch nur im Ansatz gleichzusetzen wäre'
[270] Kirchner 2005, 148-152; Brülls 2005, 290-299; Bartetzky, Arnold. *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalsturz nach der politischen Wende von 1989* [Monuments protection and iconoclasm following the political change of 1989], In Scheurmann, (2005): 300-307.
[271] Schlenker 1977, 4.
[272] Schumacher-Lange 2012, 16.

consolidation of the GDR as a legitimate nation state a significant trigger for the developments in the field of heritage protection and preservation.

In comparison to the predominant reference made to the significance of the French Revolution in consolidating the nation state project of institutionalisation of heritage by Western European countries[273], in the GDR politics of preservation the French experience and Lenin's opposition to destruction of cultural heritage during the revolutionary years beginning of the 20th century, became a constant point of reference:

> [...] cultural heritage encompasses for all of us, all creation of the human history, of testimonies of the creative human genius, of beauty and poetry; everything that is useful for the development of people under socialism and paves the path of humanity in the future. It is the "sum of knowledge (...) of which Communism itself is the apotheosis".[274]

Throughout the period following the Second World War the regime engaged in consolidating its own historical awareness while presenting the GDR as the culmination of a long tradition of past achievements. However, a stronger awareness concerning its own achievements and national identity, emerged once the political conditions of the GDR and its role in the international context changed after 1961, and in particular as a consequence of shifting relationships with the FRG. Following Willy Brandt's 1969 declaration of two German states in one nation, the conditions were created for the GDR to switch from the stated goal of unifying Germany to embracing a separate East German nation. 'This sense of national independence was bolstered by the signing of the Basic Treaty with West Germany in 1971, the formal acceptance of both Germanys as separate states at the United Nations in 1973, and Western acknowledgments that postwar borders could not be changed by force as part of the Helsinki Accords in 1975.'[275] Kurt Hager, the SED's chief ideologue and member of the Politbüro, emphasised that a re-assessment of the past was required according to the marxist-leninist historical interpretation of the past which aimed at providing the masses with access to 'history's treasures'.

> [...] as experience has shown, heritage preservation in our socialist society has nothing in common with the official heritage preservation policies practiced in the RFG. This is true even when the same figures, objects, or events from our historical or cultural legacy enter the public sphere in both German states.[276]

---

[273] Poulot Dominique, Bodenstein Felicity, Lanzarote Guiral José María eds. *Great Narratives of the Past. Traditions and Revisions in National Museums* Conference Proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Paris 29 June–1 July and 25-26 November 2011. (Linköping University Electronic Press: http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=078, 2011)

[274] Lenin quoted by Heldt, 1974, 4.
'Das kulturelle Erbe umfasst für uns alles, was in der bisherigen Geschichte der Menschheit an Einsicht in das Wesen der Welt und des Menschen, an Zeugnissen vergegenständlichter menschlicher Schöpferkraft, an Schönheit und Poesie geschaffen worden ist; alles, was der Entwicklung des Menschen im Sozialismus nützlich ist und der Menschheit den Weg in die Zukunft bahnt. Es ist die "Summe von Kenntnissen ... deren Ergebnis der Kommunismus selbst ist".'

[275] Olsen, Jon Berndt. "Tailoring truth. Politicising the past and negotiating memory in East Germany, 1945-1990", *Studies in Contemporary European History*, vol.15, (Berghahn Books, 2015): 137.

[276] Hager in Olsen 2015, 141.

However, despite the even more contrasting political visions between the two Germanies, the GDR continued to maintain throughout these years the collaboration and exchange with experts in monuments preservation from the FRG, but moreover to exchange with experts from the socialist states and in particular from the USSR, Poland, and the Czechoslovak Republic.[277]

During the Conference from Karl-Marx-Stadt (now Chemnitz) from 1968, several ideas have been expressed concerning the role of the 'monument'. A strong emphasis has been made on their significant role for the historical and political education.

> The documentary value of the original material of monuments is highly significant for the processes of history rewriting. (…) If each monument can be understood as a source for understanding historic processes, so can the collection of monuments from past times until present time shape historic categories, as a proof for the historic evolution until the socialist society.[278]

This was a consequence of the new emergent discourse concerning the relationship between humanist tradition, Erbe, history, and modernity that took another turn particularly during the 1970s, while a wide understanding of the concept of 'Erbe' and 'Denkmal' was re-elaborated. This came on the background of the understanding of preservation as part of historical cultural processes, and not being considered solely another documentary form of arts history.[279]

Schlenker argued the heritage value (Denkmalwert) lied in promoting a change in the relationship with the past. His argument was deeply rooted in the dialectical and historical materialism, arguing that if previously the bourgeoise society dominated the discourse concerning the preservation of the 'past in the present', the socialist society prioritised the dominance of the 'present over the past'.[280] For this reason the appropriation of heritage by a leading burgeoise society has been strongly criticised, as this reflected not only a division of the society in terms of economic power but also cultural capital clearly shaping a dominant burgeoise society defined by its culture, and one deprived of culture, namely the proletariat. As Schumacher-Lange argues the historical and materialist dialectic approach to heritage meant a value depreciation of burgeoise heritage, while the new revolutionary appropriation of heritage experienced a value increase.[281]

---

[277] Heldt 1974, 9.

[278] Vergleichsmaterial zur Denkmalpflege 1968, 2. 'Durch den Dokumentarwert ihrer originalen Substanz sind die Denkmale von bedeutendem Wert für die Geschichtsforschung. (…) Wenn schon das einzelne Denkmal Quelle geschichtlicher Vorstellungen sein kann, so kann umso mehr die Kette der erhaltenen Denkmale von frühen Zeiten bis an die Gegenwart heran das Denken in geschichtlichen Kategorien lehren, die Folgerichtigkeit der Entwicklung bis zur sozialistischen Gesellschaft beweisen.'

[279] Bakos, Jan. "Denkmale und Ideologien" [Monuments and ideologies], In *Denkmal-Werte-Gesellschaft. Zur Pluralität des Denkmalbegriffs,* edited by Lipp Wilfried, (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1993): 359.

[280] Schlenker 1977, 4.

[281] Schumacher-Lange 2012, 14.

Starting in the mid-1970s a theoretical debate concerning the relationship between Erbe and Tradition captured the attention of historians in the GDR. The basis for understanding the meaning given to tradition in the GDR has been explicitly stated during the IX Party Meeting in May 1976 following to which the SED Party was legitimised as 'the heir of the progressive forces in the German history.'[282] Following this event a shift in the narrative concerning heritage emerged, as Rackwitz the State Secretary at the Ministry of Culture stated that 'one noticed in the years following the VIII. And IX SED Party meeting, an increasing contribution of the society which aims at integrating monuments in the overarching process of development of the society, in the historic propaganda, socialist education and socialist design of the natural environment.'[283]

In his article 'Erbe und Tradition in Geschichtsbild und Geschichtsforschung in der DDR' the historian Horst Bartel laid the socialist theoretical argument for a separation of the two concepts: tradition and Erbe. According to him

> [...] traditions were those elements of a society that were timeless and consciously sustained in order to ensure a sense of continuity and of purpose. Heritage, on the other hand, contained the positive elements of history that provided the foundation for historical progress, according to the scientific interpretation of historical materialism. Bartel's interpretation thus allowed for the inclusion of positive currents stemming from not only the working class, but also from the "exploiting classes" as long as they aided the progress of historical development.[284]

Thus it was considered that 'the Erbe debate encouraged acquiring new knowledge and enhancing points of view. Hence it would highlight that the heritage of Socialism encompasses all past historic legacies.'[285]

These aimed at emphasising the continuity of the German tradition that reached its development under the GDR regime and state socialism.

> Traditions are valorised heritage from the perspective of certain social classes and of a particular world understanding. They will be evaluated and retained as long as they contribute to offering solutions to the problems of contemporaneity, and contribute to providing a look into the future. If the imperialist traditions are rooted in reactionary heritage, Socialism is committed to the preservation and

---

[282] Erich Honeker quoted by Meier and Schimdt 1988, 14.
[283] Rackwitz, Werner. "Aus dem Referat", In *Drei Jahrzehnte Denkmalpflege in der DDR*. Überarbeitetes Protokoll einer Konferenz des Präsidiums des Kulturbundes der DDR, des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege im Kulturbund der DDR und des Rates für Denkmalpflege beim Ministerium für Kultur am 8.11.1979, (1980): 11.
[284] Olsen 2015, 139.
[285] Meier, Schimdt 1988, 11.
'Die Erbediskussion führte auch zu neuen Erkenntnissen und zur Vertiefung von Einsichten. So wurde eindeutiger herausgearbeitet, dass das Erbe des Sozialismus die Gesamtheit der historischen Hinterlassenschaft umfasst.'

further nurturing of all great and noble, humanist and revolutionary achievements.[286]

Olsen's contribution to a better understanding of the state strategies to control public representation of the past concludes that

> [...] delineation between East and West Germany was not only a political matter, but also a matter of cultivating a cultural heritage that was remembered and utilised in a distinctly matter from that in the West. It no longer mattered to the Party that the same figures could be incorporated into both German state's narratives as long as the GDR maintained a unique interpretation, based on its Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history.[287]

Furthermore Olsen discusses the effort of the regime to create a distinct 'East' German identity for which the appropriation of past was a meaningful tool for the purposes of regime's legitimisation.

> [...] Indeed, as the decade of the 1980s marched on, the SED faced many new challenges to its assertion of a distinctly "east" German society. The Party sought to cultivate new perceptions of the past during a period of increased challenges in delineating itself from the West.[288]

However, I would bring Olsen's idea further by arguing that at an initial stage the GDR's politics of heritage preservation was committed to the dialectical and historical materialism of interpretation of the past. This meant appropriating past achievements for the purpose of legitimisation of the German nation. Nevertheless, once the political conditions changed after 1961, the GDR's politics of preservation focused on promoting and constructing its own GDR historic and national awareness while using the international context to achieve its present political legitimisation. Also, the GDR was not limited solely to re-interpreting and appropriating the history, events and personalities of the past, but consciously engaged in consolidating the historical awareness of the regime by inscribing its own achievements in the official patrimonial legacy. As such, of growing importance became the act of identifying and acknowledging the significance for preservation of the GDR's socialist achievements.

As a consequence, an increasing attention to widening the understanding of heritage became the responsibilty of the authorities to also include achievements of the socialist regime, going beyond the traditions of the past. Among these places, events, personalities, movable and immovable

---

[286] Idem 17-18.
'Traditionen sind stets eine Wertung des Erbes vom Standpunkt einer bestimmten Klasse und einer bestimmten Weltanschauung. Sie werden beurteilt und übernommen in dem Maße, wie sie zur Lösung von Gegenwartsproblemen beitragen und den Blick in die Zukunft ermöglichen.' Während die Traditionslinie des Imperialismus auf reaktionärem Erbe ruht, setzt sich der Sozialismus zur Aufgabe, "alles Große und Edle, Humanistische und Revolutionäre in Ehren zu bewahren und weiterzuführen".'
[287] Olsen 2015,141.
[288] Idem 139.

objects associated with the history of GDR, or its technical achievements had to be included in what was considered, starting in the mid-1970s, as the heritage of the socialist regime. These had to reflect the history, but also to ensure a contemporary function for the society. Therefore, processes of heritigisation of the socialist regime will receive closer attention in this research when discussing the mechanisms of evaluation of heritage and heritage listing.

3.2. Framing a national centralised model for monuments preservation: the role of state administration and institutions as a means for bureaucratisation of the patrimonial activities

As a consequence of the major changes generated by the Second World War, such as destructions, loss of territories in the Eastern part of Germany and the division of Berlin and Germany, a series of changes at administrative and legal level had to be carried out by the newly established GDR (1949). Inspired by the Polish and Soviet experience a centralised model for preservation led by the German Institute for Museum, Monuments- and Tradition Preservation was proposed to be adopted by the GDR beginning in the 1950s. This had under its supervision a section dedicated to museums and national memorials (Abteilung Museen) and a section for monuments and tradition preservation (Abteilung Denkmal- und Heimatpflege).[289]

One needs to highlight the fact that following the Second World War Federal Republic of Germany did not develop a unitary preservation policy nor a centralised administrative framework to ensure monuments preservation. Each federal state was responsible for issuing its own legislative framework, institutions and administrative structures to ensure the preservation of monuments. Moreover according to Schmidt, monuments preservation was until the 1970s, a matter of expert's involvement. Institutions usually had a very limited number of employees with predominantly consultative role and often working without concretely defined legal terms. Also a traditional understanding of the concept of monument prioritised the preservation of representative architectural achievements, meaning castles, palaces, and churches.[290] As Schmidt further highlighted in his historical analysis concerning the developments of monuments preservation in Federal Germany, no coherent initiatives emerged to deal with the legacy of the Nazi period and its destruction. Moreover a continuity of the main actors involved prior to 1945 was noted.[291] It was only starting the 1980s that reassessing the concept of monument became an issue. Yet this period was marked rather by increases in the numbers of monuments. This emerged as a consequence of the European Architectural Heritage Year of 1975, when one of the major priorities was the so-called 'Erweiterung des Denkmalbegriffs' (extension of the monument concept). [292] This issue remained in the current discourse concerning

---

[289] BArch DH 2 /21205: Strauss, Gerhard. *Vorschlag zur Einrichtung eines zentralen Fachapparates für Museum-, Denkmal- und Heimatpflege*, (1950): 6.
[290] Schmidt 2008, 10.
[291] Idem 59.
[292] Sauerländer, Willibald. "Erweiterung des Denkmalbegriffs?" [Enlarging the concept of monument], Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalpflege, 33, (1975): 117-130; Sauerländer, Willibald. "Erweiterung des Denkmalbegriffs?" [Enlarging the concept of monument], In *Denkmal-Werte-Gesellschaft. Zur Pluralität des Denkmalbegriffs*, edited by Lipp Wilfried, 120-150, (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1993); Meier Hans-Rudolf, Will Thomas. "Dehio 2000! Paradigmenwechsel in der modernen

monuments a matter of debate in Germany. As Hans-Rudolf Meier and Will Thomas argue, the extension of the monument concept did not really refer to the concept as such, as to extending the categories of built monuments, and to the criteria and values for which these were considered for preservation.[293] At this stage, cultural landscapes, industrial remnants increasingly made subject of interest for preservation. However, the attention was assigned still to the built environment. A further consequence of the EAHY was the 'reduction of the historic interval from the appearance to its acknowledgement as monument. Moreover, extention also included social and (senti) mental connotations, thus - in other words - represented socio-political importance', going beyond the aesthetic and historic appreciation.[294] While only starting the 1970s, concrete modern legislative norms concerning monuments protection and preservation have been elaborated. This came on the background of international developments such as the adoption of the UNESCO Convention (1972) and the European Architectural Heritage Year (1975). To be mentioned starting in 1971 in Baden-Württemberg, and continuing until the 1980s in the rest of the federal states. These developments lead Schmidt to define the period starting from the 1980s and during the 1990s as a 'success story' for the reform of monuments preservation in Federal Germany.[295]

In comparison to the developments in Western Germany, despite the previous division made between the preservation of arts and built architecture, the approach towards monuments preservation in the GDR moved towards an all-comprehensive consideration of heritage. This enhanced an unitary perspective, prioritising connections between movable and immovable heritage. In that respect, for example, not only single architectural elements were proposed for preservation but also built environments, ensembles, or objects and their historic setting. This aspect was innovative in a first stage in the understanding of monuments and their preservation which traditionally referred in the Western European tradition to single monumental objects. Only 1975 following the EAHY, the historic city and ensembles made subject of extensive interest for preservation. This approach in the GDR emerged also as a consequence of the increasing need for reconstructions after the war, and integrating preservation within urban development projects.[296] The source of inspiration for this approach, emphasising the collaboration between preservationists and architects in the process of reconstruction of the damaged cities after the war, was provided by the Polish and Soviet experience and their initiatives to reconstruct the cities damaged during the war.[297]

Monuments preservation became a responsibility for three main actors: the state administration, for the scientific body represented by the Institute for Monuments Preservation, and the society. The incipient stage of institutionalisation and various proposals for the local and regional institutions have been detailed by Wüllner (2015) and will not be extensively elaborated

Denkmalpflege?" [Dehio 2000! Paradigme change in modern monuments preservation?], In *Zeitschichten: Erkennen und Erhalten-Denkmalpflege in Deutschland; 100 Jahre Handbuch von Georg Dehio*; Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Residenzschloss, edited by Scheurmann Ingrid, 321-329, (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005).

[293] Meier, Will 2005, 323.
[294] Falser, Lipp 2015, 31.
[295] Schmidt 2008, 10.
[296] Müther 1953, 17-18.
[297] Idem 23.

here. However, a brief overview of the responsibilities assigned to various institutional actors will be introduced. On the background of the normative framework, developed starting from the 1950s, this chapter traces the institutionalisation of the patrimonial activities and its consolidation under state guidance. In a first stage one can identify a prioritisation of dealing with the legacy of the Second World war, and legitimisation of the newly established regime. For this reason an institutionalisation and centralisation of the heritage sector under state guidance was pursued.

Therefore significant steps in the bureaucratisation of the heritage sector have been undertaken. Following the Law of 1952 the State commission for state affairs and administration of arts, and departments for education at local and regional level, have been organised as the main decisional actors to manage museums and preservation after the Second World War (§3 VO). Furthermore, a central commission was called upon while Landesdenkmalämter at the state level have been replaced by the so-called 'Aussenstellen' to manage monuments preservation at the regional level. These were, however, in close connection with the central commission.[28] These have eventually been following political changes throughout the regime re-organised, but to a great extent maintained until 1989. Following the Law of 1961, the 'Außenstellen' have been replaced by a central administration that transferred the decision-making processes to Berlin, which stood under the Ministry of Culture (founded in January 1956 discarding the State commission for cultural affairs), the Ministry of Education, and the strict supervision of the Party. A significant responsibility in this direction was assigned to the Institute for Monuments Preservation and the reformed 'Außenstellen' into 'Arbeitsstellen'. Also the civil society was co-opted through various volunteer organisations to contribute to the activities of monuments preservation at the regional and local level. These and their assigned attributions on the background of the normative reforms, will be in the following briefly discussed.

3.2.1.   The role of the Institute for Monuments Preservation and the local/regional administration

Following the Law of 1952[29] the centralised commission for monuments was established starting 1953 as the state responsible expert body, under the State commission for state affairs and administration of arts (later replaced by the Ministry of Culture) (§9 VO 1952). The responsibility in the regions was ensured by Landesämter für Denkmalpflege (state offices for monuments preservation (§3 VO 1952). It had a centralised structure with the main offices in Berlin Mitte and three other offices have been organised regionally (Außenstellen) for North in Berlin, South-West in Halle, and South-East in Dresden. The central commission was supposed to include among others, members of the Museum for German History (MfDG), of the German Association for Culture, of the ministries and academic institutions, according to Müther.[30] The role of regional offices was consultative and had the

---

[28] Wüllner 2015, 22.
[29] Verordnung zur Erhaltung und Pflege der nationalen Kulturdenkmale vom 26. Juni 1952. In Gesetzblatt der DDR, nr. 84/1952.
[30] Müther 1953, 30.

responsibility to regionally oversee the preservation activities to prevent their destruction, to set up the monuments lists, and enhance the educational role of monuments for the people (§ 5 VO 1952).

During the 1950s monuments preservation in Berlin became the responsibilty of three main departments: Institute for Monuments Preservation-Aussenstelle Berlin under the Ministry of Culture; the department for Monuments Preservation under the Chief Architect, and the department of culture, at the Municipality of Groß-Berlin.[301]

However in 1957, the central institute was reformed creating the premises for the functioning of locally independent organisations, and only following the Law of 1961 the Institute for Monuments Preservation was organised as the main agency under the Ministry of Culture, while locally have been set up the so called Arbeitsstellen (locally representative offices for the Institute, replacing the Außenstellen). These were located in Dresden (for the land Saxony: Dresden, Leipzig, Karl-Marx City-Chemnitz, Cottbus), Halle (for Saxony-Anhalt: Halle, Magdeburg), Erfurt (Thuringia: Erfurt, Gera, Suhl), Schwerin (Mecklenburg: Schwerin, Rostock, Neubrandenburg) and Berlin (for the land of Brandenburg: Berlin, Potsdam, Frankfurt-Oder).[302] Their coordination was assigned to conseravtion officers - art-historians, architects, or restorers by training.[303] The designated general conservation officer (Generalkonservator) of the Institute for Monuments Preservation was, starting in 1961, Ludwig Deiters, who maintained this position until 1986, and was also the President for the ICOMOS National Committee of GDR.

Following the division of Berlin 1961 the decision to introduce a centralised institutional framework was facilitated. At local administrative level the responsibilty of monuments preservation was transferred to the cultural departments from the municipal authorities, from urban planning offices (Stadtbauamt). Thus monuments preservation was not an issue only for architects and urban planner, but became a wider cultural responsibilty.[304]

The role of the Institute for Monuments Protection, based in Berlin, in this newly created context, was to scientifically document the monuments according to international standards based on the collaboration with the cultural commissions at local and regional level (Rat des Kreises-Abteilung Kultur, Rat der Gemeinde) that would benefit from its scientific expertise. Further attributions have been assigned to the Institute, such as: the scientific documentation of the preservation activities, research in the field of arts and developing methodologies in preservation, publication of its results. Enabling access to scientific inventories, developing scientific tools for the documentation of monuments, and supporting training activities of experts in the field (§ 2 VO 1961).[305]

At an initial stage, however, the institute focused on planning and safeguarding monuments affected during the war. Another priority was given to ensure the accessibility of monuments dedicated to 'patriotic education', and

[301] Landesarchiv Berlin C Rep.121 Nr 190: Krause, Brief an den Sekretär des Magistrats, Betr.Bildung eines Amtes für Denkmalpflege beim Magistrat von Groß-Berlin, 20.2.1956.
[302] Deiters, in Haspel and Staroste 2014, 19-20.
[303] Idem 21.
[304] Landesarchiv Berlin C Rep 121: Bentzien Hans, Jan. 1962, Brief an das Magistrat von Groß-Berlin.
[305] Anordnung über das Status des Instituts für Denkmalpflege, 28.September 1961, GBL. II, nr.72, issued 23.Oct.1961.

enhancing their popularisation, here were meant in particular memorials (Gedenkstätten).[306] Further the institute engaged in disseminating scientific expertise, setting the inventories and the lists of built and artistic monuments, and contributed to the preparation of the monuments preservation legislation and its implementation rules. Nevertheless, the institute was the main institution deciding on the expertise report on monuments, although the main responsibility for their preservation had to be locally carried out. Its existence was threatened during the 1960s when debates emerged due to the plans to reconstruct and modernise city centres affected by war destructions, where the biggest concentration of monuments was located.[307]

Nevertheless, the regime extensively engaged in creating various levels of administration for monuments preservation and protection. A further step in this direction can also be accounted in the agreement between the Ministry of Culture and the Association for Culture from September 1975 to create the Central Commission for Monuments Preservation (ZFA), together with working groups, which equally included representatives of the Institute for Monuments Preservation and Museum' Council. These would provide support to the Section for Museums and Monuments Preservation within the Ministry of Culture, to further elaborate and disseminate directives and regulations concerning safeguarding, preservation and listing of monuments.[308] The collaboration between the Institute for Monuments Preservation and the regional offices was submitted to the ZFA for the general planning (including costs, acquisitions, etc.) of all activities required to ensure preservation of the built assets. This structure, which was mostly active in the planning activities such as restoration, emerged following the adoption of the Law on monuments preservation of 1975.[309]

Following the Law of 1975 and its implementation rules from 1976 the attributions of the institute and its relationship with the local and regional administration have been further elaborated.[310] Hence according to the first Article the institute remained the main scientific actor responsible for the registration and classification, protection and safeguarding of monuments. A new contribution of this law was the introduction of the statement concerning the monument status (Denkmalerklärung), which was elaborated based on the expertise issued by the institute (§ 6 Ges. Bl. Teil I Nr.41). Further, the scientific activity of the institute was limited to the built environment and gardens. It was responsible in particular for the maintenance, conservation, restoration and research, labelling of monuments (§ 2 Ges. Bl. Teil I Nr.41). Also the international collaboration with organisations such UNESCO and ICOMOS and with other organisations from the socialist countries became the responsibility of the institute.[311]

Hence one can argue that throughout the regime the role and attributions of the institute have been constantly reshaped and adapted to the

---

[306] Müther 1953, 31.
[307] Deiters, In Haspel and Staroste 2014, 21.
[308] BArch DY 27/4436: Vereinbarung zwischen dem Ministerium für Kultur Abteilung Museen und Denkmalpflege, und dem Präsidialrat des Kulturbundes Sept. 1975.
[309] Schöne, In Haspel and Staroste 2014, 91.
[310] Ges. Bl. Teil I Nr.41, Nov.1976.
[311] Muschter, Martin. "Denkmalpflege-die tägliche Herausforderung" [Monuments preservation-a daily challenge], *Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege*, (Berlin, 1989): 9.

new political context, expressed through an increasing bureaucratisation, but equally informed by international developments. Nevertheless the institutional continuity allowed a consolidation of its structures, and their reform, leading to the inclusion within the wider administrative network in the cultural field. However, despite the centralised mechanism and its local structures, the responsibilities for preservation have been carried out locally, often under strained financial ressources, which eventually impacted in various ways the outcome of preservation and protection works, as will be discussed bellow. This led Schmidt to argue that often the prioritisation of the preservation actions can eventually be accounted to the political appeasement, and not motivated and prioritised by the scientific criteria.[312]

In addition to the central institutions and administration, starting with the decree of 1961 local and regional authorities responsible for the preservation, protection and documentation of monuments in territories were re-organised (Law of 1961, § 8 VO). In order to carry out these activities throughout their existence collaborated with institutions in the field. Among these to be mentioned: academia, universities, museums and high schools, and civic organisations, such as the German Association for Culture, that was supporting initiatives coming from the civil society. Also the regional administration (city council or the regional council) was responsible for proposing nominations for new monuments for the national monuments lists and ensuring their proper use, providing consultancy and financial support (Law of 1961, §8 Abs 3, Abs.4, Abs.5). The argument for the proper use was that any monument that has been restored and maintained with public funding, cannot be maintained without a proper function, and that its accessibility to its citizens had to be guaranteed.[313] Further the regional administration was also responsible for setting up regional monuments lists (Bezirksliste) (§ 8 Abs.2 VO 1961). The administration had the responsibility to document, label and register on the lists all monuments - not only limited to the architectural monuments, but to equally include monuments of culture (§ 8Abs. 3 Satz 1 VO and §4 Erste DB).

The law of 1975 extended the obligations and responsibilities of the local councils to ensure the protection, preservation and documentation of the monuments at local level, and its collaboration with the regional and central administration.[314] Among its responsibilities have been assigned also setting up the local monuments lists and planning funding schemes (§ 8, Abs.1, 2, 3, 4). Furthermore, the law provided the framework for enlarging the state responsibility for monuments preservation by setting the legal conditions of further state consultative bodies, such as the Council for monuments preservation (1977)[315] within the Ministry of Culture, and the National Council

[312] Schmidt 2008, 71.
[313] Georg, Munzer. "Erläuterungen zur Verordnung über die Pflege und den Schutz der Denkmale" [Explanation for the Decree on preservation and protection of monuments], In *Denkmalpflege in unserer Zeit*, edited by Deutscher Kulturbund mit dem Institut für Denkmalpflege, 196-?.
[314] Gbl.I/75, Nr.16, S.453.
[315] for more details concerning its foundation and role see BArch DY 27/8353: the Referat des Stellvertreters des Ministers für Kultur, Genossen Dr. sc. Werner Rackwitz, 2-18.

of GDR for the preservation and dissemination of the German cultural heritage (1980).[316]

Additionally to the various local and regional levels of heritage administration and institutional bodies, monuments preservation became a field of interest which was sought to acquire a wide public support through the means of various civic organisations or volunteers. For the first time the implementation rules to the law of 1961 included the rights and obligations, sanctions of the owners and called for the support from volunteer organisations (§ 5 Ges. Bl. Teil I Nr.41).

At the local level preservation was supported by volunteer's organisation such as the Natur- und Heimatfreunde.[317] To be noted here that the preservation of natural assets was at that time in the FRG not a matter of interest.[318] Among the most significant associations engaging in preservation matters and mediating between state and civil society were the Association for Culture and the Society for Monuments Preservation. The German Association for Culture (Deutsches Kulturbund) was established in 1945 to pursue a 'spiritual revitalisation' (geistige Erneuerungsbewegung) of the cultural reconstruction of the country.[319] One of the priorities of the Association was also the safeguarding and communicating of the national cultural heritage, and actively presented the GDR regime as the 'custodian' (Treuhänder) of the heritage of 'entire German nation', including in its first years also the FRG.[320] Furthermore, the Association maintained throughout the regime an active collaboration with the Institute for Monuments Preservation and the local and regional commissions.[321]

In 1977 the Society for Monuments Preservation was founded close to the Association for Culture.[322] Its main priority was to coordinate civic society volunteer work in monuments preservation, involving also professionals such as active members in ICOMOS.[323] Hence it worked as a mediator between the state and civil society and engaged moreover in raising and promoting a new historical awareness. In that respect its main activities have been linked to publication, training activities and organisation of events linked to cultural heritage such as the 'Monuments Preservations Days' (Tage der Denkmalpflege) among others. Representatives of the society have been organised also locally and regionally. The centrally organised commission benefited from the consultation with various experts groups such as the experts groups on 'Monuments of urban development and architecture', 'Technical monuments' or 'Monuments for the GDR History (Monuments for the

---

[316] BArch DY 27/ 4439, 1984.
[317] Nadler, 196-?
[318] Schmidt 2008, 72.
[319] Schlenker 1977, 77.
[320] Idem,164.
[321] For a detailed documentation on the role of the Kulturbund and cultural heritage see BArch DY27/8942: the Beschluß des Präsidiums vom 18.März 1976, Kulturbund der DDR, Sekretariat des Präsidiums, Information 5/76, Kulturbund und kulturelles Erbe. Bedeutung-Ziel-Aufgabe.
[322] For a detailed documentation on the structure and functioning of the Association for Monuments Preservation, see BArch DY 27/6799: Protokoll der Sitzung der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege am 15.11.1985 in Berlin.
[323] BArch DY27/8361 Kulturbund der DDR (Bundessekretariat). Internationale Beziehungen der Jahresbericht, Kulturbund der DDR, Bundessekretariat, 1980; Rüegg Peter, Abteilungsleiter Kulturbund der DDR, Abteilung Denkmalpflege, Nov.1980.

construction of socialism)'. The Society was also responsible for establishing the collaboration with similar volunteers organisation in socialist countries such as the USSR, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria.[324] Later, during the 1980s, initiatives to joining international committes such as the International Comitteee for Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH) can be equally noted, in the same spirit namely to increase the visibility of GDR internationally.[325]

Hence one can identify that after the Second World War a complex institutional and administrative network was established, bringing in connection state interest, experts and civil society at local, central and regional level, in order to ensure a comprehensive and unitary approach to monuments preservation. Although a series of debates emerged concerning developing an overarching approach to ensure preservation of the valuable museums assets together with built monuments, movable assets such as art works and museum collection would eventually make subject to a separate administrative and legislative priorities. These were eventually during the 1980s reconsidered. Moreover, each legislation that was issued by the GDR regime contributed to the further elaboration and consolidation of such institutions which adapted to the social, political and economic conditions in the GDR. However, these will be further addressed in the following subchapter.

3.2.2.   Museum's Commission

This sub-chapter aims at focusing on the institutional reform introduced by the GDR to manage collections, museums and their activity. Including the analysis of the museal field in the patrimonial process contributes at highlighting the wider approach during the GDR concerning the patrimonial process. Furthermore it provides a better understanding of what makes a monument and respectively the regime's heritage.

Following the damage caused during the Second World War, the responsibility of the established state commission for cultural affairs from 27.7.1951 (GBL.S.684) was to oversee the arts, and art-historical museums (Staatliche Museen). Museums whose main attributions were educational and scientific were submitted to the Ministry of Education (§6, Ziffer der Verordnung über die Neuorganisation des Hochschulwesens vom 22.05.1951, GBL. S.123). Such an example was the Museum for German History (MfDG) considered a scientific museum, whose main responsibility was assigned to the Ministry of Education.[326]

Following the division of Berlin between the four allies, most museums in Berlin came under the Soviet administration. Thus the Soviets

---

[324] BArch DY27/8361: Kulturbund der DDR (Bundessekretariat). Internationale Beziehungen der Abteilung Denkmalpflege und des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege: Konzeption für die Auslandsarbeit des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege 1981-1985; Auszüge aus den zwischen der DDR und den sozialistischen Ländern abgeschloßenen Kulturarbeitsplänen 1986-1990.

[325] BArch DY27/8361: Kulturbund der DDR (Bundessekretariat). Internationale Beziehungen der Abteilung Denkmalpflege und des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege: Dr. Wagnebreth, Bergakademie Freiberg, 14.9.1987.

[326] BArch DR 1/5944: Auszug aus der ersten Durchführungsbestimmungen zur Verordnung über die Neuorganisation des Hochschulwesens vom 3.März 1951, Gesetzblatt der DDR vom 26. Feburar 1951 Seite 175, no.23: 1634.

coordinated the first steps of reorganisation of the museums and setting up first institutions for dealing with collections. As such, one of the priorities was the documentation and redistribution of collection which made subject to the Nazi policies concerning 'entartete Kunst', restitution of museum's collections looted during military campaigns, control of museums trade and illegal trafficking; re-claiming artworks that have been sold under the Nazi regime. These issues have been extensively ellaborated by Maike Steinkamp providing a detailed analysis of the measures taken by the newly established GDR regime and the Soviets in order to address the legacy of the Nazi regime and effects of the Second World War on the museums and collections. [327] This sub-chapter, however, does not include developments under Soviet occupation immediate after the war. These having already been discussed by various authors.[328]

Consequently, this research aims at addressing mechanisms which eventually facilitated the increasing intervention of the state in museums management and their patrimonial practices. For this reason the normative framework and developing state structures for dealing with museums and their patrimony will be discussed. Following the Second World War several proposals have been made in order to organise a centralised institution to supervise all museums and their activities. This was eventually founded in 1947 following the decision of the Ministry of Education. [329] The proposed central institute for dealing with museums preservation had to be founded in Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden (Zentrales Institut für Museumspflege). [330] Additionally, a commission had to be organised, and to meet on a regularly base. Its purpose was to discuss the ideological orientation of all public museums independent of their discipline, exchange on methodologies, supervision of maintenance works and new museums building, identifying copies or storage assets to be redistributed to smaller museums, setting up a list including national valuable artworks from museums, and eventually issuing a catalogue comprising of the most significant heritage. This activity was supposed to be coordinated with monuments preservation institutions, and it was linked to the restitution activities at the end of the Second World War from the depots in Wiesbaden Dahlem. Further the commission would debate on the trainee activities and developing trainees for restoration in collaboration with education institutions such as universities and schools, publishing of catalogues, and scientific research, nationalisation of the art markets. A central museum ('Leitmuseum') was to be established in each region (14 in total) having the responsibility to oversee all museums in the region.[331]

Initially two main categories of museums were identified: museums specialised in a certain subject (Fachmuseen), such as: arts museums, scientific

---

[327] Steinkamp, Maike. *Das unerwünschte Erbe. Die Rezeption "entarteter" Kunst in Kunstkritik, Ausstellungen und Museen der SBZ und frühen DDR* [Contested heritage. The perception of 'degenerated' art in art critique, exhibitions and museums of SBZ and early GDR], (Akademie Verlag 2008): 138;141.
[328] Schade, Günter. "Ostdeutschland und DDR. Die Museen nach 45" [Eastern Germany and GDR. Museums after 45], In *45 und die Folgen. Kunstgeschichte eines Wiederbeginns*; edited by Borger Hugo, Mai Ekkehard, Waetzoldt Stephan, 199-214, (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1991); Steinkamp 2008.
[329] Steinkamp 2008,191;
[330] BArch DR1/5944: Dr. Rudolff-Hille, Direktion der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen: Museumspflege in der DDR (später in ganz Deutschland), 28.10.1952.
[331] BArch DR1/5944: Dr. Rudolff-Hille, Direktion der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen: Museumspflege in der DDR (später in ganz Deutschland) Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, (28.10.1952): 1854.

museums, and museum memorials; and museums of local history (Heimatmuseen).[332] Eventually art museums have been considered a category of its own, meaning including arts - and cultural-historic museums.[333] Former palaces that were not transformed in museums would be subordinated to the department of monuments preservation, while museums for local tradition would oversee locally activities concerning monuments preservation.[334]

Plans concerning the further organisation of museums and their role and function was throughout the regime revised. Only in 1971 the centralised Institute for Museology was organised within the Ministry of Culture, following the decision to transform the Central expert body for local museums which functioned as the Council for Museums at the Ministry of Culture.[335]

'The IfM represented a centralised national institute responsible for cultural-political and scientific-methodological questions to museology, regardless the administrative governance of the museums in question'.[336] The new organisation set up various categories of museums of national significance. The republican museums were assigned the leading role, additionally local museums being organised.[337] The lack of a legal framework to encompass both monuments preservation and museums was throughout the regime pointed out, bringing in question the necessity to elaborate an all-comprehenisve law to address the preservation and protection of material cultural heritage in GDR. This was proposed to include: monuments preservation, museums, archives libraries, and cultural goods in private ownership, archeological remains.[338] Its main goal was to bring to a radical dismissal of the separation made between monuments preservation (Denkmalpflege) and museums (Museumswesen).

In comparison to the monuments preservation norms, coherent laws concerning the preservation of museum goods as part of the national heritage (discarding the decrees issued beginning of the 1950s on export of cultural goods), were elaborated relatively late starting late 1970s and throughout 1980s. It was only during the 1980s that a common law introduced the concept of 'cultural goods'. This aimed at including movable and immovable assets under the same legal framework.[339] Following this law a commission responsible for the protection of cultural goods was organised starting 1982. Its purpose was to managing and controlling illegal transfer of cultural goods.[340] In comparison to the Romanian experience where museums were actively

[332] BArch DR1/5944: Dr. Rudolff-Hille, 28.10.1952.
[333] BArch DR1/5944: Stellungnahme zum Schreiben des Herrn Minister Wandel v. 22.08. 51 bezügl. Der verantwortlichen Leitung der Museen, (30.98.51)
[334] BArch DR1/5944: Dr. Rudolff-Hille, 28.10.1952.
[335] DHM-HA: MfDG/132: Entwurf des Rahmenperspektivprogramms der Museen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Rat für Museumswesen beim Ministerium für Kultur der DDR, Bl. 23.
[336] Andrews 2014, 368.
[337] DHM-HA: MfDG/132, Entwurf des Rahmenprespektivprogramms der Museen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Rat für Museumswesen beim Ministerium für Kultur der DDR, Bl. 23-24.
[338] BArch DY27/4306: Denkmalschutzverordnung: Proposal für Gesetz über die Pflege und den Schutz des materiellen Kulturerbes in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Freiberg (22. Januar 1971): 79-82.
[339] Gesetz zum Schutz des Kulturgutes der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik vom 3. Juli 1980, GBL.I Nr.20
[340] for more information concerning the involvement of the state in illegale business with movable assets see Blutke, Günter. *Obskure Geschäfte mit Kunst und Antiquitäten. Ein Kriminalreport.* [Obscure businesses with arts and antiquities. A criminal report] (Berlin: LinksDruck Verlag).

involved in illegal acquisition of cultural goods and their economic valorisation, main museums in the GDR such as State Museums in Berlin opposed to the politics of valorisation of their valuable assets by sale. The state was rather actively engaged in controlling arts and antiquities markets.[31] The main argument invoqued by Blutke was the interest of the regime to avoid any international defamatory reaction of the regime.

The leading principle that motivated the reorganisation of museums was based on the argument that arts should not be considered only for their aesthetic properties, but also as historic documents of its period. Consequently, a priority became the organisation and acquiring contemporary collections and making museums and their collections available to the wider category of members of the society. A particular attention was dedicated to assigning funding to museums in order to acquire contemporary works of art.[32] An argument introduced by Steinkmap to explain the increasing interest in collecting and exhibiting contemporary art, in Berlin museums in particular, was the huge loss of artworks and destructions of the museums buildings experienced during the war. As following the idea of developing contemporary sections and at least one temporary exhibition followed. 'Museums should contribute to increasing the cultural level of the society and develop its historical awareness'.[33] For this reason, a first suggestion made in this direction was the organisation of the central museum in the former Zeughaus on Unter den Linden, which was proposed to house most significant artworks from the former State Museums.[34] The case study of the central museum established in the Zeugaus beginning of the 1950s eventually as history museum, the Museum for Germany History, will be elaborated in the last chapter dedicated to case studies.

3.2.3. Legislative framework for cultural heritage protection

All decrees and laws issued after the Second World War by the GDR in 1952, 1961, and 1975 coined with the conceptual understanding of monument for its historic, artistic and scientific value. Despite lacking the tradition of a centralised administrative model and legislation prior to 1945, these laws have contributed to setting up and framing a unitary approach towards monuments preservation in GDR. Although prior to the war traditionally the distinction between movable and immovable assets ('beweglichen' and 'ortsgebundenen') was essential, the concept of cultural monuments (kulturelle Denkmale) encompassed an overarching meaning by equally referring to the categories of movable and immovable objects. However, despite the general specification made by the first legislative initiatives concerning monuments preservation, the preservation of the built environment and museum's collections constituted subject of interest for institutions independent from each other until the 1980s. Initial proposals were made late 1970s concerning the elaboration of a law to address preservation of material cultural heritage in the GDR. This aimed to

---

[31] Blutke 1990,141.
[32] BArch DR 1/5944: Mansfeld (Direktor des Landesmuseums) Grundsätze der Museumsarbeit, III Neugestaltung der Ausstellungen unter dem Geschichtpunkt der klassischen Traditionen des Realismus, p.1791.
[33] Steinkamp 2008, 200; 222.
[34] Steinkamp 2008, 155 (Beschluß Magistratssitzung September 1947).

have a more comprehensive character including monuments preservation, museums, archives, libraries, artistic goods in private owenership and nevertheless archaeological assets.[345]

On the 26th of June 1952 the first regulation concerning the protection and preservation of national cultural monuments was issued by the socialist regime.[346] This stated the responsibility of the newly established regime, namely to ensure the safeguarding and preservation of cultural monuments. One needs however to specify that the GDR's constitution from 1949, stipulated the role of state in guaranteeing the protection of arts, science and education.[347] This will be later reinforced by the 1968 GDR constitution which further guaranteed the preservation of national cultural heritage. Deiters highlighted, shortly after its adoption, the commitment of the state to ensure not only the protection of its national values but also of the 'world heritage': 'now after twenty years of development is the commitment to cultural tradition stipulated by the Article 18 of the Constitution, that acknowledges the role of preservation of all humanist values of the national cultural heritage and of world heritage for the development of the national socialist culture'.[348] Hans Nadler, the general conservation officer in Saxonia, argued that the new constitution of 1968 provided the background for development of the Law of 1975. [349]

According to the regulation of 1952, in addition to the proposed organisation of the centralised administration under the supervision of the state commission for arts affairs, a central monuments preservation office with a consultative role was called. Also at the regional level the organisation of the offices for preservation (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege) having a consultative role was proposed (§ 3VO).

The regulation introduced the concept of 'kulturelles Erbe' (cultural heritage) in its preamble, that nevertheless revealed an aesthetic approach towards preservation by including: 'all valuable works of art, which are testimony through their beauty and truthfulness for the creative power of the masses.'[350] Further it defined the concept of 'kulturelle Denkmale' (cultural monuments) referring to 'all testimonies characteristic for the cultural development of our people (and other populations leaving on the German territory), whose preservation lies in the public interest of the society for its artistic, scientific or historic significance, including movable and immovable assets, in public or private ownership' (§ 1, VO 1952).[351] These were: built constructions (interiors included), artworks, assets of historic or ethnographic interest, of industrial and technological production, and assets representative

---

[345] BArch DY27/4306: Betr. Denkmalschutzverordnung, (22. Jan.1971): 79.
[346] Verordnung zur Erhaltung und Pflege der Nationalen Kulturdenkmale-Denkmalschutz GBL. Nr.84, S.514- claimed in the Legislation on Culture issued in March 1950 (Kulturverordnung 16.March 1950).
[347] Art.34, Verfassung der DDR vom 7.10.1949, Ges.Bl.Nr.1.
[348] Deiters 1971, 15.
[349] Nadler, Hans. 1976, 145: In BArch DY27/4421, Art.18 Verfassung 6.März 1968, 'Die DDR pflegt alle überlieferten Werte des humanistischen kulturellen Erbes und der Weltkultur und entwickelt die Nationalkultur als Sache des ganzen Volkes'.
[350] 'Das kulturelle Erbe des deutschen Volkes umfasst kostbare Werke der Kunst, die durch ihre Schönheit und Wahrhaftigkeit Zeugnis für die schöpferische Kraft der Volksmassen ablegen.'
[351] 'Denkmale in diesem Sinne sind alle charakteristischen Zeugnisse der kulturellen Entwicklung unseres Volkes (und anderer Völker auf deutschem Territorium), deren Erhaltung wegen ihrer künstlerischen, wissenschaftlichen oder geschichtlichen Bedeutung im öffentlichen Interesse liegt.'

for personalities or events for the German history (§ 1VO).[352] Sanctions have been introduced in case of damage or not respecting the law (§ 10 VO 1952).

The reconsideration of the concept of Denkmal after the Second World War brought attention in particular to the achievements of the wider social classes, moving away from the emphasis on religious or privileged social classes (such as churches or castles) or art-historic assessments. Equally, as a consequence of the developments in the built industry, limited economic resources impacted the way the concept was framed, and how the process of classification of monuments re-organised. Thus the adoption of a more rigid definition was consistently emphasised throughout the period following the World War Two. This aimed to a limitation of the most important monuments. [353] In that respect, the aim of the preservation regulation immediately after the war, was to mainly prevent assets from their material destruction, change and ensure their protection and safeguarding based on scientific methods.[354] Despite the innovations proposed in this field by the regulation of 1952, such as the preservation of the immovable assets in their setting (§ 2 VO)[355], it also included the criteria of age limitation, concerning assets that belong to a closed historic period. This limitation was dismissed by the following legislative norms. At this stage it was still stated the listing principle as the guarant for the protection of heritage, soon to be dismissed by the principle of legal definition introduced by the decree of 1953.[356]

Another category subjected to preservation was also 'Bodendenkmale', which was protected by the so-called Bodendenkmalschutz. This basically referred to archaeological assets, movable or immovable. This category was equally considered a cultural monument which, however, due to scientific and administrative reasons, was treated separately, and was not included in the monuments preservation law at any time after the war, despite de fact such proposals emerged towards the end of the regime. Also the role of the church and religious assets have not been included in this research as these have been briefly discussed by Odendahl.[357] At this stage a law concerning the preservation of the environment was in preparation, and as a consequence natural preservation was not included in the monuments preservation decree from 1952.[358]

Denkmale were considered also movable assets preserved by national and local museums, collections, archives and libraries. These, however, did not make subject of this regulation as they were protected by the regulations governing such institutions, such as the decree of 22.2.1951 concerning the reorganisation of the education system and the implementing rule concerning scientific museums from 10.4.1953 (Ges. Bl.S.607).[359] Additionally, the decree concerning the protection of ownership of arts and of scientific documents and

---

[352] Müther 1953, 7.
[353] Deiters 1967, 2.
[354] Müther 1953, 8.
[355] 'Der Schutz ortsfester Denkmale erstreckt sich insoweit auch auf ihre Umgebung, als deren Veränderung den Bestand, die Eigenart des Denkmals oder den Eindruck, den es hervorruft, zu beeinträchtigen vermag.'
[356] Hammer 1995, 352: Verordnung zum Schutze des deutschen Kunstbesitzes und des Besitzes an wissenschaftlichen Dokumenten und Materialien.
[357] Odendahl 2005, 96ff.
[358] Müther 1953, 9-10.
[359] Idem 23.

materials, issued on the second of April 1953, introduced regulations concerning the export of protected cultural objects.[360]

As the former GDR general conservation officer Deiters would argue, in his post 1990 reflections on the preservation conditions in the GDR, the regulation of 1952 emerged as a consequence of the intervention of Helmut Holzhauer, who following his meeting with Hans Nadler, the conservation officer in Saxonia since 1949, obtained the law on monuments preservation for Saxonia developed beginning of the 1930s. The novelty of the law consisted in its introduction of an extended definition of the concept of monument, that was not limited only to historic, and built and artistic monuments, but it proposed also for preservation the landscape. Heritage preservation had to be considered in the urban development context.[361] Additionally, Deiters argued that the Soviet Union practice inspired the newly emergent German socialist state in its politics of cultural heritage preservation.[362] The bureaucratisation and centralisation of the preservation and protection of heritage under state guidance was the general pattern adopted by most CEE countries, clearly submiting the field to the political interets.

The Decree of 1961 on preservation and protection of monuments (Verordnung über die Pflege und den Schutz der Denkmale)

Conditioned by the political developments following the construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961, a significant change triggered a revision of the politics of preservation of monuments. Deiters captured the spirit of the time: 'Right now it is significant for us the value of monuments as historic document, as we are aiming to revise the historical narrative from the dialectical materialism perspective, and so to communicate it to the people accordingly for their own use.'[363]

The newly issued regulation on the protection and preservation on monuments by the Ministry of Culture in 1961 discarded the regulation of June 1952.[364] In comparison to the prior norms which stated the obligation of the GDR government to ensure the preservation and protection of monuments, this new regulation introduced a new approach by considering all monuments cultural property of the nation and were to be preserved by the state.[365] Hence in comparison to the previous regulation which vaguely addressed the status of the valuable assets for the state, this regulation clearly stated 'cultural property of the nation under state protection' that was representative for 'past

---

[360] Hammer 1995, 351: Verordnung zum Schutze des deutschen Kunstbesitzes und des Besitzes an wissenschaftlichen Dokumenten und Materialien.
[361] Deiters In Haspel and Staroste 2014, 16.
[362] Deiters 1971, 15.
[363] Deiters, Ludwig. "Zum kulturpolitischen Interesse der Gesellschaft an den Denkmalen" [Concerning the cultural-political interest of the society in monuments], In *Denkmapflege in unserer Zeit*, edited by Deutscher Kulturbund mit dem Institut für Denkmalpflege, (196-?).
[364] Verordnung über die Pflege und den Schutz der Denkmale, Gbl. II, 23.Oct.1961, Nr.72, S.475.
[365] 'Die Denkmale gehören zum kulturellen Erbe der Nation. Sie sind fester Bestandteil der von der sozialistischen Gesellschaft bewahrten materiellen, architektonischen und künstlerischen Kultur vergangener Epochen. Ihre Erhaltung, Pflege, ordnungsgemäße Verwaltung, zweckdienliche Verwendung und Erschließung für die Bevölkerung im Zusammenhang mit den Erfordernissen der sozialistischen Gesellschaft entspricht dem Wesen und den Aufgaben des Arbeiter- und Bauern-Staates.' (Prämbel)

historic epochs'. This meant at the time no reference was made to include also the contemporary period.[366]

The main objectives of the newly regulation concerning the preservation and conservation of monuments, was to ensure 'the preservation of the cultural tradition of the German nation' in line with processes of reassessing the history of the past. In that respect one of the priorities was to issue a definition of the concept of monument according to the marxist-leninist state ideology, and to clearly state the responsibility at the local and state level, this including the wider civic support and its participation.[367]

The centralised model was further elaborated in order to manage all activities linked to preservation and protection. This decision was taken according to Deiters also as a consequence of the limited number of trained experts available in the filed in GDR.[368] The main actors involved in processes of monuments preservation and their responsibilities have been clearly identified, such as: the Ministry of Culture with the Institute for Monuments Protection, local and regional administration, experts groups from the Association for Culture, and volunteer groups.

The regulation, however, provided a similar definition of the concept of 'Denkmal' with the regulation of 1952. In that respect the concept was drafted generally and provided a simple listing of various objects of national significance and international artistic value, of interest for the state and society. Furthermore, the legal definition was the principle according to which monuments were identified for protection. The listing principle, as the main criteria to ensure protection, was dismissed with this occasion.[369] Therefore, the concept of monument addressed 'works of built and urban environment, works of art and crafts, gardens and technical achievements, whose preservation is motivated for their artistic, historic and scientific significance for the state and society'(§ 2 Abs.1 VO 1961). [370]
The protection of monuments considered also the setting as long as this was relevant to ensuring the integrity of the monument (§ 3 VO 1961).[371] Collections

---

[366] Munzer, Georg. "Erläuterungen zur Verordnung über die Pflege und den Schutz der Denkmale" [Explanation for the Decree on preservation and protection of monuments], In *Denkmalpflege in unserer Zeit*, edited by Deutscher Kulturbund mit dem Institut für Denkmalpflege, 196,-?.
[367] Burghardt, Max. "Introduction", In *Denkmalpflege in unserer Zeit*, edited by Deutscher Kulturbund mit dem Institut für Denkmalpflege, 196,-?
[368] Deiters in Haspel and Staroste, 2014, 18.
[369] Hammer 1995, 352
[370] 'Denkmale sind solche Werke der Baukunst und des Städtebaus, der bildenden Kunst und des Kunsthandwerks, der Gartenkunst und der Technik, deren Erhaltung wegen ihrer künstlerischen, geschichtlichen oder wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung im Interesse vom Staat und Gesellschaft liegt.'
Among these have been included:
- National memorials and sites, which are representative for historic events and personalities, and in particular are representative for the worker's movement history;
- Built constructions, including ruins, with their interiors and exteriors as much as parts of them, such as gates, decorations and staircases and ceilings;
- Urban sites, i.e. places, streets and square names, but also city walls, fortresses representative for the history of the cities, representative rural settlements, etc.;
- Gardens, parks and cemeteries;
- Works of art and collections of paintings, design, sculptures, crafts and musical instruments;
- Technical and industrial sites, machines and industrial technologies (§ 2 Abs.2 VO 1961).
[371] 'der Schutz ortsfester Denkmale nicht auf das eigentliche Objekt beschränkt ist, sondern sich auch auf dessen Umgebung erstreckt, soweit sie für die Eigenart und die Wirkung des Denkmals von Bedeutung ist'.

and works of art were considered for protection (§ 2.e, VO 1961) as long as they were not preserved by state museums.[372] These were to be treated equally as being part of the national property, and therefore as monuments. Due to the fact that a series of regulations dealing with the museums goods were issued, these did not make subject for extensive elaboration within the present regulation on monuments preservation.[373] Yet museums goods were to be registered in museums catalogues and inventories.

Nevertheless monuments were not only relevant for the historic or artistic value but moreover it had a social relevance. This argument was used in order to motivate the change of function and ownership of the valuable assets, such as historical buildings that were considered representative for the capitalist bourgeoisie society:

> Therefore we consider historic buildings, which have been restored according to the present necessities and current technological achievements, to be reconsidered for the residential purposes. We are therefore considering former representative historic buildings such as former city halls, palaces, and castles, to be used as the main headquarters for assemblies, organisations, schools, kinder gardens, and cultural institutions that all have a societal use. The use of such buildings is not limited only to the material achievement by regaining space to be used, but also a cultural achievement. The cultural achievement lies in the fact that the user guarantees the maintenance of the building, often reinstating its integrity, and moreover it integrates the monument into society's life.[374]

The interest for monuments preservation for the wide public was built by the means of various strategies of communicating and bringing to attention the significance of monuments. The scope being to raise awareness, and guarantee participation in the monuments protection activities. This was pursued by adopting various communication strategies, from publications to developing tourism strategies to promote monuments, in line with the 'international socialism' slogan also for foreign tourists.[375] It was considered that

> [...] delegation members or tourists are always interested to get to know the monuments of the country they visit. They will seek to learn from the similarities and differences with their own monuments and

---

[372] 'Von den Sammlungen und Werken der bildenden Kunst kommen für den speziellen Denkmalschutz im allgemeinen nur solche in Betracht, die sich nicht in staatlichen Museen befinden.' (Munzer, 196,-?)

[373] 'Die letzteren gehören selbstverständlich zum kulturellen Besitz der Nation und sind daher ebenfalls "Denkmale". Die müssen jedoch nicht noch einmal besonders über die Denkmalschutz-VO erfaßt werden, da für das volkseigene Museumsgut bereits besondere Schutz- und Pflegevorschriften bestehen. Ausdrücklich weist die Denkmalschutz-VO darauf hin, dass der Schutz ortsfester Denkmale nicht auf das eigentliche Objekt beschränkt ist, sondern sich auch auf dessen Umgebung erstreckt, soweit sie für die Eigenart und die Wirkung des Denkmals von Bedeutung ist.'

[374] Deiters 196-?.

[375] Nadler, Hans. "Aufgaben der Natur- und Heimatfreunde" [Responsibilities of Nature and Heimat friends], In *Denkmapflege in unserer Zeit*, edited by Deutscher Kulturbund mit dem Institut für Denkmalpflege, (196-?).

arts. Monuments are part of the national culture which trespasses and overcomes any language barrier to any foreign visitor.[376]

However, one of the criticisms levelled at the regulation was the fact that it did not detailed the connection between monuments preservation and museology, even though it briefly addressed the preservation of arts collections. Therefore, suggestions have followed with regards to a more comprehensive legislation concerning the preservation and safeguarding of the material cultural heritage, which would also cover: museums, archives, libraries and cultural goods in private ownership, and archaeology.[377] Although the concept of monument proposed in the regulation by the members of the Institute for Monuments Preservation and German Association for Culture was apparently too broad, it raised criticism due to its general character. This created the premises for an increased fund proposed for protection, against the priorities of providing a restrained and limited number to the most important monuments.[378]

Throughout the 1960s the decree was subject to further debates and developments that were briefly highlighted by Deiters also in his contribution from 1971.[379] According to Deiters, the adoption of criteria according to which the significance of the monuments was identified were the following:

➢ monuments must be of interest for the society, and
➢ to have an artistic, historic and scientific significance.[380]

The main aim for preserving monuments was the interest of the society, not individual interets. As a consequence, two main categories of monuments have been further discussed, namely artistic and historic monuments, replacing artistic and architectural as specified by the decree in 1961. In his argumentation Deiters was searching for inspiration in the French revolutionary contribution in coining historic monuments, and not only. German classics appreciation for the artistic monuments, such as Goethe's approach to fine arts and architecture, have been equally emphasised as significant in the preservation tradition.[381] These will be described in detail, considering their adoption in the law of 1975. By introducing these categories, according to Deiters, one had to make a clear distinction when referring to architectural preservation, between ensembles, historic city centres and single architectural elements.

Historic monuments were considered 'all sites and assets, that shed light on events and personalities from history, or are significant for the study of various branches of history, such as political history, military, production, transportation, cultural studies and ethnography.'[382] In that respect historic

---

[376] Deiters 196-?.
[377] BArch DY 27/4306 *Denkmalschutzverordnung*, (1971): 79-80.
[378] BArch DY 30 /18562: Dr. Bartke Eberhard, Information zum Problem der Konzentration der Mittel und Kräfte in der Denkmalpflege, (Juli 1967): 2.
[379] Deiters, Ludwig. "Zur Denkmalpflege in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [Concerning monuments protection in the socialist society], In *Materialien und Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Institut für Denkmalpflege der DDR, Jena, (1971): 5-41.
[380] Deiters 1971, 23.
[381] Idem 7.
[382] 'alle diejenigen Stätten und Gegenstände, die zu Ereignissen oder Persönlichkeiten aus der Geschichte der Völker in Beziehung stehen oder die der geschichtlichen Forschung mit ihren Zweige,

monuments could include: battlefields, squares, streets, parks, buildings, everyday life objects, documents, memorials, illustrations etc.

Further groups have been identified as being part of the historic monuments. These were, however, identified according to their significance, and no distinction was made between movable and immovable assets:

➢ monuments of political history;

This group of monuments included in a first stage monuments that were associated with the revolutionary moments in the history of the party and its leaders. It is, however, significant to highlight that assets and personalities associated with contemporary events and places were considered relevant for preservation. According to Deiters, built assets could be included in this category as long as they were associated with various political events and personalities, here including memorials or the ensemble Weberwise in Berlin, a contemporary construction developed by the socialist regime made subject to such an approach.[383] This aspect will be discussed in detail later, when the case studies will be introduced.

➢ monuments of military history;

This category, as all others, did not make a distinction between movable and immovable assets. Listed assets ranged from built defence systems to weapons.

➢ monuments of history of technology: included monuments representative for the industrial revolution and technological development;

➢ monuments of the transportation system: included mainly constructions representative for the development of transportation systems and technologies.

➢ monuments of cultural history;

Under this category movable assets or buildings could be equally considered if they were associated with personalities of the cultural and scientific life from the past. (Memorials dedicated to Bach, Händel, Goethe, Kleist etc.)

➢ ethnographic monuments: it ranged from single assets to complex settlements including a variety of objects representative for the traditional way of living.[384]

Artistic monuments on the other hand were considered 'historic works of urban development, architecture, fine arts, crafts, landscapes and gardens, whose preservation was intended for the benefit of the society for their artistic and cultural value.'[385]

Therefore, the category of artistic monuments included:

➢ monuments of urban development: historic city centres, architectural ensembles, places and streets.

➢ architectural monuments;

Most of the listed monuments were architectural monuments (constructions, ruins). Assets included on the local lists were not only representative for their

---

wie der politischen Geschichte, der Militärgeschichte, der Produktionsgeschichte, der Verkehrsgeschichte, der Kulturgeschichte und der Volkskunde, Aufschluß geben.'
[383] Deiters 1971, 25-26.
[384] Deiters 1971, 26-27.
[385] Idem 27: 'Kunstdenkmale sind geschichtliche Werke des Städtebaus, der Architektur, der bildenden Kunst, der Kunsthandwerks, der Landschafts- und Gartengestaltung, deren Erhaltung wegen ihres künstlerischen oder kunstgeschichtlichen Werts im Interesse der Gesellschaft liegt.'

quality but one needed also to take into consideration the potential and capabilities for its maintenance.[386]

➢ monuments of fine arts and crafts;

The decree included movable or immovable assets, such as: works of art, sculptures and design. These had to be treated as monuments independent if they were attached or not to architectural elements, or if they were part of private or state owned collections.[387]

➢ landscapes and gardens.

Discussing the significance of the monuments preservation for the socialist society, Deiters identified three main types of use considered to guarantee the benefit for the society. These had a direct impact on the measures adopted for ensuring its restoration.

➢ monuments, that have a main contribution to maintaining the visual integrity of the urban landscape;

➢ for the artistic and historic benefit of the society;

➢ monuments (architectural monuments) which can be properly used for the benefit of the society.[388]

Another peculiarity concerning principles to ensure monuments preservation was the relationship of the monument to the place and the original material. As Deiters argued, among the measures considered acceptable to ensuring monuments protection was also their relocation. Monuments could be relocated from their original place if their preservation would be threatened. However, setting in motion their relocation would be ensured only under specific conditions:

➢ replacing the monument into an ensemble of historical buildings (Traditionsinsel);

➢ placing the monument in an area that would be beneficial for society (Erholungsbereich);

➢ placing the monument within a museum complex (Arts Museum, Technical Museum, Ethnographic Museum, etc.).[389]

If reconstruction and inclusion of monuments preservation in the urban development have been a priority in the aftermath of the Second World War, the developments in the international context and political changes after 1961 have strongly impacted the way preservation of monuments was managed. One can observe a systematic evolution of various categories that made subject of the various legislative (decrees, regulations) initiatives that have coined a certain understanding of the concept of 'Denkmal'. These provided a more general approach in terms of definitions and responsible actors. 'Kulturelle Denkmale' was an overarching concept which did not make reference only to the built environment but equally considered movable assets, while the categories of assets identified as monuments varied according to their significance and use, rather than their typology. International developments starting in the 1970s had an impact on future legislative norms being integrated and adapted to the national context, such as the law of 1975. Compared to the developments in this direction in the former FRG at the time, the elaboration of

[386] Idem 28.
[387] Ibidem.
[388] Idem 35.
[389] Idem 33.

the legislative framework in the GDR was fairly up to international standards, benefiting and contributing from/to the opening of the field to the developments in the socialist countries, as much as internationally promoted by organisations such as UNESCO. Under such circumstances, and in particular, as a consequence and influenced by the adoption of the World Heritage Convention by UNESCO in 1970[390] and Hague Convention(1954), the GDR elaborated a complex and coherent legislation concerning the preservation of monuments in 1975. In the meantime, all federal states in the Federal Germany only by 1980s[391] finalised their modern legislation concerning monuments protection.[392] This law will be discussed bellow.

The Law of 1975 (Gesetz zur Erhaltung der Denkmale in der DDR-Denkmalpflegegesetz)

The adoption of the World Heritage Convention by UNESCO in 1972, following the adoption of the UNESCO Convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property (1970) and the Hague Convention (1954)[393] had a wide international impact. These had an important resonance among the socialist states such as GDR that became actively engaged in international heritage projects. Following this the GDR also proposed its national legislation and adapted to the new international requirements.

Hence, the legislation in the GDR concerning the preservation of monuments was adopted in 1975, 'Gesetz zur Erhaltung der Denkmale in der DDR- Denkmalpflegegesetz', by the People's Assembly.[394] This law provided not only a revised understanding of the concept of Denkmal, but also of the responsibilities assigned to central and local state institutions, owners and users to document and to preserve the monuments. However, it referred in particular to historic and cultural monuments, including merely built assets.

If the previous regulation of 1961 explicitly stated the responsibility of the GDR to ensure the preservation of cultural heritage, the Law of 1975 explicitly stated in its preamble the role of the state and of the society in this mission. Schmidt argues that comparing the 1975 GDR law to the laws issued in the same period in the Federal Republic, preservation of monuments stood

---

[390] Rackwitz 1980, 17.

[391] Until that date the only Law adopted on the territory of Germany being the Law of 1902 concerning the protection of historical monuments passed in the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, the precursor of the Federal state of Hesse. This law was valid until 1974 when the Law on the Protection of Historical Monuments of the state of Hesse was passed. The law granted protection to movable and immovable assets, meaning archaeological, natural and historical monuments and their environment (see Brüggemann Silvia, Schwarzkopf Christoph. "Germany", In Pickard Robert, *Policy and Law in Heritage Conservation*, Spon Press, (London, New York, 2001): 137. For the comparison with the legislative developments in the federal states see Trötschel-Daniels's article (2017).

[392] Wipprecht, Ernst. "Von der Arbeitsstelle des Instituts für Denkmalpflege zum Brandenburgischen Landesamt für Denkmalpflege – Wandel in Zeiten des Umbruchs" [From the working office Berlin of the Institute for monuments preservation to State Office for Monuments Preservation in Brandenburg], In *Denkmalpflege in der DDR. Rückblicke, Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin*, Band 41, edited by Haspel Jörg, Staroste Hubert, (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2014): 106.

[393]
http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/1970-convention/ [accessed last 27 June 2017]

[394] Gesetz zur Erhaltung der Denkmale in der DDR- Denkmalpflegegesetz, GBL. Nr. 26, 27 June 1975, S.457.

in the public interest.[395] Nevertheless the law also meant an increasing influence of the political sphere and ideologization of the preservation field. Moreover, it marked a shift in the relationship with the past and its role for the legitimisation of the GDR's awareness of its own historical and national identity. This idea was also emphasised by Wokalek, from the Institut Bundesanstalt für Gesamtdeutsche Aufgaben in Bonn in 1984 in his study 'Denkmalpflege in der DDR' ('Monuments preservation in the GDR'). Discussing the mission of the preservationists in the GDR highlighted their 'focus on the testimonies of our evolution and development. Expanding the time framework for registering monuments by setting no time limitations was noted by Wokalek. This was considered on the background that "monuments preservation contributes to our historic awareness and moreover to all historical events".'[396]

The author further highlighted the marxist-leninist approach to monuments preservation which 'contributes as a tool to the consolidation of the GDR historic awareness. (…) On a long term perspective one can understand the "national history of the GDR" based on its material evidence, and equally enhance the GDR national awareness.'[397]

In this respect the reflection of Deiters concerning the destructions of built heritage at the beginning of the GDR's such as the Berlin Schloß[398], Potsdam Garnisonskirche and Schinkel's Bauakademie, are representative for the evolution of cultural heritage preservation after the Second World War: 'this happened partly because of the technical and economic restrains, partly also because of the lack of a sophisticated approach to historic heritage preservation'.[399]

As a consequence of GDR's politics of preservation an increased interest started to be manifested towards the value and significance of its own achievements. For this reason a wider understanding of the concept of 'Erbe' (heritage) was elaborated to also include achievements relevant for the GDR history. As such, a new category was proposed including monuments of the GDR history, considered contemporary objects which testify GDR historical development starting from the anihilation of Hitler fascism to present days. Among these were considered:

> [...] such objects - buildings and built ensembles, places, parks, technical ensembles, memorials, works of art and applied arts - which testify the character and development of the GDR. Furthermore, it testifies and reflects centuries of development on its territories, cities and villages.[400]

---

[395] Schmidt 2008, 69.
[396] Wokalek, *Denkmalpflege in der DDR*, The Institut Bundesanstalt für Gesamtdeutsche Aufgaben, (Bonn 1984): 13.
[397] Wokalek 1984, 14-15.
[398] For more information concerning the demolition of the Schloss, costs, and survey see 'Gutachten über die Wiederaufbaukosten des Berliners Schloßes', file C 120 Rep 2070, C 120 Rep 306-305, Landesarchiv Berlin.
[399] Deiters in Wokalek 1984, 14: 'Das geschah teils aus technischen und wirtschaftlichen Zwängen, teils aber auch aus einer damals mitunter noch nicht ausreichend differenzierten Haltung zum historischen Erbe'
[400] BArch DY 27/4422: Anleitung zur Erfassung, Erhaltung und Erschließung von Denkmalen zur Geschichte der DDR.

Subsequently one of the priorities stated by the new law was to enhance the 'monuments of revolutionary traditions of the German nation, of the international and German workers movement, of the antifascist opposition fighters and of the history of the GDR'(§ 1 Abs. 2).

Although the law captures on the previous definition from 1961 to define the concept of monument, it was adapted to the present priorities, including pursuing economic interests. Hence 'monuments are representative testimony of the political, cultural and economic development, which are of interest for the socialist society for their historic, artistic or scientific significance, and are to be declared as monuments according to § 9 by the state responsible.'[401] Furthermore, monuments continue to be considered cultural property of the socialist society under state protection (§ 4 Law 1975). The protection was guaranted by the state only following its scientific assessment as such. The listing principle was not a guarant for protection. However, assets were listed according to their signficance on either central, local and regional lists (§5 Law of 1975). The Ministry Council had the responsibility of sanctioning the central lists, thus submitting the preservation project ultimately to the political actors (§6 Law of 1975). A novelty introduced by the law was also the obligation and responsibilities of owners of valuable assets, to declare them to the state under the considerations that a potential value for preservation has been identified (§13 Law 1975).

The emergence of a complex field in preservation highlighted also the need to further adapt and update the legislative framework to changing political and economic conditions. Following a series of provisions (Durchführungsbestimmungen) were elaborated and implemented by the Ministry of Culture, together with the Institute for Monuments Preservation. For example, the first part of these provisions issued in 1976 focused on the role and attributions of the Institute for Monuments Preservation to managing the inventories, restoration, developing proper use for monuments, protection of the visual integrity of monuments in their setting. The second series of provisions issued in 1978 gave a particular attention to the setting of built monuments, following the recent urban developments and renewal projects from the 1960s and 1970s that increasingly started to impact the city centres. Due to the new context, the collaboration with the Association of Architects of the GDR (BdA), in addition to the Ministry for Constructions, was proposed in order to integrate monuments preservation into new urban developments.[402]

Although previous legislation considered as monuments also movable assets and collections, including the museums' fund belonging to the state museums, libraries and archives, the current legislation clearly made the specification that such assets are subjected to a separate legislation, and not of

---

[401] 'Denkmale sind gegenständliche Zeugnisse der politischen, kulturellen und ökonomischen Entwicklung, die wegen ihrer geschichtlichen, künstlerischen oder wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung im Interesse der sozialistischen Gesellschaft durch die zuständigen Staatsorgane gemäß § 9 zum Denkmal erklärt worden sind.'
[402] Deiters, Ludwig. "Das Institut für Denkmalpflege in der DDR–Erinnerungen und Reflexionen", In Haspel and Staroste 2014, 29; 32.

the current preservation law (§ 5 Law of 1975).[403] Therefore this will be further discussed in the following sub-chapter.

Preservation and Protection of Movable Cultural Goods

Movable assets have been regulated following the regulations of 1952 concerning the safeguarding and preservation of national cultural monuments. As movable monuments were considered works of art, paintings, graphic and sculptures of exceptional significance. A clear distinction was made between museums' preservation and monuments preservation, while the latest became the responsibility of the Institute for Monuments Preservation. However, often the responsibility for carrying out monuments preservation was assigned at local level to small museums, such as ‚Heimatmuseum'.[404]

Movable cultural objects made subject of a separate legislation concerning their export and transfer over the border, which at this stage was under the responsibility of the State office for monuments preservation. The 1952 regulation was complemented one year later by the Decree concerning the protection of ownership over German arts, and scientific documents and materials.[405] In comparison to the regulation concerning the protection of monuments, artworks followed a declarative principle according to which assets that were presumably valuable were automatically protected.

According to the research of Lößnitz[406], state monopoly over the export of valuable assets increased in particular starting in 1960s, when the GDR was in need of convertible currency. Furthermore, the author argues that an increasing demand affected also state museums' collections, in particular of State Museums in Berlin and the Kunstsammlungen in Dresden.[407] The export of art works in particular of museum's collections became a subject of dispute starting 1972 and it failed theoretically soon after, following the strong opposition coming from the museums in case, argues the author.[408]

In April 1978 the regulation concerning the state museum's fund was issued.[409] Its main contribution was to guarantee 'registration, preservation, conservation, development, protection and use' of all objects and collections held in trust by the GDR museums, 'which belong to the people, including those objects which prior belonged to museums, however are not anymore on the GDR territory'.[410]

---

[403] 'Gegenstände und Sammlungen, die zu den Fonds der staatlichen Museen, Bibliotheken und Archiven gehören, sowie Bodenaltertümer sind nicht als Denkmal im Sinne dieses Gesetzes zu erfassen. Ihre Beziehungen zur Denkmalpflege werden gesondert geregelt.'

[404] BArch DR1/5944: Dr.Rudolff-Hille, Direktion der Staatliche Kunstsammlungen: Museumspflege in der DDR (später in ganz Deutschland) Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, (28.10.1952): 1853.

[405] Hammer 1995, 351: Verordnung zum Schutze des deutschen Kunstbesitzes und des Besitzes an wissenschaftlichen Dokumenten und Materialien.

[406] Lößnitz, Harriet. Zum Schutz von beweglichem Kulturgut in der DDR zwischen Anspruch und Realität. Kritische Betrachtungen des Normensystems und seiner Umsetzung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Umgangs mit private Kulturgut [The protection of movable assets in the GDR between reality and expectations], Masterarbeit, (Frankfurt Oder, 2007).

[407] Idem 10.

[408] Idem 12.

[409] Verordnung über den staatlichen Museumsfonds der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik-Museumsforschungverordnung, GBL.I 1978, Nr.14, S.165.

[410] Lößnitz 2007, 19.

According to this legislation the classification of the museums' assets in various categories according to their international, national and regional significance, following the criteria - similar to those considered for immovable assets: of historical, artistic and scientific value was set up.

Hence, a first category was represented by objects of exceptional value, which could not be replaced and were representative for:

> [...] the emergence and development of world cultures, of cultural heritage and specially of the national socialist culture (…) events, processes and personalities, which majorly influenced the world and national history, significant economic processes, scientific and technological innovation and discoveries, significant steps for the emergence, development and characteristics of nature. (§5 Abs. 2 VO 1978)

A second category included objects of great value and significance ('hoher Aussagekraft') for:

> [...] the development of the German nation and its humanist and revolutionary traditions, as much as the political, cultural and scientific - technical achievements and objects and collections significant for the consolidation of the socialist society (…) the influence of prominent political state men, scientists and artists in the past and present, and objects significant for the history and culture of other societies, and objects representative for the evolution of natural processes. (§5 Abs. 3 VO 1978)

The third category included objects which are: 'characteristic for the natural and cultural development at local level' and are valuable for the general knowledge production and scientific research (§5 Abs.4 VO 1978).

Furthermore, according to this decree, museums' fund was recorded in inventories, documented and stored, while documentation concerning the provenance of the objects and collections hat to be carried out and documented (§ 7). The last category of objects was subject to disposal 'in case no societal interest for their preservation could be demonstrated' (§14 Abs.1). Terms and conditions on how the de-accessioning of museums' collections and objects were to be conducted was complemented by the detailed regulation of February 1980.[41] 'Aussonderung' the German term used for the selection of objects to be removed from collections or museums, targeted mainly objects that would be either recycled or destroyed. According to the law, museum objects were considered for sale only in particular cases, under the conditions that the buyer was a state institution (§ 11 Abs.3).

In 1980 for the first time the concept of 'cultural good' was introduced by the law concerning the preservation of cultural goods of GDR.[42] According

---

[41] 'Inventarisierung, Katalogisierung, Umsetzung und Aussonderung musealer Objekten und Sammlungen'- 07. February 1980, In Lößnitz 2007, 21.
[42] Gesetz zum Schutz des Kulturgutes der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik vom 3. Juli 1980, GBL.I Nr.20.

to this, an 'inventory of the national valuable cultural goods and national valuable archives' had to be set up. Also a Commission for the protection of arts was proposed, and soon after replaced by a Commission for the protection of culture (1982), to coordinate and implement the conditions of the law. The main contribution of this law was referring to the intervention of the state concerning valuable assets independent of ownership, including state-owned, religious assets as much as privately owned cultural goods (§6 Law of 1980). According to the law, safeguarding cultural goods meant: 'preservation, documentation and protection of the national cultural heritage and the development of the rich tradition serving the national socialist culture' (§ 1 Abs.1). It was this law that introduced the national interest for the first time as a main argument for the preservation of cultural goods, and not the public interest.

The law was considered to have reached a peack concerning the preservation of cultural heritage and encompased not only movable assets, but also built heritage in the concept of cultural good (§ 2 Abs. 1,2). This generated as a direct consequence overlapping and contradictions with the law of 1975, concerning the preservation of monuments, to which it also proposed ammendments. However, the significant contribution of this law lied in the framework provided to regulate movable assets, which was implemented not only by arts museums but as the case study will demonstrate was implemented also by historical museums. It also discarded regulations concerning the transfer abroad of valuable arts and documentary assets (§15 concerning the Regulation from April 1953 framing the protection of German arts and scientific materials and documentation, GLB. No.46, S.522).

The concept of 'cultural good' was defined as a 'highly significant good of historic, scientific and artistic value (…) which acquired or potentially can acquire international significance' (§ 2 Abs.1). Hence the novelty of this law lays precisely in this aspect of granting preservation status also objects which were not necessarily valuable for their historic significance, but rather for their contemporary potential. Further special significance continued to be attributed to contemporary socialist assets. This approach was moreover motivated by the idea of increasing and expanding the so-called 'Kulturgutbestand' (repositories of cultural goods).

3.2.4.   Monuments evaluation and listing

3.2.4.1.   Monuments evaluation

Alois Riegl's (1903) principles on preservation, and in particular the age value (Alterswert), became the subject for debate in the GDR. Debates centred around whether they conformed to the socialist understanding of monuments preservation. Deiters' criticism towards 'worshiping the age value' would according to him lead to the maintenance of monuments untouched and trigger the appreciation of the past dominated by the order of age, considered retrograde. 'The monument stays with all its age traces in its full beauty and it dies as such. If one wishes to keep it alive, one needs to carry minimal interventions.'[413] On the other hand Deiters recognises positive developments

---

[413] Deiters 1971, 9-10.

by including age principles, such as: the preservation of monuments in its various historical evolution, and the appreciation of the age traces in the overall appearance of monuments.

However, monuments stood not only in the interest of preservation for the age value according to the experts post-1945, but moreover for the use value. As Deiters argued, values according to which the appreciation of arts and architecture was pursued were committed to change, due to transformations in use and function of objects within the society. Therefore priority was given to the use value of various categories of monuments, as well as their significance for the contemporary society. Henceforth an increasing concern was manifested regarding the revalorisation of assets for the present interest of the society. This included developing new functions for reuse, among which tourism as a new strategy was considered to significantly contribute to the increase of the international reputation of the GDR. In addition, it was a relevant source of acquiring foreign currency.[414] Another common function assigned to monuments was their musealisation in order to ensure a wider accessibility of the monument.

Another criteria which came under scrutiny post-1945 was the identification of cultural - aesthetic value. It was considered a difficult task, in particular in relationship to contemporary or recent architecture, such as the architecture built in the 1930s, which started to receive greater attention from the preservationists after World War Two. For this reason the preservation of monuments was motivated twofold, namely to maintain the original material in its best conditions, and to create conditions for the preservation of its documentary value. Therefore, reconstruction spoke against the aim of preservation. However, it was accepted only when the built monument was partly damaged and it required limited interventions to ensure / re-establish its artistic value. In case the built monument was severely damaged, the reconstruction could be only motivated by city planning reasons or for politically motivated national interests. In this case, the reconstruction had to be performed following an in depth historic documentation, using drawings and photographic material. The role of the original material in this context was not a priority, reason for which copies have been often used in the context of restorations and reconstructions after the damages of the Second World War.[415]

An important role was attributed to the significance of monuments for the historical awareness and cultural life of the citizens. It was highlighted, the interest for the value of monuments as a historical document, in the process of reassessing the historical past according to the historical and dialectical materialism. Monuments were to be understood in the process of society building and hihghlighting continuity. Consequently, a short overview of the various approaches to the conceptualisation of monument introduced by the normative framework, and focusing on the evaluation of heritage and its listing, will be briefly delivered.[416]

The normative framework introduced in the GDR did not only prioritise the centralisation of the administrative mechanisms to deal with

---

[414] BArchDY 27/4306, 32.
[415] Deiters 1974, 25.
[416] Concerning the 'classification conflict' during the 1950s see Klemstein, Franziska. "Der 'Klassifizierungsstreit' von 1956", In *BetonSalon. Neue Positionen zur Architektur der späten Moderne*, edited by Mager Tino, Trötschel-Daniels, Bianka, 113-127 (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag).

heritage, but also a hierarchisation of the monuments was elaborated. A particular attention was given by the regulation of 1961 to monuments of national and international significance. Their preservation and protection was assigned in that respect to the Ministry of Culture. According to the lists, following categories have been identified:

- memorials (Gedenkstätten),
- monuments of the urban planning (Denkmale der Stadtbaukunst): historic city of Stralsund, Erfurt, Freiberg, etc.
- built and artistic monuments (Bau- und Kunstdenkmale- palaces in Potsdam, Dresden; cathedrals and churches: Meißen, Naumburg; stained glas in Stendal cathedral).[417]

Denkmale were listed by the Ministry of Culture with the approval of the Ministry Council, and had to be published in the 'Verfügungen und Mitteilungen des Ministeriums für Kultur'.[418]

As Goralczyk highlights in the post 1990 context, monuments became a state responsibilty, and as such these were declared as the result of a consensus process between the state administration and the legal authorities, while the role of the Institute was consultative in this process.[419] These categories identified in 1962 would expand after 10 years when the new legislation on monuments preservation was issued, bringing a series of changes and nevertheless innovation for the time. However, according to Goralczyk these categories and hierarchical structures did not impact the manner in which monuments were appreciated by the public, but it was rather created as a means to prioritise interventions and restoration works.[420]

According to the Decree on the Preservation and Protection of Monuments from September 1961, criteria, according to which the significance of the monuments was evaluated, were further elaborated. This was essential in order to better identify the motivation for which monuments should be preserved.[421]

➢ monuments had to be of interest for the society and have an artistic, historic and scientific significance.[422]

Further points of reference have been identified in order to assess the quality of a monument and its significance for the interest of the society. These were considered essential, not only because they provided better methodologies for the assessment and evaluation of the monuments, but also for the practical use of better tailoring solutions for preservation and restoration of various categories of monuments:

➢ the significance of the monument for the historic narrative: for the study of history (documentary value for the study of political history, art history, and cultural history); and for raising awareness on political and historical events (emotional impact of memorials and

---

[417] Pischner, "Denkmale besonderer nationaler Bedeutung und internationalem Kunstwert", March 1962, In *Denkmalpfege in unserer Zeit*, Ed. Deutscher Kulturbund mit dem Institut für Denkmalpflege,(196-?).

[418] Munzer (196-?).

[419] Goralczyk, Peter. Symposium "Nachdenken über Denkmalpflege" [Reflections concerning monuments preservation], (Teil 4), Vortrag, In kunsttexte.de 2 (2005): 2.

[420] Idem 6.

[421] Verordnung über die Pflege und den Schutz der Denkmale, Gesetzblatt Teil II, 1961.

[422] Deiters 1971, 23.

their symbolic relevance, visual integrity allowing to reconstruct the evolution of various historic periods),

➢ artistic significance: for the development of the national culture (representative for humanistic values, 'artistic progress'); artistic prominence (established by comparing individual artistic forms to other contemporary works of art locally, nationally and internationally); artistic significance of ensembles (landscape, city composition and overall impact of the built component together with its decorations),

➢ significance for the society: for the spiritual and cultural life of the society (for the historic and aesthetic education, for leisure and tourism, and use for other cultural activities); and use value (use of space for the benefit of the society, for residential and business purposes).[423]

Following the Law of 1975 the interest manifested towards GDR's contemporary achievements and its preservation increased. The celebration of three decades of GDR existence provided the opportunity for the regime to emphasise the significance of its own regime and celebrate its historical achievements.[424] For this reason, monuments preservation became a mediator of the regime to consolidate its own historical narrative. As a consequence, a subject for debate became the identification of monuments representative of the history of GDR. One understood under the concept of monuments for the GDR, contemporary historical testimonies starting with the victory over Fascism until present days. These widely included 'objects - such as buildings and built ensembles, places, parks, technological parks and tools, memorials and sites of reconciliation, works of arts and applied arts - which contributed to the development of the GDR.'[425]

A series of questions have been raised, however, concerning the identification of criteria of selection when assessing such assets. One has considered that criteria for the identification of contemporary GDR history should be similar to other historical periods, and not treated as a different category in the heritage lists, but nevertheless including several specificities. The main criteria, according to which also monuments for the GDR history could be identified, were: the significance for the GDR development, and for its contemporary relevance. Nevertheless, further issues had to be considered in this context, namely one prioritised assets that were considered the first of their kind (prototypes) in specific categories, original, under the premises that mass and serial production became a common issue.[426] Furthermore, artistic and

[423] Idem 23-24.
[424] *Drei Jahrzehnte Denkmalpflege in der DDR.* Überarbeitetes Protokoll einer Konferenz des Präsidiums des Kulturbundes der DDR, des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege im Kulturbund der DDR und des Rates für Denkmalpflege beim Ministerium für Kultur am 8.11.1979.
[425] BArch DY 27/4422: Anleitung zur Erfassung, Erhaltung und Erschließung von Denkmalen zur Geschichte der DDR.
'Denkmale zur Geschichte der DDR sind solche Objekte-Bauten und bauliche Ensemble, Plätze, Parks, technische Anlagen und Ausrüstungen, Gedenk- und Erinnerungsstätten, Werke der bildenden und angewandten Kunst-, die Wesentliches zum Charakter und zur Entwicklung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik aussagen. (…) Zeitlich gesehen verstehen wir unter Denkmalen zur Geschichte der DDR gegenständliche Zeugnisse der geschichtlichen Entwicklung von der Zerschlagung des Hitlerfaschismus bis zur Gegenwart.'
[426] BArch DY 27/4439: Institut für Denkmalpflege,- Entwurf von Thesen zur Erfassung, Erhaltung und Erschließung von Denkmalen zur Geschichte der DDR, (Berlin 1984): 157.

scientific value had to be equally considered, while additionally one had to acknowledge what made the objective, rational, and the emotional value of an object.[427]

Hence it has been proposed that the same criteria used for other historic periods to be employed when assessing also contemporary assets, and should not be listed as a separate category.[428] Also objects were divided according to the monuments preservation law in the six categories of assets. According to their relevance they would qualify either for the central, regional or local heritage lists. Criteria used for the identification of these categories, were similar for each list: material (original or partly), artistic, aesthetic, scientific, memorial. Nevertheless, in order to be listed as monuments assets had to meet more than one criteria.

Therefore subject for preservation became monuments of the socialist reconstruction and 'pioneering' architectural developments of the 1950s. In this context further debates emerged concerning developing methodologies to ensure their preservation. Also, monument value was not only acknowledged for the built environment realised after 1945, but also historic buildings would be counted as monuments of the GDR history, as long as they were associated with various personalities or political events relevant to GDR history.[429]

Furthermore particular attention was dedicated to the preservation of the history of SED, and of social classes such as workers and peasants.[430] In this context the category of 'monuments of political history' (Denkmal der politischen Geschichte) has been further extended. This category referred as a consequence to monuments of the revolutionary workers movements, of the antifascists fighters, of the liberation from fascism by the Soviet military force. Soviet monuments and memorials on the GDR territory would be equally valued for preservation as part of the GDR history.[431]

Monuments of cultural history (Denkmale der Kulturgeschichte) identified by the Law of 1975 as being 'objects of significance for their cultural and historical events, developments, or personalities from arts and science, included:

➢ Built monuments and sites (including their ornaments),
➢ Statues, memorial stones (Gedenksteine) and grave-sites.[432]

Mechanisms of evaluation the significance of movable assets will be detailed in the chapter introducing the case study, with a direct reference to the Museum of German History.

3.2.4.2. *Monuments Listing*

---

[427] BArch DY 27/4422: Anleitung zur Erfassung, Erhaltung und Erschließung von Denkmalen zur Geschichte der DDR.
[428] Idem.
[429] Thiele, Gerhard. *"Denkmale der Geschichte der DDR"* [Monuments of the GDR history], *Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege*, (Oktober 1989): 13.
[430] Hoffmann 1983, 8-9.
[431] BArch DY27/4422: Anleitung zur Erfassung, Erhaltung und Erschließung von Denkmalen zur Geschichte der DDR.
[432] 'Objekte zu bedeutenden kulturellen und geistesgeschichtlichen Ereignissen, Leistungen und Entwicklungen oder zu Persönlichkeiten der Künste und Wissenschaft, wie:
• Bauten oder andere Wirkungsstätten und ihre Ausstattungen,
• Standbildeer, Gedenksteine, Grabstätten.'

Following a long tradition in setting up inventories of valuable assets, a systematic approach was developed starting 1952 by the GDR in order to assess the quality of monuments and organise its inventories. The understanding of the concept of monument was not static but dynamic, henceforth it did not refer only to finalised processes but moreover to those in full development. The Marxist critique, concerning the tendency to canonise the selection of assets in fixed catalogues, called for a wider and greater diversity towards heritage. The selection had to follow a methodological and systematic principle to evaluate historical processes and their connections. The main motivation for the processes of heritage listing was not only to capture historical periods but moreover the Leninist understanding on monuments preservation, guided by the principle according to which heritage was 'sum of knowledge (…) to which Communism is the accomplishment.'[433]

The adoption of the regulation of 1952 made the subject of inventories in particular technical monuments and vernacular architecture (Volksbaukunst), excluding 19th century architecture. Nevertheless at this stage, no unitary model was developed throughout GDR.[434] Issuing the monuments list was a priority for the Berlin administration on the background of the urban renewal plans developed for the city centre (Stadtmitte). This responsibilty being assigned to the Institute for Monuments Preservation and the city administration for urban planning.

However, the 1950s have been marked by difficulties in restoring inventories and issuing lists for monuments, their documentation and providing details concerning the state of preservation. From mid-1950s uncomplete lists included only: palaces; religious buildings; gates, bridges and columns, and public buildings. At this stage the department for monuments preservation of the Berlin administration was responsible for issuing a classification of built and artistic monuments, in order to identify a prioritisation of their preservation and conservation works. These included:

> ➢ built and artistic monuments of national and high significance to be retained under all circumstances (first category)
> ➢ built and artistic monuments of local significance, their retain is highly recommended (second category)
> ➢ built and artistic monuments of less significance, their retain is considered (third category)
> ➢ built monuments whose monument value will be annuled.[435]

Following the regulation of 1961 a series of debates emerged aiming at ellaboration of a hierarchical prioritisation of the typologies of monuments. As already discussed, the criteria according to which assets were evaluated were enlarged. In that respect assets were further assessed according to:

> ➢ the role of monuments in the social-cultural life of the socialist society,
> ➢ their artistic, historic and scientific significance,
> ➢ the function and use for the society that each of the monuments would receive in the process of city development,
> ➢ the available economic resources allocated for preservation works.[436]

[433] BArch DY 27/7575: Haines Gerhard, Präambel zur Vorlage "Erbe" an den Ministerrat, (1973): 6-7.
[434] Badstübner, In Haspel and Staroste 2014, 140.
[435] Landesarchiv Berlin, C Rep 121 Nr.1038: Roggenbrodt, Brief an den Stellvertreter des Oberbürgermeisters Frau Johanna Blecha Berliner Rathhaus, Betr. Denkmalpflege, 3.09.1956.

Thus a series of monuments were classified as having 'national significance and international artistic value', 'national significance and of regional significance', and of 'local significance'. The heritage list was divided between republican lists that would constitute the central list (Republikliste) containing 32 entries of national and international significance. The regional lists (Bezirksliste) of national significance (despite the fact it was submitted for approval to the Ministry of Culture, it was not approved), and local lists (Kreisliste) containing 608 entries of local significance. The main categories identified of national and international significance were memorials, monuments of urban planning and built and artistic monuments. Among monuments for recent political history were listed: memorials such as Buchenwald and Ravensbrück; and built and artistic monuments such as representative urban sites (Denkmale der Stadtbaukunst) such as the historic city centre of Quedlinburg.[437] The 1961 monuments lists included mostly built assets, while museum's valuable assets were subject to be included in the museum's inventories. The initial plan from the 1950s was to elaborate a national list including also valuable museums goods; however, this was not concretised, and re-emerged once the law concerning the protection of cultural goods has been adopted during the 1980s.

Concerning architectural monuments, one needs to highlight that historic city centres and ensembles were considered as two distinct categories, and Berlin's centre was listed as ensemble including on the official list of 1961 the Lindenensemble and Museuminsel (buildings from the 18th and 19th century). According to archival documentation lists have been throughout the 1960s ellaborated and discussed for Berlin to include Strasse unter den Linden with August - Bebel Platz, Marx Engels Platz with Staatsratsgebäude and Marstall, Museums island, Rotes Rathaus, Neptun-Brunnen and Marienkirche, Platz der Akademie, and Weberwise (as a monument for the contemporary history), assets which one will see will be retrived on the official lists of 1979 as well.[438]

The organisation of the lists was the main attribution of the state institutions while volunteer associations and members of the society could make suggestions. These were actually actively involved in identifying and documenting locally such proposals. The responsibility for issuing the central lists was attributed to the Ministry of Culture, while local administration was responsible for issuing the regional lists, benefiting from the consultation with the general conservation officer.[439] The main scientific contribution for their realisation was assigned at an initial stage to the Ministry of Culture, through its department on fine arts and museums; and local 'conservation officers, following the confirmation of the Ministry Council (2.1.1962).[440] At this stage, according to the statement made by Brasch, the involvement of the Institute for Monuments Preservation was not sufficiently elaborated, as the institute was

[437] BArch DM1/12925: Brasch, Horst. *Zur Neuordnung der Denkmalpflege* (Vorlage), (März, 1968): 4.
[438] Pischner 196-?.
[439] BArch DY 27/4306, Ordnung zur Durchführung der Denkmalpflege in entwickelten gesellschaftlichen System des Sozialismus, dated in August 1970, Heritage List, 41.
[440] BArch DM1/12925, Brasch, 1968, 5.
[441] Badstübner, in Haspel and Staroste, 2014, 141.

not fully structured in order to take responsibility for the state in conducting scientific research and preservation works.[441]

The list was throughout the 1960s further discussesed and enlarged, considered to include:

A. Historic monuments (Geschichtsdenkmale) including:
- ➢ monuments of political history,
- ➢ military history,
- ➢ production history,
- ➢ transportation history,
- ➢ cultural history,
- ➢ ethnography.

B. Artistic monuments (Kunstdenkmale) including monuments:
- ➢ of urban development,
- ➢ architecture,
- ➢ of fine arts and crafts,
- ➢ landscape and gardens.[442]

This distinction was considered a useful tool, as already mentioned in order to prioritise decisions concerning conservation and restoration works.[443]

Within the preserved areas it was necessary to identify objects that acquired:
- ➢ absolute protection, such as buildings together with their ornaments, buildings alignment, works of art, street ornaments;
- ➢ limited protection, to be preserved as long as the object serves the society and its maintenance is economically feasible;
- ➢ objects subjected to change and renewal, even removal in case the reconstruction of the area was designated for the interests of the socialist state.[444]

As already mentioned the wide definition of the concept of monument introduced by the Law of 1961 generated an increase in the number of assets to be considered for protection. For this reason following a meeting of the experts in Chemnitz by the end of 1963, a proposal was made to limit the comprehension of the concept ‚Denkmal', and to focus the limited available resources for the most important monuments. GDR being among the socialist countries, such as USSR, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria, which economically invested the least in monuments preservation during the 1960s.[445]

The revision of the heritage list was accommodated in time also on the background of the international developments and conventions such as the emergence of the Hague Convention 1954.[446]

The Law of 1975 provided a more complex and overarching basis for the documentation and setting up monuments inventories in the GDR.[447] Inventories were not only enriched but also re-ordered, continuing nonetheless

[441] Brasch 1968, 6.
[442] Deiters, Anlage 2, (1971): 131.
[443] Deiters, 1979: 142.
[444] Deiters, Anlage 2, (1971): 132.
[445] BArch DY 30/18562: Dr. Bartke Eberhard, Information zum Problem der Konzentration der Mittel und Kräfte in der Denkmalpflege, Abt. Bildende Kunst und Museen, Sektor Museen, Denkmalpflege, (Juli 1967): 4, 5.
[446] BArch DM1/12925, Brasch 1968, 5.
[447] GBL. I, Nr.26

to prioritise historic and artistic monuments. As a consequence fortifications, civil architecture, religious architecture and their artistic decorations were considered less of a priority for being listed. Also movable and immovable was not the criteria according to which monuments were listed but moreover it prioritised the significance for the society.[448] The monument's status was confirmed based on the elaboration of a comprehensive 'Denkmalerklärung' (monument statement). This statement would be issued following the exchange between experts in the field of preservation, state responsible authorities, institutions, and legal entities. The statement was an essential component for the procedure of establishing the monuments lists.

Similar to the model adopted by the Soviets and other socialist countries, heritage lists were divided between: regional, local and central 'of national interest and international artistic value' (Denkmale von besonderer nationaler Bedeutung und internationalem Kunstwert).[449] In comparison with the lists issued in 1961, one notices an increase in the number of listed built- and artistic monuments following the adopted criteria by the Law of 1975. Starting from 1977/78 in Berlin monuments lists have been issued, and throughout the 1980s these have been completed.[450]

In the GDR circa 365 proposals were submitted for the 'central monuments list', among which 130 historic monuments and 235 built- and artistic monuments.[451] As Hoffman would argue, a novelty for the category of built monuments was the organisation of the buffer zones in particular for the historic city centres. Hence aligning monuments preservation legislation to the international recommendations such as the UNESCO Recommendation concerning the safeguarding and contemporary role of the historic areas from Nairobi (1976), was pursued.[452]

The central list was published in the Gesetzblatt Sonderdruck Nr.1017 on 5.10.1979, while regional lists could be only consulted locally or at the Institute for Monuments Preservation. Following the decision of the local administration of Berlin (Beschluß of 85/1976), monuments were proposed by the Berlin administration to be considered for the central lists. As a priority however have been considered representative architectural elements that testify the reconstruction efforts of the 1950s. In addition, to the already listed Weberwiese Haus at Karl-Marx Allee further socialist buildings were proposed by the GDR regime for preservation later on as being part of the Karl-Marx-Allee. However these were included on the regional lists: Karl- Marx Allee 54-68, 72-140, 53-67-71-143; Strausberger Platz 1-19, Frankfurter Tor ½, 8/9, Koppenstrasse 31-33, Proskauer Strasse 38.[453] Some of these could be retrieved

[448] Badstübner, In Haspel and Staroste 2014, 142.
[449] Deiters, In Haspel and Staroste 2014, 23.
[450] Schnedler, Henrik. "Bilanz im Bereich de Inventarisation von Baudenkmalen in Berlin 1990-1995", [Balance concerning the inventorisation of built monuments in Berlin 1990-1995], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, (Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997): 23.
[451] BArch DY 30/18562: Hans Joachim Hoffmann, Entwurf der Zentralen Denkmalliste für Prof. Kurt Hager, (1976): 2.
[452] BArch DY 30/18562: Hoffmann, Hans Joachim. Information über Ergebnisse, Aufgaben und Probleme der Denkmalpflege in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1983.
[453] Landedenkmalamt, File: Beschlussvorlagen Denkmalerklärungen: Denkmalerklärung, 2.10.1990, Magistratverwaltung für Kultur Abt. V-Denkmalpflege,

on the tentative list issued on October second in 1990. According to Thiele, considering for protection GDR's achievements, in particular from the period immediate following the Second World War, had to be associated rather with a closed historical period. This period according to the GDR periodisation was finalised with the 1960s.[454] Thus, in Berlin Mitte 14 individual monuments were registered on the central lists and only one single ensemble, namely Straße unter den Linden. While on the Bezirkslisten were listed 55 individual monuments and 8 ensembles (confirmed by the Berlin administration), and on the Kreisdenkmalliste approximately 260 individual monuments and 3 ensembles (not confirmed by the central authorities).[455]

Listing modern architecture or the architectural achievements under the regime was not a singular case for the GDR. Schorban highlighted during the ICOMOS Conference in Rostock (1984), the principles according to which USSR engaged in listing modernist architecture. This was not limited only to the modernist projects of the 1920s and 1930s, but also included various other examples considered significant experimental projects for the urban development. Consequently, it considered not only contructivist architecture but also neo-classicist and ecclecticist styles for preservation, thus it was aimed to not prioritise only one specific style. As such, it was considered that the process of selection of the modernist Soviet architecture had to reflect the diversity of the architectural styles as part of the historical process in architectural development.[456]

Bezirksdenkmalliste included objects of national and regional siginificance for the urban development of Berlin, which aimed at demonstrating a significant political, cultural and architectural degree of development. The extended understanding of monument enlarged the opportunity towards protecting objects that are 'testimony for the political, economic, technical development of historic, artistic and scientific significance' independently of being movable or immovable. A significant value was assigned to 'monuments of people's revolutionary tradition, of workers movements, of antifascist opposition fighters and of the history of the GDR.'[457]

The selection of the monuments resulted following the collaboration between the general conservation officer of the Institute for Monuments Preservation, Department of Culture at the Ministry for Culture, city councils, expert commission at the Berlin City Council (Magistratrat), and members of the volunteers association 'Denkmalpflege, Kultur- und Geschichte der Hauptstadt Berlin'.[458]

---

[454] Thiele 1989, 11.
[455] Landesdenkmalamt, File: Beschlussvorlagen Denkmalerklärungen: Beschlußvorlage Rat des Stadtbezirks Berlin Mitte, 367/1977, Stand der Verwirklichung des Denkmalpflegegesetzes, Beschluss Nr.176/76, 7.12.1977 (Senatsverwaltung).
[456] Schorban Jekaterina, "Die Grundsätze für die Auswahl von Denkmalen der modernen Architektur" [Priniciples concerning the selection of monuments of modern architecture], In *Denkmale und kulturelle Identität*. Internationales Symposium der VII. Generalversammlung des ICOMOS 1984, edited by Deiters Ludwig, ICOMOS National Komitee der DDR, (Berlin: VEB Verlag für Bauwesen, 1984): 102-104.
[457] Landesdenkmalamt: Beschlußvorlage Magistrat von Berlin, Hauptstadt der DDR, Bezirksdenkmalliste der Hauptstadt der DDR, Berlin, 85/76: 5.
[458] Landesdenkmalamt: Beschlußvorlage Magistrat von Berlin, Hauptstadt der DDR, Bezirksdenkmalliste der Hauptstadt der DDR, Berlin, 85/76: 4.

By 1984 the GDR had a relatively high amount of monuments listed, accumulating almost 399 Monuments on the central list, 2.850 on the regional lists and 45.000 on the local lists.[459] However, according to statistics beginning in the 1980s the state of conservation of monuments in particular in Berlin was more precarious than other regions in the GDR such as Dresden, Erfurt, Halle. Hence only 23% from the inscribed assets on the republican lists and 10% on the regional lists were in good state of preservation, lying well beyond the national average of the republican lists with 39% of its assets being in a good state of preservation, and the regional 35%. Also in terms of proper use Berlin was behind all other cities in the GDR, with 74% of assets being properly used by the society in comparison to a national average of 84%. However, by the end of the 1980s the number of the listed monuments on the central lists decreased (to 351), while the number of the locally (46.822) and regionally (3.206) listed monuments increased. Among these the majority belonged surprisingly to the artistic and applied arts (22.218), while only a fifth to historic monuments (9.326). Architectural and built environment also represented a fifth (10.566).[460] Under such circumstances one notices also a reduction of funds assigned for restoration works starting the 1980s.[461]

As such one can state that the GDR adopted a series of preservation laws and provisions which according to James (2012) 'matched or ecceeded those of most other European countries', although they were inconsistently enforced partly due to the economic restrains.[462] However, one can identify an increasing politicisation of the patrimonial sector, and here it is worthy to remark Hoffmann's statement addressed to the state secretary of SED Hans Hager, claiming the act of classification of monuments as an act of 'political significance'.[463] Ministerrat (Council of Ministers) was the main authority that had the responsibility of amending the central lists, which would eventually lead to exclusion of those that did not coresponded to political interests.[464]

Following the decisions of the Central Committee of SED from 7.3.1984 and of the Council of Ministers from 10.4.1984 'Information über Ergebnisse, Probleme und Aufgaben der Denkmalpflege in der DDR' further priorities have been designed in line with the law on monuments preservation in order to adapt it to the five years planning 1986-1990, which prioritised identifying for preservation objects of interest from the capital city, Berlin.[465]

The responsibility of the Institute for Monuments Preservation was to research and publish monuments documentation. As such, the Dehio catalogue (Dehio- Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler), was published under the supervision of Edgar Lehmann providing thus a documentation and wider overview of monuments in GDR, additional to the collection of volumes edited by Heinrich Trost for Berlin in 1983 first volume, and 1987 the second volume. Nevertheless, developments in information technologies also created the

[459] BArch DY27/4460
[460] BArch DY27/8353: Die Bilanz und die Aufgaben der Denkmalpflege in der DDR bis 1990, Institut für Denkmalpflege, 2; DY 27/8942: Versuch einer prozentualen Einschätzung des Pflegezustandes und des Grades der sinnvollen gesellschaftlichen Nutzung, 4-6.
[461] BArch DY 27/8942: Geplante und geschätzte Mittel für die Restaurierung, gesellschaftliche Nutzung und Erschließung der Denkmale.
[462] James 2012, 67.
[463] BArch DY 30/18562: Hoffmann 1976, 1.
[464] Schmidt 2008, 70.
[465] BArch DY 27/4439, 222.

grounds for debates concerning administration of information digitally, and creation of inventories that would include information and comprehensive inventories of cultural goods including not only built monuments, but also museums objects.[466] By 1989 such a model was developed for documentation of monuments in Berlin (EDV Projekt- Datenspeicher Denkmalpflege).

3.3. International cooperation UNESCO/ ICOMOS

According to Kiesow, despite the fact that the GDR did not officially have an active contribution to the European Heritage Year (1975) it was actively involved the international professional networks dealing with monuments preservation such as ICOMOS and ICOM, and intensively after the official recongnition of GDR by UN.[467] Yet the co-operation and exchange in the field between the GDR and international partners to date has not been the subject of detailed research. In this sub-chapter it will be briefly mentioned the involvement of GDR in the patrimonial project in particular with ICOMOS only, as the subject deserves attention for itself. Equally relevant was also the cooperation with professionals from the European socialist member state, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia,[468] and moreover with the USSR, such as the organisation All Russian Society for the Safeguarding of cultural and historic monuments.[469] While it would be of interest to follow also the collaboration and experts exchange with socialist member states in Africa and Asia to which GDR extensively held relationships, this is not the scope of this research.

The GDR actively engaged with becoming a full member ICOM in July 1968, at the ICOM's Eight General Assembly held in Munich and Cologne, and set up a GDR National Committee of Museums, responsible for carrying out the international collaboration with international organisations, expert associations and international museums.[470] Its contribution to the debates concerning 'museology as science' has been extensively discussed by Andrews (2014) and will not be reproduced here.

However, this sub-chapter will look closer at the involvement of GDR with ICOMOS. According to Deiters, the GDR National Committee for ICOMOS was soon after the foundation of ICOMOS in 1965 in Poland invited to become member of the International Council, prior to the international recognition of the GDR as a state.[471] Also one needs to specify that the GDR ratified prior to FRG international agreements and conventions such as the Hague Convention (1954) concerning the protection of cultural heritage during

[466] Kieling, Uwe, Petersen, Helmut. "Datenspeicher Denkmalpflege-Kurzinformation für Nachnutzer" [Data preservation on monuments preservation-Brief information for the user], In *Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege*, (October 1989): 47-53.

[467] Kiessow, In Hoffmann, Volker, Autenrieth, Hans, Peter, eds. *Denkmalpflege heute. Akten des Berner Denkmalpflegekongresses Oktober 1993*, Neue Berner Schriften zur Kunst, Band 1, (Verlag Peter Lang, 1996): 185.

[468] Placzek Adolf K. et. al., 1979: 123-175.

[469] BArch DY27/8361: Kulturbund der DDR, Bundessekretariat, Jahresbericht 1980 über die Durchführung der internationalen Arbeit; Art. 114, Kulturarbeitspläne 1986-1990; (Allrussische Gesellschaft zum Schutz der Denkmale der Geschichte und Kultur)

[470] DHM-HA: MfDG/132: Entwurf des Rahmenperspektivprogramms der Museen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Rat für Museumswesen beim Ministerium für Kultur der DDR, Bl.20.

[471] Deiters, In Haspel and Staroste 2014, 24.

armed conflicts, and UNESCO convention concerning the illegal traffic (1970). The UNESCO Convention became a valid source of inspiration for the later issued law in cultural goods preservation of 1980.[472] Active in this direction were the National Committee of GDR for ICOMOS and the Institute for Monuments Preservation.

The statute of ICOMOS GDR National Committee was ratified in 1970.[473] Accordingly, the main headquarters were established in Berlin and had the obligation to meet twice a year. Among its contributions was to internationally promote GDR's achievements and contribution in monuments preservation, to stimulate the interest of the GDR people to preserve the cultural heritage as part of the national and world culture, to engage in international exchange with experts, and to bring its contribution to ICOMOS activities.[474] The interest of the GDR in actively participating in international community for preservation and international organisations of the UN was motivated by several arguments, which nevertheless reflected the interest the regime had to legitimising itself internationally thus strongly avoiding a potential defamation. Amongst these, the GDR committed to internationally demonstrate and represent its support to the preservation of 'humanist values' and to international peace.[475]

A result of the active collaboration and interest in the international network of professionals dealing with monuments preservation, and its international state legitimisation, the GDR hosted the VII International ICOMOS Conference, in Dresden and Rostock in Mai 1984, on the topic 'Monuments preservation and cultural identity'. During the Cold War the ICOMOS organised each three years its general conferences alternatively in the Western an Eastern Europe, including 450 participants from 42 countries both socialist and non-socialist states, in Budapest 1972, Rothenburg ob der Tauber 1975, Moscow 1978, and Rom 1981.[476] The organisation of the event in the GDR was not just a simple coincidence with the fact that GDR was celebrating its 35th anniversary in that year. Therefore, it can be accounted to the GDR's political gesture aiming at promoting GDR state on the international stage and highlight its contributions to the global cultural politics.

The main proposed topics for debate focused on the significance of monuments and preservation for cultural identity, environment, contemporary life, and the cultural function and use of monuments preservation.[477] The main

---

[472] Lößnitz 2007, 18.

[473] BArch DY27/4306: Statut des Nationalkomitees der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik im ICOMOS, In Verfügungen und Mitteilungen des Ministeriums für Kultur, Nr.7, Berlin, 31. Juli 1970.

[474] Statut des Nationalkomitees der DDR im ICOMOS, 1970, Abs. II. Das Nationalkomitee stellt sich folgende Aufgaben:

• Die Leistung der DDR auf dem Gebiet der Denkmalpflege im Rahmen der internationalen Fachorganisationen bekannt zu machen und zu popularisieren;

• Das Interesse der Bevölkerung der DDR am nationalen Kulturerbe als Bestandteil der sozialitischen Nationalkultur und der humanistischen Weltkultur zu fördern;

• Den Erfahrungsaustausch mit den Fachkollegen in vielen Ländern der Welt zu entwickeln;

• Die Tätigkeit des ICOMOS und seiner Ziele durch schriftliche Berichte, Teilnahme an den internationalen Beratungen des ICOMOS und Durchführung von regionalen ICOMOS-Kolloquien zu bestimmen denkmalpflegerischen Fragen zu unterstützen.

[475] Heldt 1973, 12-13.

[476] Deiters, In Haspel and Staroste, 2014, 45.

[477] BArch DY27/8362: ICOMOS National Committee, Beschlußprotokoll, Internationales Symposium anläßlich der VII. Generalkonferenz des ICOMOS 1984 in der DDR, Berlin 15.6.1982, Kulturbund der

goals of the conference were the adoption of two main documents that would impact the field of archaeology within monuments preservation strategies ('Rostocker Empfehlungen'). In addition was proposed for debate the role of monuments and preservation for the national cultural identity, by equally considering various social and ethnical groups in the form of the 'Dresdener Erklärung'.[478] Eventually only one final document was agreed upon, namely the 'Erklärung von Rostock und Dresden', while the archaeologists meeting gathered only 30 participants. The conference working groups focused on three main topics:

➢ the effects of monuments on the urban and rural environment,
➢ monuments and categories in the modern world,
➢ the influence of conservation on cultural identity.[479]

The GDR National Committee was, however, committed to highlighting the political significance of monuments and their political impact for the society, despite the strong criticism it encountered from the Polish delegates concerning the demolition of the Prussian Castel in Berlin.[480] Following Deiters, the chairman of the Conference, presented the contributions of GDR in the field of monuments preservation and cultural identity, by highlighting the outcome of conservation operations in the GDR since the end of the Second World War (cataloguing, protecting, maintaining and developing monuments and monument categories).[481]

The complexity of defining cultural identity was addressed, with a focus on the interactions between various forms of cultural identity and minority issues. Thus 'the cultural identity of a population group was also addressed as:

➢ a basis for respect for the cultural identities of other peoples;
➢ generating difficulties for younger cultures with national histories which only reach back a few hundred years ago;
➢ a quality which is confronted with the heritage of colonialism'.[482]

In that respect attention was drawn by the developing countries on their cultural heritage, but also to leaders from developing countries on their heritage (Asia, Latin America, Africa, and countries from the Pacific). This has been expressed either by calling for the autonomy of their cultural heritage, in setting up their own methodologies and criticised transferring methodologies developed by the European countries, or demanding for financial support from organisation such as UNESCO for their heritage.[483]

DDR (Bundessekretariat). Zusammenarbeit mit dem Internationalen Rat für Denkmale und Kulturstätten (ICOMOS), (1982): 7-8.

[478] BArch DY27/8362: ICOMOS Conference Concept, Internationaler Rat für Denkmale und Kulturstätten, ICOMOS Erklärung von Dresden; Kulturbund der DDR (Bundessekretariat). Zusammenarbeit mit dem Internationalen Rat für Denkmale und Kulturstätten (ICOMOS); (1983): 5.

[479] ICOMOS, 1984, The Seventh General Assembly, Rostock: http://www.icomos.org/publications/JS5_7.pdf [Last accessed 08.07.2017]

[480] ICOMOS Conference Concept, 1983, 5.

[481] ICOMOS, 1984, The Seventh General Assembly, Rostock.

[482] Ibidem.

[483] BArch DY 30/18839: Hans Joachim Hoffmann, Bericht über die Durchführung der VII. Generalversammlung des Internationalen Rates für Denkmale und Denkmalbereiche (ICOMOS) vom 12 bis 17. Mai 1984 in Rostock und Dresden, (1984): 11.

PART II: From Historic Monuments Preservation to National Cultural Patrimony: Bureaucratisation of Cultural Heritage Preservation and Protection, and its Controversies in Communist Romania

Introduction

The following chapter proposes a comprehensive analysis of the heritage preservation institutions, legislation and discourses in Romania with a focus on the socialist regime during Nicolae Ceaușescu's leadership (1965-1989). This aims at covering a major gap in the research on this historical period in Romania. A short introduction will provide however an overview of the measures adopted in heritage preservation and protection immediately after the Second World War. This aims at highlighting transformations in the field under state supervision following the coming to power of the communist regime, aiming at developing an administrative mechanism to ensure the preservation of historic monuments. This was previously subjected to expert bodies such as the Commission for Historic Monuments (1892-1949), an expert body dedicated mostly to preserving archaeological and religious assets in historical provinces Moldavia and Muntenia.[84]

The limited documentation made available on the socialist regime's policies in cultural heritage has often impeded researchers in analysing in detail, in particular the period after 1977 until 1989, precisely the period during Nicolae Ceaușescu's regime. This period, during which the Directorate for the National Cultural Patrimony was officially terminated - based on a political decision, the Decree 442 of 25 Nov.1977-, has been considered crucial for the post 1989 developments due to the inherited disastrous conditions of the cultural heritage and disfunctional administration. The decision to suspend the central institution responsible for heritage preservation, came in the context when Ceaușescu's policies and investments prioritised urban development nation-wide, with negative effects for heritage protection. Ever since the promoted discourse on the 'legacy' of Ceaușescu's politics 'against preservation' was rooted in the ideological aspect, and leader's 'aversion' towards heritage preservation. Moreover, it has been argued he promoted abusive policies, and extensive demolition actions, often motivated by urbanisation needs. Nevertheless these have been accounted to his 'cult of personality'.

A series of reactions and criticism from professionals and intellectuals expressed nationally and internationally against abusive interventions of the state affecting heritage preservation, determined surveillance apparatus Securitatea to officially document them. In addition to official documentation on the communist regime policies in heritage preservation and protection, the campaign initiated by Romanian intellectual dissidents during the 1980s, will be considered in this research. This was disseminated internationally through various channels such as UNESCO and the Radio Free Europe. Its purpose being of raising awareness of the public opinion and international

---

[84] Opriş, Ioan. *Comisiunea Monumentelor Istorice* [The Commission of Historic Monuments], Bucureşti: Editura Enciclopedică, 1994.

organisations on current abusive policies impacting heritage preservation in Romania. Moreover, abuses and poor conditions for managing monuments preservation were identified by the end of 1989 also by UNESCO's inspection in Bucharest in 1989.[485] These contributed to the image that ultimately holds Ceaușescu responsible for carrying a destructive campaign against the preservation of 'national cultural patrimony'.

Thus limited academic research emerged only recently, capturing various aspects of the heritage field during communism in Romania. A series of doctoral studies that analysed preservation issues during communism have rather focused on the built environment, and tend to discuss the period following 1977 in general terms.[486] One of the few recent academic publications that provides an overview of the Romanian monument's preservation tradition is Andreea Lazea's doctoral thesis[487]. The author delivers an anthropological analysis of state promoted preservation policies and its responsible institutions. The research is hence focusing on the evolution of historic monument preservation from late 19th century until current developments. However, the author focuses mainly on the preservation measures adopted by institutions and the afferent legislation on the built heritage. The period after 1977 was mainly documented by the author based on interviews with experts in the field of heritage preservation. However, the information delivered by the research in particular following 1977 is not supported by extensive evidence such as archival material in order to confront experts' statements.

Additional sources used for documenting this particular historic period was provided by the limited amount of secondary literature dealing with issues concerning heritage institutions and preservation in Romania published prior to 1989 (journals, reviews and periodicals, such as: Arhitectura, The Review of Museums and Monuments, The Bulletin of the Scientific Commission for Historic Monuments and Museums: Monuments and Museums, exhibition catalogues, etc.), and even more limited of those published after 1990 (Arhitectura, Dilema etc).

Barbu, Roske and Ciuceanu rightfully identify in the study on 'Monuments Condition' registered by the Securitatea files during the 1980s, and published in 2000 by the National Institute for the Studies of Totalitarism, that 'good intentions of the political actors are not a sufficient condition for ensuring the immunity of the monument and its preservation'.[488] The study was produced in the context within which the main institution responsible for Preservation of Historic Monuments has been dismantled in 1977. The study, together with the publication of the historian Dinu C. Giurescu 'The Razing of Romania's Past' (1989), count among the few consistent documents produced

---

[485] Mission in Romania Protection of the Cultural Heritage, UNESCO August- September 1989 http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000876/087699eb.pdf [last accessed 12.07.2017]

[486] Grama, Emanuela. *Searching for heritage, building politics: Architecture, archaeology, and imageries of social order in Romania (1947-2007)*, Dissertation (Michigan, 2010); Lazea Andreea, *Pentru o Antropologie a Patrimoniului și Patrimonializării. Perspective asupra Monumentelor în România* [An anthropology on the patrimony and patrimonialisation. Perspectives concerning monuments in Romania], (Iași: Editura Lumen, 2012); Iuga Liliana, *Reshaping the Historic City under Socialism: State Preservation, Urban Planning and the Politics of Scarcity in Romania (1945-1977)*. Dissertation (Budapest, 2016).

[487] Lazea 2012.

[488] Barbu Daniel, Ciuceanu Radu, Roske Octavian, *Condiția monumentului sub regimul comunist*, II, AT, nr. 28-29, 3-4, (2000,): 196-212; (A.C.N.S.A.S. D016335: Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, *Condiția Monumentului sub Regimul Comunist*, (no date: 5)

during the communist regime by dissident intellectuals capturing the condition of historic monuments preservation in the country under Ceaușescu.

Barbu, Roske and Ciuceanu delivered a historic approach to emphasise abusive interventions in heritage preservation by various statesman and governments in Romania throughout its modern history. Their goal was to highlight a continuity of abusive measures of the state affecting heritage preservation starting from the 19th century, when the foundation of the Romanian modern nation-state was historically celebrated, as much as during the Communist regime.[489] The study nonetheless highlights the contested role of autonomous institutions for heritage protection which was considered essential at the time, in particular in the context of political regime change. Thus the authors were pleading for the significance of independent institutions to guarantee heritage protection through its mediating role between the sphere of politics (legislative, administration) and the experts.

Following this research draws on the information and sources provided from limited secondary literature, and archival material collected from various institutions. The latter proved a significant source of documentation in developing a coherent understanding on preservation and protection of heritage in Romania during the socialist regime.[490]

The contribution of this chapter is hence to additionally complement the limited existing body of knowledge on the contested preservation mechanisms established in Romania during communism. Consequently, it will not limit the scope of the research only to the built environment, and information provided merely from interviews on the background of limited accessible archival documentation. Instead the goal of this research is to expand the knowledge in heritage, considering the evolution of historic monuments, as it was understood in its various stages of historical development.

Beginning in the 1950s the concept of monument was widely understood, including not only built assets but also what nowadays is categorised as movable heritage, namely archaeological and museums collections and artefacts.[491] As Lazea argues, on a similar note to the already disscused presentist approach to heritage by Hartog (2015), understanding and using the concept of 'historic monument' from the current perspective would be inaccurate, since the concept was used in various ways to define various categories of assets of historic or artistic interest at their time. For this reason this research will highlight the emergence and transformation of the 'historic monument', 'public monument', 'historic and cultural monument', 'monument of culture' to 'national cultural patrimony', designating various assets of interest for preservation and protection and the role of the state in this processes. Therefore, the built environment and the museum collections associated with the regime's ideology prior to 1989 will be considered in the patrimonial process discussed in this chapter. Archeaological assets are not considered here as they are beyond the scope of the research, but these will be mentioned for a better understanding of the complex transformation of the patrimonial awareness under state socialism.

---

[489] A.C.N.S.A.S. D016335: Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, (n.d., Preambul): 4.
[490] Consulted archives have been already mentioned in the introductory part.
[491] Lazea 2012, 133.

The reason for such an approach is to provide a coherent historical analysis which reflects the evolution from the historic monuments preservation and protection, to heritage management in the Romanian context. Furthermore, this research will highlight the role of the state in consolidating its intervention in the patrimonial field during the 20th century by the means of the legislation, and institutions. This aims at addressing the significant shift concerning heritage-making processes which throughout the 19th century and beginning of the 20th represented a priority for the experts. Nevertheless, the aim of this chapter is to go beyond the 'myths' and dominant discourses holding Ceaușescu's policies as the main cause for the disastrous situation of heritage preservation after 1977 in Romania. Instead, it is proposing to highlight a series of conditions, incoherencies and actors which affected the way heritage was dealt with in socialist Romania, and which cannot be understood only as the consequence of abusive interventions of a single actor.

By analysing the mechanism of monuments preservation developed under the communist regime, this chapter is relevant for providing a comprehensive understanding of the premises for heritage preservation prior to the 1989 political events. The overview of the wide historic period will highlight continuities and discontinuities of processes and actors involved in heritage-making and its preservation, which consequently impacted developments following the regime change. For this reason, a historical evolution of the legislation, and of the various cultural institutions involved in heritage preservation and protection, such as museums or main administrative bodies responsible for heritage protection and preservation, will be extensively discussed in this chapter.

3.4. The state and monuments preservation in its historical evolution

Currently practices of preservation developed after 1945 are predominately understood as a discontinuity with previous practices established before the Second World War. A discontinuity, which continues to be presented as a period of monument's destruction and abusive measures against monuments protection, reflecting state's politics of breaking with the past.

Complementary and to some extent contrary to these discourses, this research demonstrates that starting with the 1950s the state increasingly consolidated its position in managing heritage preservation and protection. It not only integrated heritage into the state bureaucratic system, but also through the means of the legislation contributed to framing what heritage is. This increasingly impacted heritage-making processes to the detriment of the experts and civil society involvement in patrimonial processes. Furthermore, going beyond its educational and ideological significance assigned by the newly established communist regime, this chapter demonstrates an increased interest and abusive involvement of the state in heritage. This was motivated for its signficance not only as an ideological resource but also economic.

The regime change following the Second World War and coming to power of the Communist Party meant an appropriation of discourses and practices of preservation by the state. Therefore the 20th century understanding of the condition of monuments was strongly linked to the sphere of politics, through various means of the state to regulating, controlling and valorising the patrimonial activity, such as: its cultural policies and administrative structures.

Institutions, administration and a series of tentatives to framing the legislation concerning preservation of monuments were initially under the close supervision of the Party, and of the political leader Nicolae Ceaușescu's reformed administrative structures starting from the 1965 onwards. After the Second World War, decisions were primarily undertaken to reform the system of preservation enforcing a state run administrative mechanism. A centralised administrative model developed including central, local and regional state bodies for dealing with heritage preservation and protection, while experts and autonomous institutions eventually lost their autonomy, functioning as integrative part of the state administration.

Therefore in a first stage the previous Commission for Historic Monuments (1892-1949) was gradually replaced by the new administrative mechanism, which engaged in establishing new commissions, or committes responsible for monuments preservation, subsequently to be discussed. These having different roles in the process of heritage preservation have been sub-ordinated to the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Built Constructions, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Education. However, these have been constantly reformed, and in particular during the 1970s following the political leader's change, and once with it of the cultural agenda. Following heritage became increasingly a matter of 'state security' and a resource for the failing state economy.

Throughout the regime an increasing role in ensuring the maintenance, safety and security of the monuments was however attributed to the local administration (Art.7. HCM 661/1955). Executive committees of local councils have been assigned in this direction, which were mostly relying on their own ressources.[492] However, the lack of knowledge and expertise in the field, the limited availability of experts and economic resources in the territory, and no clear strategy in covering these gaps, can be identified as the cause for a major drawback of the administrative system in managing heritage locally. From its very beginning the dysfunctional role of local councils in ensuring and controlling monuments preservation in the territory was discussed by the newly created Scientific Commission; an aspect, which one will see, will be perpetuated throughout the regime.[493]

Monuments preservation and protection was therefore throughout the communist regime considerably revised, and will be analysed in this sub-chapter by tracing and pointing out relevant changes of the institutions, administrative bodies, and of the legislative framework. Following, this sub-chapter will demonstrate that starting 1949 a series of measures were adopted by the state, as the main actor involved in patrimonialisation, that promoted a 'scientific' and 'objective' approach to monuments preservation. In that respect it aimed at establishing an administrative system responsible for the preservation of monuments, initially based on a top down decisional mechanism, concentrated at the centre by various institutions and

---

[492] INP, CSMMIA 1957, File: Academia R[epublicii] P[opulare] R[omîne] (R.P.R.): Comisia Știinţifică a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice. Rapoarte de activitate. Acte de corespondenţă II, (Febr[uarie] 1955-1959): 151.
[493] INP, File: Academia R.P.R.: Comisia Știinţifică a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice. Rapoarte de activitate. Acte de corespondenţă II, (Febr[uarie] 1955-1959): Referat: privind grija sfaturilor populare conform HCM 661/1955 art.7 de monumente de arhitectură, (1955): 64-66.

administrative bodies, and relatively assumed responsibility in the territories by the local organisations.

Nevertheless one can argue - despite the strong ideological rhetoric of the regime to which the preservation of cultural heritage was committed and commissioned, and state's intervention monopolising the decisional mechanism - that during this period one can identify a series of measures and state initiative concerning the professionalization, bureaucratisation and regulation of heritage preservation. On the other hand the role of the experts in the identification and evaluation of monuments, and developing the best strategies to ensure protection and preservation based on scientific principles was considerably impacted, politicised and often limited. In that respect a systematic approach based on the identification of the historic relevance initially, and artistic, cultural, scientific, memorial and economic later, have been throughout the regime re-defined as an argument for claiming the 'objectivity' of the expert in the 'scientific' process of selection of assets of patrimonial interest. The systematic process of assessing the values of heritage in its complex development, and heritage listing will be consequently extensively discussed.

However, this research will also demonstrate that the unconsolidated and un-coordinated institutional and administrative mechanism was due to fail impacting the state of heritage preservation considerably. This emerged on the background of a failing economy, uncoordinated measures between various state institutions and an over-bureaucratised protection system committed even more to the ideological pressures starting from the 1970s.

3.4.1. Bureaucratisation of heritage preservation and protection, a responsibility for the state administrative apparatus

Before the Second World War the preservation of historic monuments was mainly the result of activities conducted by prominent experts in the field of history, archaeology and architecture, and focused merely on archaeological, and sacral places and artefacts. These have been discussed by Iuga and will not be extensively elaborated in this research.[494] The first concretely organised Commission responsible for the historic monuments beginning of the century was the Commission for the Historic Monuments (1913, Law 3226) functioning under the Ministry of Religion and Public Instruction.[495] The Commission was the main actor concentrating all patrimonial activities of preservation, from the practical interventions in conservation and restoration to the theoretical activities. Its support and affiliation with the Orthodox Church is relevant to be highlighted, in order to better understand the priorities given to the sacral assets, being immovable or movable. Hence laic built assets were not considered a priority for preservation throughout its activity.[496] This was revised once the newly established regime in 1948 elaborated the law proposal

---

[494] Iuga 2016.
[495] Lazea 2012, 125.
[496] INP, File: Academia R.P.R.: Comisia Științifică a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice. Rapoarte de activitate. Acte de corespondență II, (Febr[uarie] 1955-1959): Organizarea Vechii Comisii, 1955, 22.

according to which also civil and military architecture built prior to 1834 were considered for protection.[497]

After the arrival to power of the Communist Party in Romania in 1948 one can talk about adopting measures towards implementing a bureaucratic, systematic and 'scientifically' driven approach to heritage preservation. However, contrary to the period prior to the Second World War, the following period up until 1989 was dominated by the state as the main actor responsible for the patrimonial sector, to which the expert was subordinated. Initially the emergent network of state institutions and administrative bodies had the responsibility to deal with both built environment and museums collections, and culminated with the normative framework from the 1970s addressing both categories of assets, reason for which this research will equally consider both catgories.

The argument motivating such an approach initially was to make a clear distinction between institutions responsible for developing a theoretical and scientific approach, and those facilitating practical and technical interventions in preservation. Hence the category of assets was not the criteria according to which responsible institutions for monuments preservation were initially established. This is relevant to be highlighted in order to capture and deliver a comprehensive understanding of the transformation of 'historic monuments' to 'national cultural patrimony', and the role of the state and its priorities concerning protection and preservation.

At an initial stage the Soviet model inspired the organisation of the Scientific Commission of Museums, Historic and Artistic Monuments.[498] This institution - affiliated with the Romanian Academy - was responsible for monuments preservation, meaning historic monuments and archaeological artefacts; and developing scientific approaches in museology.[499]

The Scientific Commission was replacing the Commission for Historic Monuments which functioned until 1949 under the supervision of the Ministry of Arts and Information. The attributions of the latest were transferred in 1950 to the Committee for Cultural Establishments.[500] Among the responsibilities attributed to the Scientific Commission were, as its name indicates, scientific and theoretical to: establishing scientific norms for the monuments' listing and de-listing procedure; setting up scientific rules and methodologies for studying, preserving, restoring all categories of monuments; improving norms and methods for conservation and restoration; developing criteria for preparing the documentation of monuments; developing plans for their valorisation; proposing the Ministry of Culture as responsible for the official nomination of historic or artistic monuments. Nevertheless, its activity results had to be disseminated through the Bulletin of the Scientific Commission for Museums and Cultural Monuments. However, only one issue was been

[497] ANIC, Ministerul Artelor și Informației, Dos.141/1948: 17.
[498] CSMMIA: Decree 46/1951.
[499] INP, File: Academia R.P.R.: Comisia Științifică a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice. Rapoarte de Activitate. Acte de corespondență II, (Febr[uarie] 1955-1959): Prezidiul Academiei R.P.R, (Oct.1955): 36.
[500] INP, File: Academia R.P.R: Comisia Științifică a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice. Rapoarte de Activitate. Acte de corespondență II, (Febr[uarie] 1955-1959): Importante realizări ale Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice în decursul celor 15 ani de la eliberarea patriei noastre, (June 1959): 18.

published in 1958.[501] Therefore all theoretical activities concerning monuments preservation, museology and developing scientific methods in conservation and restoration, became its responsibility.

The Scientific Commission and Museums

The Scientific Commission was also the first actor to be responsible for theorising museology. For this purpose, among its attributions one could identify: developing norms for classification, organisation and functioning of all museums in the country, independent of their typologies to be organised as: history museum, technical and natural museums, ethnographic museums, fine arts museums etc.[502]

A proliferation of new museums was registered after the Second World War in Romania. However, at an initial stage museums were not subordinated only to one central institution, but they were coordinated by various state actors, such as: the Scientific Commission, the Superior Council of Museums (Law 803/1946) functioning under the Ministry of Arts, by the Ministry of Interior Affairs, local administrative bodies in the territories (executive committees of the People's Councils), Ministry of Education. The significance of museums for the newly established government was important. These were considered as facilitators between the public, the Party and the monument (in its wider understanding). According to Barbu, Roske and Ciuceanu the number of museum's foundation increased from 66 in 1946 to 121 in 1950, and 313 during the 1970s to 465 in 1989; with a strong predominance of the history museums.[503]

Another aspect brought to attention by Barbu, Roske and Ciuceanu was the laicisation of religious places, and changing their function, often this being museal. A measure which was at the time highly criticised, and a vivid example for such practices, was presented at Durău where monks were 'transformed into tickets sales persons', or the transformation of most wooden churches in Maramureș county into museums.[504] This process of conversion of churches into museums and of their assets into museum artefacts was perpetuated throughout the socialist regime, and recalls similarities with the case presented by Sandormiskaja when discussing the transformation of the religious orthodox icon into an artefact, and eventually patrimonial object.

The Scientific Commission and Built Environment

The Scientific Commission was involved not only in developing museology, but also in developing norms, methodologies and scientific rules in order to identify, study and conduct conservation and restoration works independent of the nature of the monument designated for protection. These norms and regulations were later sanctioned by the ministerial decree 661 of 1955, which

[501] INP, File: Academia R.P.R., Dare de seamă a activității Comisei Științifice a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice, (1955): 59-61.
[502] INP, File: Academia R.P.R., 1955: Importante realizări ale Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice în decursul celor 15 ani de la eliberarea patriei noastre, (June 1959): 18.
[503] Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, n.d, 63-66; ANIC: CC al PCR Propagandă și Agitație, 70/1989: 51; (see also Anuarul Statistic al R.S.R., (1973): 525-541).
[504] Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, n.d., 67.

became the normative act, based on which the functioning of the Scientific Commission was regulated.[505]

However, the responsibility for the execution of restoration and conservation works, and other technical works was assigned to various state institutions, ministries, committees in the field: such as the State Committee for Constructions, Architecture and Rehabilitations; Central Institute for Urban Systematisation of Cities, Ministry for Built Constructions and Institute for Planning.

According to the decree, issued by the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers Party together with the Council of Ministers on 13th of November 1952, concerning the reconstruction of cities and rehabilitation in architecture, the State Committee for Constructions, Architecture and Rehabilitations was assigned to ensure built preservation.[506] This concentrated all interventions impacting built monuments, such as restoration and conservation works, among its responsibilities, which were controlled by the General Direction for Historic Monuments (1952). The Committee for Constructions was affiliated to the Romanian Academy, but it functioned under the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Built Constructions. In 1959 its obligations have been however transferred to the newly established Directorate for Historic Monuments.

Following one can identify that monuments preservation, protection, evaluation and listing became a complex activity involving the contribution of various state institutions and various administrative levels (local and central) such as the Ministry of Culture, State Committee for Culture and Arts (CSAC), and the Romanian Academy, and it was not anymore the result of a single authority in the field. However, competences were distributed among various institutions and administrative bodies, which often overlapped. Criticism was often expressed regarding the deficiencies of the local organisation endangering the state of monuments, while also funding was deturned and inappropriately used for various other priorities.[507]

Additionally the lack of experts in particular from the field of museology, fine arts and archaeology in the Scientific Commission, their absence in the territories, and un-coordinated actions between the Scientific Commission with the local bodies and various institutions, had as consequence the reform of the commission by the end of the 1950s. Consequently the attribution of monuments preservation was transferred to the Directorate for Historic Monuments (DMI).[508] It was hoped that the DMI would receive similar attributions to the Commission of Historic Monuments prior the Second World War.[509]

The beginning of the 1970s was marked by measures towards reforming institutions and adopting the first law in heritage preservation,

[505] INP, Academia R.P.R.: Comisia Științifică a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice. Rapoarte de activitate. Acte de corespondență II, (Febr[uarie].1955-1959): Importante realizări ale Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice în decursul celor 15 ani de la eliberarea patriei noastre, (June 1959): 19.
[506] A.C.N.S.A.S., File: D 003576, Instrucțiuni Nr. 4: Privind măsurile urgente ce trebuiesc luate pentru păstrarea monumentelor istorice de arhitectură, (13.11.1952): 1.
[507] ANIC: CC al PCR Secția Propagandă și Agitație, 5/1957: 15.
[508] HCM 781/1959; 1959-1971; INP: Academia R.P.R., (1957): 172; 181-182.
[509] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Museums 1963-1976 ITEM No. 813/68: Management of the Historical Monuments Department, (Dec.1967): 1; DMI was managed by the Prof. Arch. Richard Bordenache, and the technical Directors: Ing. Victor Munteanu and George Curinschi.

which was valid until 1989. According to the Art.3 of the HCM 1091/1970 the DMI was organised under the newly established CSCA. The responsibility of the DMI was to frame a national mechanism whose aim was to develop methodologies and manage activities in conservation and restoration of historic monuments. Among these to be mentioned: 'maintaining the evidence of all historic monuments, of architecture, archaeological, artistic and memorial; promoting research and studies based on which restoration of architectural and archaeological monuments will be conducted, approval of all conservation and restoration works, registrar, managing funds for monuments restoration, control and survey of restoration, conservation works and maintenance of monuments, valorisation of monuments and use' (Art3. HCM 1091/1970).

Moreover, DMI was the main central executive institution responsible for all monuments in the country. On the background of a limited team of 36 members responsible for these activities, while most of them were active only part-time, it is clear that a huge deficient of the personnel was impacting the quality of the work. Most of the works were scattered in the country, often in remote areas difficult to be reached. The lack of adequate resources led often to an incoherent and uncoordinated supervision of the preservation works, and poor state of conservation of monuments in the country.[510]

However, the CSCA was soon replaced by the Council for Culture and Socialist Education (CCES) following the Decree 301 of 1971. While the ministerial decree 1346 of 1971 assigned the Directorate for Historic and Artistic Monuments (DMIA) as the 'main responsible for the preservation, safeguarding and restoration, and valorisation of the historic monuments, of fine arts and architecture'. The Commission for Historic and Artistic Monuments was set up according to the Art.17 and functioned as the technical-scientific advisory body for the DMIA.[511] Soon after, in 1975, DMIA was renamed as the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony.[512] These institutional developments and administrative reform will be extensively discussed in the following sub-chapter when introducing the Law of 1974.

To conclude, we identified that the patrimonial activity became the responsibility of a centralised administrative apparatus which facilitated the extended bureaucratisation of the heritage preservation and protection. However, movable and immovable assets became the responsibility of distinct institutions. This emerged despite the fact that the legal framework discussed monuments in an all-comprehensive manner, and included both catgeories of assets. Furthermore, at this stage it was not clearly defined how the collaboration between the central institutions and the local committees in the territories was established.

3.4.2. Legislative framework for monuments preservation

After the Second World War a series of decrees and ministerial decisions were issued concerning the protection of patrimonial assets. At this point patrimony was managed based on normative acts which were only partial and could not

---

[510] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Museums 1963-1976 ITEM No. 813/68: Management of the Historical Monuments Department, (1967): 1-4.
[511] Lazea 2012,138f.
[512] Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, n.d, 13.

fully ensure monuments preservation.[513] Hence decrees and norms, issued immediately after the communist regime came to power, lacked in stating clear principles, responsibilities, attributions and procedures for establishing a centralised evidence and management system for monuments protection. However, these have prepared the main legislation concerning the protection of the national cultural patrimony, namely the Law 63 of 1974. These will constitute subject of a detailed analysis in this sub-chapter, after a short introduction discussing the main decrees and norms issued in the field.

Starting from the 1950s a series of decrees were developed. These are essential for better understanding of the changes in heritage protection in the aftermath of the Second World War under the communist regime, and in particular, the role of the state in this matter. Among the most significant to be noted: the Ministerial Decree 46 of 1951 concerning the 'Scientific organisation of museums and conservation of historic monuments and of arts'; the Ministerial Decree 661 from April 1955: 'Rules concerning safeguarding and valorisation of monuments of culture'; and the Ministerial Decree 1160 from June 1955, concerning the adoption of the lists of monuments of culture and arts in R.P.R. The HCM 724 of 1969 eventually prepared the Law 63/1974 on preservation of national cultural patrimony.

According to the **Decree 46/1951** the Scientific Commission of Museums and of Historic Monuments and of Arts has been organised under the Romanian Academy, and will not be detailed here as its responsibilities were already discussed.

However, with the adoption of the **Decree 661/1955** one can identify significant changes which were aimed at establishing a state administrative mechanism responsible for monuments preservation. In that respect according to this decree a significant contribution was assigned to the executive committees of the local councils to safeguarding and valorising of 'monuments of culture' in territories.[514] Although local councils did not have the responsibility to safeguard and protect religious assets, these being assigned to the Department of Religion, it would nevertheless financially contribute to support their restoration.[515]

One aspect introduced by this decree was the use of 'monuments of culture' instead of 'historic monuments', a concept, which would soon be dismissed by the legislation to follow. 'Monuments of culture' were understood as 'goods of archaeological, historical, architectural or artistic importance, signifying material proof for cultural development and significant events on the Romanian territory'.[516] As one could identify emphasis was put

---

[513] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1: Legea Ocrotirii Patrimoniului Național de Bunuri Culturale, (1974): 4.

[514] INP, File: Academia R.P.R.: Comisia Științifică a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice. Rapoarte de activitate. Acte de corespondență II, (Febr[uarie] 1955-1959): Nota către Min. Construcțiilor, Departamentul de Arhitectură și Urbanism-Direcția Generală a Monumentelor Istorice, (7.5.1958): 221; Referat: privind grija sfaturilor populare conform HCM 661/1955 art.7 de monumente de arhitectură, (1955): 64-66.

[515] INP, File: Academia R.P.R.: Comisia Științifică a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice. Rapoarte de activitate. Acte de corespondență II, (Febr[uarie].1955-1959): Departamentul de Arhitectură și Urbanism-Direcția Generală a Monumentelor Istorice, (4.06.1958): 222.

[516] 'bunuri de o importanță arheologică, istorică, arhitectonică sau artistică, reprezentand dovezi materiale ale dezvoltării culturii de pe teritoriul patriei noastre sau ale desfășurării unor evenimente de seamă din trecutul său.' (Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, n.d, 11)

on the preservation of the material culture, whereas the concept of monument was an all-encompassing unit, independent of the various categories of assets.

The already mentioned concept of 'architectural monument' was proposed to replace 'historic architectural monument' which was prior in use.[517] The logic of such an argument was motivated by the CSAC (State Committee for Arts and Culture), which requested that the Academy revise the heritage lists in order to include contemporary architecture. Significant values had to be proven in order to protect them against unavoidable changes and transformations.[518] As such these were considered 'a source of knowledge concerning developments in architecture and in arts in our country, moreover they are a tool for educating youth according to the patriotic spirit, and devotion for the liberated country in which people are beneficiary of all richness and its beauties.'[519]

For the first time the destruction of monuments was dependent on the approval from the Ministry Councils, following the consultation of the responsible institution for preservation, namely of the Commission for Historic Monuments.[520] Following three categories of architectural monuments have been identified, depending on the degree of immanent threat, recquired interventions, and the amount of information available. These categories were:

> ➢ Category I: included assets of exceptional value, which were mandatory to be retained.
> ➢ Category II: assets of potential interest for the preservation, however incomplete documentation was provided, and
> ➢ Category III: monuments that have no potential for preservation.[521]

Hence monuments were not limited to their historic and age values. The lists for protection of monuments were also triggered by the idea of safeguarding assets from potential threats and unavoidable transformations, including contemporary architecture.

Despite the strong ideological orientation in the selection of the assets to be preserved, innovative aspects in regulating monuments preservation within the urban setting shall be however pointed out. Namely, the setting surrounding monuments had to be preserved including natural assets. Also, a certain buffer zone had to be delineated, in order to maintain the visual integrity of the monument and to prevent inappropriate developments in its close proximity, additionally to the inclusion of the concept of 'reserves'.[522]

Nevertheless, one can argue that until the end of the 1960s a series of decrees and norms have been issued to regulate valuable assets which were of

[517] INP, File DMI III: Procese verbale de avizare (1955): Proces Verbal 31, (May 1955): 128.
[518] DMI III: Proces Verbal 31, (May 1955): 128-129.
[519] A.C.N.S.A.S., File: D 003576: Instrucţiuni nr.4, (1952): 1,6. 'Architectural historic monuments' were considered 'any construction on the Romanian territory, works of past craftsmen, which was relevant for its 'progressive' character, as much for its architectural, historic, technical and artistic significance.'
[520] H.C.M. art 661/1955; Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu,n.d, 11: 'dărîmarea monumentelor de cultură nu se poate face decît cu aprobarea prealabilă a Consiliului de Miniştri data la propunerea organului competent.'
[521] INP, File DMI III: 1955: CSAC, Comisia de Avizare, Proces verbal nr.33, (24. May 1955): 135.
[522] A.C.N.S.A.S., File: D 003576, Intrucţiuni Nr.4, (1952): 5.

interest for the state to be preserved, and in particular an increased interest has been manifested concerning movable assets. Following, one can identify concrete steps towards developing a systematic approach in the process of identification of valuable asstes having the potential for patrimonialisation.

Consequently decrees and laws adopted starting from the 1960s, increasingly prioritised the regulation of movable assets. **The Decree 724/1969** (later revised as the **Law 64/1969**)[522], concerning the 'protection and conservation of goods of national interest of artistic, historic and documentary value, and of objects containing precious metals and rare stones', was a further step to facilitating state intervention in appropriating national patrimony. However, at this stage, terms and conditions were still generic, while the concept of goods clearly reflected the approach to movable assets.[524]

Nevertheless, few aspects introduced by this decree deserve attention. Namely, it considered the organisation of the first national centralised inventories of cultural goods, consisting mainly of movable assets, which have already been retained by various cultural institutions, and were considered of 'national interest'. These referred initially mainly to those assets which were state institutions' property, or belonging to regional organisations and religious institutions. This process basically implied a re-evaluation of the inventories organised in 1948 when the Communist Party came to power.[525] For the first time the 'national interest' was evoked as the goal in preservation, and not anymore the safegarding and protection of assets from destruction. The aim of the Decree was to identify in particular valuable assets which would make later subject for a museum collection, or would be tranferred in the custody of the National Bank. The latter being the only institution having the right of purchasing such valuable assets (Art.1, Art. 2 Law 64/1969). Also, this decree can be understood as picking up an old idea launched already by the Law 803 of 1946 on the reorganisation of national museums, whose goal was to lay the foundation for a national museum that would encompass all exceptional valuable assets that represent the cultural and artistic patrimony of Romania. In that respect, the creation of the National Museum for Arts and Archaeology was proposed, however, this project was never realised.[526]

Hence one can state that after the Second World War decisions for creating inventories of objects of patrimonial interest for the state have been created first in the context of the abusive state intervention and confiscation practices. These targeted various individuals and institutions not aligned with the newly established government. Also, according to the decree for the first time sanctions were adopted in order to prevent the export of goods of national interest, independent of ownership. However, this indicated a further step towards violating citizen's property rights. Namely, it signalised the pre-emption right of the state, ultimately imposed by the Law of 1974.

To meet these objectives, Commissions were set up as consulting bodies, containing experts from the Council of Culture and Socialist Education,

---

[522] Decret privind protejarea și păstrarea bunurilor de interes național ce reprezintă valori artistice, istorice sau documentare

[523] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1: Legea Ocrotirii Patrimoniului Național de Bunuri Culturale, (1974): 3.

[524] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1: Notă cu privire la unele aspecte din activitatea de inventariere a bunurilor cultural-artistice de valoare națională în conformitate cu decretul 724/1969, (14 dec.1972): 222.

[525] Law 803/1946, In Monitorul Oficial,(no.288/1946): 11046.

National Bank, Finance Minister, Inner Ministry, Administration Section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Their priority was to set up the programme, and develop methodologies in order to assess, take into custody and manage assets considered as national patrimony. In territory, the responsibility for creation of such inventories was attributed to the Regional Commissions for Culture and Socialist Education. The reoganisation of the inventories and monuments lists was mandatory considering since in 1968 the administrative and territorial reform of Romania was adopted, which meant the reorganisation of cities, towns and regions nationwide.

In 1969 - following the change in government and with Ceaușescu coming into power - all lists and the inventories issued immediately after the Second World War containing confiscated assets, were equally revised and re-evaluated. New statistics were conducted in order to identify their status and conditions, followed by their redistribution. Yet this decision raised several issues, such as the lack of a systematic mechanism to keep the evidence of all accumulated goods, the lack of knowledge to set up the centralised fund. No legal measure was issued in this direction, reason for which the conservation and preservation of the accumulated objects could not be legally provided.

In the first stage of the re-evaluation were included objects which immediately after the Second World War, were disposed from palaces and royal houses belonging to the monarchy and have been taken in custody by individuals or various state institutions such as theatres and cinematographies, but could not be justified. An inventory had to be set up, and institutions responsible for their preservation had to be identified. Also objects considered to be of extremely high value had to be protected as state treasury, either by the National Art Museum or the National History Museum, and to some extent were redistributed to residential palaces.[527] Here one needs to discuss the role of secret services and its attributions to identify objects, individuals and institutions subject for re-distribution. Furthermore, the agency was employed in order to take measures and exploit data retrieved from the secret services archives, and other state archives which contained documentation regarding all objects susceptible of artistic and historic interest, to centralise all gathered information, and to apply confiscation measures, taken by the state according to the decree issued in 111/1951.[528]

A specification needs to be made, namely, an increased interest has been shown in the economic benefits following the confiscation practices. A particular category of interest, including jewellery, precious metals and rare stones, was taken in the evidence of the National Bank, or the Ministry of Finance. Parts were either sold to various individuals or state institutions, or further given as gifts. The lack of a centralised mechanism of evidence of all sales between 1952-1965 prohibits a general overview of the income generated, and of how it has been spent. There are only few cases that confirm how such additional state income was used, for instance to import from abroad technologies and various other goods.[529]

[527] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 003574/009: CC al PCR, Cancelarie Notă (12.04.1976): 6-9.
[528] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D003574/006: Ministerul de Interne. Centrul de informatică și documentare, Notă (11.12.1972): 108.
[529] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 003574/009, Notă privind măsurile luate în cadrul acțiunilor "Îmbogățirea" și "Patrimoniu" pentru identificarea unor obiecte de artă și alte valori de interes național, 47.

Along with the inventories new lists were proposed which again reinforced the concept of 'historic monuments' and included, archaeological, architectural, arts and memorial monuments.[530] Hence the concept of historic monuments, which makes a come back, would refer still to all encompassing valuable assets, either built or movable, worthy to be preserved. A specificity was introduced concerning 'architectural reserves', which was further elaborated including historic centres, neighbourhoods and streets of historic or artistic value for ensuring the maintenance of the integrity of the landscape. Hence it was belived that this would contribute to the preservation of the local specificity.[531]

In a first stage almost 13.063 objects of interest were identified, from which almost 10.039 have been listed in the centralised inventories. However, the proposed lists of 'historic monuments' included 6.456 assets of significant relevance. Hence one can identify an increased interest from the state in patrimonialisation, highlighted by the high amount of assets which were granted state protection. Although surveys were conducted without considering all categories of objects. Also the same system for evaluation was not applied to all assets everywhere in the country, while some regions in the country have not been considered during the surveys.[532] Also no specific criteria were defined at this stage to identify what classified assets of being of 'national interest', or of 'artistic, documentary and historic value'.

Here one could argue that a series of measures have been adopted towards creating a more coherent and complex normative mechanism ensuring monuments preservation. However, all decrees and proposals have merely stipulated the increasing role of the state in the process of preservation of monuments, and have less considered the role and obligations of communities or citizens, and experts in this process. Moreover, a series of measures have been adopted which often violated property rights of citizens.

The **law 63 of 1974** concerning 'The protection of the national cultural patrimony of the Socialist Republic of Romania' from 31st October stated clear principles, procedures, attributions, responsibilities of the state and individuals, and conditions for ensuring the preservation and conservation of the national cultural patrimony.[533] It aimed at introducing a systematic approach to conservation and its valorsation. In that respect developing norms for registering and keeping the evidence of the cultural assets was a priority for the state in order to prevent illicit traffic with assets of national interest, demonstrating continuity with the previous decrees from the 1960s.

In the introduction to the Law a statement has been given including the motives for which the preservation of monuments, either natural or cultural were significant:

> Cultural assets and of patrimony are considered according to the modern socialist interpretation assets of knowledge production and of inspiration for the creative spirit of the present and future. (…) The

[530] ANIC: Min.Cultelor şi Artelor, Nr.205/1969-1977, HCM Proposal Art.1. (1972): 145-148.
[531] ANIC: Min.Cultelor şi Artelor, Nr.205/1969-1977, HCM Proposal Art.1. (1972): 145-146.
[532] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1: Instructaj pentru comisiile judeţene de inventariere a bunurilor culturale-artistice de interes naţional, 328-329.
[533] Law of 63/1974, published in BOF nr.137, Nov. 1974.

> preservation and protection of national cultural patrimony is motivated in particular by recent urban developments, industrialisation and polution of the environment, ecological changes as a consequence of the modernisation processes.[534]

Also it made reference to the international framework set by organisations such as UNESCO concerning the protection of patrimony, and in particular preventing illicit traffic and illegal transfer over the borders of goods of cultural and economic significance, which Romania at this point was close to ratifying. The aim of this law was to align Romania's national legislative framework to the international standards.[535] Hence there is no surprise in this context that the law would mainly focus in setting up the framework for the preservation cultural goods in the context of transfer over the borders,[536] highlighting rather a concern for present conditions affecting heritage, and nation state' interest.

Also the law was considered the continuation of the prior existent norms and decrees adopted in Romania such as the Iorga Law of 1932, or the Decree on Monuments Preservation 661/1955, and the Decree 724/1969 concerning the protection and preservation of of goods of national interest of artistic, historic and documentary value.[537]

Interestingly, the Law of 1974 was issued in a limited version (4 Chapters and 33 Articles) in comparison to the Project Law which included 9 Chapters and almost 111 Articles, which focused on the following aspects:

➢ defining the concept of national cultural patrimony and the role of the state in its protection,
➢ the legal status of such assets as a good of national interest, which would allow the state to claim any object which left the country illegaly, hence enforcing the pre-emption role of the state,
➢ the rights and obligations of owners,
➢ the institutional mechanism involved in the process of registration, keeping records, preservation and valorisation. The role of the CCES and of the local councils in the preservation and enriching local patrimony,
➢ the system of classification of cultural goods, based on which one can control the movement and transfers cultural goods in the country and abroad,
➢ introduction of the sanctions in case of abuse and not respecting the law.[538]

The law introduced the concept of 'national cultural patrimony', replacing 'historic monuments' in its overall understanding. This refered to the protection of movable and immovable heritage, although the conditions for movable assets have been prioritised. The first article stated what was understood under 'national patrimony of cultural goods', namely: 'goods of significant historic, artistic, or documentary value testifying the historic evolution of the Romanian nation and of the humankind, or the evolution of

---

[534] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1: Expunere de Motive, 1974.
[535] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1: Expunere de Motive, (1974): 4.
[536] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1: Expunere de Motive, (1974): 2.
[537] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1: Expunere de Motive, (1974): 3.
[538] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1: Expunere de Motive, (1974): 5.

the natural environment, including in these categories precious metals or objects containing precious metals and rare stones'.[539]

Here one notices a great distinction between the final version of the Law and the project for the law proposal which considered national patrimony of cultural goods' as: 'cultural goods - material or fixed on a material support-that have a cultural value, documentary, of testimony for the process of development of nature and society, as objects of knowledge and human activity.'[540] It included 'cultural goods, created by human being - artificial- and having their provenance from nature - natural-, movable and immovable. They are organised in: patrimony of historic monuments, patrimony of natural monuments, museum's patrimony, books and archival patrimony.'[541]

Assets which eventually were included in the national cultural patrimony were, according to the second Article, the following:

➢ Goods of particular artistic value: objects or architectural monuments and fine and applied arts, ancient, medieval or modern, which are representative for prestigious Romanian or foreign artists; or for their artistic value, rarity and characteristics are representative for the national and universal arts and culture;

➢ Goods of historic and documentary value: archaeological and historic monuments, objects and documents of memorial relevance, manuscripts, religious books and other assets with unique value, representative for certain historic periods, institutions, events and historic personalities, national and universal; significant testimonies for the history of science and technology, numismatics, rarities and of high artistic value, unique stamps;

➢ Goods of scientific value: here were considered mainly natural assets rare or at risk - which were kept only in special collections - monuments of nature, fossils and rare trophies.[542]

Therefore one could identify that the distinction between movable and immovable, natural and cultural assets was made. Although, the overarching criteria, according to which patrimonial assets were classified, were not according to their typology, instead according to their significance and identified values.

Although built monuments were subject to this Law, these were not considered separately from movable assets in the process of evaluation. To be mentioned, copies of lost original assets were also considered for

---

[539] 'Art.1. În înțelesul acestei legi, bunurile cu valoare deosebită, istorică, artistică, sau documentară care reprezintă mărturii importante privind dezvoltarea istorică a poporului roman și a omenirii în general sau evoluția mediului natural, inclusiv cele din acele categorii, alcătuite din materiale prețioase sau conținînd materiale prețioase și pietre prețioase, constituie patrimoniul cultural național al Republicii Socialiste Romînia și se bucură de protecția statului, a întregii societăți. (Legea Ocrotirii Patrimoniului Național de Bunuri Culturale, D013367/1, 1974, p. 44)

[540] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1, Project of the Law, (1974): 7-8.
Art.1 Patrimoniul național de bunuri culturale este constituit și se constituie istoricește, din obiecte- cu existență materială, sau fixate pe un suport material–care au valoare culturală, documentară, de mărturii ale procesului de dezvoltare al naturii și al societății, ca obiective ale cunoașterii și ale activității omenești.

[541] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1: Art1. Proiect Legea Ocrotirii Patrimoniului Național de Bunuri Culturale, (1974): 8.

[542] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1: Legea Ocrotirii Patrimoniului Național de Bunuri Culturale, Art. 2, (1974): 44-45.

patrimonialisation. This measure supported again the idea that not the original material was the primordial criteria in the selection process of patrimonial assets. The intrinsic value of assets was rather linked to the economic value of the material of production, such as gold, silver, and platinum, highly regarded in the process of evaluation.

The law stated the primordial role of the state in 'preserving national cultural heritage being responsible for its evidence, conservation and valorisation' (Art.4). As a consequnce it introduced the state centralised evidence system, and the obligation of citizens, religious organisations and local administration to declare assets susceptible of being of interest for the state (Art.6,7).[543] Furthermore, it specified the role of the society in the process of recognition and identification of the values for which assets should be preserved (Art.5). Therefore one can identify that the patrimonial act was understood as a social process of value recognition, which was not limited only to the identification and recognition of 'intrinsic' values of assets. Therefore various categories were identified according to the significance and their values for the society. Safeguarding, conservation and scientific valorisation of the national cultural patrimony was to be conducted nationwide following same criteria and conditions.

The process of the designation of protected assets, the evidence, conservation, protection, research, scientific and cultural-educational valorisation of the national cultural patrimony, became the responsibility of the Council for Culture and Socialist Education, and of the institutions which have been created under its supervision. Managing national cultural patrimony, and in particular its registration and setting up the centralised evidence have been clearly stated as the responsibility and obligation of state institutions and administration. The network of institutions and administrative bodies managing historic monuments preservation under CCES, included: the Central State Commission for National Cultural Patrimony, the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony and Regional Offices for National Cultural Patrimony (Art.9). The role of the Ministry of Inner Affairs, and local administration, was stated to contribute to the identification, inventorisation, and appropriation of goods declared as being part of the national cultural patrimony, but have been been 'enstranged' (Art.8).

Goods of significant relevance were also proposed to be distributed to public institutions for granting wider access to the society, such as museums, collections and libraries. Those subjected to private ownership were to be controlled and supervised on a regulary basis by the state authorities (Art. 13). As a consequence the Art.14 merely focused on the rights and obligations of the private owners to ensure the preservation of cultural assets. However, the law increased the intervention of the state in heritage management, through its 'pre-emption' role, abusively infringing property rights of citizens (Art. 16). Hence it introduced the collaboration with the Ministry for Internal Affairs, and Ministry of Finance concerning the economic valorisation and evaluation of cultural assets. Also, according to the Law it prohibited the transfer of property regime of state' owned cultural goods, or towards other institutions

---

[543] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1: Legea Ocrotirii Patrimoniului Național de Bunuri Culturale, Art. 4, 6,7, (1974): 46-47.

(Art.17), while the transfer of the property regime towards foreign individuals or institutions was strictly prohibited (Art.22).

The new law regulated the transfer of attributions from the Commission for Historic Monuments and Arts to the Central State Commission for National Cultural Patrimony. According to the secretary of the Commission Vasile Drăguț the new body was a 'complex organism with authority following the state line'.[544] The Commission represented the technical and scientific body, which also had the responsibility to approve all urban development interventions, in this case having a decisional role. It also received the responsibility to preparing lists of goods considered as national patrimony, and developing evaluation norms for assets considered of exceptional value, and therefore proposed for transfer into national state property.

The centralised evidence of the national cultural patrimony had to include descriptive elements and evaluation for each asset. Also the nominal value of assets was established according to criteria approved by the Ministry Council, and elaborated the pre-emptive right of the state in the process of purchasing assets. Lists of cultural goods designated for protection, had to be made public and published by the 'Official Bulletin of Socialist Republic of Romania'. These were proposed by the Central State Commission, with the approval of the Ministry Council (Art.10). However, this was not put in practice, as the lists have been undisclosed to the public after 1977.

According to the Art.28 of the Project for the Law, the role of the Central Commissions was to inform the CCES on the prejudices and damages affecting monuments, ensembles, sites, collections and cultural goods as a consequence of the urban developments, and interventions motivated by socio-economic interests or any other human interventions (Art.28, Project of the Law 1974, p.16)[545]. However, these specifications eventually have not been included in the final version of the law. The role of the CCES, regarding the processes of registering and valorisation of the national cultural patrimony, has been revised following the adoption of the Decree 442/1977.

> The Law of 1974 laid the foundation of a further institution responsible for monuments preservation, namely the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony. It was considered as the body of experts responsible for the elaboration and co-ordination of preservation, conservation and valorisation of 'national cultural patrimony'; being directly responsible for restoration and conservation works. In its early years the Directorate was very much prolific in promoting campaigns of conservation and preservation in Romania. The Directorate draw its inspiration in the tradition of Venice Charter in its restoration policies.[546]

---

[544] HU OSA300-60-1, Box 101, 800: Culture/Ideological Proposals of N. Ceaușescu, (1972-1975): Radio Bucharest, Domestic, (April 8.1975): 17.00-19.00.

[545] g) Sesizează conducerea Consiliului Culturii și Educației Socialiste cu privire la măsurile de urgență necesare prevenirii unor distrugeri sau altor prejudicii ce s-ar aduce monumentelor, ansamblurilor, siturilor, colecțiilor sau bunurilor culturale, ca urmare a unor lucrări de sistematizare, de asanare sau de amplasare a obiectivelor cu caracter economic-social sau a altor împrejurări naturale sau derivate din acțiunile umane. (Proiect Lege, Art.28, 17)

[546] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D016335: Barbu, Roske,Ciuceanu, n.d., 12-13.

Under its supervision have been included all categories of assets considered valuable for preservation, meaning built environment and museums collections (Art.8). The Directorate together with organisations under the Ministry of Interior Affairs (special units organised within secret services Securitatea) have been invested with the responsiblity of identifying illegal abuses, and apply sanctions according with the Law (Art.29).[547] The collaboration with the special units from the Ministry of Interior Affairs was legally binding, according to the Final dispositions of the Law (Art 31).

The Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony was basically the result of the reorganisation of the Direction for Historic Monuments and Arts (Art.9). However, this institution did not last, being dismantled following a decision of the Decree 442 of 1977, according to which all its responsibilities have been transferred starting 1ˢᵗ of December 1977 to the CCES (Art.25, Decree 442/1977).

The role and function of regional offices was mainly designed to ensure locally the administration of goods of national interest, including historic monuments and of arts. This included ensuring their conservation, valorisation, safety and security. These were organised within regional museums determined by the CCES (Art 9 Law of 1974). Furthermore it included experts not only from museums but also members of Regional Directions responsible for Urban Development, Architecture and Control, and experts groups for conservation works within regional companies responsible for construction works, among others (Art.11, HCM 13/1975).

Therefore regional offices supervised the activity of conservation works of assets, such as: fine arts, memorials and architectural. However, experts, museologists and architects, were often deployed to the area where systematization works and urban development was conducted, with the purpose of identification and collecting various assets of cultural interest according to the Decree of 120 of 1985, and were not necesarily actively involved in defining strategies for preservation in the context of urban renewal and development.[548]

The Office for National Cultural Heritage in Bucharest was established in 1978 close to the History Museum of Bucharest Municipality. Its responsibility focused on the activity of evidence and the registration of assets of potential interest as cultural heritage. Its area of expertise spanned from fine arts, to design, ethnography, archaeology, conservation.[549] The office was also responsible for the evaluation and accreditation for export of movable assets and their valorisation. Furthermore, it could request the transfer of goods into state ownership in specific cases, such as: if bad preservation conditions were notified which endangered the asset, or the provenance of the object was illegal.

However, the way local offices were supposed to collaborate with central commissions to ensure the preservation of valuable assets was not clearly stated. Also another relevant aspect was introduced, namely funding preservation and conservation works. This responsibility was assigned to local museums, which starting from the 1980s were affected by major financial austerity measures (Art.21, HCM 13/1975).

[547] Law 1974, Chapter III, Art.24-30, 53-54.
[548] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D010784/1, 58-61.
[549] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D010784/1, 56-58.

The institutional network responsible for museums proposed starting the 1970s included the following institutions: Direction of Museums within the CCES, Central Institute for Museology, and the museums and their collections (Art.40). The law proposal clearly stated obligations and responsibilities of the newly established institutions, and set clear categories of museums according to their typologies and significance: of central, regional and local interest (Art.44), a proposal which can not be retrieved in the final legal framework.

To summarize, the official version of Law of 1974 introduced a comprehensive and enlarged administrative mechanism and various institutions responsible for managing heritage at local, regional and central level. However, it was subordinated to the political decision-making authorities. This administrative mechanism gradually evolved after the Second World War when a single authority was responsible for the preservation of a limited category of assets. However, it introduced multiple institutions and layers of administration whose responsibilities and competences often overlapped. Furthermore, one can identify that a particular attention has been given by the official Law of 1974 to the management and preservation of movable assets. In the meantime, the protection of the built environment followed the same conditions set by the Law of 1974, while no specificities concerning the protection of built environment have been detailed.

In its general appearance the law had a comprehensive character considering various categories of assets, which had not been considered by the previous decrees or laws, such as the natural component. The proposal for the Law of 63/1974 suggested for the first time regulations and institutions responsible for the preservation of the natural assets, which will not be explored here as it does not make the object of this research.[550] This subject deserves a comprehensive research as it shows that Romania at the time was active also internationally by inscribing its first national biosphere reserve Retezat Mountain in 1979, a programme promoted by UNESCO starting 1971 (Man and Biosphere Programme).[551]

Following one can conclude that relevant measures were adopted with the aim of ensuring cultural patrimony preservation as a matter of interest to ensuring 'state security', and preventing harm which would affect state interests. These§ did not prioritised the state support and intervention to prevent destruction and change impacting assets of patrimonial interest.

Criticism towards the Law

Again with the help of Securitatea files and documentation from OSA Archives one can retrieve information concerning reactions to the Law of 1974. These predominantely expressed concerns regarding the increased intervention of the state infringing property rights, coined in the state policies of 'nationalisation of cultural goods'. This was moreover criticised for being motivated by the conditions of the failing economy. Thus the state interest was perceived in the

---

[550] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1, Project for the Law, Art.36-Art.39; 1974.

[551] http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/environment/ecological-sciences/biosphere-reserves/europe-north-america/romania/retezat/ [accessed last 09.07.2017]

economic valorisation of the national patrimony, considered as an additional source for the investments or covering states' external debts.[552]

According to the criticism expressed in the study issued by Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, the law set up clear conditions for the selection of monuments, infringing property rights. Hence it enabled the procedure for dispossession of private property by the state. Furthermore, it imposed state monopoly over any patrimonial acts. The role of experts and the society in the processes of patrimonialisation were not addressed. Instead one can identify these were submitted to state interests. It is considered that the role of the Directorate for National Cultural Heritage starting the 1970s was mainly instrumental for the regime in its practice of dispossession of citizens of their assets considered valuable. Subsequently, their inclusion in the national cultural heritage inventories was a pretext for abusive state practices of acquiring economic valuable assets.[553]

The law was enforced through the means of the Ministry of Interior Affairs such as Securitatea services, whose intervention was motivated in following situations:

➢ Identification of assets of potential interest, keeping evidence and acquiring assets;
➢ Interfered against illicit traffic and illegal transactions;
➢ Actions in order to transfer the legal right over to the state (confiscation of assets from local organisation, individuals and religious institutions).[554]

Here one needs to specify the particular regime of assets belonging to the Jewish communities. These seems to have been excluded from this restriction allowing valuable assets to leave the country for Israel, a research which requires atention. Also, starting in 1978 the synagogue Holy Union (former Sinagoga Croitorilor) which functioned until 1968 was transformed into a Museum of Jewish History, founded at the initiative of the Chief Rabin Moses Rosen.[555] This together with the Great Synagogue and Choral Temple in Bucharest, amongst the few standing Jewish buildings in the city, were spared from the demolition campaign affecting the historic city of Bucharest during the 1980s.[556] To date no study has addressed the fate of the German communities who left Romania en masse during the 1980s, even though Securiatatea files documented a series of valuable assets confiscated from German minorities who left the country.

Moreover, strong criticism was raised concerning the increasing intervention of the politics in monuments preservation management. This has been achieved through various means such as the integration of the patrimonial issues to a state administrative system, strongly ideologised. These consisted of the central institutions such as the Directorate for National

[552] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1: Notă, privește comentarii referitoare la Legea ocrotirii patrimoniului cultural național al R.S.R., (21 ian. 1975): 220-222.
[553] Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, n.d., 17.
[554] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1, Orientare privind organizarea și desfășurarea activității pentru aplicarea legii ocrotirii patrimoniului cultural național al R.S.R., (08.02.1975): 335.
[555] http://ghidulmuzeelor.cimec.ro/id.asp?k=699 [accessed last Sept. 2017]
[556] HU OSA 300/120/13 Human Rights Eastern European Romania: 1977-1988, Helskini Report Excerpts concerning Romania from President Ronald Reagan's latest semi-annual Helsinki Agreement implementation report concerning Romania, 5 Dec.1987.

Cultural Patrimony affiliated to the CCES, which functioned under the CC of PCR until 1977; and regional offices responsible for urban planning, architecture and control. These were affiliated to the regional councils (political administrative divisions) or regional museums, strongly dependent on the local councils.

Again no specification was made on how the collaboration with regional offices was conducted to ensure locally the preservation and management of patrimony, which might be of national interest. In the meantime technical expertise was assigned after 1977, to the main scientific state commission (Art.29). The scientific activity and research was conducted in general in collaboration with the Academy for Social and Political Sciences, facilitating thus the politicisation of the patrimonial sector (Art.32, I.). The international collaboration in particular in the field of built heritage was not stated by the law.

3.4.3. Regimes of value assessment: Evaluation of museum's collections and built environment

An aspect that received limited attention in the research conducted on preservation during Communism in Eastern Europe, is the process by which assets have been selected and identified as being valuable to be preserved, and what exactly made the national cultural heritage of the socialist regimes. As already mentioned, at the beginning of the century the patrimonial awareness was linked to the intrinsic understanding of the value of monuments acknowledged by the experts. This gradually evolved towards a social understanding of the processes of selection and identification of various values, for which assets were appreciated.

Hence the following sub-chapter aims to highlight that a systematic approach has been developed by the socialist regime in order to evaluate potential assets to be recognised as 'historic monument', 'cultural monument', and nevertheless as 'national cultural patrimony'. Subsequently, this sub-chapter will show that a very elaborate and systematic mechanism was developed in order to identify what was valuable, not only culturally and ideologically, but moreover of economic value. The motivation was that a scientific and objective approach in the selection processes will be achieved, by adopting such an elaborated systematic approach for all categories of assets.

As already argued in the previous sub-chapter, an increasing state interest in the evaluation and valorisation of cultural assets manifested itself once the Communist Party came in power following the Second World War. This interest gradually evolved, and it was only the Law of 1974, and the subsequent ministerial decrees that officially regulated the adoption of such a systematic evaluation approach, and criteria for selection. Furthermore, an increase of patrimonial assets, and cultural institutions dealing with such assets can be noted. However, how can such a proliferation of new museum's and collections development be explained? Also how does one explain the accumulation by the state of all valuable assets which were to be preserved and displayed in public museums, and what legal status was granted to such objects?

As already mentioned in a first stage, developing an administrative and legal framework for managing cultural goods, guaranteed state

intervention in patrimonial issues. The Decree 661 of 1955 was a first step towards state intervention in patrimonial activities, followed by the Decrees 409 / 1955, 724/1969, and the Law 63 of 1974. The comprehensive effort of the regime for the identification and registering of all valuable assets in the country was nothing else but a tool for the state's politics of nationalisation of goods and properties. For such reasons developing a systematic evaluation was aimed, following to which assets were abusively transferred into state ownership, while citizens were obliged to declare all their valuable personal belongings.

The files 'Patrimoniu' and 'Îmbogățirea' (1969-1974) issued internally by the Securitatea secret services provided a significant source of information documenting which valuable material assets have been transferred into the state property between 1945-1950 and between 1953-1969, and who benefited from the nationalisation of cultural goods.[557]

The Scientific Commission was responsible during the 1950s for the 'identification of various new historic or artistic monuments, to be recognised as monuments of culture'.[558] It was the period when the interest of the state in documenting and registering all cultural goods in the country lead to a major campaign (Jan-June 1953) of identification of monuments in Romania.[559] All identified assets which were of interest for the state had to be registered and preserved. To be mentioned that all artefacts depicting the royal family and various political leaders housed by the Central Administration and the National Bank were destroyed and removed from inventories, while valuable paintings and other artefacts have been deposited in the Central Treasury of the National Bank.[560]

Assets considered for the inventories were categorised as 'cultural monuments' and 'architectural monuments' based on their historic, artistic and architectural value. However, criteria following to which such values have been identified were not established at this stage. The campaign of creating inventories and evaluating the state patrimony generated, nevertheless, a series of debates concerning methodologies how the evaluation of the newly acquired and appropriated assets had to be carried out. Yet, at this stage the evaluation, in particular of the assets that became part of museum's collections, considered in particular the symbolic relevance and economic value.[561]

The Scientific Commission, together with the local councils in the territory, conducted the activity of inventorisation at the beginning of the 1950s. As a result the inventories registered almost 11.158 assets. The provisional inventory also aimed at considering the classification of architectural monuments. As already specified, architectural monuments were considered to be 'significant built material which was relevant for cultural development and historical knowledge production, and of significance for education according to the patriotic spirit, of architectural, historic, technic and

[557] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 012258, Vol.2: Documente privind unele bunuri 'Îmbogățirea' pe anii (1952-1965): 1-135; D 003574. Vol. 1-10, Patrimoniu, 1969-1974; D012383 Vol.3-4, Îmbogățirea.
[558] INP, File: Academia R.P.R., 1955, Prezidiul Academiei R.P.R., 1955, Decree 46, art. 3 (19.03.1951): 36.
[559] INP, File: Academia R.P.R., 1955, Prezidiul Academiei R.P.R., 1955, HCM 968 (4ᵗʰ of April 1953): 36.
[560] ANIC: Ministerul Artelor și Informațiilor, Dn.141/1948, 62.
[561] ANIC: Ministerul Artelor și Informațiilor. Dir. Administrativă, Dn: 419/1948, Referat, Comisia Centrală de Inventariere, (6-15.12.1948): 90.

artistic value.'[562] Artefacts (paintings, books, furniture, icons, private assets and household), found in historic houses and declared as monuments, have been retained.[563]

Based on the inventories the first monuments lists in the country have been issued and published by the Romanian Academy, under the name 'Lists of Monuments of Culture on the territory of the RPR.'[564] According to the notes from the meeting on 17th of May 1955, the Commission for Evidence within the General Directorate of Historic Monuments, approved the first list of monuments proposed by the Romanian Academy.[565] Almost 4.345 assets were declared as 'monuments of culture' (HCM 1160, 23 June 1955). Among these: 115 were archaeological monuments, 3.359 architectural monuments, 405 monuments of fine arts and 466 historic monuments.[566] These were considered either of national interest (ca. 300 monuments), or of regional and local, which represented eventually the majority.[567] This will be later updated following the decree 1619/1957.[568]

Monuments were not only limited to their historic and age values. The lists for protection of monuments were motived by the idea of safeguarding assets from potential threats and unavoidable transformations, including contemporary architecture. For instance, contemporary criticism concerning the procedure of registering monuments on the lists of 1955 was that it involved non-specialists in the field. Among these were: teachers, cultural activists, members of the Ministry of Defence, of tourism agencies, etc. and less experts in the field of monuments preservation. However, this demonstrates an opening of the field of monuments preservation which prior to that point was

---

[562] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 003576: Instrucțiuni Nr. 4: Privind măsurile urgente ce trebuiesc luate pentru păstrarea monumentelor istorice de arhitectură, (13.11.1952): 1.

Among the categories of assets of interest which were proposed to be listed on provisional lists as architectural monuments immediately after the Second World War, to be mentioned:

- Revolutionary houses and headquarters of various revolutionary organisations
- Remnants of the villages Morești (Jud. Mureș) and Gîrvan (Region Galați) which were considered 'testimony for the Slavic cohabitation on the Romanian territory' (Intrucțiuni Nr.4, 1952, 6) An interesting aspect which one will see in particular starting with the 1970s-once the political discourse changed-the Slavic component in the historical discourse was replaced by the 'Latin' element (Ceaușescu's promoted narrative in arguing 'the Latin continuity in the region')
- Technical constructions testimony to the improvement of working and living conditions, and economic development (mills, craftsman ateliers, old barns)
- Regional vernacular architecture,
- Historical sites, fortifications, palaces,
- Medieval fortresses (ruins),
- Churches, monasteries (stone and wood), commemorative monuments,
- Archaeological sites: Greek and roman archaeological sites,
- Interesting architecture form the point of view of its decorations and style independent of its age, but relevant proof for architectural history from 19th century and contemporary architecture: the Palace of Justice in Bucharest (1890-1895), The School for Girls in Bucharest (1851), the national theatre (1852), the former administrative palace in Iași (1906-1925) and Ioan Cuza's house (1862). (Intrucțiuni Nr.4, 1952, 6-7)

[563] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 003576: Intrucțiuni Nr.4, 1952, 4.

[564] INP, File: Academia R.P.R., (1955): Importante realizări ale Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice în decursul celor 15 ani de la eliberarea patriei noastre, (June 1959): 19.

[565] INP, File DMI III: Procese verbale de avizare (1955): Proces verbal 31, May 1955, 128.

[566] INP, File: Academia R.P.R., (1955), CSMMIA: 150-151.

[567] ANIC: CC al PCR Secția Propagandă și Agitație, 5/1957, Referat privind problema monumentelor de cultură din RPR, 14.

[568] ANIC: Min. Cultelor și Artelor, DN.205/1969-1977, Expunere de Motive,142.

dominated by experts' intervention, also to the wider community of non-experts, and in particular the involvement of the locals through the local councils in the patrimonial processes. However, the contribution of such interventions has to be critically addressed. One can identify an increasing role of the local councils, responsible to inform the Committee of the State on the condition and state of conservation of monuments in territory.[569]

Following the decree 724 of 23 Oct. 1969 regarding 'the safeguarding and protection of all goods of national interest, which might be of artistic, historic or documentary value or containing precious metals and stones', Securitatea services have been employed to fulfil the decree requirements. Therefore, a national campaign was conducted in the late-1960s and the beginning of 1970s to identify in particular if, and how valuable goods were transferred into state property until that date, and which institutions or individuals acquired such assets. The results of the campaign concluded that assets of cultural interest have been transferred either to museums, or local councils and various state institutions, and partially transfers have been issued without payment to various individuals.[570]

Subject of the nationalisation campaign of goods carried out between 1953-1968, were in particular objects belonging to 'opponents of the regime'. It targeted those who had in their possession assets of economic value and of patrimonial interest, such as: objects containing precious materials, artworks, furniture and tapestry. [571] These have been distributed to various state institutions such as the National Bank, Ministry of Finance and the National Arts Museum. These had the responsibility to assess their economic value and identify their patrimonial significance (of artistic or historic values). [572] Subsequently, confiscated assets have been re-distributed towards various cultural and governmental institutions including Romanian Embassies abroad, or have been appropriated by various political leaders.[573] Others have been traded through various selling points organised by the Romanian National Bank, such as Romarta and Consignația until 1954, and I.C.S.Bijuteria, I.S.C.E.Cartimex later.[574]

The identified economic value of the assets containing precious stones and materials, which have been acquired only by the National Bank (1953-1967), was estimated at 62.912.978 lei (ca. 60 mill. US Dollar).[575] In case no museum value, meaning documentary or historic values could be identified - based on the evaluation provided by the National Arts Museum - assets have been either re-sold or their material was reused and transferred to the national treasury.[576] The income acquired from the assets sold abroad has been often used for acquiring technology, or to support investments in the economy, in particular in agriculture.[577]

Following museums in Bucharest received assets confiscated without payment (Decree 111 of 1951), increasing therefore their collections: the

[569] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 003576: Intrucțiuni Nr.4, (1952): 5.
[570] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D003574/6, (1972): 108-112.
[571] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D012258/2, Notă (1968): 107.
[572] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D003574/1, (1974): 18.
[573] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D003574/1, HCM 1507/1956, (1974): 22.
[574] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D003574/5, (1969): 4; D012258/2, (1968): 123.
[575] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D003574/1, (1974): 23.
[576] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D003574/5, (1969): 1-4.
[577] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D003574/9,(1972): 47, D012383/4: 3.

National Arts Museums, Museum for Archaeology and History, Museum Theodor Aman, Museum Simu, Military Museum, Museum Toma Sterian, and Museum of Bucharest.[578]

Also the report issued in 1980 concerning the 'action of identification, retention and inventorisation of cultural goods' following a Decision issued in 1976 by the Party reveals the activity carried out by the Securiatea's special units to identify cultural goods belonging to the former royal monarchy (64 properties). This documented cultural goods belonging to the former monarchy and made subject of the nationalisation policies from 1948, following the Decision of the ministerial commission concerning the economic revitalisation and economic stability nr.164 from 7 Jan.1948.[579] 676 inventoires containing almost 620.000 cultural goods have been assessed, and ca. 137.150 goods have been declared as having potential for being included in the national cultural patrimony.[580] Following this report, a series of prejudices affecting assets of national interests have been registered. This argument was used to redistribute valuable assets (7.140 from 42 state institutions) towards cultural institutions of interest (Cotroceni Palace, Peleș Castle, National History Museum in Bucharest, National Arts Museum, Central Military Museum, Museum for the independence in Giurgiu).[581]

Consequently a systematic inventory was elaborated, and finalised in 1980. This activity was eventually considered a useful model for developing scientific and systematic methodologies for the evaluation, and setting up of inventories by the institutions in the field.[582] Identified valuable assets have been proposed to be included in the national cultural patrimony lists, and made accessible (but not published) to visitors based on their artistic, documentary and historic values.[583] This action was not limited only to movable assets, but equally included built constructions transferred under the administration of the Party, and under state property. Constructions, considered of less significance, have been transferred under the administration of various state institutions such as the Ministry of Interior Affairs, Health Ministry, Ministry of Education and of the Council for Culture and Socialist Culture.[584]

Consequently, one can argue that the systematic mechanism, to identify the patrimonial value, including economic value for various cultural assets, inventories and heritage lists developed in the first years after the communist regime took power, emerged in the context of the nationalisation and appropriation of assets by various state institutions and member of the political elite. Therefore by the end of the 1950s a tendency of increasing interest of the state in institutionalising and regulating monuments' preservation has been identified. According to the study of Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu in 1913 there were 500 monuments listed by the Commission for Historic Monuments, while in 1955 (after the annexation of Transylvania to

---

[578] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D012258/2, (1968): 124-135, D003574/6, D003574/10
[579] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1, Report, (1980): 286.
[580] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1, Report, (1980): 287.
[581] 12.396 assets containing pretious metals and stones have been identified, among which 28.055 kg gold, 2.688, 040 kg silver, 204.47 gr platinum, In: A.C.N.S.A.S., D 013367/1, Report, (1980): 288.
[582] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1, Report, (1980):288.
[583] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1, Report, (1980): 293-294.
[584] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013367/1, Report, (1980): 292.

Romania in 1918) the inventories of the Scientific Commission of Museums and Historic Monuments registered 4.345 monuments. During the 1970s the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony listed already 9.100 monuments.

However, one can also identify that at an initial stage no clear criteria was employed to identify various values of the assets to be patrimonialised. Furthermore, as the Securitatea documents reveal, often such evaluations were conducted in a superficial manner lacking relevant expertise, while often assets have been intentionally under-valued, and consequently abusively appropriated.[585] This marked the beginning of an abusive practice of violating property rights, and increased the intervention of the state in cultural matters, in particular by appropriating valuable assets.

The Law of 1974 and its subsequent amendments further contributed to consolidating the intervention of the state in heritage-making processes. The purpose of the evaluation of assets, movable and immovable, potentially of interest for being declared part of the national cultural patrimony, was motivated by the interest of the state to control the evidence, conservation, valorisation and export of such assets, no matter ownership. The state control over all valuable assets in the country was achieved by constraining its citizens to declare valuable assets in their ownership. Even more, it imposed a strict control exercised through the means and services of Ministry of Interior Affairs, such as Securitatea Services.[586] These measures proved to be extremely effective, considering that only the National History Museum in Bucharest registered in 1977 an increase of its acquired objects from 41.042 to 210.038.[587]

Following the Heritage Preservation Law of 1974 and the Decree 311 of 1975, evaluation proposals were provided. As a consequence, assets were evaluated independent of their typology, either built or movable, according to general principles considering their historic, documentary, artistic, scientific and memorial values. The identified categories of assets subjected to such evaluations, were: archaeological objects, numismatics, assets containing precious metals, historical, scientific and technologies, archival documentation, ethnography, arts, natural science, books, monuments, musical instruments.[588]

An innovative aspect introduced by the Law of 1974, was criteria indices according to which the nominal economic value of patrimonial objects was calculated. Assets were evaluated following general norms of identification of their significance, according to:

➤ historic, documentary, scientific, memorial values;
➤ artistic value;
➤ material-technics;
➤ frequency (rarity);
➤ age;
➤ provenance, school, author;
➤ part of a collection or fund;

---

[585] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D012383/3-4, Îmbogăţirea.
[586] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1, Norme-Cadru de evaluare a bunurilor din patrimonial cultural naţional, 100.
[587] National History Museum Archives, Muzeul Naţional de Istorie al RSR Romînia, Dare de Seamă asupra activităţii pe Anul 1977, In: Raport de activitate anual al instituţiei, VII A5, (1977): 13.
[588] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D010784/1, Annexes: Criteriile ce stau la baza stabilirii calităţii de bun susceptibil de a face parte din patrimonial cultural naţional, 94-95.

> ➢ state of conservation (eventually prices for the conservation works were included).[589]

Although general norms have been set up in order to calculate the economic nominal value of the various categories of assets, specificities for each of them have been considered. For instance calculations based on mathematical formula and computer based programing were performed. An exception from the application of the percentage calculation was considered for the built environment, as it was often the case that such mathematical calculations generated inestimable outcomes.[590]

In this respect norms and criteria for evaluation for the built environment, consisting either of ensembles or single architectural or decorative elements, have been equally considered. Here the concept of historic monument was used not in its all-comprehensive approach, that we have known from the previous normative frameworks, but it addressed mainly built assets. The values according to which historic monuments would be classified were: qualitative, significance, aesthetic, historic and typology. Indices for the criteria to be considered were: unique, rarity, age, and the material.[591]

For example, criteria considered for the evaluation of historical assets were: historical-documentary value, scientific and artistic value, quality and complexity of the technic, age, frequency, state of conservation, being component of a collection.[592] Interestingly, contemporary and modern art were considered for classification as national patrimony. The artistic value was the main criteria considered for the evaluation along with historic, documentary and memorial values. Additionally the author, age, frequency and the state of conservation had to be considered. These indices were considered for the calculation of the nominal value of the art objects.[593] As already specified, not only original objects were subject to patrimonialisation, but also copies of various assets could be proposed, though considering different criteria of evaluation.[594]

According to decree 311/1975 a nominal economic value of movable assets has been calculated considering:
> ➢ the reference made to the current prices on the market for similar artefacts;
> ➢ the reference made to the international markets;
> ➢ the added value following a percentage system.[595]

Experts from the National Bank and economists, members of the Ministry of Finance were involved in the process of evaluation of the national patrimony. Records of the nominal values of the national heritage and its documentation,

---

[589] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1, Norme-cadru de evaluare a bunurilor din patrimonial cultural național, 58.

[590] Ioan Opriş, Din nou despre evaluarea bunurilor culturale, Personal Archives, 10.

[591] Ioan Opriş, Anexe 6: 1-5.

[592] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1, Norme-cadru de evaluare a bunurilor din patrimonial cultural național, 70.

[593] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1, Norme-cadru de evaluare a bunurilor din patrimonial cultural național, 71.

[594] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1: Scara de evaluare-bareme în expresie bănească a unor bunuri culturale pentru valoare nominală, In: Norme de Evaluare a Bunurilor din Patrimoniul Cultural Național, CCES, București. 1980: 65.

[595] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1, Norme-cadru de evaluare a bunurilor din patrimonial cultural național, 57.

were held by the Office for National Cultural Patrimony, and kept secretly.[596] Also in the same consideration, the inventories of the lists of valuable patrimonial assets were no longer made public. According to Barbu, Roske, and Ciuceanu in comparison to the lists issued during the 1950s made accessible to the public, the access to the lists of monuments issued late 1970s was no longer granted to the public, but considered as a matter of state security.[597]

As a consequence of such policies, Securitatea initiated a campaign of identification and surveillance of citizens or foreign individuals who owned objects that were potentially considered of interest for the state as national patrimony, or were interested in exporting or acquiring such valuable assets.[598] In addition, the activity of experts and employees in relevant cultural institutions made the subject of Securitatea a surveillance mechanism.[599] However, the relationship and involvement of Securiatea Services in cultural preservation affairs will be discussed in the following sub-chapter.

A further category of assets that became subject of evaluation procedures were cultural goods, which were **not** components of the national patrimony. Thus the Central Committee for National Cultural Patrimony was responsible for granting permission for assets to leave the country temporary or permanently. Consequently, state institutions have been empowered to control over the traffic with cultural goods.[600] Again, the criteria used to evaluate such assets were: age, frequency and specific cultural values (Art.1). Following categories of assets were considered for such evaluations: goods of artistic and historic values, and natural assets of scientific and documentary significance (Art.2).

3.5. 'National cultural patrimony' preservation - a matter of 'state security' (1977-1989). Politicisation, abuses and institutional incoherencies

The research conducted by the anthropologist Verdery at the end of the 1980s, revised and published after the regime change, on the relation to culture and power in socialist Romania, questions the significance of the national ideology under Socialism.[601] In that respect the author argues that: 'if there was an ideology in Ceaușescu's Romania that had potentially hegemonic force, it was national ideology'. Consequently 'arguments about national identity were instrumental in forming an institutional infrastructure built on "the nation".'[602] Furthermore, she highlights the fact that 'cultural politics occurs in societies of all types', and contends that one needs to differentiate both wihtin the 'community of producers (e.g, different kind of historians and sociologists) and within the bureaucracy (e.g, reformist vs. conservative fractions) and

---

[596] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1, Norme-cadru de evaluare a bunurilor din patrimonial cultural național, 57-58.
[597] Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu, n.d., 16.
[598] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1, Documentar, cuprinzand elemente din țară și din străinătate semnalate în cadrul acțiunii 'Patrimoniu', (16.nov.1982): 161-171.
[599] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1, Orientare, privind organizarea și desfășurarea activității pentru aplicarea legii ocrotirii patrimoniului cultural național al R.S.R., (1975): 335-338.
[600] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D007929/88, Decree 53/1975.
[601] Verdery, Katherine. *National Ideology under Socialism. Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceaușescu's Romania*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1995).
[602] Idem 21.

acknowledge that political processes are more complicated than the simple manipulation of cultural production by Party leaders.'[603] Hence the author is refusing a simple dichotomy to explain the relationship between between the Party and scholars, and does not see the later as passive instruments in Party's hands. Drawing on the Nancy Heer's research (1971) on the politics of Soviet historiography, Verdery emphasises the complexity both of 'these interactions and of the politicking within Party circles, which produces contradictory messages for historians and facilitates struggels internal to the profession.'[604] Verdery's approach highlights several important issues which help explore the complexity of the patrimonial sector under Ceaușescu's regime, going beyond the mere repetition of the discourse emergent in the post-1989 context which holds Ceaușescu accountable for the failure of the regime to support and protect heritage. This sub-chapter aims to highlight the complex and various conditions that eventually impacted the state of the national heritage in Romania, in particular during Ceaușescu's regime.

Monuments preservation from 1977 to 1989 cannot be analysed without considering modernisation projects, which promoted massive urban development and demolitions within cities and villages nationwide. The latter have been considered to have negatively impacted the preservation of built monuments. The built environment was not extensively normed in comparison to the legislation aimed at regulating movable assets preservation until the 1970s. Yet starting 1977 several political initiatives impacted drastically the way preservation of built assets was dealt with.[605]

Most contemporary authors dealing with architectural projects during socialism, have reiterated following arguments as the main cause for the destruction of historic monuments and traditional architecture during this period:

➢ the earthquake from March 1977 which produced massive damages to the built environment, in particular in Bucharest;
➢ the abolishment of the major institution responsible for heritage preservation the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony in 1977;
➢ the intensive systematisation and modernisation campaign, accompanied by major demolition works, and nevertheless
➢ abusive decisions of the authoritarian political leader, Nicoale Ceaușescu, often motivated by his cultural theses issued in July 1971; who reinstated the Stalinist 'cult of personality' and used the damage created by the earthquake to impose his modernisation plans.[606]

[603] Idem 13.
[604] Verdery 1995, 13.
[605] Giurescu 1989, 6.
[606] Cavalcanti, M.de B.A.U, "Urban reconstruction and autocratic regimes: Ceaușescu's Bucharest in its Historic Context", *Planning Perspectives*, vol.12, no.1, (2010): 71-109; Nemțeanu, (2013): 101-105; Zahariade, Ana Maria. *Architecture in the communist Project. Romania 1944-1989*, (Bucharest: Ed. Simetria, 2011); Panaitescu Alexandru, *De la Casa Scînteii la Casa Poporului. Patru decenii de arhitectură în București 1945-1989* [From the House of the Press to the House of the People. Four decades of architecture in Bucharest 1945-1989], (Bucharest: Ed. Simetria, 2012); Lazea 2012; Jugurică Constantin, *Memoria carnetelor cu însemnări-Bucureștiul cutremurat 1977-1989* [The memory of the notebooks – Bucharest under tremour 1977-1989], (București: Arhilibra, 2012); Iosa Ioana, *L'heritage urban de Ceaușescu: Fardeau ou saut en avant*? [Urban heritage of Ceaușescu: Fake or a step forward] (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006).

However, authors have often failed to provide a wider picture of the context, and to highlight the complexities and incoherencies within which such events unfolded. Furthermore, authors analysing such events, focused less on the preservation component as a subject of the interdisciplinary inquiry, and have instead provided merely an analysis of the architectural practices during this period.

Therefore in this sub-chapter, built preservation will be analysed in the context of the above-mentioned major events; but will also consider the fragile political, institutional, legal and economic conditions of the country after 1977, and its transformation processes. This chapter does not reduce and shifts the responsibility of the recent past legacy to a single actor, meaning to the authoritarian leader and its incoherent policies, as it is currently often argued. It is relevant to highlight here the argument brought by Lavinia Stan in order to understand the post 1989 approach towards the regime. Namely, the fact that 'the huried trial allowed the new leaders to blame exclusivey the former leader and not the communist system in its entirety.'[607] Hence, I argue that claiming these events as the main reasons for the state of the art of the preservation in Romania post 1977, are just a reductive interpretation of complex relationships and conditions.

Furthermore, in order to better understand the failure, or moreover the priorities within preservation mechanism post 1977, one has to analyse the wider context involving multiple actors, who often failed to assume responsibility and set priorities. In addition to mismanagements in the field, the lack of resources to respond to urgent needs immediately after the earthquake, caused by a deeply impoverished state economy, have to be likewise analysed in this context. Considering that at the end of the 1970s, a series of decisions regarding the preservation of built monuments were taken in the context of the debates on systematisation and development projects, this study will highlight the context in which debates promoting modernisation of the built environment, in opposition to preservation, prevailed.

Thus, the politics of modernisation of Romania's built environment, and the impact of the institutional reform, will be briefly discussed. This is relevant to be discussed considering developments promoted following the Third World Population Conference organized by the United Nations and held in Bucharest, from 19 to 30 August 1974, and its impact on developments in the field of urbanisation.

This sub-chapter also questions to what extent the decision to re-assign responsibilities from the central institutions to the local and regional actors by providing them greater autonomy in the decision making processes, and financial responsibility to manage the built environment, have negatively impacted the way historic monuments preservation have been managed. This aspect has to be considered in the context within which Ceaușescu was promoting policies towards more self-determination and financial autonomy of institutions and of the local administration. This will be elaborated considering several aspects, such as:

➢ the measure to shifting the decision mechanism from the main central institution to the regional and local councils, hence providing more self determination and administration at the local leval; and moreover

---

[607] Stan 2010, 274.

➤ to transferring a series of responsibilities concerning the preservation of the built environment towards the local institutions responsible for urban planning, and to the national/regional museums and their affiliated offices for preservation.

These factors facilitated to empower executive committees of the local councils for socialist culture and education, and regional offices for cultural patrimony, to the detriment of a single authority in decisional and executive processes, which was until 1977 the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony. One needs to bear in mind that, local councils were equally responsible for the decision-making processes, and financially supported projects of urban development and systematisation, promoted by the National Programme of systematisation of the territory, and of the urban and rural settlements.

In order to interrogate this hypothesis, this sub-chapter provides an enquiry into monuments preservation in the context of urban development, modernisation and systematisation decisions-making processes. This aims to highlight changes within the institutional network, reflecting state priorities on the background of the fragile economic conditions, and impoverished state budget. Therefore the preservation of built monuments will be analysed in the complex relationship preservation - demolition - modernisation. Hence, I will question which were the conditions to ensuring monuments preservation within urban planning context, in particular in Bucharest. The earthquake of March 1977, and the increasing interest in urban development, have hihglighted the need to discuss, regulate and control urban renewal while endagering the significance of built monuments preservation.

Therefore in order to deliver a comprehensive argumentation to the hypothesis, decrees and norms which followed the Law of 1974 on 'Systematisation of the territory and the urban and rural localities',[608] and focused on urban development and demolitions works, will be analysed. These can be understood as an attempt to complement and regulate decisions regarding built environment and its preservation, that previously focused rather on movable assets. This will be considered in the context of the priorities to respond to present urgent needs following the 1977 earthquake ensuring the 'security' of the built environment and its modernisation, demolitions, repair, considering however available economic resources for such projects.

3.5.1. The earthquake of March 1977 and change of discourse on urban development

During the 1980s the 'Watch Group for Historical Monuments' organised by Radu Ciuceanu, Daniel Barbu, and Octavian Roske issued the following two documents: 'The Condition of the Monument' and 'Will Bucharest survive 1984?', providing a significant overview on the state of the art of the monuments preservation during the 1980s.[609]

This group became active during the 1980's by using Free Europe Radio station in order to inform on the conditions impacting monuments preservation in Romania.[610] The study 'The Condition of the Monument' was

---

[608] Decree 120/1981.
[609] A.C.S.N.A.S., File D 016335 Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, n.d., 1-72.
[610] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 013433/vol.1, Nota (05.08.1981): 397.

not addressing, as the authors argue, the political elite from the Communist Party hoping that it would have any impact on state policies and legislation. Instead it aimed at counteracting the official Party's statement on the state of monuments preservation, by revealing abuses and errors of the regime and of the system of protection of historic monuments.[611]

The analysis of the study in this research is relevant to better understand how civic sociey opposed the political regime of Ceaușescu, and actively lobbied in dissidence against Ceaușescu's regime decisions affecting preservation institutions, legislation and discourses. By providing a historical understanding of the abusive practices under various regimes of governance in Romania starting with the 19th century, the study was consequently pleading for the relevance of the autonomous institutions for preservation as a mediator between the sphere of state politics and interests, and the interests of the public and expert opinion. Based on data collected during the 1980s, the study provided an overview of the state of the art on the following categories of built heritage: religious heritage, fresco and paintings, various ruined monuments, religious monuments, civil monuments and urban city centres.[612]

Starting with a historical evolution of the practice of preservation in Romania beginning from the 19th century, and bringing to attention the abusive intervention of various governments, the study highlights the controversial period during Ceaușescu's regime regarding monuments preservation. This study reflects on various continuities and discontinuities of institutions and legislations enforced by abusive forms of governance in Romania throughout its modern times.[613] According to the authors the earthquake of 4th of March 1977 generated a loss of approximately $two billion. The capital city was particularly affected, leaving a desolate landscape behind.[614] According to estimations, an important number of religious artefacts have been affected in the capital city: 27 churches have been demolished, among which 3 were listed as historic monuments.[615] Furthermore, almost 32 buildings from the interwar period collapsed, while another 150 public buildings were strongly affected.[616] Another 553 religious places have been affected in the country, among which 125 were recognised as historic monuments.[617]

The authors Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu argue that assessing the impact of the earthquake on the built historic monuments in Bucharest, or any immediate measures in this direction, have not been undertaken by the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony.[618] This was also confirmed by the historian Giurescu, who extensively elaborated the international report on the destructions inflicted to the urban and rural heritage in Romania during the 1980s. He further stated that 'as far as anyone can remember, there was no analysis at the Directorate advisory board level of the global state of urban

---

[611] A.C.S.N.A.S., File D 016335 Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, n.d., Preambul, 3.
[612] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D016335 Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, n.d., Preambul, 2-3.
[613] A.C.S.N.A.S., File D 016335 Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, Preambul,n.d, 2-3.
[614] Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu 2003, 205.
[615] A.C.S.N.A.S., File D 016335 Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu, n.d, 25.
[616] Panaitescu 2012, 174.
[617] A.C.S.N.A.S., File D 016335 Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu, n.d., 25.
[618] Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu 2001, 234.

architecture in the aftermath of the March 1977 earthquake.'[619] Moreover, 'the advisory board of the Directorate was not consulted on this issue nor on any other demolition completed in several Romanian towns by local authorities following the March 1977 events.'[620]

All assessment procedures that followed, have been conducted with the help of architects, and engineers from urban planning institutions, who registered the impact and destructions in the country, and in Bucharest in particular. Their goal was to increase the security level of the remained buildings, and to redefine regulations and solutions for the areas of high seismic risk.[621] It is thus not surprising that from this moment the functioning of the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony became peripheral.

As a direct consequence the Article 25 of the Decree 442 of 1977 was issued, which brought the dismissal of the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony starting 1st of Dec. 1977.[622] Eventually an administrative re-organisation has been pursued following to which the former Directorate appears to have merged with the Economic Directorate within the CCES. Its attributions were transferred to the Central State Commission for the National Cultural Patrimony within the CCES. The new decree replaced the Decree 13 of 1975 concerning functioning of the Central State Commission for National Cultural Patrimony, the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony, and regional offices responsible for national cultural patrimony, and the restoration labs.

The Romanian museologist Ioan Opriş[623] claimed in an interview for the cultural newspaper Dilema in 1993 that the Commission for National Cultural Patrimony opposed resistance to the campaign of demolition of churches.[624] Yet one has to question the involvement and complicity from this moment of the Central State Commission in the approval of the demolition actions, instead of providing solutions and alternatives to ensure the safeguarding and preservation of the affected historic monuments. Additionally, the Commission was responsible for ensuring that remnants and valuable assets from the destroyed buildings would be retained, collected and transferred into state property if they were considered valuable (The Decree 120/1981).[625] Furthermore, the Commission had only a consultative role in 'the territorial systematisation planning when matters of the cultural heritage were involved.'[626]

Often the earthquake of 1977 was identified as the major reason for the unprecedented demolitions carried out particularly in Bucharest. This was followed by the wholesale insensitive renewal of the city. Nevertheless, authors

---

[619] Giurescu, Dinu C. *International Preservation Report. The Raizing of the Romania's Past*. A Project of the Kress Foundation European Preservation Program of the World Monuments Fund, World Monuments Fund, US/ICOMOS Publishing, (1989): 39.
[620] Idem 39.
[621] Panaitescu 2012, 177.
[622] Decree 442/1977published in BOF nr 127-28.11.1977.
[623] appointed director of the reformed Commission for the Protection and Valorisation of the National Patrimony after 1990.
[624] Ghiu Bogdan, "De ce nu avem încă o lege a patrimoniului?" Interview with: Radu Bogdan, Ruxanda Demetrescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, Ioan Godea. Anca Lăzărescu, Ioan Opriş, In *Dilema*, Anul I, Nr.15, 23-29 (April 1993): 4.
[625] Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu 2001, 234-235.
[626] Giurescu 1989, 40.

such as Zahariade argue, the earthquake was merely the 'pretext for a political project', launched in 1971 with the infamous July Theses.[627] These have marked a decisive turn in Ceaușescu's politics who enforced, a change of the historical narrative by increasingly imposing the 'cult of personality'. Following the author argues that the urban transformation of the historic centre of Bucharest was the expression of such a political doctrine. However, one can argue that based on National Archival documentation that captures an immediate reaction of the political apparatus to this event, Ceaușescu's directives have initially explicitly requested to enforce repairs of the destroyed buildings. There were numerous examples when decisions for demolitions were individually taken without any political intervention, indicating a lack of coherent supervision of the recovery works.[628]

Nevertheless, the unpredictable event from March 1977 intensified and changed the debates on urban development. In the initial stages these stood under the imperative of covering the housing demand and modernisation. Yet this would change to ensuring the 'security' of the built environment and conditions for building in the high seismic risk area, by equally considering the major economic distress and scarce financial ressources. The preservation of historic buildings was not considered a priority, demonstrated also by the lack of intervention from the Directorate for National Patrimony. But from the 1980s onwards, the priority became the urban renewal of the capital city, housing development, modernisation and systematisation processes to be conducted nationwide, targeting the transfer of the population from rural deprived dwellings to modern urban districts.

These priorities became more pertinent on the background of the developed strategies and objectives set by the World Population Plan of Action, adopted at the UN Conference of 1974, held in Bucharest.[629] Understanding development in the Romanian context at the time, is explicitly pointed out in the research addressing urban planning in Romania under the socialist regime following the Second War War, by the the Swedish author Ronnas. According to the author, in Romania it was considered that:

> [...] urban areas are considered superior to rural economically, socially and culturally. The development of villages to towns will "ensure a general increase of the level of civilisation in the villages". The elimination of the rural-urban differences has often been equated with the development of all villages to urban places. Towns have indiscriminately been seen as models for the development of villages.[630]

The ambitious plan of Ceaușescu to modernise the backward and predominantly rural Romania, was linked to the extensive urban development plans and industrialisation of the economy. These have been regulated by the Law of 1974 on 'Systematisation of the territory and the urban and rural localities', prior to the Earthquake of 1977. As the Swedish author was describing in the 1980s the law:

[627] Zahariade 2011, 83.
[628] ANIC: CC al PCR, Gospodărie, 10/1977: 1-4.
[629] http://www.un.org/popin/icpd/conference/bkg/wppa.html [Art. 44-50 accessed last 09.07.2017]
[630] Ronnas Per, *Urbanisation in Romania, A Geography of social and economic change since Independence*, Dissertation, The Economics Research Institute, (Stockholm 1984): 12.

> [...] aimed at more rational land use and savings in infrastructure investments through concentration of people, land use zoning and reclamation of agricultural land. The Law provided a minimum density criteria for new constructions in towns. Increased density in urban areas should be achieved through higher buildings and closer distances between blocks. (...) The impact of the Law should be greatest in the rural localities. Villages will be structured like towns; the settlement perimeter will be strictly drawn, land use zoneing will include distinct civil centres with administrative and service units concentrated to one or a few multistoried buildings.[631]

The main principles of the 'systematisation' programme were set to ensure 'equal living conditions for all citizens of the country regardless of nationality' and equal development between urban and rural areas.[632]

As the Romanian expert Virgil Ioanid would report one year later on the outcomes of the UN Bucharest meeting, a key issue emerged: following this event, namely a new field recquired developing methodological and theoretical approaches to the concept of urbanisation:

> In our country, (...), the urban population in the last three decades grew 0.8 percent per year on the average. However, I would mention that, as a rule, the administrative classification of localities as urban centres has lagged behind the changes occurring in the economic and social life of the respective population.[633]

Concerning the relevance of the existing built fabric in cities and their future handling on the background of urban development, it was further argued that:

> [...] a good part of the old dwellings, some built even before World War I in Bucharest and in many other cities of the country, are in satisfactory condition and could still be used several decade from now. (...) In elaborating the urban systematisation plans, the party leadership asks that maximum concern for preserving these buildings be shown, which makes it easier to satisfy the housing needs and, a matter of such great importance, permits the diversification of the types of dwellings used, conferring on the skyline of the cities varying structure, a certain style in which the architectonic tradition finds its due place. Some of these dwellings have at present what I would call a degree of moral wear and tear that exceeds the degree of physical wear and tear. This reality also imposes of necessity concrete measure for renovating the existing housing resources.[634]

---

[631] Ronnas 1984, 67.
[632] Ibidem.
[633] HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Urban Romania (1974-1975), Enger Virgil Ioanid: Social consequences of urbanisation, In *Era Socialistă*, No.6, (March 1975): 46ff.
[634] HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Urban Romania (1974-1975), Ioanid, (1975): 48.

According to the contemporary Romanian press, the programme of housing construction was expected to yield succesful results within 20 years, with ca. 3.100.000 dwellings realised being announced:

> [...] which means that almost half the country's population moved to new homes. Over 76% of the urban population lives in new dwellings. (…) In twenty years the number of Romanian towns doubled, attaining the mark of 237 including 21 with over 100.000 inhabitants. The number of counties with an over 50% degree of urbanisation reached 13 as compared with 3 in 1965. (…) The plan of housing construction is subordinated to the provision according to which, by the end of this decade, the housing problem should be completely settled.[635]

However, as Ronnas argued 'the systematisation programme stresses the preservation of local architectural values to be desirable.'[636] These had to consider limited preservation interventions depending on the resources, and well-functioning of institutions and local organisations to which these responsibilities were ultimately assigned. Hence, one can explain differences between regions where such interventions have been carried out, such as Brașov and Sibiu, while others failed to ensure minimal interventions of maintenance of the historic buildings.

However, the contemporary Romanian press troughout the regime continued to depict the process of urban development as a success story which aparently considered greatly the preservation of the 'historical and arts monuments': 'it goes without saying that their importance calls for great attention in their preservation, and the town-fathers agree that the monumental edifices of a nation adorn the localities and give them specific, irrepeatable features.'[637]

3.5.2.   Institutional incoherencies and economic distress

Following these events a series of institutional changes emerged. All conservation, restoration works, and preservation of historic monuments have been transferred under the responsibility of various administrative bodies, at local, regional and central level. However, their activity was mostly subjected to contribute to state security and urban development.[638]

The termination of the central institution responsible for preservation made the law for protection of monuments redundant, given that 'all conservation and restoration activities of monuments could not be conducted without the authorisation of the Directorate for Monuments Preservation'.[639]

---

[635] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 5 File 101 Administration/People's Council: Towns, 1985-1989: Agerpres, Bucharest, 8.1.1985.

[636] Ronnas 1984, 85.

[637] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 5 File 101 Administration/People's Council: Towns, 1985-1989: Agerpres, Bucharest, 9.2.1987.

[638] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 010784/1: Creație Plastică, analiză sinteze, fișe. Particularități și forme de activitate dușmănoasă desfășurate de elemente cu poziție ostilă, din rîndul artiștilor plastici, 31-32.

[639] A.C.S.N.A.S., File D 016335 Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu, n.d, 35.

For this reason, Giurescu argued that 'architectural conservation and restoration as a nationwide centralised activity was brought to a halt'.[440]

However, this period was marked by a series of institutional and administrative reforms, reason for which one has to look at the decision to terminate the institution for preservation under these conditions equally. Following the decision of 1977, the responsibility for preservation and carrying conservation works was transferred from the terminated centralised institution not only to the Economic Directorate within the CCES, but also to the local organisations and authorities. Here preservation works were supposed to be managed by local and regional administration, and the regional offices for national cultural patrimony. This came as a direct consequence of the reorganisation of the local councils and their increasing role in the self-administration processes. [441] According to contemporary press files concerning preservation works at local administrative level, one finds a series of inconsistences and mismanagement, strongly impacting the monuments' state of conservation:

> [...] in the decentralising move, responsibility for the protection of these objects was transferred to the County Committees for Socialist Culture and Education. This erratic move is in keeping with Ceaușescu's domestic policy of delegating sensitive and costly tasks (such as food supply, the maintenance of streets and buildings, and also the restoration of monuments) to local administration bodies. The result of this measure – as demonstrated by recent investigations by several chief architects working in the conservation and restoration field in the Iasi, Suceava, Cluj, Bihor, and Dolj counties – has been disastrous; and the situation will possible deteriorate even further, if indeed "local possibilities are used to an even larger extent in the restoration and conservation of historical and architectural monuments", as outlined in a report by Suzana Gadea, at the recent Congress of Socialist Culture and Education. However, as architect Gheorghe Elkan pointed out in the Contemporanul investigation, restoration on a local, decentralised scale would be practically impossible if the bodies now in charge of these works, that, the local Committees for Socialist Culture and Education, were not given the necessary funds, as well as the responsibility. All those questioned said that no major restoration work has been done through the local governments and with local specialists only; as a matter of fact, they said, over the past few years, except for the most urgent repairs and maintenance (and then not even in all the necessary cases) no genuine, thorough restoration work has been done. They asked for a centralised body to be set up to oversee the training of specialists for fine restoration work and supply the necessary materials. They all agreed that delicate restoration could not be done by local craftsmen, but it required well-trained specialists. There is little doubt that Romania's financial problems account to a considerable extent for this state of affairs in the conservation of monuments. (…) Perhaps the most

---

[440] Giurescu 1989, 40f.
[441] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D016294, Nota Ministerul de Interne, (Febr.1979): 4.

powerful enemy of the proper, specialised conservation and restoration of the cultural heritage is the neglect for and the sheer lack of interest in cultural matters. This has become a basic policy principle of the party and state leadership and has also come to dominate cultural policy on the middle and lower levels.[642]

In the case of Bucharest this responsibility was assigned also to ICRAL Vitan, namely to the same institution which was responsible for carrying out demolition works. A similar opinion was put forward in an article published in the review Tribuna, 14th of April 1983 in which Virgil Vătășianu commented on the reform of monuments protection administrative structures under economic austerity measures following 1977, that:

> [...] within the Economic Directorate and of National Cultural Patrimony' a limited number of theoreticians and very few technical experts have been retained, having predominantly administrative attributions, of inventorying and evidence, of control and consultancy concerning issues related to the built environment and artefacts which were considered part of the artistic and cultural legacy. Confronting the situation of decision making concerning restoration works - on the way it should be carried out - beneficiaries and the technical employers however equally lack the scientific background, often decided - according to the immediate economic interests - if it was relevant to highlight eventual discoveries, or even hide and limit access to information as far this would not comply with the agenda.[643]

Local councils were directly responsible for the conservation and restoration works of historic monuments and of arts, but also their funding. Moreover, the same local councils, together with executive committees of the regional councils, were responsible also for the decision-making processes concerning demolition works in the context of urban systematisation (Decree 120/1981, Art.5, Art.6, Art.7). However, the lack of qualified experts in the field in the territories (often soldiers would be employed to carry out conservation works due to the lack of available working force), of resources and knowledge, often impacted negatively preservation works that have been rarely conducted after 1977.[644]

---

[642] HU OSA 300/1206/632 File: Romania: Museums and Monuments (1984-1990) Romanian SR/15, 1982, Ammelie Meier,14-15.

[643] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 147, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium, 1986-1988, Dan Ionescu, Domestic Bloc, 1986, Monuments demolished in Bucharest, (1986.21.01): 2.

'... în cadrul organizaţiei ce se cheamă acum Direcţia economică şi a patrimoniului cultural naţional a fost reţinut doar un număr redus de teoreticieni şi foarte puţini tehnicieni, avînd atribuţii prevalent administrative, de inventariere şi evidenţă, de control, de consilieri în probleme pe care le pun eventual instituţiile beneficiare ale clădirilor şi operelor ce fac parte din moştenirea artistică şi culturală. Puşi în situaţia de a decide asupra oportunităţii unei restaurări, asupra felului cum trebuie executată, beneficiarii, cît şi personalul tehnic angajat, şi unii şi alţii nespecialişti, nepregătiţi din punct de vedere ştiinţific-vor decide conform intereselor materiale imediate şi vor putea, dacă vor găsi că e convenabil, să semnaleze eventuale descoperiri, după cum vor putea să ascundă, chiar să suprime anumite urme ce ar impune concluzii nefavorabile intenţiilor urmărite.'

[644] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D016294, Nota Min. de Interne, (Febr.1979): 5; D 013367/1, Note concerning the restoration plan for 1981.

This confirms that the administrative reform which might have led to a sucessful decentralisation of the decision-making mechanism processes in preservation issues, was not consistently developed. In that respect, no coherent policy has been developed in order to reinforce scientifically, financially and administratively these local bodies. Moreover, this decision was a further step that increasingly imposed the politicisation of the patrimonial activities. These were ultimately transferred to the local decision-making mechanisms. Further, one can identify that administrative bodies dealing with preservation were mostly linked to decision-making processes and administrative bodies responsible for demolition works, and less for preservation and the conservation of the built environment.

Nevertheless, according to the Decree 120 of 1981 which was regulating the conditions for demolition works, assets that were already part of the national patrimony or were considered to have the potential to be recognised as such, would became subject to legally guaranteed preservation (Art.2). Despite the legal conditions created to ensure preservation of valuable assets, uncontrolled demolition works after 1984 have massively impacted historic monuments in the country and Bucharest.

According to the Decree 120 of 1981 concerning demolition works, a series of attributions and responsibilities in the decision-making processes have been attributed to the local administration and local executive committees. Hence demolition works had to be conducted so that a complete documentation of the demolished buildings would be set up and monitored by the various local commissions and of the Bucharest municipality.[645]

The activity of documenting, collecting and storing assets of historical and artistic interest recovered from the demolition actions have been conducted by the local councils together with the regional offices for the national cultural patrimony, as a consequence of the Decree 120 of 1981.[646] According to centralised data collected between 1981-1988 approximately 514 ensembles and sites from 128 urban and rural areas in the country, and 6.700 buildings were affected. During the same period 612 buildings, among which 243 declared historic monuments and of architecture, were transformed or transferred to another location.[647] Therefore the list for restoration works and identified repairs for the period 1978-1985 included 67 monuments, including also repairs undertaken after the 1977 earthquake.[648] Besides the demolition campaign extensively affecting the urban fabric of Bucharest centre, additional actions have been carried out in the country mostly affecting traditional villages.

> At stake are now the Transylvanian towns: Brașov, Făgărăș, Sibiu, Arad, Timișoara, Lugoj, Caransebeș, Oradea, Cluj-Napoca, Dej, Sighetu-Marmației, Bistrița, Rodna, Mediaș, Sighișoara, Alba-Iulia, Turda, Tîrgu-Mureș, Miercurea-Ciuc, Sf. Gheorghe… These Transylvanian towns dispose of a vast patrimony of genuine urban architecture, including old structures and houses preserved since

[645] Giurescu 1989, 41.
[646] ANIC: CC al PCR - Propaganda și Agitație, 2/1989: 28.
[647] ANIC: CC al PCR - Propaganda și Agitație, 2/1989: 27.
[648] Giurescu 1989, 41.

centuries as well as districts dating back to the inter-war period or to more recent times, after 1955-1960. (…) The prospects are very bad for the villages too. It has been officially stated from the highest level, that the reconstruction of all Romanian villages has to be completed in the next 15 years. (…) In the next 15 years, the Romanian vernacular architecture will be reduced to a few examples, preserved in some folk art museums. Romania will become soon an universe of blocks of flats replacing the individual houses.[649]

Nevertheless beyond the legal, institutional and administrative conditions created after the earthquake of 1977, decisions impacting preservation of cultural patrimony were also subjected to the massive economic reforms initiated in the 1970s. According to Ceaușescu's decisions of introducing self-determination of institutions and local bodies, considered as measures that would accentuate their economic 'efficiency', basically meant the adoption of a series of drastic economic measures enforcing 'austerity', and impacting negatively their efficiency. Therefore cultural institutions had to become economically profitable and generate their own financial resources. Although a series of budget cuts were implemented, affecting their management and personnel. By the end of the 1970s, museums were affected by a personnel cutback by 18%. Between 1980 and 1987, cultural institutions registered a decrease of employees between 14.1% and 52.4%.[650]

Criteria have been identified according to which employees from museums and regional offices for monuments preservation, and in the Bucharest office have been retained. Namely, these were proportionally to the number of the assets included in collections, and number of the assets designated part of the national cultural patrimony.[651] This would explain the interest for increasing museum collections, and of the national cultural patrimony, which was not necessarily conditioned by the ideological need for proof and evidence, but rather for very pragmatic reasons motivated by huge economic constrains. From 170 employees of the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony, only 28 were kept within the CCES. Most of the personnel employed in the field of monuments preservation (ca. 600 individuals), were dispersed after 1977 in different areas of activities.[652] By the end of 1988 the restructuring of the CCES was considering merging the management of various cultural institutions and forming the Direction for Arts and Institutions for Events and National Cultural Patrimony, that would retain only 34 employees in total.[653]

The lack of funding available for heritage preservation works starting with 1978 was a major condition that created the premises for a dysfunctional mechanism of protection of cultural heritage. Securitatea surveillance activity registered a series of illegalities according to which the local councils re-directed funds which were assigned for restoration works, to various repairs

[649] HU OSA 300/120/6/632: Dan Ionescu, 1986
[650] ANIC: CC of PCR - Propaganda și Agitație, 71/1987, CCES: 5.
[651] ANIC: CC of PCR - Propaganda și Agitație, 71/1987, CCES: Criterii privind normarea personalului din ramura cultura-artă, 60.
[652] A.C.N.S.A.S., File: D016294, Nota Min de Interne, (Febr.1979): 4.
[653] ANIC: CC al PCR - Propaganda și Agitație, 70/1989: 1-2.

and construction works. Often construction materials considered for restoration works have been illegally appropriated.[654]

Moreover, the policy of economic valorisation of culture, meaning using cultural heritage for generating additional economic resources, which would be eventually re-invested in a failing economy, became the norm.[655] According to documentation provided by Securitatea archives, the state used the massive urban development and demolition campaigns in the country as source of acquiring valuable assets from the derelict sites, according to the Decree 120 of 1981. These have been transferred to the Museum for Arts and History of Bucharest, according to registers documenting the period between 1984-1988.[656] Other beneficiaries of various assets and remains collected from the affected sites after the earthquake of 1977 were also the National Arts Museum and the Orthodox Patriarchy.[657] Eventually assets of artistic value collected following the systematization and demolitions works were re-distributed to various locations, such as: the headquarters of the Communist Party; warehouses V. Braniște and Marinete; presidential residencies Cotroceni, I.E.O.Snagov; and administrative units managed by ICA-SLS.[658] While often sacred buildings such as monasteries and churches have been conversed for touristic purposes.

A centralised documentation is preserved in the National Archives ANIC, indicating the situation in the country and the effects of the decree 120 of 1981, according to which buildings have been dissembled, restored and repaired. Amongst them are also historic monuments. The register indicates a dramatic number of only three buildings considered historic monuments in Bucharest, that have been repaired between 1987-1988, and a total of twenty between 1981-1988, while twenty-seven monuments have been demolished out of fourty-three.[659]

Nevertheless, despite the harsh conditions within which cultural patrimony was dealt with during the 1980s, a further aspect needs to be highlighted. National cultural patrimony became merely a matter of 'state security'. This concerned movable assets as much as the built environment. Tentatives of managing heritage and preservation were occasionally considered, such as reorganising the national cultural inventories. An impressive work of 14 volumes documenting the 'monuments of culture', which CCES identified as being part of the 'national cultural patrimony' was in 1988 handed to the First Lady Elena Ceaușescu, however this having a strictly secretive status, demonstrating again the submission of the patrimonial sector to the political interest.[660]

According to the inventories, 'monuments of culture' were organised as following:

➢ Monuments and archaeological reserves,
➢ Historic monuments and of architecture,

[654] A.C.N.S.A.S., File: D011487, Ministerul de Interne, Hotărîri adoptate în ședința Biroului Executiv al Consiliului de Conducere al Ministrului (11.dec. 1978): 16.
[655] A.C.S.N.A.S., File D 016335 Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu, n,d, 46.
[656] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/2, 250-253.
[657] ANIC: CC al PCR Gospodaria de Partid. 13/1978: 2-3.
[658] ANIC: CC al PCR Gospodaria de Partid. 3/1985: 1-95.
[659] ANIC: CC al PCR Propaganda și Agitație, 2/1989, Annexes, 29-30.
[660] ANIC: CC al PCR Propaganda și Agitație, 21/1989, 1-2.

> ➤ Memorial buildings,
> ➤ Monuments of fine arts or of memorial value,
> ➤ Architectural reserves.[661]

This structure of the inventories one will see, it was kept and eventually served as a basis for discussion after the regime change, during the subsequent debates 1990s on the re-evaluation of the past legacy.

To summarise the destructive impact of the earthquake, the harsh economic conditions, prioritisation of modernisation processes and systematisation, institutional incoherencies and lack of assuming responsibility taken at local administrative level can be equally considered as having a negative impact and damaging for monuments preservation. These add to the negative impacts of the major urban renewal projects promoted by Ceaușescu carried out in the country and the capital city during the last decade of the regime.

3.5.3. Legislative adaptation. Predictions of a doomed year 1984: preservation-demolition-urban renewal

Any intervention that might prejudice monuments preservation was regulated by a series of decrees concerning urban planning during the 1970s, such as: 452/1973, 13/1975, 442/1977 and 120/1981. These prohibited any intervention which might endanger monuments without prior permission from the institutions responsible for monuments protection. Another normative tool issued by the Bucharest mayor's office, namely the Decree 1173 of 1973, explicitly specified that urban planners were obliged to respect recommendations of experts, and preserve built historic environment. Accordingly, planners were not allowed to demolish any construction without the prior approval from the Museum for History and Arts of Bucharest (Art.7, Art 8).[662]

In 1974 the Law on urban systematisation of the urban and rural settlements (Law 39 of 1974) was issued prior to the earthquake of 1977. As the authors Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu argue it was tolerant towards urban planners providing liberty for urban design.[663] Giurescu argued that the law 'on the surface looked good.' Its objectives were to provide:

> [...] the judicious organisation of the entire country's territory (counties, communes, urban and rural localities), (…) the determination of appropriate guidelines for construction density and height, for population density, for the creation and recreation areas and of technical and sanitary installations, of roads and transportation, for the preservation and improvement of the natural environment; for enhancing historic and artistic monuments and sites.[664]

---

[661] ANIC: CC al PCR Propaganda şi Agitaţie, 128/1989, vol.2.
[662] Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu 2001, 233.
[663] A.C.S.N.A.S., File D 016335 Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu n.d., 55.
[664] Giurescu 1989, 39.

Despite the fact that the valorisation and preservation of the historic monuments and historic places was guaranteed by its first Article and Art.37, the law did not create the conditions that allowed urban renewal and maintenance of historic centres to be harmonised. According to Giurescu, a series of debates in various conferences and symposia gathering architects, urban planners, art historians, archaeologists, engineers and historians, adopted an interdisciplinary approach for dealing with this issue.[665] Yet due to limited access to documentation such debates are almost impossible to reconstruct. Despite the relatively coherent normative conditions created by the Law of 1974, and the impact of the earthquake from 1977, urban renewal on the background of economic distress diverged eventually further developments in another direction.

   After the dissolution of the Directorate for Cultural Patrimony, a further decree 'outlined the organisation and duties for guidance, control and advisory work of the Central Party and the State Commission for the territorial urban and rural systematisation' (March 1978). The main goal of this political and administrative body was to set forth a national plan for territorial urban and rural systematisation, while similar responsibilities have been assigned in Bucharest to the Commission of Architecture and Systematisation.[666] The systematisation plans were not new in the Romanian context, given that in the 1950s numerous housing programs had also developed. As Giurescu outlines:

> [...] For 15 years, 1955-1970, these apartments extended into the outskirts, built or open fields, in run-down suburban areas and along ring-boulevards and main road into cities. The proximity to built industrial units, and better housing opportunities were the main criteria for urban reconstruction in Bucharest and other centres. In the first phase, up to the early 1970s, it is fair to assume that the historic centres were generally not affected.[667]

This situation changed during the 1970s, and intensified during the 1980s. Alongside to Bucharest other cities in the country were affected by massive demolition works, among which some of them completely lost their historical city centres.These included: Pașcani, Focșani, Pitești, and Botoșani.[668] Following the demolition actions carried out after the earthquake of 1977, an additional objective impacted Bucharest and urban and rural areas nationwide, namely the plan for urban renewal which proceeded in 1984.

   This generated extensive demolition works in order to build the new political and administrative centre of Bucharest, by clearing the former historic core of the city. Even by the end of the year 1977 debates concerning the construction of a new political-administrative centre, guided by the principles of creating something 'beautiful and useful' that would be unique and modern, were debated.[669] Actually this plan was not a novelty, as will be shown in the final chapter of the thesis which discusses the case studies. The contemporary

[665] Idem 6.
[666] Idem 41.
[667] Giurescu 1989, 2-3.
[668] A.C.S.N.A.S., File D 016335 Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu, n.d, 56.
[669] ANIC: CC al PCR Propaganda şi Agitaţie, 29/1977, N.Ceauşescu la şedinţa de lucru cu arhitecţii (16.12.1977): 1-6.

foreign press captured the conditions for development and 'modernisation' of urban and rural Romania during the 1980s, as following:

> A man of humble farm background from one of Romania's poorest regions, Mr. Ceaușescu abhors the past and looks toward his version of the future. To him anything modern is good and beautiful: plastic, nylon, prefabricated buildings. By now (1986) some 15.000 old dwellings and public monuments have been smashed in Bucharest to make room for a "brave new world" socialist complex dominated by a new presidential palace. (….) What strikes a visitor to Bucharest is the new urbanistic upsurge. Thousands of blocks of flats, imposing social-cultural structures, schools, hospitals, hotels have been built. The city has become a modern metropolis. This urban renewal plan has caused a series of dramatic petitions by scholars and other intellectuals, but to no avail. Mr. Ceaușescu would eventually like to make Bucharest a "City of the Young", removing all old age pensioners to special zones in the countryside.[670]

Once the Directorate for Preservation of Cultural Patrimony had been terminated, a series of demolition actions were pursued without having the agreement of the CCES, such as the campaign to demolish the architectural ensembles Vacareşti and Mihai Vodă, amongst the most important historic monuments in Bucharest.

> All monasteries in the ancient centre of Bucharest with the exception of the Radu-Vodă monastery have been razed since 1982. The first to be leveled was Schitul Maicilor (1726, classified as an historical monument). In June 1982 its church was moved some 200 meters, but its final preservation is still pending a decision by Ceaușescu. Between April 1982 and August 1984 the main church of the former Cotroceni monastery was torn down, just because it stood in the vicinity of the president's new palace. (…) Its destruction, along with that of the Văcăreşti monastery, is the most serious loss in Romanian cultural heritage in many years. In the second half of July the eastern wing of Antim monastery (1713, classified as an historical monument) was pulled down. In February 1985 another building belonging to the monastery, the Synodical Library, was moved 14 meters. The remaining main chruch was screened off by new apartment houses.[671]

These demolition works have been carried out as a consequence of the urban development of the Civic Centre in 1984, and were among the first historic monuments that have been affected by the modernisation campaign of the city centre. According to documentation presented to Radio Free Europe concerning the urban and rural developments, it has been argued that:

---

[670] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Andrew Borowiec, Ceaușescu Rips Bucharest's Heart from its body, in Washington Times, 23 June 1986.
[671] HU OSA 300/120/6/632 File Romania Museums and Monuments: 1984-1990, Destruction of old Bucharest continues, Romanian SR/12, 13.08.1985.

[...] one of the most important monuments of Byzantine tradition, a masterpiece of Romanian architecture, namely the Văcărești monastery, built by Nicolae Mavrocordat, prince of Wallachia between 1719 and 1730, is under terrible threat. Trying to "prove" that the monastery complex of Văcărești is in very bad shape and cannot be restored anymore, the municipal authorities have orderd and completed the demolition of the three cupolas of the church, throwing the debris inside the building (December 1984). Since then remarkable wall-paintings are ineluctably deteriorated by rains and snows. The reason set forth for the destruction of the entire Văcărești complex, including the princely palace and other characteritsic structures (the monastery' kitchens, for example) was the intention to erect at this very place a new Palace of Justice. (…) In June 1983 new demolition work has been launched in Bucharest at a rapid pace, from Piața Unirii onwards, in order to permit the extension of the "Victory of Socialism" Boulevard (which begins from the Civic Centre) on the left bank of Dîmbovița. Hundreds of sound houses and blocks have disappeared during the summer of 1985. The Church Saint Nicholas "din Sirbi" (Pitagora Street no.11), built in 1692 and several times restored has been already situated far from the future Civic Centre, was also razed.[672]

The demolition works proceeded in 1984 in the Uranus neighbourhood of Bucharest, affecting several declared historic and sacral monuments. The aim was to clear the area for the future administrative headquarters, while the plans were approved by Tamara Dobrin. She was the leader of the Central Commission for Monuments Preservation, and held further positions suchs as membership of the State and Party Commission for the Systematisation of the Territorial, Urban and Rural Localities, and Vice President of the Council of Culture and Socialist Education (starting 1971). [673] This however raises suspicions concerning the ability of any further or additional institution to question or counteract political decisions, while the decision-making concerning monuments preservation was under the same Tamara Dobrin member of the Commission that decided the urban systematisation projects. Also it highlights the fact that such abusive interventions based on the decisions of the political apparatus, eventually found support among various experts co-opted into the administrative structures of the regime, as well as architects who supported 'radical' solutions for the urban renewal.

On the same note one can argue that no opposition has been manifested by the Orthodox religious authorities which denied any plans to demolish the capital's cathedral (1554-1650), together with many other churches in the country.[674] It was argued that the planed demolition of the patriarchal palace, the bell tower and the 17th century Cathedral, which was the seat of the Orthodox Church in Romania which:

[672] HU OSA 300/120/6/632 Dan Ionescu, Romania Monitoring, Febr,1986.
[673] Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu 2001, 236.
[674] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Irina Bossy-Ghica, French intellectuals ask Ceaușescu to halt Romanian Demolitions, 16 Febr.1988.

[...] lied between two major construction projects that mark President Ceaușescu's grandiose plans for the renewal of Bucharest. One is the Civic Centre, a huge structure which is to house the headquarters of the Romanian government and Communist Party. The other almost two kilometres away at the Piața Unirii (Unity Square), it will be adorned by spectacular fountains. The two sites are to be joined by the Boulevard 'Victory of Socialism' which has been compared to the Forum of Augustus in Rome, for it is to be lined with statues and busts of famous Romanians. The stated reason for demolishing the cathedral is to make way for a pedestrian underpass. (…) It is not known whether the KNA report is culled from rumour or based on an official statement. Hence it is impossible to establish how real or imminent is the threat to the Romanian Cathedral. There has been no comment from Patriarch Teoctist or other high members of the clergy. Demolition itself is not without precedent. (…) So far twenty churches have been razed to the ground; in July 1986 Bucharest's only Sephradic synagogue was torn down despite an international outcry.[675]

In the official press of the time the Patriarch rejected the plans as 'malevolent the statements on the alleged intention to demolish such churches in Bucharest as the Church in Parcul Domenilor (Cașin Monastery). Since 1980 alone, he specified, the patriarchate has spent more than 145 million Lei on the restoration of over 500 churches that are historical monuments.'[676]
However, limited archival documentation demonstrates that the Orthodox Church Patriarch Justinian was lobbying the Direction for Monuments Preservation - while still in function - to remove during the restoration and conservation works statues which depicted religious figures considered 'foreign to the orthodox cult', from various historic monuments and stone churches.[677] Hence the limited reaction and complicity of the Orthodox Church authorities deserve a greater level of attention when discussing the destruction of sacral monuments in the country during the regime.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the situation identified by Roske, Barbu, Ciuceanu, who describing the demolition works initiated in order to clear the historic city centre of Bucharest starting 1984, pointed out a series of actions emerging out of routine or without any previously approved plan.[678] Often a general state of confusion was noted without having clearly identified actors responsible on site for such decisions, an argument confirmed also by Giurescu. The author also argues the earthquake of 1977 being used by various architects 'advocating a radical urban reconstruction' as a 'pretext and an illustration to make their opinions prevail. It was asserted that the old architecture was extremely damaged, thus opening the way for new apartment buildings, most of which, with some exceptions, had withstood the shock'.[679]

[675] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Paul Pivcevic (BBC): Bucharest: Heritage threatened again, (08 Jan. 1988): 1-2.
[676] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Care for the conservation and restoration of places of worship and historical monuments, Agerpress, Bucharest, 1/1988.
[677] ANIC: Patriarhia Romană, Secretar N. Cazacu, 1971
[678] Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu 2001, 239.
[679] Giurescu 1989, 38.

As the author further argues: 'the discussion carried out in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s brought forward arguments, principles and guidelines for two options:

- ➢ radical almost integral demolition of the present urban areas and their replacement by components of a totally different concept, scale and style, keeping in place isolated historic monuments and other buildings;
- ➢ the preservation of the traditional architecture with a rational renovation and infill.'[680]

This raises additional questions, namely to what extent personal motivations of various architects played a role in this process, a subject that needs further clarification. Giurescu argued 'some architects and urban planners considered the 19th and 20th century architecture of no real value; administrators and some specialists viewed modernity and progress as embodied solely in apartment buildings.'[681] Consequently the debates reflect the classic conflict existing between parties promoting preservation and those supporting urban modernisation and 'radical' solutions, aware of the opportunities given by the political context. 'Houses and streets in an "imminent state of collapse" was the wording often used to justify the levelling of thousands of houses.'[682]

Moreover, as Anca Dumitrescu highlighted the working manner of various experts in 1985. The author highlighted the fact that architects, engineers, urban planners organised various working collectives, and following the earthquake of 1977 started to develop various plans for restricting the city and developing a centre for the political administration, an idea apparently launched by the chief Architect of Bucharest, Alexandru Budisteanu:

> [...] c'est lui, qui au lendemain du tremblement de terre de mars 1977, a évoque le premier devant le couple présidentiel venu visiter les débris de la la ville, l'idee d'un centre digne du Secrétaire général. Aussitôt se sont formes une série de collectifs réunissant professeurs, chefs de travaux, assistants, étudiants, techniciens, autour des architectes les plus en vue (dont Cezar Lazarescu, recteur et conseiller personnel de Ceauşescu pour l'architecture et l'urbanisme et le Vice-Président de la Commission pour la systématisation, Ascanio Damian-membré de la Commission pour la systématisation, Romeo Belea etc., tous respectes pour leurs très hautes compétences). La lutte entre les équipes a commence a s'engager, chacun élaborant secrètement des projets plus oses les uns que les autres, certains rêvant sans doute de se distinguer par son dégrée d'audace, ou de la flatterie auprès du président a qui était périodiquement présentées des maquettes, qu'on modifiait ensuite au gré des changements des "precisieuses directives".''[683]

---

[680] Giurescu 1989, 7-8.
[681] Idem 6.
[682] Idem 38-39.
[683] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Anca Dumitrescu, Une violation de la Charte de Venice, In: Annes Colas, Destruction d'une capital, In: L'Alternative. Pour les droits et les libertes democratiques en Europe de l'état, No.31, (Jan-Fevr.1985): 44.

Thus as Lazea rightfully argued architects were at the time involved in the processes of urban renewal and questioning their contribution in ensuring preservation, should not be understood as a homogenous professional category which shared the same opinion on how modernisation should be carried out in a unitary discourse.[464]

Demolition of historic monuments was carried out despite exisiting legal conditions which guaranteed preservation, and of the administrative bodies which were supposed to implement such measures. Furthermore, modernisation plans which eventually agressively impacted preservation, did not generate any official reaction from the authorities and responsible institutions. Instead, a series of complaints and reactions to these developments have been expressed mostly by various dissidents, Romanian and foreign intellectuals, historians, art historians, and architects. Their international campaign against such measures were eventually echoed internationally, an aspect that will be discussed in the thesis.

3.6. Surveillance and Dissent Opposition: National cultural patrimony preservation a matter of 'state security' and 'human rights' protection

3.6.1 State Surveillance: National cultural patrimony preservation a matter of 'state security'

The state of the art of historic monuments and cultural patrimony in general was a subject of interest for the Securitatea apparatus. Their protection being thought of as a 'matter of state security'. Hence cultural preservation became a matter of interest in order to primordially guarantee the so called 'state interests', and not the safeguarding and preservation of the assets, being movable or immovable.

Securitatea manifested increased control following the adoption of the patrimony Law 63 of 1974. This facilitated state control over all patrimonial activities. Furthermore, it was enforced once exiled intellectuals publicly expressed their concern regarding abusive state interventions against monuments preservation, which subsequently drew attention to a wider international community of experts, intellectuals and organisations. This documention was researched in the archives holding former Securitatea documents at the National Council for the Study of Securitatea Archives (A.C.N.S.A.S.) Bucharest.

After 1977 Securitatea together with Militia forces increasingly controlled patrimonial activities. These were mainly linked to ensure state interests in acquiring valuable assets and prohibit illegal trafficking, in order to prevent loss of national economically valuable assets. In that respect, it developed a rigid mechanism aiming at the surveillance of the employees of various cultural institutions, experts, and individuals (Romanian citizens or foreigners) who were suspected of owning or illegally transferring abroad assets, which might be of interest to the state. Consequently, strict security mechanisms have been adopted and developed in most museums and cultural

---

[464] Lazea 2000, 154.

institutions housing assets of patrimonial interest. The purpose was to maintain a strict control, by claiming the interest for the 'safety' of the valuable assets.

By the end of 1989 the surveillance mechanisms and control of patrimonial matters, managed a network of institutions including: the specialised police task force dealing with economic, safety and security, and transport issues; the Ministry of Interior Affairs; the State Commission for National Cultural Patrimony; and various museums. Its scope was to prevent illegal sales and purchases of assets which belonged to the national patrimony, to counteract illicit traffic and export of such assets, and to facilitate the collaboration with various institutions repositories of cultural patrimony (museums, galleries, libraries, etc.) in order to ensure their security.[485]

The activity of Securitatea was not limited to ensure the surveillance and control only over movable assets. It also included the built environment, in particular after 1977. During the 1970s, the Securitatea co-ordinated the activity of re-evaluation of the inventories created immediately after the Communist Party came to power in 1948-1955.[486] Following this action, various cultural institutions became subject of investigations, and were required to transfer assets to the state for which they could not provide ownership documentation. Particular attention has been given in this case to assets and properties that had belonged prior to the Royal Family, which were redistributed to different locations and given a new function, as previously discussed. Later during the 1980s the intervention of Securitatea in patrimonial issues became the norm.

Following the decision of 30th November 1977, concerning the dissolution of the Directorate for national cultural patrimony, 600 restorers were transferred to different working places, while construction materials were re-allocated for a different use. Financial resources for the conservation and restoration works were blocked. The working plan for the conservation works to be conducted between 1978-1980, were no longer approved.[487] Consequently, the responsibility of the Directorate for the preservation and conservation of monuments was transferred to the Commission centrally, and in territory to the local councils, although these lacked experts in the field, knowledge and resources.[488] As a direct consequence, works at the majority of buildings sites, restoration complexes in the regions were often cancelled, based on the local resources and initiatives in this matters.

On the background of these developments, a strong dissenting movement reacted against abusive state practices when dealing with monuments preservation. In particular Romanian intellectuals based in Paris had a vocal contribution raising awareness internationally on the state of art of the monuments, after the political decision communicated in November 1977 to terminate the Directorate for Cultural Patrimony. According to Securitatea files and contemporary press files from Radio Free Europe, the main channel of

[485] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1: Plan de măsuri pentru creșterea eficienței activității de apărare a patrimoniului cultural național, prevenirea și contracarea faptelor de scoatere ilegală din țară a bunurilor ce intră sub incidența Legii nr.63/1974, Oct. 1989, 182-183.
[486] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013367/1: Raport privind măsurile întreprinse și rezultatele obținute de organele Ministerului de Interne pe linia ocrotirii patrimoniului cultural național, Ministerul de Interne, Dec. 1978, 35.
[487] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013433/vol.1, Nota (05.08.1981): 397.
[488] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D016294, Nota rd. 0161/292.(20.02.1979) ex.4: 3.

information documenting and disseminating the consequences and reactions following this political decision, mainly negative opinion were expressed by various experts in the country and abroad.[689]

Writers, architects and historians based in Paris set up a Commission for Historic Monuments in exile in 1980 and since then began lobbying against Ceaușescu's policies, using various channels such as UNESCO and Radio Free Europe. Their goal was to raise awareness internationally following Ceaușescu's extensive demolition campaign, considered the major reason for the abolishment of the Directorate for Historic Monuments Preservation.[690] Of equal relevance are also the already mentioned reports 'The Condition of the Monument' and 'Will Bucharest survive 1984?' issued by the Bucharest - based unofficial watch group: Romanian Historical Monuments Watch Group - Radu Ciuceanu, Daniel Barbu, and Octavian Roske - during the 1980s. These authors illegally smuggled the reports abroad and provided through Radio Free Europe, registered also in the Securitatea files, an overview on the curent conditions of monuments preservation during Ceaușescu's regime. These will be futher discussed in detail.

3.6.2. Dissent Opposition: Monuments preservation a matter of 'human rights' protection

The study conducted by Barbu, Roske, Ciuceanu was among few unofficial analyses concerning the state of the art of monuments and preservation in communist Romania, highlighting abusive practices under Ceaușescu's regime. Its significance lies in highlighting the role of dissident movements lobbying for heritage preservation in the context of abusive regimes targeting the preservation of cultural heritage.

Another relevant contribution in this direction worth mentioning here, is the involvement of the architect Matei Beldiman, who left Romania for Paris in 1974, and founded the Commission for Historic Monuments in exile in 1980. The Commission and its members immediately became the subject of investigation for Securitatea.[691] According to surveillance material consulted in Securitatea Archives, one can retrieve general information regarding the reorganisation of the Commission as the 'Association for the protection historic and arts monuments' in March 1985 in Paris, lead by the architect Stefan Gane. At this point it received the official status of registered Association, which meant it was legally able to help organise the Paris protest movements.[692] The Association issued a memorium on 25th of March 1985 addressed to the international bodies such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, however their intervention was later qualified as 'useless'.[693]

---

[689] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 016294, Nota Comadamentul acțiunii '7977', 1.

[690] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D 000120, Vol.2: Nota privind studiul muncii info-operative în rîndul oamenilor de artă și cultură profesioniști și amatori, îndeosebi a scriitorilor și cineaștilor (Ministerul de Interne, 25 Iulie 1986, Ex. Nr.1) (1986): 6.

[691] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D000120/006: În cooperare cu U.M.0544 acționăm pentru contracararea acțiunilor acestei 'comisii'. (Raport SRI on the letter of the historian Dan Ionescu presented at Radio Free Europe, May 1983, 20)

[692] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013433/vol.1U.M. 0610 tovarășului șef al unității, (26.11.1987): 74.

[693] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Charles Knevitt (Architecture Correspondent) Duke 'shocked' at the destruction of old churches in Bucharest, Munich, 9 Febr. 1988, -following report appeared in The London Times

The protest was mainly motivated by the systematic demolition of 'all historic and spiritual traits of Romania'. Its authors (including the architect Stefan Gane, the historian Mihnea Berindei, the writer Daniel Boc, the philologist Antonia Constantinescu, Dan Ionescu - art historian, and the computer scientist Ion Galleriu) were pleading for the reorganisation of the main Directorate for Historic Monuments Protection. It furtehr called for the halt of all demolition works affecting monuments and sites of historic interests in Romania, respect for the UNESCO Charters, and proposed the organisation of an international Commission under UNESCO guidance to coordinate and control all preservation works of historic monuments in Romania.[694]

Systematisation politics was criticised as a violation of human rights. In the context of the rural interventions this was affecting vernacular architecture, while the plan of transformation of the rural landscape in modern administrative centres, threatened irreparable damage to Romania's architectural heritage, and massive population displacement. Furthermore, the destruction of the historic centre of Bucharest, as consequence of the development plans of the political-administrative civic centre, together with the House of the People and Victory of Socialism Boulevard, were the major subject of the campaign promoted internationally.

The Association was also responsible for organising the first public demonstration in Paris against monuments destruction in Romania on the 1st of April 1988. This involved the participation of the Union of Free Romanian, and the League for the Defence of Human Rights in Romania. The strong international campaign was mediated through various channels, among them Radio Free Europe, which played a key role in distributing information on the state of the art in particular of the 'systematisation' campaign initiated in the country which targeted mainly vernacular architecture (6.000 to 7.000 villages) and demolishing of historic city centres (according to documentation on hold in the OSA archives 29 had been destroyed by 1988 and 16 more were scheduled for demolition).[695]

The impact of the campaign had a strong resonance also at the political level. It was condemned not only by various international organisations responsible for heritage preservation, and various experts and intellectuals equally from Eastern Europe, but also various political leaders who denounced the destruction campaign. In this way, numerous public denouncements of Ceaușescu's politics were expressed by French intellectuals including members of the French Academy and Nobel Prize winners who signed a protest against the destruction of Bucharest monuments.

> The protest was sent to President N. Ceaușescu last week and published in Paris during the weekend. It said "irreparable damage" has been inflicted on the "world famous" beauties of the Romanian capital. Signers included academicians, Eugen Ionesco - who is Romanian-born-, scientist Louis Leprince-Ringuet, former minister Maurice Schumann, writer Jean D'Ormesson, Francois Jacob and Andre Lwoff, who shared the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1965,

---

[694] A.C.N.S.A.S.,File D013433/vol.1, Nota, (May 1985): 99.
[695] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Museums: Janet Heller commentary in New York Times on : Ceaușescu, Cultural Vandal, Dec.1988.

Architect Bernard Zehrfuss, and the President of the French Pen Club, Rene Tavernier.[696]

In 1988 the Council of Europe called Romania 'to abandon its program of razing villages and relocating its populations. A Council Committee declared that the program was contrary to basic human rights and humanitarian principles. For many parliamentarians, such a policy would destroy historic communities and traditional ways of life.'[697]

As a reaction to this international 'defamation campaign' of Romania's government, and in particular to its leader, as it was labeled by Securitatea services, tools were developed to counteract and compromise the lobby activity promoted by this Commission in exile. Following, a unit was set up with the purpose of controlling and denigrating the campaign initiated internationally by Matei Beldiman. In that respect, U.M.0610 was responsible for setting up documentary material which would demonstrate the state interest in monuments preservation and the prolific activity in this direction through the local councils. This material mainly targeted the international public, and made use of various established intellectuals and the Securitatea unit U.M. 0544/225.[698] Therefore, one can see that the role of the local institutions was merely a symptom of the political agenda, hence disimissing its obligations in the preservation of the patrimony. As a consequence, urban development projects and the protection of historic monuments would be depicted by the Romanian press as a success story.[699]

At this point the destruction of the vernacular and sacral heritage in Romania became an issue of cultural diplomacy and discontent. This reached its peak in particular when the systematisation processes affected the historical centres of Bucharest, and rural settlements in the province of Transylvania. The culturally diverse region was dominated by the traditionally built environment of the Hungarian and German minorities. The politics pursued to reshaping traditional villages in this region was considered a direct attack and violation of the minorities rights in the region:

> Romanians plan to demolish 8.000 of its 13.000 villages will particularly affect the country's Hungarian minority concentrated in Transylvania, but will also touch German, Armenian, Jewish, Czech and other minorities. (…) The Soviet Union has joined the other Balkan state and the Western countries in arguing against Romania's 'collectivisation'.(…) Moscow and the West have become increasingly exasperated at Romania's attitude at the CSCE in Vienna.[700]

[696] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: French Protest Bucharest Destruction, 15 Febr 1988.
[697] HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Administration People's Council. Criticism/West (1988), Council of Europe deplores Romanian rural policy, 20.09.1988.
[698] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013433/vol.1, (Nota 28.04.1981): 394.
[699] HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Administration People's Council: Towns (1985-1989) Romanian Monitoring Agerpres, 9.2.1987.
[700] HU OSA 205-4-70 BOX 269 File: Administration/People's Council. Criticism: West (1988) John Bulloch, diplomatic editor: Britain criticises Romania on rights, In: The Independent, 21 September, 1988.

Henceforth, the destruction of the vernacular built environment in Transylvania was promoted by the dissident group, mostly as a strong infringement of the human rights of the minorities by the Ceaușescu's regime. This added to the abusive expropriation and relocation of the inhabitants of the Uranus neighbourhood in Bucharest, often without having their consent.[701]

Romania's interest in counteracting the negative international reaction was strongly linked to its political interest in extending trade privileges, guaranteed by the status of the 'most favoured nation', with the US President Ronald Reagan in 1986. The demolition campaign and its international condemnation was invoked by members of the Republican Party and the former US Ambassador to Bucharest, David Funderburk, who declared that 'a regime that turns Bibles into toilet paper, that bulldozes churches … does not deserve Most-Favoured-Nation treaty status.'[702] However, this agreement, which Romania eventually dropped, did not prevent the continuation of the demolition campaign, reported in the American press as following:

> On August seven Rozanne Ridgway, US Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, noted that the Romanians "did not get the message at all." Noting also that "the demolition of the (Adventist) church came just few days after US Congressional hearings on extending the MNF trade status to Romania", she added that: "the notion that the day after a hearing you can go out as if that is the end of it, as if the United States is worried about human rights and emigration only two days of a year - one day in the Senate and one day in the House - is just wrong."[703]

On 12ᵗʰ of August 1988 the US Senate approved a Resolution condemning human rights abuses in Romania, which 'would not consider granting favourable trade privileges until the Eastern European nation takes a number of steps to improve its human rights record.'[704] Interestingly enough, at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on human rights held in Vienna 1988, Romania's politics against its minorities and destruction of cultural heritage become a subject for criticism. Romania was accused of violating the Helsinki Agreement on human rights. During the US Speech about repression in Eastern Europe it has been argued that:

> In Romania human rights performance remains poor, and there is fear that soon might get even worse. Recently, the Romanian government has begun to accelerate its implementation of a plan, announced in the 1970's, to restructure village life. (…) When these villages are demolished, demolished with them will be the folk cultures they represent. Even more severe in human terms, the bulldozer's blade

---

[701] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Anca Dumitrescu, Une violation de la Charte de Venice, In: Annes Colas, Destruction d'une capital, In: L'Alternative. Pour les droits et les libertes democratiques en Europe de l'état, No.31, Jan-Fevr.1985 Colas, (1985): 44.

[702] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 147, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium, 1985, Dan Ionescu, Destruction of Old Bucharest Continues, at Radio Free Europe, Munich, 25 June 1985.

[703] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: The Domestic scene, More protests against demolition in Bucharest, 1986, RFE Correspondent Report, (1986): 33-34.

[704] HU OSA 205-4-70 BOX 269 File Administration/ People's Council. Criticism: West (1988) REUTERS: US Senate condemns Romania's Village plans, 12.08. 1988.

and the wrecker's ball will destroy the actual dwellings of people who had no voice in the decision to obliterate these material elements of their existence. The effect will be particularly damaging on the ethnic Hungarian and German communities in Romania, communities whose opportunities for expressing their ethnic traditions and culture are being squeezed smaller and smaller.[705]

While protests against demolition works in Transylvania were organised at the same time with the Conference in Vienna, such as the one organsised by the Romanian dissidents in Paris, in Budapest massive protests were taking place. These were unofficially organised for the first time since the Revolution of 1956, against Ceaușescu's policies concerning Hungarian minorities heritage.[706] Noteworthy in the international press, political and economic sanctions were discussed as a means to pressure the Romanian regime for the cultural heritage destruction, while international organisations such as UNESCO were dismissed as powerless:

> Conservation groups have little experience dealing with countries that systematically bulldoze all vestiges of their past, though some lessons might have been learned from the rank deprivations wrought by China and Cambodia. The left-wing bias of UNESCO, the Paris-based UN Agency with a stated interest in historic sites and monuments worldwide, renders to useless as a public forum. To avoid congregational scrutiny, Romania recently relinquished the most-favoured-nation trading boondoggle it enjoyed for years, but its continuing membership in the World Bank still offers the option of economic pressure.[707]

Romania's regime official answer to the increasing international pressure and critics was:

> [...] to allow the construction of a new Adventists church and the printing of several thousand copies of the protestant Bible a year. They also reiterated an earlier promise to preserve three synagogues in the urban renewal area. No similar concessions were announced on behalf of the country's largest religious community the Romanian Orthodox church, which has some 16 million members. On the contrary, it seems that the authorities plan to confine themselves in the near future to razing Orthodox churches, in the knowledge that they will hardly meet any opposition from the submissive Orthodox hierarchy.[708]

[705] HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Administration People's Council. Criticism/West (1988), Warren Zimmermann, US Speech about the recent repression in Eastern Europe, (28.06.1988): 1-2.
[706] HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Administration People's Council. Criticism/East (1988), Radio Free Europe: Early morning agencies on Hungarian Demonstration, 28.06.1988.
[707] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Manuela Hoelterhoff, Romania's restructuring: no perestroika, May 1988, in Wall Street Journal.
[708] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture /Patrimonium 1984-1990: The Domestic scene, More protests against demolition in Bucharest, (1986): 34.

In response to the international campaign of denigration of the regime concerning the systematisation of the country and the consequent destruction of rural villages, in an interview published in Nesweek International, in August 1989 with Kenneth Auchincloss, Ceaușescu defended his regime and actions against such accusations:

> Forty–five years ago Romania was a poorly developed country. Today Romania has become a socialist-industrial-agrarian country with a modern industry and an advanced socialist agriculture. All these called for a far-reaching reorganisation of all sectors. We have aimed to wipe away this country's division into industrially developed and income-efficient zones and zones with no industry or very low incomes. (…) In Romania, there is no such word as destruction. If to build better flats means to destroy, then we must see what is the meaning of construction and modernisation, and what is the meaning of "destruction".[709]

In March 1989 the UN Human Rights Commission has passed the resolution condemning human rights violations in Romania. According to the Report,

> [...] human rights are grossly and pervasively violated in Romania. As a result, the country has turned into the most repressive country in Europe. (…) The so called "systematisation" plan has until now been implemented as drastically as feared. The "modernisation" of rural areas, which aims at reducing the number of villages from 13.000 to 5.000 and moving the population to so called "agro-industrial centres", hast started though near the capital. (…) At no time has the government officially abandoned the plan entirely. It has, in fact, been implemented in cities for several years already, resulting in destructions of historical buildings of unreplaceable value. Moreover, thousands of people have been given less then two days notice to pack their things before being forcefully moved to new apartment blocks on the outskirts of towns, which often lack basic amnities, such as central heating and indoor plumbing.[710]

By the end of 1989 Romania's official reply to the increasing international criticism of human rights violations reflected in a statement by the Romania's UN Ambassador Petre Tanasie statement. He argued that Romania's rural systematisation program 'is designed to eliminate "inherited underdevelopment". (…) "modernisation" covers all parts of Romania and cultural heritage in all affected areas will be "equally protected and preserved".'[711]

---

[709] HU OSA 205-4-70 BOX 269 File Administration/National Committees/Plans (1979-1989) Auchincloss Kenneth, 'We don't have empty shelves'. Ceaușescu on rural villages, human rights, his son's future and the 'cult of personality', 21 August 1989, Newsweek International.

[710] HU OSA 300/120/13 Human Rights Eastern European Romania (1989-1993) International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights Press Release, Romania: Enemy of its own people, June 1989.

[711] HU OSA 300/120/13 Human Rights Eastern European Romania (1989-1993) Romania's UN Ambassador Petre Tănasie Rejects Criticism of Human Rights Violations

The international reaction and in particular from international expert bodies such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, led to the investigation from the international bodies by the end of the 1980s of the conditions of heritage preservation, however this was reflecting mainly the conditions in Bucharest.[712] Following that the demolishing campaign was brought to a halt.

3.7. International Organisations: UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM, ICOM and their relationship with the socialist regime

The relationship between international organisations such as UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, ICOM and the former socialist states in Central and Eastern Europe, or authoritarian regimes, is a subject that still requires thorough research. Therefore, this chapter aims at briefly discussing the engagement of the socialist regime with the international bodies. The conditions in which communist regimes, such as communist Romania in particular, benefited or exchanged technical support in the process of reorganisation of the museums and activities of conservation and restoration after the Second World War, has not be made the subject of research to date. The documentary material for researching these activities has been rather collected from the National Archives and A.C.N.S.A.S. in Bucharest, and could not be enriched with documentation from the Ministry of Culture or the Foreign Affairs Archives, due to limited and denied access to these materials. The reason for this can not be exhaustively detailed in this sub-chapter, however it aims at providing a short description of the involvement of Romania in the international bodies.

The relationship between Romania and international organisations is documented starting as early as 1957, when its affiliation to ICCROM was proposed, founded by UNESCO in 1956.[713] The interest for exchange was expressed for providing technical experts, technologies, and grants in order to train local experts.[714] Romania joined UNESCO following a modification of the Ministerial Decree nr.1926 of 1956.[715] Furthermore following the participation of the Romanian delegation in 1964 at the 6th General Conference of ICOM in New York City, a national commission for ICOM has been set up by Prof. Acad. Daicoviciu, Prof. Bacescu, Prof. Mircea Popescu, and other 64 members from various Romanian museums.[716] Among its tasks the commission was pursuing to reform local museums, and increase the collections of natural and history museums. A particular attention was attributed to the sections depicting the socialist development.[717]

[712] Mission in Romania Protection of the Cultural Heritage, UNESCO August-September 1989 http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000876/087699eb.pdf [last accessed 12.07.2017]

[713] INP, Academia R.P.R.: Academia R.P.R. Secretariat, (1957): 166.

[714] INP, Academia R.P.R.: George Salle, ICOM Pres., 1957, Programme de Participation UNESCO pour les années 1957 et 1958, (1957): 102.

[715] HU OSA 300 60 1, Box 98, File: 800 Culture/General 1948-1961.Romania Liberă Press, Febr.13/1958, Componența biroului și comisei naționale a R.P.R. pentru UNESCO.

[716] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Museums, Conferința generală a Comitetului internațional al muzeelor, In: Romania Liberă, 1oct. 1965.

[717] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Museums: Dezvoltarea Activității Muzeelor, Scînteia, 1964.

Following Romania's joining international bodies, various activities of research and restoration, in particular of sacral buildings, were carried out by members of ICCROM, whose Council Romania joined in 1973 until 1979, and whose vice-president was starting 1973 Prof. Vasile Drăguț. A series of such interventions have been conducted with the support of the Directorate for Monuments Preservation and of the Department for Religion. A pilot project organised together with international ICCROM members aimed to prepare and train Romanian experts in the field of restoration of mural frescoes of the Moldavian Churches, and consequently the first school for restoration in Romania was established.[718] This idea was further carried out by the Directorate for National Patrimony, which together with the Department for Religion set up restoration courses aiming at training restorers in orthodox religious paintings.[719] However, the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the Directorate for National Patrimony has not been elaborated in detail in this research, as it requires an extended and thorough analysis. The current limited access to archival material which documents the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the state during the communist regime, prevents for the time being any thorough research in this direction. Nevertheless, the predominant interest of the state in preserving religious assets is not a surprise, being reflected also in the debates involving the political leader Ceaușescu on this issue. The protection of the built environment has been brought to attention merely for its touristic significance. Hence the potential of the Moldavian Monasteries to be valorised in particular in this sense was explored by the state, and not as places of worship.[720]

Also a further collaboration with international organisations was concretised in 1977, when an international symposium on 'Conservation and restoration of mural paintings' was organised by the Romanian ICOMOS Committee and the Directorate for National Cultural Patrimony.[721]

Romania adhered to the principles of Venice Charter (1964) and was ICOMOS member starting 1970.[722] During the 1970s Romania was an active member of UNESCO, and the Decree of 728 of 1971 was agreeing on the membership of the National Commission ICOMOS lead by Vasile Drăgut.[723] This status however changed in 1979.[724] The priority to maintain the collaboration with UNESCO during the 1980s was mainly due to the interest of the communist regime to access international support in order to acquire technologies for its educational and research institutions, as stated in informational material addressed to Elena Ceaușescu by the end of 1987.[725]

However, the international participation of the Romanian members of the National Commissions in various activities in the field was significantly reduced during the 1980s. Considering that no relevant official documentation has been found in this direction that would explain the reason behind such limited involvement of the Romanian experts at international level, this chapter

[718] ANIC, Min. Cultelor și Artelor, DN.205/1969-1977, Nota CSCA, 1971: 96-98.
[719] ANIC, Min. Cultelor și Artelor, DN.205/1969-1977, Referat, 1976: 202.
[720] ANIC: CC al PCR, (1976): 14-15, 71-73.
[721] Giurescu 1989, 31.
[722] Idem 44.
[723] Mucenic 1990, 103f.
[724] ANIC: CC of PCR Cancelarie HCM, 576/1971:1-3.
[725] ANIC: CC of PCR Propaganda, 100/1987:1-5.

provides a limited amount of information on how this relationship has changed. Based on various articles in the international press, one can identify indeed that the lack of involvement of the Romanian experts was heavily criticised. E.g. at the UNESCO Conference meeting on cultural policies Romania was represented by the Romanian Ambassador to Mexico Constantin Balabau, and no expert in the field. On this matter the report from Radio Free Europe from October 1982 was stating:

> One can only speculate about the reasons for such unusual restraint. One should not discount the possibility that Romania's lack of hard currency did not allow for a Romanian representative to travel to North America; but it might be closer to the truth to attribute this to Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu's neglect of cultural matters (the recent Congress on Socialist Culture and Education was a telling example of this) is responsible, too. There is a third explanation, too: Suzana Gîdea, the Chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education (the Romanian equivalent of a Minister of Culture), who may well be supporting the anti-cultural policy at home, would perhaps arouse suspicions and some consternation about this same policy.[726]

Meanwhile, according to Securitatea Files, researched in the A.C.N.S.A.S. Archives, in 1984 the Romanian national Committee for ICOMOS was considered as being 'inactive'. The inactive status of Romania in ICOMOS was a direct consequence of its inability to cover its membership fees starting 1982. Again its inability of paying the membership fees for UNESCO in 1988 was strongly criticised by UNESCO, which threatened more than 33 member states that they would 'lose their right to vote' in the General UNESCO Conference due for October 1988 in Paris. 'More than half of the debtor countries are African. The biggest debtor at the beginning of 1988 was Romania, 1.76 Million Dollars in arrears.'[727]

According to a letter addressed by Roberto di Stefano to the members of the 'inactive' national committee ICOMOS with the subject: 'Reactivation of the National committee' was referring to this state of art. The letter was motivated by the aggressive politics against rural villages in the country and current urban transformations in Bucharest. The alarming situation coming from Romania was signalised to the ICOMOS members also by other state socialist committees, such as Poland and Hungary. However, the reactivation of membership of the Romanian Committee in the ICOMOS body was conditioned by the payment of the membership and the nomination of 5 individual experts. These under strict economic constraints, institutional and administrative reforms was not a priority at the time, and almost impossible to achieve.[728]

In response to this statement the Romanian press would release an official statement arguing for the 'willingness to participate in worldwide

---

[726] HU OSA 300/1206/632 File: Romania: Museums and Monuments (1984-1990) Romanian SR/15, 1982, Romania's cultural patrimony: propaganda and practice, (1982): 14-15.
[727] HU OSA 300-60-1 Box 99, File: Culture/General 1988-1989: UN UNESCO urges 33 member states to justify unpaid arrears, 02.10.1989.
[728] A.C.N.S.A.S., File D013433/vol.1, 19-20.

cultural exchanges' and its support for 'the states that have recently embarked on the road of self-reliant development in their effort to recover the representative assets of their cultural patrimony.' Romania was quick to embrace the cause of returning works of art to countries of origin, in order, no doubt, to win sympathy from developing countries as well as 'to gain international prestige as a promoter of a "new world economic and political order" Romania includes itself among the countries whose cultural heritage was looted by foreign masters.'[729]

The active international campaign of the Romanian intellectual dissidence echoed international organisations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS. Interestingly no reaction was registered from ICOM in relationship with the abusive politics of the state in its pursuit of nationalisation of all assets of cultural interest for the state, and their musealisation started from the 1970s. The report of the Watch Group from Bucharest submitted also in 1982 to ICOMOS, and the permanent lobby of the members of the Association for Monuments Protection in Paris influenced the reaction of international bodies dealing rather with built monuments. However, to some extent this came too late, when the demolishing campaign was already in process. Despite the fact that Romania adhered to the Venice Charter a series of abuses in the restoration and conservation practice were signalled to ICOMOS in particular starting the 1980, when numerous historic monuments in a good state of conservation were demolished or translocated, while others strongly affected were reconstructed or restored.[730] According to ICOMOS 'Romania's demolition policy started in 1983, six years after an earthquake severly damaged many buildings in the capital. The earthquake was being used as an excuse to realign the capital along the central boulevard of Socialist Victory to make Romanians forget their cultural and religious heritage.'[731]

Despite the conventions, international and national regulations, as well as local, central and regional administrative bodies, institutions and experts in the field, Romania's cultural heritage preservation was played by the regime as a means to ensure state security, rather then heritage protection and preservation. Cultural heritage seemed to be rather understood as an economic resource. The built preservation starting the 1970s on the background of the adopted policies for urban development was selectively carried out, demonstrating major discrepancies between regions where local authorities and experts supported and promoted projects for preservations. Bucharest became rather the theater for and epitome of moderninsation.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter discussed the consolidation of the heritage field as matter of state interest under the socialist regime. Divided into two major parts, institutions, normative frameworks and concepts have been discussed. These were discussed as a means to consolidate state intervention in the process of

---

[729] HU OSA 300/1206/632 File: Romania: Museums and Monuments (1984-1990) Romanian SR/15, 1982, Romania's cultural patrimony: propaganda and practice, (1982): 13.

[730] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Anca Dumitrescu, Une violation de la Charte de Venice, In: Annes Colas, Destruction d'une capital, In: L'Alternative. Pour les droits et les libertes democratiques en Europe de l'état, No.31, Jan-Fevr.1985.

[731] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Manuela Hoelterhoff, Romania's restructuring: no Perestroika, May 1988, In Wall Street Journal.

heritage-making in the GDR and socialist Romania. This chapter demonstrated that in the GDR after the Second World War the consolidation of a complex institutional and administrative network brought in connection state interests, experts and civil society at local, central and regional level to ensure a comprehensive and unitary approach to monuments preservation.

In comparison to the GDR, developing the administrative and institutional network in communist Romania lacked consistent and coherent policies. These were rather impacted by overlaping responsibilities, and lacked the official involvement of the civil society, being strongly negatively impacted by the limited amount of experts in the field. Furthermore a dysfunctional administrative structure eventually dominated patrimonial activities throughout the regime.

An increasing interest from the state in controlling and managing heritage as source of political legitimisation was demonstrated by both countries. It was highlighted also the increasing economic value of heritage as a resource to be accumulated by the state, strongly infringing property rights in particular in Romania. Similar to the Soviet model, both countries adopted a centralised mechanism. This eventually contributed to transferring heritage preservation and protection, as a matter of interest for the state administration, at local, regional and central levels. Yet despite the planned centralisation of the decision making processes, numerous responsabilities and often financial contributions for the restoration, conservation and preservation works were locally assigned. Furthermore, the increasing bureaucratisation of the heritage-making process strongly limited the role of the experts, and impacted the autonomy institutions in the field which eventually became part of the state administration, and even banned civic society from the process as demonstrated in Romania. Hence these contributed to the politicisation of the decisional mechanism. Furthermore, legislative norms were to some extent developed in the same period demonstrating an opening towards the international developments in the field. However, in comparison to the German case, Romania elaborated a single legislation addressing moreover movable, and less immovable assets, which increasingly facilitated abusive state intervention in nationalisation of cultural assets.

Furthermore this chapter demonstrated that heritage listing and mechanisms of heritage evaluation were developed in the context of abusive nationalisation measures, which eventually guaranteed property transfer into state ownership increasingly in Romania. Additionally, by adopting a marxist-lenininst approach to conceptualise heritage as a process of historic and dialectical materialism, both regimes actively engaged in consolidating their national identity. This found expression in the creation of the national heritage lists. Due to political conditions starting in 1961 which repositioned the GDR on the international scene, the heritage field followed the political discourse. This aimed at legitimising the GDR as the sole German nation state, the reason for which theorising GDR's achievements became an issue in the field of heritage preservation. This eventually made subject of official listing as national heritage. Furthermore, in both coutries one experiences an opening of the preservation practices to social classes and categories of assets which to date have been excluded from the patrimonial process. Starting the 1970s Romania adopted a different approach to heritage preservation under the authoritarian leadership of Nicolae Ceaușescu, who actively promoted

modernisation and development of the country. This found support among architects who promoted projects of urban and rural modernisation to the detriment of heritage preservation and protection. Economic constrains experienced during the 1980s strongly impacted heritage preservation in both countries. Also, despite the centralised administrative mechanism introduced in both countries, we identified that a great amount of responsibility to carrying out preservation works and economic support in these matters has been assigned to the local and regional administration. For this reason differences in terms of quality and heritage management can be noted in both countries. Moreover, Romania was discussed in the context of abusive state intervention which on the background of dramatic austerity measures and abusive modernisation projects impacted the state of the conservation and preservation nationwide. These practices were discussed as a means of the Romanian regime to ensure 'state interests' to control and preserve valuable assets, in particular movable through the means of Securitatea services, and to ensure the preservation and protection of the national heritage in the face of potential threats and damage. This demonstrated an increasing interest of the state in controlling heritage processes and its complex conditions, contrary to current debates arguing that one experienced a lack of interest for preservation in Romania starting moreoveover the 1970s, which might explain in particular abusive measures committed by the regime during the 1980s.

An innovative aspect has been brought in discussion in this chapter, namely the abusive destruction of cultural heritage in Romania and its strong international echo. Moreover the role of the dissident activity and international lobbying activity was highlighted, which was followed by Romania's sanctioning against violations of human rights in the 1989. These can be considered the first major international interventions following to which the destruction of cultural heritage was condemned as an abusive human rights infringement. Furthermore the chapter opened up the analyis on the relationship of the communist regimes with international bodies such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICOM. By highlighting the position adopted by the Romanian government in opposition to the GDR regime one can argue that the relationship of the communist block can not be generalised and a tailored research on these relationships is required.

Chapter IV. Transitional Heritage: Continuities and Discontinuities in Heritage-making following Regime Change

4. Introduction to transitional heritage: a critic to 'socialist heritage'

Regime change and in particular the transformation of non-democratic regimes, impacted societies around the world in complex ways, not only at political, social and economic levels, it also had severe cultural implications. These equally concern cultural institutions, discourses and practices of preservation and protection not only of the material legacy of the non-democratic regimes, but also of their 'national cultural heritage'. However, most research conducted on regime change focused on its implications at political and economic levels, elaborating on issues generated by efforts of democratisation of societies and institutions, economic and political reform and re-establishing the rule of law.[732]

The transformation of Central and Eastern European countries after 1989, aiming to rejoin democratic regimes of governance by also declaring their interest to access structures such as the European Union and NATO, is exemplary for studying such processes.[733] Following the turbulent history of the twentieth century, countries such as Germany and Romania engaged not only on their paths to reform and to establishing democratic systems of governance, but also to reassess their recent past. The shift from one political regime to another opened up the discussion of how to deal with the legacy of the past regimes, and in that respect if and how to safeguard what once was representative for the socialist regime. Yet the slow and difficult transition period strongly affected heritage - making processes in multiple ways. Former political regimes collapsed, leaving large material remains. Some of these were already identified as heritage, others in need of value, role and function re-assessment and re-interpretation. Yet, the legacy of the communist regimes cannot be reduced only to their impressive collection of assets, and challenging their re-interpretation in the post 1989 context through the means of musealisation and patrimonialisation.

Moreover, when referring in the past years to the socialist regimes in CEE in social sciences and humanities, much research gravitated to topics such as transitional justice, reassessing the history of communist regimes, coming to terms with the recent past, and discourses on memory, nostalgia and national

---

[732] Stradiotto, Gary A., Guo, Sujian. "Transitional Modes of Democratisation and Democratic Outcomes", *International Journal on World Peace*, Vol.XXVII no.4, (December 2010): 5-40; Beichelt, Tim. *Demokratische Konsolidierung im post-sozialistischen Europa. Die Rolle der politischen Institutionen* [Democracy consolidation in post-socialist Europe. The role of political institutions], (Opladen: Leske+Budrich, 2001); Beyme, Klaus von. "Transition to Democracy–Or Anschluss? The Two Germanies and Europe", *Government and Opposition*, vol.25, no. 2, (1990): 170-190; Beyme, Klaus von. *Transition to Democracy in Eastern Europe*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996); Wagner, Peter F. "Sonderweg Romania", In *Romania since 1989. Politics, Economics and Society*, edited by Carey Henry F. 49-66, (Lexington Books, 2004).

[733] The term of Eastern and Central Europe (ECE) is used throughout the research as a geopolitical term to identify European countries that shared a common political history after the Second World War. Among these to be mentioned: Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia (before 1992, Chechoslovakia), Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and until 1990 German Democratic Republic (GDR).

identity shaping processes.[734] As Bonnard and Jouhanneau argue, most works dealing with the memory of communism have addressed top-down approaches and focused on institutions and policies dealing with the communist past, or bottom-up approaches that addressed social representation and practices. Most of the top-down approaches have considered how the memory of communism has to be dealt with, 'so as to facilitate the democratization of political systems'.[735] While bottom-up approaches have 'aimed at measuring social attitudes towards the socialist past so as to evaluate the degree of consensus around the transition and the consolidation of the democratization process'.[736] These focused merely on how individuals construct their memories of communism.

However, studies that addressed communism in after 1989 often analysed the legacy of the past regimes, limiting its understanding to the present processes of engaging with its memorialisation, preservation, dissonant heritage, commemoration, and commodification.[737] Thus, the official historical narratives within which these political regimes have been embeded after 1989 have been strongly informed by debates on dealing with the past, or coming to terms with the past. Studies addressing the material culture of the socialist regimes being built, museums, memorials or movable heritage, and pursued to make the connection with the past conditions prior to the regime change, such as the collection of essays of Cliver and Smith-Prei (2014), have merely focused on specific case studies. These missed providing an overaching approach to the transformation processes during the transition from the communist regimes into liberal capitalist democracies.[738] As such, often research on these issues reinforced Stan's statement that 'throughout Eastern Europe the merits – more accurately, demerits - of the communist regime were vigorously debated'.[739] The doctoral research of Trimborn has, however, questioned how one deals with monuments preservation in public spaces in the context of the regime change of 1989. Moreover, the author questions if a paradigm change took place in social, historical and political awareness in Germany.[740] Consequently, Trimborn aimed at identifying the source of the phenomenon that generated a selective and manipulative 'Verfälschung der Denkmal- und

---

[734] Pop-Eleches 2007; Offe Claus, *Varieties of Transition. The East European and East German Experience*, (Polity Press, 1996); Offe, Claus. "Coming to terms with the past injustices an introduction to legal strategies available in post-communist societies", *European Journal of Sociology*, volume 33, no. 01, (June 1992): 195-201; Offe, Claus. "Disqualification, retribution, restitution: Dilemmas of justice in post-communist transitions", *Journal of Political Philosophy*, vol.1, no. 1, (1993): 17-44; Clarke David, Wölfel, Ute, eds. *Remembering the German Democratic Republic. Divided Memory in a United Germany*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Ciobanu 2015; Stan and Tismăneanu 2015; Bonnard, Pascal, Cecile, Jouhanneau. "Governing the memories of communism in Central and Eastern Europe: policy instruments and social practices", *European Politics and Society*, vol.18, no.1, (2017): 1-9.

[735] Bonnard, Jouhanneau 2017, 2.

[736] Idem 2-3.

[737] Gamboni 1994, 19-28; Haspel Jörg, Szmygin Bogusław, eds. 2010; Ioan 1992; Iosa 2006; Light 2001, 59-79; Light and Young 2015, 41-63; Schofield and Cocroft, 2007; Stan Lavinia, *Transitional Justice in Post-communist Romania. The Politics of Memory*, (Cambridge University Press, 2013); Stan, Lavinia, Turcescu Lucian, eds., *Justice, Memory and Redress in Romania. New Insights*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017); Tomaszewski 1994; Tulbure 2013.

[738] Preda Caterina, 2012, 116-127; Cliver Gwyneth, Smith-Prei Carrie, eds., *Bloom and Bust. Urban Landscape in the East since German Reunification*, (Berghahn Books, 2014).

[739] Stan 2006, 180.

[740] Trimborn 1997.

Geschichtslandschaft'.[741] However, he focused merely on the developments and the impact of the reunification in the former Federal Republic between 1986-1996, and it only briefly addressed former GDR regime.

Recently, the emergence of the critical approach concerning 'the authorised heritage discourse' is providing an alternative to the established Anglo-Saxon academic mainstream discourse. This is aiming to deliver a critical perspective upon the socio-political, cultural and economic conditions that impact heritage-making processes.[742] The globalisation of what one could term as 'the UNESCO approach'[743] - meaning the spread, adoption and implementation of the World Heritage Convention - had a major impact on the heritage policing and regulation across the globe. Under these circumstances it has been argued by scholars in critical heritage studies, as discussed in the second chapter, that the 'authorised heritage discourse' became worldwide the source of inspiration for local initiatives in heritage research and heritage-making processes. However, as indicated in the theoretical chapter, this research aims at covering this gap by highlighting points of connection between national and international conditions of heritage-making, and in particular in the context of regime change with its numerous implications.

Therefore this chapter adresses aspects affecting heritage processes and discourses in societies transiting in post 1989 from communism towards neo-liberal democratic regimes of governance. Its innovative approach lies in covering this gap by contextualising heritage-making processes in societies which employed measures from transitional justice in order to adress legacies of past regimes. Communist regimes have been ultimately considered in the transformation processes post 1989 as criminal, illegitimate and authoritarian, reason for which a series of political, economic, cultural and social measures have been adopted, in order to address abuses commited by these regimes.[744]

Based on a critical enquiry of heritigisation processes, informed by the critical heritage studies scholars such as Laurajane Smith (2006) and Rodney Harrison (2013) among others, this chapter aims at highlighting the complex nature of legitimisation of 'heritage' as a concept and as a process, in societies overcoming socialist forms of governance. These will be discussed on the background of major political, economic and cultural changes, by introducing 'transitional heritage'.

Thus, this chapter argues that current research and debates concerning the legacy of communist regimes have emphasised and limited the understanding and appreciation of the past regimes to its 'presentist' meaning for the society - as Hartog (2015) would argue. Therefore, as highlighted in the theoretical chapter, these have focused merely on re-contextualisation and re-interpretation of inherited legacy or the ideology of the regime, without taking into consideration how the regime itself shaped its own valuable heritage. As a consequence of such a limited approach, not many studies have currently discussed how the regime change impacted what once were: the 'national cultural heritage' of the regime, state institutions, policies, practices and discourses on preservation, which have been developed by the communist

[741] Trimborn 1997, 10.
[742] Wateron, Smith, Campbell, 2006; Harrison 2009, 2010, 2013a, 2013b, 2015; Meskell, 2015; Winter 2013a, 2013b, 2014.
[743] Harrison 2013a.
[744] Tismăneanu 2013.

regimes. Moreover, the relationship between heritage, history, tradition and socialism have been extensively discussed prior to 1989, yet very little connection has been made betwen past and present conditions.[745]

Therefore, this study aims to identify continuities and discontinuities between past and present conditions for heritage-making processes. Thus, the analysis will not only explore how the regime change affected the legacy of communist regimes, and the emergent contemporary discourse surrounding it in the post-1989 present. Moreover it will bring into discussion continuities or discontinuities with the previous mechanisms of heritage-making and the 'officially' recognised heritage under the communist regimes, as discussed in the previous chapter. Thus we will reflect on these developments from a longue durée perspective. Also this chapter will question on which basis the 'democratic approach' in heritage-making processes was constructed after 1989 (if one can speak of democratisation of heritage). Nonetheless which selection and evaluation mechanisms have been set in place for dealing with the material legacy inherited from the communist past.

Following, this chapter aims at pointing out mechanisms that affected the heritage sector in the context of major political, economic and cultural transformations, and in this particular case contextualising with reference to the measures adopted after 1989 in Germany and Romania. This chapter focuses, however, on transformations emerging in these two countries that aimed in various ways at democratisation and reform of their political system and institutions, and nevertheless adopted measures from transitional justice in order to address their recent undemocratic legacies.

The proposed 'transitional heritage' is thus referring to transformation processes impacting cultural heritage in the aftermath of regime change. It particularly captures transformation processes that heritage underwent in societies that in the course of transition towards democratic structures adopted transitional justice measures in order to address abuses of the past regimes. This study draws attention on the implementation of a series of measures from transitional justice, and their implications for heritage-making and its preservation. The goal of adopting such measures being to re-establish democratic structures and values, and to condemn the past regime and its abuses. But moreover transitional justice measures have been greatly considered to contribute to present needs for legimisation of the democratisation processes, and as in the German case of the reunification process. For this reason the reassessment of historical narrative has been attributed an increasing role.

Thus this chapter will first discuss the impact of regime change and of the adoption of transitional justice measures on the complex mechanism involved in the process of heritage-making. This will give equal weight to the impact on the actors (state institutions, experts, civil society) and on the material legacy of the former communist regimes, as well as the emerging discourses, which eventually legitimised (or not) its preservation and protection for the present interest. This aims to not limit the understanding of past regimes only to the current appreciation of its material legacy and ideological re-interpretation. Moreover, it aims to deliver a comprehensive

---

[745] Deiters 1971, 1979; Thiele 1980, 1989; Schlenker 1977; Baller 1984; Meier and Schmidt 1988; González 2016.

framework for understanding mechanisms involved in heritage-making processes generated by major political, economic and cultural change, here referred as regime change.

In the process of overcoming the communist regimes and its legacies, often previously locally developed practices, discourses, legislation and institutions involved in heritage-making, have been contested, dismissed, reformed, or perpetuated. Multiple conditions have, however, been revealed as essential to facilitate processes of heritage-making, its preservation and protection during the transition period. These have eventually contributed to legitimise or not the preservation of the communist regimes' legacies. Among these one can identify following factors which were essential in the transformation processes that heritage sector confronted in the aftermath of regime change in Germany and Romania:

 ➢ the cultural heritage law created conditions for political and social action to address abuses from the past, hence it can not be treated only as a normative frame;
 ➢ reforming state institutions and administrative bodies responsible for heritage preservation, including the consequences of adoption (or not) of lustration measures;
 ➢ creating democractic participatory conditions involving additionally to state authorities, also multiple actors such as NGO's and communities in the heritage-making processes;
 ➢ facilitating processes of heritage-making as transparent and public, and hence dismissing the prior abusive state secretive selection process for heritage listing;
 ➢ addressing abuses of the past regimes, such as restitutions, ownership issues, and the right for truth and justice.[246] The role of the Historic and Truth Commissions in addressing past regimes, aiming to reshape historic narratives;
 ➢ reconsidering discourses and preservation practices; and nevertheless,
 ➢ recontextualisation and reassessing the values and the national cultural heritage of communist regimes, and creating conditions for new assets associated with the past regimes or its ideology to be further preserved or not.

Given the frail and uncertain societal and political context in the aftermath of 1989, immediate decisions were been taken by the newly established governments at administrative and legislative levels. As such, this chapter will focus mainly on the following major issues which ensured the reform and reframed the state involvement in the process of heritage-making and its protection. Namely, a particular attention will be given to the normative conditions, institutional reform, discourses and the evaluation mechanisms which addressed the legacy of the past regimes and eventually legitimised its preservation.

Following the regime change, former legislative and institutional frameworks ensuring heritage preservation were discarded. The legislation, which to some extent due to the vacuum generated by the collapse of previous regime, was reoriented, searching for inspiration in internationally established

---

[246] Justice here is understood not only in its narrolwy defined legal aims, but also reffering to a broader approach to accountability and moral aspirations.

models. Following, efforts were made to align responsible institutions and discourses to the Western tradition (Western German model), and in particular to the internationally established discourses of heritage preservation promoted by UNESCO and international bodies, as the Romanian case demonstrates. This came as a consequence of the appreciation as more valuable and appropriate to the aspiring democratic values, than the previous 'ideologically burdened' practices and discourses. The emergent debates concerning the reform of the preservation sector and the re-orientation towards Western models of preservation and narratives, and the reconsideration of the role of the state in these processes will be further discussed.

The re-evaluation of the regime's official heritage lists, and organising historic commissions, which were responsible for readdressing the basis for discussion of future preservation actions and the nature of the past regimes, played a decisive role in authorising certain discourses and practices in preservation. Changing narratives, re-assessing the values upon which preservation had to be performed in the future or not, re-considering preservation practices, abuses and legitimisation of new 'socialist heritage', all took place. These ultimately impacted decisions which eventually lead (or not) to the recontextualisation, re-interpretation and preservation of the past regime legacy.

However, these are few significant measures, which were set in place - often simultaneously - once the political systems changed, as part of the greater strategy of rewriting history, and facilitating political legitimisation of the new regimes. The theories on regime change, transitional justice and coming to terms with the past "Aufarbeitung" - which have been analysed mostly by political and memory studies - will be briefly introduced, and contextualised in the field of heritage studies. This aims to provide the framework for discussion within which transformation processes in the preservation sector following the dismissal of the socialist regimes in Germany and Romania emerged.

4.1. Setting the Framework: Regime Change, Aufarbeitung and Political Culture of Transitional Justice

4.1.1. Defining the terms: regime change and transition to democracy

As the fall of communism was not predicted by any of the political science theories, the research that dealt with the democratisation of societies up to 1989, proved inappropriate to explain the regime change in CEE. In political science studies that address regime change and transition to democracies, the collapse of the communist regimes and the following efforts to democratisation, are defined therefore as the 'fourth wave of democratisation'.[747] This is referred to the main priorities of the newly established regimes, namely to pursue a political and economic transformation simultaneously. Therefore, there was no valid theory prior to these events that would explain the conditions under which transition to democracy should be carried out.[748] Fact was, as Beyme stated at the beginning of the 1990s - an

[747] Beyme 1996, 4.
[748] Ibidem.

argument that might be valid even today - 'Eastern citizens and Western analysts have one thing in common: they have exaggerated expectations concerning the new democracies.'[749]

There is a rich literature in political sciences theory that discusses regime change, transition to democracy, democracy consolidation and authoritarian regimes. Thus it is not the scope of this chapter to elaborate and test various political scientist theories. Instead, these concepts will be used in the way Beichelt discussed them in the context of democratic consolidation post-socialism in Eastern Europe.[750] Of equal interest for this research are studies that discuss transitional justice measures adopted by the state in order to address regimes abuses, which have been extensively discussed by transitologists.[751] For this reason this research aims at highlighting the consequences of various transitional justice measures and dealing with the cultural heritage in the context of regime change. These have been so far explored merely in the context of memorialisation and commemoration, as an expression of the reconcilition processes.[752]

The concept of 'authoritarian regime' it is referred to as an overall encompassing concept to define a form of government in socialist Europe. According to Beichelt, 'authoritarian regimes' also includes totalitarian forms of government (URSS until 1953), post-totalitarian (URSS after 1953), authoritarian (Poland), and sultanist (Romania).[753] While regime change, in terms with Beichelt, is considered to start when the first cracks in the ancien regime are noticed, until a new government is being legitimised, following first freely organised ellections. This, it is hoped, it will greatly influence the consolidation of the democratisation process.[754] In political science theory

---

[749] Beyme 1996, 166.
[750] Beichelt 2001.
[751] Linz, Juan J. "Transitions to democracy", *The Washington Quarterly*, vol.13, no.3, (1990): 143-164; Offe 1992; Offe, 1993; Offe, Claus. *Varieties of Transition. The East European and East German Experience*, (Polity Press, 1996); Duggan Colleen "'Show me your impact': Evaluating Transitional Justice in Contested Spaces", In *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 35, (2010): 199-205; Form Wolfgang, "Dealing with the past. Transitional Justice-Maßnahmenkataloge für den Umgang mit der Vergangenheit" [Dealing with the past. Transitional Justice-Catalogue of measures for dealing with the past], In *Gerechtigkeit nach Diktatur und Krieg: Transitional Justice 1945 bis heute: Strafverfahren und ihre Quellen*, edited by Garscha Winfried R., Kuretsidis-Haider Claudia, 15-31, (CLIO Verein f. Geschichts-& Bildungsarbeit, 2010); Stradiotto, Gary A., Guo, Sujian. "Transitional modes of democratisation and democratic outcomes", *International Journal on World Peace*, Vol.XXVII no.4, (December 2010): 5-40; Jansson, Fredrik, Lindenfors, Patrik, Sanberg, Mikael "Democratic revolutions as institutional innovation diffusion: Rapid adoption and survival of democracy", In *Technological Forecasting & Social Change*, 80, (2013): 1546-1556; Kelly, Tobias, Dembour, Marie-Benedicte. "Introduction: The social live of International Justice", In *Paths to Transitional Justice. Social and Legal Perspectives*, edited by Kelly, Tobias, Dembour, Marie-Benedicte, 1-29, Cambridge Studies in Law and Society, (Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[752] Stan, Lavinia. "The roof over our heads: property restitution in Romania", *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics,* vol.22, no.2, (June, 2006): 180-205; Stan Lavinia, *Transitional Justice in Post-communist Romania. The Politics of Memory*, (Cambridge University Press, 2013); Olsen, Jon Berndt. "Tailoring Truth. Politicising the past and negotiating memory in East Germany, 1945-1990", *Studies in Contemporary European History*, vol.15, (Berghahn Books, 2015); Crossley-Frolick, Katy A., *The European Union and Transitional Justice: Human Rights and Post-Conflict Reconciliation in Europe and Beyond*, Paper prepared for the 11ᵗʰ Biennial International Conference, European Union Studies Association, Los Angeles, California, April 23-25 (2009); Lixinski, Lucas. "Cultural heritage law and Transitional Justice: Lessons from South Africa", *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 9, (2015): 278-296.
[753] Beichelt 2001, 20.
[754] Idem 74.

various typologies of regime change have been identified, depending on: firstly, the nature of the way the authoritarian regimes collapsed (consensus, revolution, coup) and the actors who triggered the change. And secondly, on the various typologies of transformation the system once in place is undergoing, but nevertheless aiming for democracy.[755] Understanding the conditions under which the regime change has taken place, is relevant to better understand issues that societies would have to confront in the course of the transition process, and of the process of consolidation of democratic structures.

Transition is understood in political sciences as 'an interregnum period between the two regimes in which neither the laws and standards internal to the old "bad" regime nor those internal to the new "good" regime apply in full.'[756] As Stradiotto and Guo state the way the transition has been carried out is essential to better understand the political development and the prospect of the countries for establishing democratic regimes of governance, since 'transitions are both "defining and formative" events that's have lasting consequences on the quality and duration of democracy' during which the transfer of power should be ensured.[757] For both authors:

> [...] democratic transition is defined as a political process of movement aimed at establishing a democratic political system, initiated either from above or below or a combination of both, promoting democratic values and goals. Tolerating opposition, allowing bargaining and compromise among different political forces for the resolution of social conflicts, institutionalising the pluralist structures and procedure by which different political forces are allowed to compete over the power, regularising transfer of power, and engaging in the fundamental transformation of political culture.[758]

Various typologies of transitions have been identified in transitions studies, which explain political processes of democratisations in various parts of the world in the course of the 19th and 20th century. To these have been accounted:

➢ Classical transition, referring to the emergent democracies in capitalist countries between 1860-1920;

➢ Neoclassical transition, referring to democratisation after the Second World War in countries such as: West Germany, Japan and Italy, and during the 1970s in Spain and Portugal;

➢ Market-oriented reforms in Latin American states during the 1980s and 1990s;

➢ Post-communist transition in Europe and Asia.[759]

The specificity of the 'post-communist transition' has been characterised by Goralczyk as consisting in several distinct aspects as the previous identified

---

[755] Idem 69.

[756] Melissa S. Williams, Rosemary Nagy and John Elster eds., *Transitional Justice*, (New York University Press, 2009): 21.

[757] Stradiotto and Guo 2010, 6.

[758] Idem 10.

[759] Lezsek Balcerowicz in Kostecki Wojciech, Zukrowska Katarzyna, Goralczyk Bogdan eds., (2000): 225.

transitions, yet its specificity lies primordialy in the need of simultaneous economic and political transformations.[760]

Moreover, Niedermüller characterised the evolution of the first ten years after regime change as being dominated by the politics' main goal of forming an absolute break with communism and constructing a new society. So that 'the political change will be represented as a moral act which as following presented post-socialism as the moral opponent to Socialism.'[761] In this context Niedermüller introduced the concept of 'moralische Ökonomie des Postsozialismus', referring to the political and social developments in post-socialism which aimed at re-addressing the nation, understood not only as a modern Western political construct but moreover as 'a moral, historical and social collective construct, long time forgotten by international marxist-leninist countries in Central and Eastern Europe'.[762] Moreover the role of the society in ensuring a symbolic and political break-up from the socialist system was considered essential, for this reason re-thinking the history of the past and shaping a new historical awareness had to be pursued.[763] For this to be achieved, Niedermüller identified three major steps, namely: the role of judicial means of addressing past abuses, rewriting history, and thirdly collecting and reconstructing traces from the recent past.[764] They all claimed the same goal, namely to address history objectively and re-instate the truth and just historical narratives concerning the recent past, and therefore to contribute at legitimising the newly established regimes.

The choice of the two different countries subjected to this analysis has been made also based on the consideration of the different conditions under which the regime change and the following transformation and transition has taken place, but also because of similarities in the process. Yet one aspect was shared by both countries, according to Huntigton's theory on the democratisation of Eastern Europe following the regime change of 1989, published in 1991.[765] Namely, in both cases, the trasition from the communist regime came about as a consequence of its loss of strength, until it collapsed or was overthrown by revolutionary forces, and not as a consequence of its internal transformation. They were equally at the top of the repression scale amongst the countries from the communist European block.[766]

In political science studies that focus on the processes of transformation and democratisation of former socialist authoritarian regimes, these two countries are considered as being deviant, for opposite reasons.[767] Namely, the German case, is discussed in a positive manner, for the reason that regime change has sucessfully lead to the consolidation of democratic

---

[760] Goralczyk In Kostecki Wojciech, Zukrowska Katarzyna, Goralczyk Bogdan, (2000): 283-284.

[761] Nidermüller, Peter. "Der Mythos der Gemeinschaft: Geschichte, Gedächtnis und Politik im heutigen Osteuropa" [The mythos of a community: History, memory and politics in present Eastern Europe], In *Umbruch im östlichen Europa. Die nationale Wende und das kollektive Gedächtnis*, edited by Hoisie Corbea Andrei, Jaworski Rudolf, Sommer Monika, (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2004):12 .

[762] Nidermüller, In Hoisie Corbea 2004, 13.

[763] Ibidem.

[764] Idem 15.

[765] Hungtington, Samuel P. "Democracy's third wave", *Journal of Democracy, Spring*, vol.2, no.2, (1991): 12- 34.

[766] Beyme 1990, 171.

[767] Wagner, Peter F. "Sonderweg Romania", In *Romanian since 1989. Politics, Economics and Society*, edited by Carey Henry F., 49-66, (Lexington Books, 2004).

structures. Also, the regime change in the former socialist Germany, the richest in the socialist block, has been peaceful; while the GDR structures have been immediately dissolved starting 1989, and progressively replaced by the Federal Germany's democratic structures. This process following a legal procedure, eventually lead to the re-unification of the country, by making the GDR obsolete in October 1990.

On the other hand, in the Romanian case, the poorest country in the socialist block, had the opposite fortunes of the German case, and to the rest of the members of the Warsaw Pact. Therefore, analysing the transformation processes that Romania underwent after 1989, is considered exemplarily moreover for the 'problems' that such processes are encountered by societies in 'transition'. Here 'transition' is meant in the sense presented by Wagner, as 'a transition from state socialism (or Communism) to the "Western" model of a liberal-democratic polity and a capitalist market economy'.[768] In that respect, the Romanian post-communism scene illustrates that a regime change as such does not 'guarantee a specific trajectory of reform (i.e., it does not necessarily immediately lead to liberal-democratic, market-capitalist development). For this particular reason Wagner is using the German concept of 'Sonderweg' (special path) in order to capture Romania's special position - mostly as a negative example - to the expected outcomes within the classical transition studies. This is nevertheless accounted by the author, to the Western expectations and approaches to 'debates and understanding about modernity and modernisation for the Eastern transformation. More precisely, the pursuit of a liberal-democratic polity and a capitalist market economy, were the main constituents placed upon the Eastern transformation, while often disconsidering local dynamics.'[769]

Following, the 'revolution' which lead to Romanians taking to the streets in December 1989 - later contested as a coup lead by the former communist opponents to Ceaușescu who embraced the Perestroika reforms under Ion Iliescu - brutally brought to an end the personalistic dictatorial regime (or sultanist, as it is defined by various political scientists, e.g.Beichelt,2001) installed by Nicolae Ceaușescu. Despite the brutal ending of Ceaușescu's regime, Romania did not experience a resolute break with the past and no real replacement of its communist elites. Moreover, as highlighted by Stan in various publications dealing with transitional justice in Romania[770], in the aftermath of the 1989 events and in particular 'during the 1990s second-echelon communist leaders controlled the new political system, while communist-era managers controlled the new economy. (…) Since 1989, known communist dignitaries and secret agents have retained significant political clout, occupying a range of top government positions and successfully promoting their close relatives, friends and clients to positions of power and responsibility.'[771]

[768] Wagner 2004, 58.
[769] Idem 60.
[770] Stan 2009; Stan Lavinia, "Romania: in the shadow of the past", In *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*, edited by Sabrina P. Ramet, 379-400, (Cambridge University Press, 2010); Stan Lavinia, Nedelsky Nadya, *Encyclopedia of Transitional Justice*, vol.1, Cambridge University Press, 2013c; Stan, Lavinia. *Transitional Justice in Post-communist Romania. The Politics of Memory*, (Cambridge University Press, 2013b).
[771] Stan 2013a, 132.

If research conducted on regime change and the processes of democratisation in post-socialist Europe has looked primordially at the political and economic aspects in a first stage, as Nalepa states, 'next in priority was reform of the educational system, state administration, social security, and healthcare. Compared to these other, more silent issues, dealing with the past was not a priority. (…) Once the immediate demands of economic subsistence were settled, voters started calling for lustration and other forms of transitional justice'.[72]

Hence, a series of measures were eventually considered essential by the political scientists in the process of democratisation and transformation of the CEE countries, such as the adoption of the mechanisms of transitional justice. The goal of adopting such measures being to re-establish democratic structures and values, and nevertheless condemning the past regime and its illegalities. For this reason, the reassessment of historical narratives has been attributed an increasing role. This subsequently had major implications in the cultural sector, which will be further addressed.

4.1.2. Defining the terms: 'Die Aufarbeitung'

After the Second World War concepts such as 'Vergangenheitspolitik' and 'Erinnerungspolitik' emerged in particular in the Western German context. These strategies of engaging with the past were essential in memory studies, and have been mostly employed in order to explain the transformation societies were undergoing in post-conflict context or emerging from dictatorship to democracy.

The concept of 'Aufarbeitung', or coming to terms with the past, emerged in the Western part of Germany as a consequence of the politics of dealing with the political, economic, social and cultural remenants of the Nazi past. This remained unknown in the GDR. Krauß goes back to Theodor Adorno's essay 'Was bedeutet: Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit' (What does: overcoming the past means) (1959) in order to historically punctuate the momentum when this concept emerged in debates concerning past attrocities.[73]

The reunification of Germany in 1990 created new conditions for its use, which eventually legitimated the meaning of the concept as dealing with something, gaining clarity over something, or coming to terms emotionally with something: 'sich mit etwa auseinanderzusetzen, um Klarheit darüber zu gewinnen, etwas geistig verarbeiten.'[74]

The culture of memory studies gained prominence in Germany, focusing on the troubling relationship with the past, primordialy with the Nazi past. This topic gained enormous attention and it is beyond the scope of this research to be further explored. This has been understood as not completed 'abgeschloßen', but recurrent and open to reinterpretation and revision and

---

[72] Nalepa, Monika. *Skeletons in the Closet. Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Europe*, (Cambridge University Press, 2010): 101.

[73] Krauß Matthias, *Wem nützt die "Aufarbeitung"? Die institutionalisierte Abrechnung* [Who benefits from coming to terms with the past? The institutionalised accountability], Eine Streitschrift. Edition Ost, (2016): 17.

'Aufgearbeitet wäre die Vergangenheit erst dann, wenn die Ursachen des Vergangenen beseitigt wären. Nur weil die Ursachen fortbestehen, ward sein Bann bis heute nicht gebrochen' (Adorno in Krauß 2016, 21)

[74] Krauß 2016, 23.

nevertheless as a lesson to be rememeberd.[75] This approach of engaging with the past dominated by the belief that 'we can somehow improve the past' and repair its injustices has a long tradition. 'Forgetting about past crimes and past injustices had been the rule throughout Western history ever since Greek Antiquity. Amnesia and amnesty - after a short and a limited period of cleaning the slates, implying the idea of "new beginnings" and of "zero hours" - had always had gone hand in hand'.[76]

However, in the newly created political context after the regime change of 1989, as Martin Sabrow argues, 'the moral motivation of remembering in the contemporary culture is so powerful that any form of silencing, forgetting, and supplanting are not anymore accepted forms of dealing with the past'.[77] While one could argue that twentieth century was dominated by such approaches to counterbalancing the narrative on the crimes of the century and to legitimise the newly established regimes in power. As such, Berger and Seiffert's understanding on memory studies, 'which again is linked to reconciliation and questions about justice as much as visions about future',[78] gained prominence starting the 1990s.

Therefore, the emergence of the idea to 'improve' the present by 'reparing' past injustices at local and international level is not surprising. This phenomenon is described by Lorenz considering:

> [...] reparations politics, to the offering of official apologies, to the creation of truth commissions, to historical commissions concerning the compensation of slave labour and robbed property, to commissions of historical reconciliation, etc. All these actions represent attempts in the present to redress injustices performed in the past by states and other organisations. Typically these are connected to the Holocaust, to colonialism, to slavery and to problems of "transitional justice".[79]

However, there is a rich literature dealing with 'Aufarbeitung', and in particular concerning the post 1989 events in the GDR. Gallinat argues that in Germany since reunification there has been a strong official and government sponsored discourse of reworking the past. This was considered as one of the responsibilities for the German national troubled histories, along with 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung' of the Nazi past, 'the double burden in history'.[80] However, in relationship with the recent process of reworking the GDR past, there is a dominant discourse emphasising the GDR as the criminal totalitarian

[75] Berger, Stefan, Seiffert, Joana, eds. *Erinnerungsorte: Chancen, Grenzen und Perspektiven eines Erfolgskonzeptes in den Kulturwissenschaften*. [Memory places: Chances, limits and perspectives of a successful concept in cultural studies], Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen. Schriftreihe A: Darstellungen, Band 59. (Essen: Klartext, 2014): 18.

[76] Lorenz, Chris. "Blurred lines, history, memory and the experience of time", In *Erinnerungsorte: Chancen, Grenzen und Perspektiven eines Erfolgskonzeptes in den Kulturwissenschaften*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen. Schriftreihe A: Darstellungen, Edited by Berger Stefan, Joana Seiffert Band 59. (Essen: Klartext, 2014): 80.

[77] Berger and Seifert, 2014.

[78] Idem 19.

[79] Lorenz, In Berger and Seifert 2014, 80.

[80] Gallinat, Anselma. "Memory matters and contexts: Remembering for past, present and future, In *Remembering and Rethinking the GDR. Multi Perspectives and Plural Authenticity*, edited by Saunders, Anna, Pinfold, Debbie, (The Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 149.

socialist regime - the 'SED- dictatorship', whereas the present is opposite portrayed as the 'free and democratic republic'.[781]

In this context and in particular following the politics of enlarging the EU structures, 'Aufarbeitung' became 'a technique of governance'. This aimed to form collective memory through various projects of reconciliation, commemoration, musealisation, preservation, and education but nevertheless with the purpose of legitimising present identitary politics.[782] Reason for which it will be detailed when addressing the politics of coming to terms post 1989 in Germany and Romania.

4.1.3.   Defining the terms: Transitional Justice

As Stan argues, the choice of the concepts that CEE countries made use of - to refer to the politics of memory and addressing the legacy of the past regimes - are helpful to better understand how these countries addressed the past, while pursuing democratisation moreover as a political and cultural transformation. Therefore, one can see a great variety of the concepts employed to address processes of engaging with the legacy of the recent past.

> Transitional justice scholars and practitioners acknowledge truth and reconciliation, besides justice, as goals of the working-through-the-past project and agree that both judicial and non-judicial methods can be successfully employed to this end. This is partly the reason why post-communist Europe has avoided the literal translation of transitional justice, preferring formulae such as "coming to terms with history" (Geschichtsbewältigung) and "working through the past" (Vergangenheitsbewältigung) in Germany, "providing justice" in Hungary, "delivering justice during transition" in Poland, "assuming the past" (asumarea trecutului) in Romania, "dealing with the past" in Czech Republic, or "disclosing the files" in Bulgaria.[783]

The political modernisation theories dealing with the transitions to democracy emerged in social sciences following the Second World War. Most authors in transitional studies agree that 'the transitional justice framework gained in coherence and importance only in the second half of the twentieth century, by the end of the 1980s in Latin America and had a strong breakthrough during the 1990s'.[784]

Transitional justice is considered the research field that addressed how post-conflict or post-authoritarian societies engage with the legacies of such regimes and of human rights violations. This emerged in particular as a consequence of concerns over human rights and the 'transitions to democracy', raised by 'human rights activists, lawyers and legal scholars, policy makers, journalists, donors, and comparative politics experts'.[785] As Paige notes on the

---

[781] Ibidem.
[782] Ibidem.
[783] Stan 2013, 15.
[784] Form 2010, 24.
[785] Paige, Arthur. "How 'transitions' reshaped human rights: A conceptual history of Transitional Justice", *Human Rights Quarterly*, 31, (John Hopkins University Press, 2009): 324.

origin of the term '(it)was invented as advice to signal a new sort of human rights activity and as a response to concrete political dilemmas human rights activists faced in what they understood to be "transitional" contexts.'[786]

According to the UN Secretary General's Report 'The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies', transitional justice is defined as 'the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society's attempts to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past-abuses, in order to ensure accountabilty, serve justice and achieve reconciliation.'[787]

In the European context, more recently, transitional justice became more instrumentalised and institutionalised at the EU level by the Commission's Directorate-General for External Relations (DG RELEX) and the Directorate-General for Enlargement (DG Enlargement). Transitional justice mechanisms became a priority for the Community programs, being moreover pursued as a goal of the enlargement strategy objectives. 'In these cases, the emphasis is on pre-accession assistance conditionality, and the ability of candidate countries to meet the requirements outlined in the so-called 'Copenhagen Criteria'.[788] However, transitional justice is not confined to the Community Pillar, but it is also a relevant component in the EU to 'ensure broader foreign and security policy goals.'[789]

Since the World War Two justice programs were adopted in countries where the conflict that gave rise to human rights violations had ended, such as the Nürenberg trials, even though at the time transitional justice as a concept was not employed. Nevertheless, Pablo de Greiff argues the concept of transitional justice is associated with a series of measures that can be implemented in countries which engaged with the legacies of 'massive human rights abuses'.[790] To achieve these means de Greiff further discusses such strategies which 'must be holistic, incorporating integrated attention to individual prosecutions, reparations, truth-seeking, institutional reform, vetting and dismissals, or an appropriately conceived combination thereof'.[791]

It is considered that the adoption of measures addressing past abuses implies a regime change that in the best-case scenario is followed by the replacement of the dictatorship with a freely elected government and processes of democratisation of the society. 'A number of political scientists and journalists have argued that democratisation cannot be successfully effected without an honest re-evaluation of the past that would bring justice to victims and closure to victimizers'.[792]

By the time the communist regime collapsed in CEE countries in 1989, the newly emergent governments could draw inspiration from a rich experience of various transitional justice measures adopted throughout the world. According to Offe, three groups of countries stand at the centre of these developments, which are similar to the ones identified also by the already mentioned categorisation of Lezsek Balcerowicz (2002). However, Offe

---

[786] Idem 326.
[787] https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/File/2004%20report.pdf [accessed last August 2017]
[788] Crossley-Frolick 2009, 9.
[789] Idem 1.
[790] de Greiff, Pablo, "Theorising Transitional Justice", In *Transitional Justice*, Melissa S. Williams, Rosemary Nagy and John Elster eds., (New York University Press, 2009): 31-78.
[791] de Greiff 2009, 31.
[792] Stan 2009, 2.

suggested his reserves considering a forth category of countries, namely of the CEE emerging after the fall of the communist regimes, and this under the auspices of the emergent ethnic conflicts in the Balkans.[293] The last wave of changes in the CEE are according to Offe defined by the similar feature, namely 'they were not informed by the vision of a "third" path or even a path of "their own". Instead they were influenced by the wish to take over and emulate West European models of political, economic and cultural modernisation in the long term'.[294]

Lavinia Stan has analysed in various studies (2006, 2009, 2010, 2013a,b,c) this phenomenon in particular in Eastern Europe, focusing on developments in Romania. In this context the author is arguing that post-authoritarian countries adopted various methods in the process of re-instating political justice which were nevertheless divided into 'state-driven and society-driven solutions that can acquire either judiciary or non-judiciary characteristics'.[295] In that respect transitional justice is generally understood:

> [...] to have moved beyond the realm of the juridical to the political, and from the political to the societal, to embrace a suite of measures that include criminal prosecutions of individual perpetrators (tribunals), truth-seeking initiatives to address past abuse and clarify historical accounts of the past (truth commissions and investigate bodies), material and/or non-material reparations to victims, reforms to key institutions (including the judiciary, army and police and vetting, dismissals and barring from public office) and most recently reforms to history education.[296]

Hence initiatives have been taken not only at governmental level, but also by human rights organisations and various civil society groups: former political prisoners, religious communities, and political parties. They have pursued solutions that have spanned from acknowledging the past, rehabilitation, access to the governmental records detailing repression and persecution, to the rewriting of the historical canon, and engaged in symbolic actions of reparations in the form of commemorative monuments, new museums, changing names of streets and localities, celebrating commemorative days and official holidays.[297]

As Duggan summarizes up most research conducted in this field has focused on 'social healing (through truth telling initiatives), reducing recidivism (through criminal trials for human rights abusers), or facilitating the formation of new identities (through educational reforms, such as museums expositions)'.[298] These shared the common characteristic of having a strong moral logic. In this sense, it was aimed that societies engage in processes of remembrance and reconciliation with past abuses, while aspiring to rebuild a hopeful future. The impact of transitional measures has been addressed at the

---

[293] Offe 1996, 31.
[294] Idem 135.
[295] Stan 2009, 5.
[296] Duggan, Colleen. "'Show me your impact': Evaluating transitional justice in contested spaces", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 35, (2012): 199.
[297] Stan 2009, 5.
[298] Duggan 2012, 201f.

normative and societal-cultural levels, and were not conditioned by their simultaneous adoption.

Together with judicial acts and institutional reforms, various measures, such as memorialisation and commemoration practices, were claimed in the processes of truth-seeking and reconciliation with the abuses of the past regimes. As a consequence of such developments and promoted narratives, when engaging with the legacy of the authoritarian past in the transition period, special attention has been dedicated in particular to creating new memorials, museums which predominantely are committed to commemorating victims and condemning perpetrators; promoting a narrative that is focused merely on the condemnation of the previous regimes.

4.2. Culture in Transitional Justice and the impact of transitional justice measures on cultural heritage preservation and protection

4.2.1. Culture in Transitional Justice

The research conducted on transitional justice mechanisms has in fact also raised criticism. Its main gap has been highlighted to have addressed mainly right-doing approaches in the field of politics and justice, and it did not question aspects of economics, social and cultural in the aftermath of political change or conflict, nor even questioned economic, social or cultural aspects which lead to conflict or regime change. The explicit connections between transitional justice processes and cultural processes emerging in the aftermath of major political changes have not been studied in depth so far.

Tangentially, recently the issue of cultural heritage and its preservation has been addressed in connection with the field of human rights[799], and cultural rights[800]. However, these connections have been made between the rise of the intangible heritage, cultural diversity and indigenous groups, and contestation, and less related to cultural heritage destruction and abuses under non-democratic regimes of governance. Further authors have addressed the links between arts and cultural heritage law in transitional justice context.[801] These authors have emphasised the overall neglect in considering cultural aspects in the debates on the implementation and the outcomes of various transitional justice tools aimed at addressing abuses from the past. This considering that often the adoption of transitional justice tools has echoed a cultural answer to a series of the adopted measures. Here it can be mentioned cultural expressions in forms of musealisation, memorialisation, preservation

---

[799] Durbach, Andrea. *Cultural heritage as transformation: a study of four sites from post-apartheid South Africa*, DRAFT for UNSW Law Research Paper No.2014-58, Presented at *Twenty Years of South African Constitutionalism: Constitutional Rights, Judicial Independence, and the Transition to Democracy*, New York Law School, co-hosted by New York Law School Law Review (13-16 November 2014), accessed on 01.02.2016:
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2520020##); Logan, William S. "Cultural diversity, heritage and human rights", In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, edited by Graham, Brian, Howard Peter, (Ashgate Publishing, 2008): 439-454; Silverman, Helaine, Fairchild, Ruggles D. eds. *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*, (Springer, 2007).
[800] Meskell 2015.
[801] Stan and Nedelsky 2013c; Lixinski 2015.

or engagement of various artists or cultural institutions that actively addressed abuses of the authoritarian regimes.[802]

Lixinski raises the point that research on the processes of memorialisation around transition discussed heritage as a more abstract category,

> [...] by and large failing to engage with the legal and institutional mechanisms for the protection or safeguarding of cultural heritage, or the way heritage manifestations are shaped by the law. This failure has helped to create a blind spot in the field of transitional justice, whereby cultural heritage is perceived as an amorphus piece in the puzzle of memorialisation, as opposed to a rich and nuanced set of practices, rules and institutions that have their own agendas which can work with or against transitional justice.[803]

Thus one can conclude that Lixinski's contribution was arguing the role of cultural heritage in societies in transition. This can majorly contribute to addressing abusive legacies of the past, facilitate a selective approach to past narratives and preservation, but moreover can equally inform about the future direction of the transitional process of the society.[804]

Postcolonial discourse brought to attention the impact of transitional justice mechanisms on the governance of cultural heritage. This challenged the interventions of the state in the field of arts and the role of cultural institutions in the aftermath of major political changes. An important contribution in the field is provided by Andrea Durbach, who approached this issue from the perspective of human rights by analysing the role of cultural heritage as an agent of transformation in the 'new' democratic South Africa.[805] Cultural heritage has been employed in South Africa, according to Durbach, as 'both a process for and manifestation of the country's transformation.'[806] The author is thus discussing the evolution of South Africa's national cultural heritage protection framework, and the relationship to the 'nation's negotiated transition and settlement, and transformation to democracy'. The author, argued that

> [...] in a country undergoing political transition, cultural heritage can assume a significant role in resurrecting and preserving features from a political past that may inform a nation's emerging cultural identity. The selection of subjects and structures and the process of cultural acknowledgment can be complex as claims, often competing, are made for cultural recognition and protection. Final decisions may necessitate compromise and history may even risk being written in the process of nomination and selection as political interests, crucial to the transition, are weighed and accommodated.[807]

---

[802] Stan and Nedelski 2013c.
[803] Lixinski 2015, 280.
[804] Idem 278.
[805] Durbach 2014, 1.
[806] Idem 19.
[807] Idem 1.

In this context, the revision of the legislative framework was considered essential for the 'reorientation and reconstruction of cultural heritage protection and conservation' in South Africa. Thus cultural heritage became an agent of 'transformation' moving beyond the mere memorialisation of sites. Following, the new heritage legislation provided 'for both development and assessment of new heritage and the re-evaluation or re-interpretation of existing sites and memorials based on their alignment with principles or values of the nation's post-apartheid narrative.'[88] Another further step in the adoption of transitional justice tools, such as 'reconciliation', was important in South Africa not only to 'foster racial integration', but also 'to attempt a resolution between the legacies of a repressive past and the aspirations of a democratic future.'[89]

Therefore this chapter delivers an analysis of transformation processes affecting heritage discourses and preservation practices in societies overcoming the communist regimes. This will be achieved by taking into consideration the process of reform and democratisation of state institutions and legislation, additionally to the adoption of various measures from transitional justice to deal with the past regimes. These will be in the following briefly introduced.

An important aspect pursued by transitional justice is the reassessment of the recent past history and reconciliation processes. Following, various symbolic measures have been employed in the cultural field, such as organising exhibitions, museums, memorials, preservation of places and built environment in order to readdress and produce an official history of past abuses, yet their connection with the adoption of transitional justice measures has been poorly addressed.

Hence, this chapter will firstly question in particular *if* and *how* the adoption of transitional justice measures in the aftermath of 1989 in CEE impacted heritage-making processes within the wider understanding of the processes of rewriting history. It will also consider if cultural heritage was not only subjected to transitional justice measures, but also an active agent in the transformation processes by symbolically addressing human rights abuses and reconciliation processes. Furthermore, it will be questioned to what extent the reform of state institutions and legislation, and the adoption of various discourses in the field of cultural preservation in the context of regime change, can be understood not only as the result or manifestation, but also as a driver and facilitator of transitional justice mechanisms. In particular this will be considered due to their general scope of morally addressing and engaging with the legacies and human rights abuses of the communist regimes and redefining identity.

4.2.2. Measures of Transitional Justice impacting cultural heritage preservation and protection

4.2.2.1. Institutional change

Beyme's analysis on the transition processes to democracy in CEE highlights the fact that in most cases the new regimes did not experienced an institutional

---

[88] Idem 6.
[89] Ibidem.

vacuum, but rather 'all the systems that had collapsed left behind a fairly complex set of institutions. In most cases, the system's change led to a restructuring of the institutions, not to institution-building from the scratch'.[810] In the aftermath of regime change the author identifies three types of institution-building: institutions which survived the system change, institutions which were abolished and new institutions. 'Nominally, many institutions of the old regime survived. (...) The most repressive institutions, such as the party monopoly, the planning commission and the old institution of state security, had no choice but to disappear.'[811] This argument is fairly acurate as the Romanian case will demonstrate former state security institutions, which have exercised an extensive control and influence also in cultural institutions, as discussed in the previous chapter, have not been terminated instead have been successfuly adapted to the new requirements and maintained its services and people, being only partly reformed.

In transitional studies, reform of the institutions and building trust in the state institutions was one of the most important indicators for the consolidation of democracy.[812] However, an aspect which was hardly subjected to change, with the exception of the German expample, was the bureacracy, which 'in most of the transitional regimes remained the same as what existed under the communist regime. Elite purges were restricted to higher echellons. Deregulation, decentralisation and deetatisation were the guiding princinples, but implementation of these principles was rarely efficient'.[813]

4.2.2.2. Lustration

The institutional reform was not limited only to its structural issues; but it also included its employees. One of the most pressing demands expressed by the transitional justice measures is the identification of collaborators with the past regimes, in order to reinstate the truth and respond to historical clarification. Former active experts and employees involved in the administration of cultural heritage have been often replaced, based on the argument that they were ideologically compromised, thanks to their services to previous undemocratic regimes. This was undertaken as a measure of the transitional justice tools defined in political science as lustration, and which has been employed by various CEE countries to various degrees, in particular to prohibit access to political life of former colaborators of the regime. The term of lustration has been legislated during the 1990s in Germany and Czechoslovakia,

> [...] as an accusation-based procedure permitting the government to dismiss or demote selected communist decision makers from selected post-communist public offices. Lustration, which involved job loss or demotion to a non-lustratable position, targeted individuals who had worked in the Communist Party leadership or for a range of communist repressive agencies (connected mostly with the army, the police, and the secret police).[814]

---

[810] Beyme 1996, 97.
[811] Ibidem.
[812] Idem, 157.
[813] Idem 121.
[814] Stan 2013, 84.

The goal of such procedure was to remove all politically tainted members from official positions in various fields such as political, economics, justice system, educational, cultural and mass media, and to promote elite renewal.

However, despite the fact that the legislative framework for launching transitional justice programmes was successfully formulated and adopted, it falied to be implemented in many of the CEE countries. The impact of the lustration measures adopted to replace the former Eastern German administration was one of the harshest, which eventually led not only to the dismissal of former collaborators in key institutions concerning the political, economy and judicial sectors, but to all sectors of public life, including cultural and education institutions. On the other hand, Romania is an example of the 'mild lustration' measures taken for those public servants and state dignitaries who lied about their previous collaboration with the communist police Securitea, and continued maintaining their posititions (Governmental Ordinance 16/2006). 'However, none of them lost their positions, because the court failed to hear their cases and order their removal. Barely one year after its adoption, the Constitutional Court deemed the Ordinance unconstitutional'.[815]

Prominent Romanian intellectuals who were outspoken anti-communists, such as Tismăneanu and Hurezeanu, have qualified lustration as an '"extremely dangerous" measure that left open the possibility for a "collective massacre" of former communist decisions makers, individuals he despised but to whom he could not deny their civic rights.'[816] However, these cases will be in detail discussed in the following sub-chapters.

4.2.2.3. Cultural heritage law

There are many ways of thinking about heritage in fragile political contexts. In a context of regime change, such as the fall of the communist block in CEE, the political context drastically impacted the legal condition and framework for heritage preservation, at national and local level as much as in relation to the international set of norms regulating heritage preservation. This meant for some of the states, such as Romania, a reopening towards the legal cosmopolitanism and international organisations' approach to drawing the boundaries between international and national set of norms for preservation. However, as highlighted by Lixinski during the reform of the normative frameworks one does not seem to have taken also the cultural heritage law into account by those who addressed transitional justice.[817]

First of all, it is important to highlight how legal norms frame cultural heritage. This shall be done considering that such terminology is under constant revision, and subjected to meaning change in time. As Blake argues, international treaties and laws often use the term "cultural heritage" and "cultural property" interchangeably, as mentioned in the second chapter.[818] However, these do not explicitly define either cultural property nor cultural heritage. 'It is possible, for example, to ascertain that cultural heritage is

---

[815] Stan and Nedelsky 2013, 123.
[816] Stan 2013, 84.
[817] Lixinski 2015, 279.
[818] Hafstein 2007, 75-100.

generally conceived of as a broader, all-encompassing term of which cultural property forms a (material) subsection but which is broader than simply movable items that may be subject to trade or trafficking.'[519]

On the other hand, cultural property has been established as such by the international conventions only recently by the 1907 Convention, reiterated in the Roerich Pact (1935) and the Hague Convention (1954).[520] While only in 1978 a definition has been given on movable cultural property by the Recommendation on movable cultural property, 'to mean all movable objects which are an expression and testimony of human creation or of the evolution of nature and are of archaeological, artistic, scientific or technical value or interest'.[521]

Therefore, this research will bring to attention discursive, institutional and normative implications of transitional justice measures for cultural heritage. In that respect, we discuss the heritage law as a facilitator for claiming truth and addressing past abuses (such as restitutions, ownership, re-assessing the role of state intervention, management, heritage listing, values and criteria). Cultural heritage law can be equally considered in addressing past injustices, as it creates the normative conditions for such action.

> Because cultural heritage is part of the national narrative, a new national narrative in the aftermath of transition necessitates new heritage, or, at the very least, the resignification of that heritage. (…) All domains of heritage can play roles in transition (…). This adaptation informs not only the human right to heritage, but also the "right to truth", at least to the extent that the selection of heritage to be protected and treasured can inform one of the truths about what a country has undergone.[522]

An extensive normative framework was developed in South Africa with respect to cultural heritage, including the idea that heritage is part of a society's dynamism, and heritage protection must move beyond the mere memorialisation of sites. As Lixinski has discussed, the significance of the heritage law in the South African politics of breaking with the past, highlighted its contested role in societies in transitions. He argued that: 'Heritage law authorises versions of what heritage is and what is used for to the benefit of goals others than transition (often economic development). This can create resentment among the population, who may feel alienated from their heritage and thereby unable to come to terms with that part of their past'.[523]

4.2.2.4. Compensating victims

The compensation of victims of the regime also has a close relationship with cultural heritage and cultural property. The compensation of victims is considered a tool of transitional justice. The nationalisation politics promoted by such regimes has often led to the adoption of abusive practices of acquiring

---

[519] Blake Janet, *International Cultural Heritage Law*, (Oxford University Press, 2015): 7.
[520] Idem 7.
[521] Ibidem.
[522] Lixinski 2015, 280.
[523] Idem 278.

valuable assets from individuals, predominately against their own will, that have been subsequently transferred into state property. This included assets which have been transferred under state protection to cultural institutions such as museum's collections or significant historic buildings have been abusively nationalised and accomodated for the use by state institutions, violating property rights of individuals. However, as Offe highlights 'compensation for losses presupposes proof of loss. (...) access to the official documents which are required as proof of former property titles and inheritance may be difficult as these documents are often incomplete, contested or hard to locate'.[824] As already indicated, the difficulties in accessing documentation concerning valuable heritage, this topic deserves a closer inquiry in the future due to its complexity and scarcity of available material in present, both for Germany and Romania and will not be explored in this research.

4.2.2.5. *Memorialisation and preservation*

Memorialisation practices in the aftermath of 1989 have received a great deal of attention as a means of addressing abuses of the past regimes. However, as the UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights Farida Shaheed noted, 'all too often, a cultural rights-based approach to transitional justice and reconciliation strategies is not rendered the attention it deserves'. Within these developments, one has less taken into consideration the fact that 'the memorialisation of the past evolved within particular political, social and cultural contexts and was modulated by different political forces, the weight of lobbies, the evolving concerns of society, and the interest of key stakeholders'.[825] Despite the fact that such practices also emerged after the Second World War in the socialist states, Western memorial models commemorating the victims of Nazism have become a template or at least a political and aesthetic inspiration for the representation of past tragedies or mass crimes also in CEE countries. Therefore, this research will only briefly highlight continuities and discontinuities in processes of memorialisation or commemorating abuses of the communist regimes in the immediate aftermath of the regime change, conditioned by the discourses of coming to terms with the past.

[824] Offe 1992, 200.
[825] Farida Shaheed 2014 (online source)

PART I. Regime Change and Cultural Heritage Preservation. Continuities and Discontinuities in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) 1989-1990 and Post - Reunification (1990)

4.3. The GDR in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall 1989-1990, and dealing with the recent past after 1990

As previously stated, regime change in Germany after 1989 is considered deviant to the developments from CEE, as the Fall of the Berlin Wall did not guarantee the further existence of the socialist German state. Instead, it brought soon afterwards to its dismissal and complete integration in the political, economic, legal and social structures of the Federal Republic of Germany. The following transformation period between the fall of the wall and the reunification was referred to as 'a distinct political, economic and social process and a distinct period of time (1989/1990)' called die *Wende* (the turn). Initially introduced by Egon Krenz, who succeded Erich Honecker as Secretary Gerneral of SED in October 1989, the concept aimed at defining the change in the politics of the SED.[826]

The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 generated a series of changes of the GDR regime, among which a constitution making process was initiated until March 1990, aiming at reforming the East German state. The all-comprehensive reform process did not limit only to political and economic reform, but it also addressed the cultural sector. In that respect the Decree of March 1990 of the Volkskammer of the GDR has been issued concerning the obligation of the state to ensure the safeguarding and promotion of arts and culture. According to this decree, the Council of Ministries was responsible to issue the legislation that assigns the responsibilities of the state to ensure preservation and promotion of arts and culture, meaning also of its national cultural heritage.[827]

However, following the general elections held in March 1990, despite the predictions which suggested a victory of the socialist party - an advocate for a confederation with Federal Republic of Germany-, eventually resulted with the victory of the conservative parties which strongly promoted the idea of 're-unfication' with West Germany.[828] Soon after this event, the political evolution of the GDR was clearly paved, pushing the re-unification closer than expected. Reiterating the arguments of Offe, Kupferberg states that the most plausible motivation which triggered the support of the German re-unification in the Eastern part were not 'national feelings' but rather economic and social factors.[829] As a consequence, a first step was taken to ensure the economic and social unity under the State Treaty on Monetary, Economic and Social Union in

[826] Kaiser, Alexandra. "'We were heroes.' Local memories of autumn 1989: Revising the past", In *Remembering and Rethinking the GDR. Multi Perspectives and Plural Authenticity*, edited by Saunders, Anna, Pinfold, Debbie, 179-197, (The Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 186.
[827] BArch DA/1/4032: Beschluß der Volkskammer der DDR über Staatliche Pflichten zum Schutz und zur Förderung von Kultur und Kunst, 7. March 1990 (22.07.2015)
[828] Kupferberg, Feiwel. *The Break-up of Communism in East Germany and Eastern Europe*, (Macmillan Press, 1999): 136.
[829] Kupferberg 1999, 136.

May 1990, entering in force on July first, 1990. Soon after this, it was followed by the political and legal unity which emerged on October third, 1990. Agreeing to this last step, the GDR has been fully integrated in the structures of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The political, legal and institutional integration of the GDR into the overall German political system followed the conditions stipulated in the Basic Law (Art.23), which was for this particular reason partly revised. As such, the desintegration of the GDR followed the adoption of a contractual agreement (Überleitungsvertrag- Transition agreement) between the sovereign governments of the GDR and the Federal Republic. The terms of this contract stipulated that at midnight on 2nd of October 1990, the GDR would cease to exist as subject of international law. Following Art.13 of the Unity Treaty (Einigungsvertrag) all administrative bodies and institutions (in the GDR) have been transfered under the authority of the re-established Eastern states – Länder. These have been organised on the basis of the West German law, reinstating hence the decentralised power structure.[830]

The former GDR administrative bodies were repealed following the process called Abwicklung, which made them obsolte. Since the socialist system was integral in its social and economic performances, these could not be separated in the context of the regime change.[831] Hence, 'all the institutional legacies of the old regime have been rendered obsolete and illegitimate, even the demonstrably more successful ones, such as the GDR health system. (...) As a consequence former elites and managerial strata, where they have not been removed from their positions because of having been excessively involved in the old regime, suffer "functional" disqualification (...). The judicial, managerial, administrative, political and academic personnel required to operate the new institutions must therefore also to a large extent be transplanted from West Germany'.[832]

The legal dismissal of the GDR was followed by the dismanteling of its institutional shell. 'As a consequence there was no two-tiered transition period, as in the West German case (after the Second World War) (...), but a sudden, one-step process of institutional transplantation'.[833]

In this newly shaped political and institutional de-centralised context, Berlin's institutions and legislation have been submitted to the West Berlin legal tools and administrative structures. Moreover, as a consequence the employees of the former GDR administrative structures were also massively replaced.[834] Germany was the country that adopted the most strict laws in the former communist block, replacing a great part of eastern German employees in the administration with western Germans. Particularly in Berlin, such replacements were carried out significantly. Each of the states had the autonomy in setting up the rules concerning how the lustration should be carried out. For this reason Brandenburg apparently was the state where the smallest percentage of dismissals was carried out, in comparison to Saxonia where each third person was affected. In Thuringia and

---

[830] https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/einigvtr/EinigVtr.pdf [accessed last August 2017]
[831] Kupferberg 1999, 178.
[832] Offe 1996, 182-183.
[833] Idem 168-169.
[834] Kommers, Donald P. "Transitional Justice in Eastern Germany", *Law & Social Inquiry*, vol.22, no.3, (1997): 831.

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern each second person lost his position. [835] Nevertheless, the German model became a source of inspiration for the CEE countries, in addressing lustration as a measure of transitional justice, considered essential in the process of democratisation of the society and succeful reform (Czech Republic, Romania, Hungary,etc.). [836]

Interestingly, authors such as Beyme expressed beginning of the 1990s the prospective that the former GDR will embrace democratic structures more easily than the the rest of the communist states. This, according to the author, mainly because of the international supervision of the restrictions concerning the role of the military, and of the alternatives for a political culture. Despite of that the former socialist party tried to maintain its position in the newly redefined political landscape (the former Party of the Democratic Socialism SED, PDS post 1989, eventually becoming the leftist Party, die Linke). Also, the former GDR was strongly reoriented towards the Western German approach to democracy and market neo-liberal economies. [837]

On the other hand, such an approach towards the way the GDR regime was dismantled was met with strong criticism among the eastern Germans. This has been sucessfully summarised by Offe (1996), who argued that once the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist in 1990 'it comes at least close to the truth to state that, seen from the point of view of the old GDR and its population, a "foreign" regime has been imposed upon its territory, while in all other post-communist states the regime change amounts to a giant bootstrapping act of self-extrication'. [838] This emerged as a direct consequence of the assumed responsibility by the West German state of leading this process.

> Hence it is only Germany that is in command of the political resources to effectively enforce whatever rules and principles have been derived from the intense theoretical and moral debate about how to come to terms with the past, a debate that has been, for good reasons and with relentless force, prominent in the German public sphere since 1945. [839]

Offe argues that the German case was a particular experience of regime change whose main priority was 'the process of unification' or as he calls 'the completion' of the unification. [840] 'Owing to the dominant role played there by external forces, the GDR's case had less to do with a transformation "from above" or "from below" and more with a change "from outside".' [841]

As such, the particular specificity of this process of transforming the GDR lied in the fact that it has been caried out by legal means of the 'Rechtstaat' and the imposed authority 'from outside' (Federal Republic of Germany). Subsequently 'its population was neither given the chance nor challenged to make its own, morally discerning contribution towards shaping

[835] http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/13/110/1311000.pdf [accessed last 23.01.2017]
Bericht der Enquette-Kommission 'Überwindung der Folgen der SED-Diktatur im Prozeß der deutschen Einheit', eingesetzt durch Beschluß des Deutschen Bundestages vom 22. Juni 1995, Drucksachen 13/1535, 13/1762- 10.06.1998, 192.
[836] Mink 2013, 159.
[837] Beyme 1990, 181; 183.
[838] Offe 1996, 95.
[839] Idem 95f.
[840] Idem 150.
[841] Offe 1996, 148.

its own future. It was treated politically as immature and not given sufficient moral encouragement'.[842] Moreover, the GDR was considered an abusive state, violating human rights in respect to the politics of the Federal Republic.[843] Therefore, most of the research that dealt with the GDR addressed its illegitimate character, considering the GDR as 'Unrechtstaat' and a criminal regime. Consequently, the adopted measures in the context of regime change aimed at re-instating the rule of law, and justifying the re-unification.[844]

The particularities of the structural transition from the socialist regime to democracy in Germany have been extensively analysed and do not concern this research. Instead, it will further provide an understanding of the German specificities created at the state level on how to address in post 1990 the politics of coming to terms with the GDR legacy. One can argue that in Germany after 1990 an industry emerged for dealing with the past, which massively retained state support. The motivation for such a strong interest of the state in dealing with the GDR legacy is not only that 'political education for democracy cannot simply rely on an official Aufarbeitung (reworking of the past) of the GDR by historians, but that the state has to make sure that the East German dictatorship is not downplayed in personal life-stories which portray the GDR through a nostalgic perspective'.[845] Hence, it is not suprising that an increased attention has been initially dedicated to the the Wall, the Stasi and the repressive character of the state. As Clarke and Wölfel state, such concerns have been primoridially expressed by intellectuals and politicians, in particular regarding how the consequences of the GDR regime will impact the future of Germany.[846]

Moreover, such an approach of dealing with the legacy of the former GDR past served political agendas, being consciousy deployed in order to justify and legitimise present political decisions. Among these to be mentioned the reunification with Berlin as new capital of the Republic, and the democratisation process. Henceforth, dealing with the past became a significant strategy of the newly established political structures that strongly supported the consolidation of an official history of the SED repression and of the GDR regime.[847]

Nevertheless, the role of state in addressing the legacy of the recent past has changed in time. So if during the 1990s state institutions, such as the Bundestag, were activley involved in the transitional justice mechanisms, and in addressing official memory production, this shifted towards ensuring a wider societal participation in the process of engaging with the GDR past.[848] In that respect, state support was granted either in the form of funding or establishing institutions with such a mission such as the Foundation for the Appraisal of the SED Dictatorship, founded in 1998, Federal Centre for Political Education. But also a significant contribution in addressing the GDR legacy

---

[842] Idem 152.
[843] Beyme 1990, 174.
Also discussed by Beattie, Andrew W. "The politics of remembering the GDR: Official and state-mandated memory since 1990", In *Remembering the German Democratic Republic. Divided Memory in a United Germany*, edited by Clarke David, Wölfel Ute, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011): 26.
[844] Saunders and Pinfold 2013, 27.
[845] Clarke and Wölfel 2011, 10-11.
[846] Hogwood, Patricia. "Selective memory: Channelling the past in Post-GDR society", In *Remembering and Rethinking the GDR. Multi-Perspectives and Plural Authenticity*, edited by Saunders, Anna, Pinfold, Debbie, (The Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 37.
[847] Beattie, In Clarke and Wölfel 2011, 33.

was made by financially supporting the contribution of grass-roots organisations. Furthermore, in addition to the academic history, non-academic research institutions, history museums and memorials have been established as 'prominent references for the public engagement with the past'.[849]

Soon after the reunification, a significant contribution was made by the two parlamentary enquiries (during the 1990s) and the expert committee (2005, 2006). These were set up to discuss the future of GDR remembrance culture and its institutions. The special parliamentary enquiry commissons from 1992 to 1994: 'Aufarbeitung von Geschichte und Folgen der SED–Diktatur in Deutschland' (Coming to terms with the history and consequences of the SED dictatorship in Germany); and from 1995 to 1998: 'Überwindung der Folgen der SED-Diktatur im Prozeß der deutschen Einheit' (Overcoming the consequences of the SED dictatorship in the process of German re-unification), aimed at addressing the 'totalitarian nature of the GDR'. Parlimentary commissions have been considered more appropriate and legitime to address the legacies of the GDR instead of a tribunal 'organised by a self-selecting elite of former dissidents and intellectuals'.[850] This choice was considered to be the most democratic representative solution, due to the fact that the elected members of the parliament were also involved. [851] These aimed at 'systematically examining the workings of the old regime (and thus counteract public hysteria over prominent individuals' Stasi connections), provide a representative forum for debate about the GDR and its consequences and meaning in the present, and recommend legislative reforms, especially to benefit the SED's victims'.[852] Also, it has been stressed out these parlimentary commissions did not claim the authority in addressing the past legacy. Moreover, it was hoped it would further encourage and complement academic, judicial, public and private debates on the recent past. The contribution of these commissions was ultimately in the formation of the 'state mandated memory' debates.[853]

It is considered that these commissions functioned as 'institutional channels for transitional justice' providing a forum for renegotiation of German identitary and reconciliation politics.[854] Moreover, it has been argued that they used the narrative of the GDR as a 'totalitarian state' in order legitimise the 'democratic present' in comparison to the GDR the 'Unrechtstaat' (illegitimate state).[855] Hence *totalitarianism* was used as a model to understand different forms of modern dictatorship 'by identifying common features of, for example, fascism and communism under the umbrella of "totalitarianism" or Gewaltherrschaft (rule by violence).'[856] This approach being understood as a means of 'de-legitimising the GDR, which could spill over into a delegitimisation of socialism per se (…). Coming to terms with the GDR following this approach, which still has a considerable influence on conservative thinking, was therefore very much a way for Germany to put the

---

[849] Sabrow, quoted by Krauß 2016, 105.
[850] Beattie in Clarke and Wölfel 2011, 26.
[851] Idem 27.
[852] Idem 26.
[853] Idem 28.
[854] Hogwoord, In Saunders and Pinfold 2013, 38.
[855] Saunders and Pinfold 2013, 4.
[856] Clarke and Wölfel 2011, 13.

GDR (and socialism) behind it as something from which nothing good could be salvaged'.[857]

Hence, following the first enquiry commission a series of considerations emerged supporting institutional mechanisms for promoting 'critical memory work' encouraging the 'didatic public history' initiatives. As a consequence the emergent second commission further elaborated on the idea of memorialisation of the past, 'Erinnerungspolitik'. As such, the Parliamentary Enquiry into the GDR contributed significantly to addressing how the GDR was to be remembered in the future by museums and memorials, coining the term 'Gedenkstättenkonzeption' (Memorial Concept).[858] A significant role in developing, funding, researching and promoting in this direction was attributed to the newly established Federal Foundation for Appraisal of the SED.[859]

As a consequence most developed initiatives post 1990 (history writing books, museums, memorials, etc.) highlighted the illegitimacy of the GDR and its repressive power structures, often recurring to paralles with the National Socialist state. However, these contributed to the imposing of a state promoted 'Diktaturgedächtnis' (memory of the GDR dictatorship) as defined by the historian Martin Sabrow.[860]

State involvement in the politics of addressing the legacy of the past, resulted in a further expert commission led by the historian Martin Sabrow, Director of the Centre for Contemporary History in Potsdam. This was arranged in 2005 and 2006 as the History Alliance for Coming to Terms with the SED Dictatorship to address SED regime and its connections with the society and resistance. This, moreover, aimed to undertake a reconsideration of the institutionalised memory landscape in Germany. Its recommendations to emphasise the everyday life under the regime and resistance, did not find much support amongst the conservatives, following to the political changes in 2008. Moreover, it has been rejected on the basis of downplaying the dictatorial nature of the regime and for falling to adequately draw parallels between the GDR and National Socialism. It has been argued that addressing the past legacies of the GDR should be represented in such a manner 'as to bolster the acceptance of the form of democracy achieved by the contemporary Federal Republic'. Nevertheless, it should be stressed out the 'pre-eminent importance of National Socialism and the Holocaust in national memory, while at the same time emphasising the need to remember the GDR as a dictatorship and to understand "everyday" experiences in the context of that dictatorship'.[861] One needs to remember that dealing with the Holocaust gain its prominence relatively late in the former Federal Republic, namely during the 1980s (during the prominent Historikerstreit), despite the critical voices raised already by the student protesters of 1968.[862]

Hence, one can argue that such official initiatives aimed at the legitimisation of the democratic present, such as the German reunification and

[857] Idem 13.
[858] Beattie, In Clarke and Wölfel 2011, 29.
[859] Ibidem.
[860] Idem.
[861] Clarke and Wölfel 2011, 9-10.
[862] Hampton, Mary N. Pfeifer, Douglas, C. "Reordering German identity: Memory sites and foreign policy", *German Studies Review*, vol.30, no.2, (May 2007): 376-377.

safeguarding its future. Furthermore it was aimed at emphasising the illegitimate character of the GDR regime by the continuous recurrence to the 'totalitarian' nature of the regime, and its permanent comparison to the Nazi regime and not to the post-war developments of the Federal Republic. As a consequence of such state monopolised discourses concerning the GDR legacy it is not surprising - as highlighted by Saunders and Pinfold - that a series of polarisations have marked throughout the years the GDR legacy. These mostly reduced the GDR regime to binary oppositions constructs such as: 'Alltag versus Unrechtstaat, consumer culture versus state opression; Ostalgie versus political debate; bunt versus grau; perpetrator versus victim; memory versus history'.[863] Such polarisations are explained by the authors as the consequence of political and ideological interests, 'public funding strategies or the demands of tourism (...) One can clearly see that state funding and media coverage both fuel this polarisation of the GDR memory debate'.[864]

As Hogwoord states 'combining the cultivation of negative memories of the GDR regime with the delegitimation of the more positive memories of the regime will, it is hoped, encourage the development of an all German identity grounded in western sociopolitical norms.[865]

4.4. Heritage preservation, state administration and institutions' transformation, 1989-1990 and after 1990

The poor condition of the built monuments in the GDR by the end of the 1980s was a subject documented by the main responsible institutions in the country, as previously discussed. This aspect and the new political conditions after the Fall of the wall in 1989 were the main reason for the request expressed by experts - beginning of 1990 during the Conference in Bad Schandau and in March 1990 at the Wartburg meeting. Meaning, to discuss future developments in monuments preservation in both German states. Following the latter, which brought together both experts from East and West Germany, the General conservation officer of the Institute for Monuments Preservation of the GDR, Peter Goralczyk, together with Hans-Herbert Möller, the President of the Association for Monuments Preservation in the Federal Republic, signed the 'Wartburg Theses for Monuments Preservation'. *Wartburg Thesen*, can be considered a manifest that provided a basis for the transition of the Eastern German institutions for monuments preservation into the federal system.

Among others *Wartburg Thesen* included a series of recommendations to reform the GDR monuments preservation and protection. Among these regorganising its institutional framework and adopting a 'modern enlarged concept of monuments' (erweiterten Denkmalbegriff), which meant eliminating the hierachisation of monuments of national, local and regional significance. Following, a better re-organisation of the Institute for Monuments Preservation was proposed. Its purpose was to ensure a greater autonomy of the

[863] Saunders and Pinfold 2013, 28.
[864] Ibidem.
[865] Hogwood in Saunders and Pinfold 2013, 41.

institutions, and implicity a revision of the conditions for monumens preservation and protection.[366]

However, the process of transition from centralised institutions and legislation to a federal system provided also the opportunity to the Western experts to consider the opportunity of establishing an were made by experts from the Federal Germany to set up a nationwide Institution for Monuments Preservation, to provide expertise simultaneous to the already existent Landesdenkmalamt; proposal that has been discussed also at the Wartburg meeting.[367] However, this idea did not reach wide consensus among experts, and together with the adoption of the federal administrative structure in Eastern Germany, the premises for the adoption of the Western legislation and institutions responsible for monuments preservation and protection has been created.[368] One needs to state here also the fact that the federal institutional system consisting of State office for monuments preservation, and the consolidation of the Lower/Upper Administration for Monuments Protection became an issue for debate and organisation in West Berlin only by the end of the 1980s (1986-1988, Beschluß des Abgeordnetenhauses, December 1986). Additional institutions responsible for preservation and protection, included: the Archaeological State Office under the Senate administration for Cultural Affairs, and the Department for Built- and Garden preservation under the Senate administration for City Development and Environment Protection.[369]

The prefiguration of the political changes and implicitly of the re-organisation of the former federal states in the GDR, brought to attention the restructuring the institutional framework by dimissing the GDR structures, and by instating the State Offices for Monuments Preservation. Thus the former model of the centralised institution with its local and regional offices was dismissed, and federal structures have been reinstated. Schmidt argues that after the fall of the GDR and reunification new federal adminstrative structures adopted their own monuments preservation law, often inspired form its 'Western Germans goodfathers'.[370]

Yet we argue that following the reunification of Germany in a first stage, continuity of the GDR institutions and legislation followed by reform was facilitated to some degree (excepting Berlin). This prevented an institutional and legal vacuum, as experienced in the Romanian case. As a consequence, the centralised Institute for Monuments Preservation in Berlin, without prior consent, lost its authority by the end of December 1990, following a decision of the Senate for Urban Development and Environment Protection. Following this decision the employees of the Institute for Monuments

---

Lukas-Krohm Viktoria, *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege von 1975 bis 2005 mit Schwerpunkt Bayern* [Monuments protection and preservation between 1975 and 2005 with a focus on Bavaria], (University of Bamberg Press, 2014): 112.

Wipprecht, Ernst. "Von der Arbeitsstelle Berlin des Instituts für Denkmalpflege zum Brandenburgischen Landesamt für Denkmalpflege-Wandel in Zeiten des Umbruchs", In *Denkmalpflege in der DDR. Rückblicke, Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin*, edited Haspel, Jörg, Staroste, Hubert, Band 41, (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2014): 108.

Idem 109.

Duße, Elke. "Die Ressourcen der Berliner Denkmalpflege 1990-1995-Eine Rückschau" [The ressources of the Berlin monuments preservation 1990-1995–A retrospective], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, (Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997): 26.

Schmidt 2008, 73.

Preservation also lost their positions starting of first of January 1991. In particular, those from Berlin were requested to re-apply for positions in the Office for Monuments Preservation of Berlin. On the other hand, the GDR regional and local offices in Dresden, Halle, Erfurt and Schwerin have been subsequently successfully transformed in the state offices for monuments preservation following the model of Landesdenkmalamt. Contrary, the Eastern Berlin office (Aussenstelle Ost - the regional administration) was dimissed. Alternatively, the West Berlin Office for Monuments Preservation retained its authority in the field, becoming the sole responsible institution for monuments preservation in the former divided Berlin.[871] This was eventually submitted to the Senate for Urban Development and Environment Protection, a political administrative body. As such, in Berlin the organisation of the responsible authorities to ensure monuments preservation was assigned to:

➢ the expert body Landesdenkmalamt or Landesamt für Denkmalpflege (state monuments preservation offices) an administrative body part of the Senat administration in Berlin. It is responsible for the scientific expertise and it is not necessarily subjected to normative decisions. This has among its competences a series of responsibilities, such as: conducting research and systematic documentation; creating inventories, organizing heritage lists, organising workshops for restoration, publication of research, conducting surveys. These administrative bodies are consultative for the Monuments Protection Offices (Denkmalschutzämter) at local and regional level (Law of 1995 §5).

➢ the legal body Denkmalschutzbehörde (monuments protection administration) (Law of 1995 §6). At the ministerial level of all federal states it has been organised the upper administration for monuments protection (Obere Denkmalschutzbehörde), and at the local and city administrative level, the lower administration for monuments protection (untere Denkmalschutzbehörden). Stiftung Preußischer Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg was granted the responsibility for the Lower Monuments Protection Administration for Berlin (Law of 1995 §6 (4). These are responsible for the administration, having a consultative role, and ensuring legal protection, and all other legal matters.

➢ Landesdenkmalrat (State Council for Monuments) consisting of 12 independent experts, architects, art-historians, historians, members of the society and Berlin institutions proposed by the Senate to provide consultancy to the Senate on all matters concerning built monuments (Law of 1995 §7).

The monuments protection law is therefore setting up the conditions and norms according to which the administration ensures both monuments preservation and protection. This being again a matter for each federal state to define such terms and conditions. In case no agreement is met between the two offices, the decision would be taken by the Supreme Monuments Protection Office (Oberste Denkmalschutzbehörde) at the federal ministry responsible for monuments preservation.[872]

---

[871] Wipprecht 2014, 115.
[872] Idem 141.

4.5. Cultural heritage law

4.5.1. Transfer of the monuments preservation legislation post 1990

Following the unity agreement between the GDR and the Federal Republic (31st of August 1990), the legislation and institutions of the former regime have become obsolte. Eventually these were transferred in the process of the reunification (third of October 1990) to the respective reinstated federal states. Thus the centralised structures of the GDR were dismissed, and submitted to the Western legislation. As a consequence, the basis for functioning of the re-organised offices for preservation was layed, based on the re-instated federal administrative system in East Germany, with Berlin decided as the new capital city of Germany (20.06.1991). These adopted their own policies for ensuring monuments preservation and protection. As Falser argues the Western transfer of constitution, legislative framework, institutional, and 'elites' took place the fastest.[873]

In East Berlin, first measures were undertaken to bring the legislative and administrative framework under the West Berlin norms and institutions. Following the 'Law concerning the reunification of the Berlin state legislation' was adopted.[874] This was issued in order to integrate the former GDR capital into the western model. Soon after the protection of the lists of monuments in Berlin was guaranteed.[875] However, the administration for built monuments protection was responsible for processing applications for listing, and de-listing.[876] A provisional clause was included according to which monuments were judged on an individual basis, if they corresponded to the requirements set by the law. This meant that political monuments, technical and movable assets (which according to the GDR legislation were protected by the Denkmalpflegeschutz law) could not be considered in the West Berlin legislation.[877]

The dismissal of the East-Berlin Institute for preservation created different conditions for dealing with the GDR legacy in Berlin than in the rest of the former eastern German states. Exemplarly is the state of Thuringia where the institutional continuity ensured eventually a continuity of the monuments preservation law of GDR from 1975 until 1992. This was eventually replaced by the Thuringian Law concerning the Protection of Historical Monuments. The newly adopted law, however, did not ensure the continuity of positive elements from the former GDR Law, such as the provision concerning the protection of the 'monuments area'.[878] Only by 1994 all former eastern German states adopted new monuments protection laws: in Brandenburg (1991 - Gesetz über den Schutz zur Pflege der Denkmale und Bodendenkmale), Saxonia (1993 - Gesetz zum Schutz und zur Pflege der Kulturdenkmale) and in

[873] Falser 2008, 167.
[874] Gesetz über die Vereinheitlichung des Berliner Landesrechts-GVBL, 46. Jahrgang, No.69, 28.9.1990, S.2119, §1 (1) and Anlage 2 Abschnitt X, Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz (1).
[875] Landesdenkmalamt: Rechtsgrundlage für die Denkmallisten-Zusammenstellung der Beschlüße. Denkmale des Stadtbezirks Mitte von Berlin, 30.11.1994 (SenStadtUm, LKS I 7): Feststellung nach § 13 Satz 2, of the Law of 1975, Eintragung im Sinne von § 6 Abs. 4 DSchG Bln
[876] Law of 28.09.1990, Anlage 2, Abschnitt X, Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz, (1)
[877] Schnedler 1997, 25.
[878] Brüggemann Silvia, Schwarzkopf Christoph "Germany", In *Policy and Law in Heritage Conservation* edited by Pickard Robert, (London, New York: Spon Press, 2001): 140-141.

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (1993- Gesetz zum Schutz und zur Pflege der Denkmale).[579]

   According to the transition Law (Überleitungsgesetz), built heritage and monuments of the GDR became subject of a provisory re-evaluation under the West Berlin Law on Monuments Preservation. The later was adopted only in 1977, discarding the Law of 1914 concerning archaeological excavations, and referred mainly to built and archaeological monuments.[580] Here one needs to make a distinction between Denkmalpflege (monuments preservation) and Denkmalschutz (monuments protection), whereby the first namely 'pflege' (care) does not oblige to legal protection. Instead it refers to activities and practices to ensure the preservation of monuments, such as restoration, conservation, documentation, inventories, etc. According to Schmidt although in Germany all federal states have the responsibility to issue their own legislation concerning protection, two aspects are incorporated by all of them. Namely, the public interest for their protection shall be guaranteed, and the scientific criteria according to which monuments are selected such as: artistic, historic and scientific.[581]

   As the General conservation officer in Berlin, Jörg Haspel, stated the process of reforming the monument's preservation sector in Berlin, was achieved following the adoption of the Denkmalschutzgesetz in April 1995.[582] This basically meant the transfer and application of the West Berlin legislation also in the East to ensure monuments protection. At the time the Berlin monuments protection law was considered a 'modern legislation', which introduced innovative aspects such as no age limitation for declaring assets as monuments, due to a general and abstract phrasing of the concept of *Denkmal*.[583] However, as argued by Schnedler the West Berlin legislative reform concerning monuments preservation and protection was by the end of the 1980s undergoing a series of transformations, such as the adoption of the 'nachrichtliches Verfahren' (informative procedure) in the process of heritage listing based on the assessment of the 'monuments quality' (Denkmaleigenschaft), dismissing the complex bureaucratic legal procedure of the 'konstitutive Verfahren'.[584] The declarative procedure was as such also integrated in the eastern federal states' legislation, while the model of scientifically identifying the significance of the potential assets to be preserved, and the hierarchical level of protection have been complety dimissed following the post 1990 reform.

---

[579] Lukas-Krohm 2014, 49.
[580] Gesetz zum Schutz von Denkmalen in Berlin (Denkmalschutzgesetz Berlin–DSchG Bln), 33 Jahrgang, No.93, 22. December 1977, S.2540.
[581] Idem 138.
[582] Gesetz zum Schutz von Denkmalen in Berlin (Denkmalschutzgesetz Berlin–DSchG Bln), 51. Jahrgang, No.22, 24. April 1995, S.274.
[583] Lukas-Krohm 2014, 31.
[584] Schnedler 1997, 25.
'Konstitutives Verfahren' (constitutive system) means that the law defines the qualities of the monuments, while executive institutions have to declare the official status through an administrative act; while 'nachrichtliches Verfahren' (declarative system) requires that the law is stating the patrimonial qualities, while the executive institutions have only the responsibility of informing owners concerning the protected status of their properties (Tauschek Markus, "The bureaucratic texture of national patrimonial policies", In *Heritage regimes and the state*, edited by Bendix Regina, Eggert Aditya, Peselmann Arnika, Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property, vol.6, Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 1996): 199.

According to the Law of 1995 § 2 (1) monuments are considered 'built monuments, monuments area, gardens and archaeological' which are of public interest for their historic, artistic, scientific or urban planning significance. Yet no reference was made by this law to technical monuments, a category already existent in the GDR or movable assets protected as cultural heritage.

The 1995 law was eventually changed in 1997 (GVBl. S.376), 1999 (GVBI.S.178), replaced in 2001 with the adoption of the Denkmalschutzgesetz Berlin from 16.7.2001 (GVBL.S.271), and the last change in 2005 (GVBI. S.754).[885] Beginning of 2000 was a period when monuments protection laws were replaced in all federal states, East and West following the administrative reform. As Lukas-Krohm argues, severe damage was generated by the reform of the monument protection laws adopted in several federal states. The argument brought from the political side being the attempt to easen the administrative structure and procedure in monuments protection, while limiting state support. Hence less financial support would be guaranteed by the state.[886]

Nevertheless, one can argue that heritage-making and management after 1990 remained a matter of the state administration and responsible institutions. Also, a clear division between the legal and experts responsibilities was created. The newly created institutions maintained the autonomy, dismissing thus the centralised model of GDR. Experts were prioritiesed in the process of identification of assets of potential interest for protection.

4.5.2. Heritage listing in Berlin

The fall of Berlin Wall in November 1989 and the reunification of Germany in October 1990 brought on major changes concerning dealing with the GDR's heritage. However, already in June 1989 a series of debates were on-going concerning the re-evaluation of the GDR and its legacy. The prospective on the potential reunification, lead the GDR to hastily inscribe on the official tentative lists of the GDR as many as possible monuments associated with the regime, fearing the potential threat that a regime change might put their retention at risk.[887] As such amendments brought to the local lists in Berlin were made in May 1990 by setting under protection the Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte, as part of the Kreisdenkmalliste.[888] Further changes and additions were made to the Kreisdenkmalliste of Berlin Mitte shortly before the reunification of Germany, following the Beschluß Nr.48/90 from 01.10.1990.[889] Indeed the process of reunification lead to a revision and recontextualisation of the material legacy associated with the regime.

As the reunificaton of Germany took place on the basis of a legal act which ensured the tranfer of the GDR's structures into the Federal Republic, heritage lists also became a matter of legal and administrative enquiries. However, given the complex administrative structures'reform this research

---

[884] extensively discussed by Haspel Jörg, 2008, *Denkmalschutzrecht in Berlin: Gesetz zum Schutz von Denkmalen in Berlin* [Monuments protection legislation in Berlin: The Law concerning the protection of monuments in Berlin], Kulturbuch Verlag, Berlin.
[885] Lukas-Krohm 2014, 30.
[886] Interview Staroste, January 2015.
[887] Beschluß Nr.83/1990. 03.05.1990
[888] Landesdenkmalamt: Kreisdenmalliste, Eintragung gemäß § 9 (2) Denkmalpflegegesetz, 04.03.1993, SenStadtUm FAB I 7.

will address developments only in Berlin. Following the regime change, there was no overall concept on how to deal with the postwar heritage development in Berlin East and West, in order to highlight the nature of the two political regimes: socialism and neo-liberal democracies. Moreover, a critical approach emerged towards the GDR legacy. Despite the fact that heritage from and associated with the GDR regime came under discussion concerning its future preservation or removal, such debates did not address heritage developments during the Cold War in the Western part of Berlin. This was often part of a network of testimonies of this specific historic period, which opposed two concurrent political regimes. Thus the procedure that lead to the evaluation and selection of the official GDR monuments lists and the identification of new monuments associated with the regime reflected moreover the politics of discussing GDR as a reference for an authoritarian regime, and less in the context of the post-war developments of Germany.

As such, monuments which were listed as national heritage on the central lists of GDR, have been to some extent re-assessed by the special commissions which will be further discussed, and included on the local lists of Berlin. The German system of inventories, for which are responsible experts and the administration, is one of the main premises based on which monuments are being officially declared, following the criteria defined by the law. However, the federal system does not provide a hierarchical classification of its monuments, as it was provided in the GDR legislation. Also it does not promote a rivalrous and hierarchical values principle, which would for instance prioritise age value to symbolic value as the Romanian case will show. As such monuments (movable and immovable) were submitted to the same legal provisions ensuring its protection without any prioritisation. [890] For example in the case of archaeological assets, as stated by Menghin, it is the responsibility of the institutions such as Landesamt or the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte to decide whether an archaeological asset after its digging and documentation is significant to be retained and musealised. 'The selection of the archaeological findings is not subjected to any general valid selection criteria. Moreover these are subjected to the knowledge and experts ethics, and it is as following to be decided upon by the responsible institutions'. [891]

According to the Law of 1995 § 4, the listing process in Berlin was simplified by introducing the declarative procedure of creating inventories. Thus it dismisses the complex administrative procedure of the constitutive principles. The specificity of this procedure is that objects of interest included in the public register equals the monuments list. [892] However, no ranking or hierarchical listing was introduced. It was considered that all monuments are equally significant. Similar appreciation and procedure was introduced for the movable assets which were registered in inventories of the respective institutions to which they have been entrusted, such as museums, collections,

[890] Schmidt 2008, 139

[891] Menghin, Wilfried. "Vor- und frühgeschichtliche Sammlungen und die Bodendenkmalpflege in Berlin 1990-1995". [Prehistoric collections and archaeological preservation in Berlin 1990-1995], in *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz*. [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, (Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997): 16.

[892] *Berliner Denkmalliste, Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin*, Heft 5., edited by Landesdenkmalamt Berlin: Kulturbuch-Verlag GmbH.

etc. It is only in Saxonia that the recent law proposal (2010) has sparked a series of negative reactions when it proposed the re-introduction of the hierarchical selection of 'extremely significant cultural monuments' (herausragende Kulturdenkmale) reminiscent of the former GDR legislation.[893] Such debates concerning the adoption of a hierarchial selection of the monuments to be protected emerged in the Federal Republic during the 1980s concerning the debates on 'extending the monuments concept' (Denkmalbegriff Erweiterung). This was eventually dimissed, being argued that would moreover put to danger the protection of those considered as less significant.[894]

       According to Staroste,[895] following the unification process and of the transfer of monuments preservation under the Western legislation, there has been a transfer of the GDR monuments lists (national and local) for Berlin into the Western Berlin lists of almost 80%. This is contrary to the generalised statement of Lukas-Krohm that GDR monuments list have been fully transferred into the lists issued post 1990.[896] The heritage list of Berlin published in September 1995, included built monuments, archaeological monuments and preservation areas, amounting to almost 7.000 entries.[897] Details concerning monuments included in the lists referred only to the dates of construction, architect, address and style, while details concerning 'monuments quality' were included in the documentation called Denkmaltopographie. These were independently issued by the local administration, and primarily oriented to providing documentation concerning the architectural history of the monuments, and less to integrate a wider analysis of the place and its socio-economic conditions.[898] Authors discussing the first Berlin heritage lists issued in 1995 also missed details concerning the heritage status acquired during the GDR.[899] In the current Berlin data-base including inventories referring to monuments from the GDR regime, objects are dated with the entry of 1993. No public information is provided concerning the protection status that some of these assets gained already during the regime, such as parts of the Karl-Marx-Allee (former Stalin Allee), or Staatsratsgebäude. This gap in information concerns, however, the wider public, while conform with the arguments provided by Staroste each entry is accompanied by a small indiced

[893] Lukas-Krohm 2014, 165.
[894] Mörsch, Georg. "Zum Differenzierbarkeit des Denkmalbegriffs" [A diverse approach to the concept of monument], In *Denkmalpflege. Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderte*, edited by Huse Norbert, 2006, (C.H. Beck, 1981): 241.
[895] Interview January 2015.
[896] Lukas-Krohm 2014, 49
[897] Haspel, Jörg. "Eine Zwischenbilanz" [An intermediary report], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, (Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997): 8.
[898] Zittlau, Reiner. "Im Wettlauf mit der Zeit–Überlegungen zur Denkmaltopographie Berlin" [Running out of time – Thoughts concerning monuments documentation in Berlin], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, (Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997): 29.
[899] Kohlenbach, Bernhard. "Die Berliner Denkmalliste" [Berlin Monuments List], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, 34-36, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, (Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997).

that allows professionals and experts to retrieve the information required concering the protection status such assets might have enjoyed piror to 1990.[900]

4.6. GDR's national cultural heritage re-evaluation, an issue for expert and historic commissions

The evaluation of heritage and its tools are always context dependent. And as such the evaluation of the legacy of the socialist regimes as heritage must be also considered. This exemplarily highlights Alois Riegl's 'modern cult of monuments' concerning *ungewollten* and *gewollten Denkmäler*.[901] Officially acknowledged national cultural heritage of the GDR in the context of regime change lost its raison d'être. Reassessing its significance and relevance for the new nation state has been triggered, and implicitly their methamorphosis from *gewollten* to *ungewollten Denkmäler*. As the coined age value by Riegl was one of the main counter-arguments that would legitimate the dismissal of the legacy from socialism from being preserved, historical value was invoqued by experts championing for its protection.

However, monuments preservation requires continuity (Riegl, Ruskin) and this was often discussed in relationship with the monuments preservation practices and principles of conservation, restoration, documentation. Yet addressing the impact of regime change on institutional and normative framework in preservation and heritage protection were less discussed in the context of the events of 1989. In addition to the institutional and normative transformations, as Boesler argues, the transformation of societal values is relevant for monuments preservation from two perspectives. Firstly, it reflects the significance of order and law for the society, and secondly the significance of self-fulfilment and participation of the members of the society.[902] As such, one can speak moreover about a changed approach towards certain values, and not necessarily about a change of values, she argues. However, the regime change and in particular the fall of socialist regimes in CEE post 1989 exposed societies indeed to a re-assessing of the values from the past, as much as to a re-orientation towards new 'democratic' principles and values, along with new institutional and legal frameworks.

This leads to addressing heritage-making from a processual perspective. Its premisis lies in the active process of engaging with the past legacy, so that one identifies and legitimises what is valuable or not to be protected. However, this is conditioned by the context within which the significance of certain values and assets is legitimised. Following, one has to question the understanding of *Denkmal* and *Erbe* as something static, to be protected for its 'intrinsic' values. Such an approach limits its understanding to a 'relict' (Speitkamp 2012), neutralised from the past by the present. Instead, this chapter contributes to addressing conditions which question the 'extending of the concept of Denkmal', brought in disscussion in the German context

---

[900] Interview January 2015
[901] Riegl, Alois. *Der Moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und Seine Entstehung* [The modern monuments cult. Its being and its origin], Wien u. Leipzig, 1903.
[902] Boesler, Dorothee. "Wertewandel und Denkmalpflege" [Value change and monuments preservation], In *Konversionen Denkmal-Werte-Wandel*, edited by Jahrestagung der Vereinigung des Landesdenkmalpfleger in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Arbeitshefte zur Denkmalpflege in Hamburg, no.28, (2012): 254.

starting with the European Heritage Year of 1975. [903] One has discussed eliminating time limits and giving consideration to the 'insignificant' as well as to the 'inconvinient' as relevant for extending the concept of *Denkmal*.[904] Yet despite political and cultural conditions *Denkmal* continued to be defined primordially in relationship with material culture and its significance. As Haspel (1997) argued, in his reflections following the reformed monuments preservation in Berlin, 'the existence of the monument is conditioned by the substance and significance. Monuments preservation holds on the materialisation of history, on the authentic object, on which memory holds on'.[905] At this point, however, Haspel emphasised the contribution during the GDR in expanding the awareness over the concept of *Denkmal*, by facilitating recent and contemporary architecture to be listed as monuments despite the lack of its 'age value'. Among these to be mentioned the Staatsratsgebäude, Haus des Lehrers with the Congress Hall (1961-1964) in Alexander Platz, the TV Tower (1965-1969), parts of Karl-Marx-Allee (1959-1965).

Yet given the context of the regime change and dismissal of the socialist forms of governance, one has to further question not only the re-assesing of the past values but also the call for enlarging the values for which heritage stands. Here with reference to the 'Streitwert' introduced by Dolff-Bonekämper, or the emphasis on the 'Wert des Zeitzeugnisses' (value of contemporaneity) proposed by the GDR General conservation officer Ludwig Deiters and Heinrich Magirius, with direct reference to the GDR material legacy.[906]

However, in this context one needs to highlight that monuments preservation was undergoing a series of transformations also in the Federal Republic following the European Heritage Year in 1975. With higher intensity during the 1980s, subject that has been briefly mentioned in the previous chapter and thoroughly analysed by Lukas-Krohm.[907] Therefore one can argue that the reunification of Germany and the problem of how to deal the legacy of GDR lead to an intensification of such debates. Yet if the concept of *Denkmal* was continuously brought in discussion since 1975, less attention has been given to discussing *Erbe*, and in particular with reference to the impact of the regime change post 1989.

Additionally, Speitkamp speaks about the 'amplification of the Geschichtspolitik' in post 1990.[908] At this point major priority was given in the

---

[903] Sauerländer 1975; Lipp and Falser, 2015; Scheuermann 2006.

[904] Huse, quoted in Falser Michael, Lipp Wilfried, "Trehsholds of monuments awareness in the mirror of the European Architectural Heritage Year 1975. An introduction", In *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit. Zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres* (1975-2915), ICOMOS Austria, Monumenta Series III, edited by Falser Michael, Lipp Wilfried, (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015): 51.

[905] Haspel, Jörg. "Im welchen Style sollen wir konservieren?" [In which style shall we preserve?], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, (Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997): 84.

[906] Falser 2008, 221.

[907] Lukas-Krohm 2014.

[908] Speitkamp, Winfried. "Werte verwalten: Geschichtspolitik, Denkmalpflege und Identitätpflege nach 1989", [Managing values: Political history, monuments preservation and identity preservation after 1989], In *Konversionen Denkmal-Werte-Wandel. Jahrestagung der Vereinigung des Landesdenkmalpfleger in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.* Arbeitshefte zur Denkmalpflege in Hamburg, no.28, (2012): 215.

historical sciences and cultural studies to: the national state as political organisation principle, nation-building as societal process and the nation as 'collective identity'.[909] Furthermore, the return to national normality, re-establishing a German national fundament, and re-aesthetisation of the state as a symbol for a German 'Kulturnation' became the main priorities on the political agenda.[910] Within this framework, memorial politics gain a prominent attention, and strongly influenced the politics of preservation. Thus one has to question to what extent in the context of regime change also a paradigm shift has taken place by extending the understanding of Denkmal and Erbe, and of the politics of preservation, in addition to the intesified exposure of the global policies of UNESCO emerged after the 1970s and increasingly after 1990.

Issues such as reconstruction, deetatisation and adopting a postmodern approach to monuments preservation (Petzet 1993), the main issues identified in the debates of enlarging the concept of Denkmal, became the priority post reunification also in reference to the former eastern states.[911]

> *Die Wende* had a major contribution indeed for the monuments preservation which lead to emotional debates concerning issues such as reconstruction. Such dichotomies opposed two approaches on the one hand the Western consolidated concept of *Rekonstruktion*, and on the other hand the eastern approach carried out for forty years to *Wiederaufbau*.[912]

Reconstruction was one of the main priorities identified by the Association for the monuments preservation in the *Potsdamer Resolution* in 1991.[913] The call for a post modern approach launched by the Federal Conservator of Bavaria, Petzet encouraged to contextualise monuments preservation to contemporary needs and conditions, however respecting the tradition set by the 'groundfathers of modern preservation' such as George Dehio, Alois Riegl, Max Dvořák'.[914] Moreover, he called for a 'rehabilitation of reconstruction in order to coming to terms with the past' ('Rekonstruktion als Vergangenheitsbewältigung'). As such the author describes the main approach in the discourse emerged in monuments preservation post reunification as dominated by the desire to return to a 'national normality', and increased 'Erinnerungspolitik', and thus ending the Sonderweg status of Germany post World War Two ('Normalisierung durch kollektive Erinnerung'). Reconstruction politics was understood as the reconstruction of the German nation in the context of the reunification, as a mean for 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung'.[915] Thus it predominantely engaged in committing to a normalisation of the historical narrative and image of Germany, and moreover, according to Falser, it promoted a return to national myths, such as the Reichsdeutsche Kulturnation of the 19th century Prussian grandeur. This approach was strongly criticised by

---

[909] Falser 2008, 171.
[910] Ibidem 291.
[911] Lukas-Krohm 2014; Petzet, Lipp 1993; Petzet 1994; Speitkamp 2014.
[912] Gebeßler quoted in Lukas-Krohm 2014, 121.
[913] Falser 2008, 219.
[914] Petzet and Lipp, 1993.
[915] Ibidem.

Falser as a form of 'GDR negation'.[916] In respect to the GDR's past the focus was set on consolidating a discourse which depicted GDR as a dictatorship. Furthermore, it did not question nor highlighted complementary developments to the Federal Republic's post 1945 history. Moreover, it has emphasised the comparison with the Nazi past, and it did not include a wider approach of assessing the post war developments in both East and West Germany.[917]

As Schmidt argues, one of the challenges perceived in the emergent context was the responsibility of the entire German monuments preservation sector to 'save the monument's stock in the new federal states. This was 'extremely rich and communicated in a falsified manner, and due to the criminal ignorance of the SED it was threatened with total loss. Although not everything could be saved, a series of rescue campaigns have been carried out in the eastern German cities after the reunification.'[918] Among 857 identified endangered monuments in Germany, almost 735 were located in the eastern part of Germay and have been restored during the 1990s with the help of the German Foundation for the Protection of Monuments (a private trust founded in 1985 in the Federal Germany, close to Bonn).[919]

Thus, one can understand the motivation that triggered the immediate reform of the politics of preservation confronted not only with dealing with the ideological motivation which triggered preservation in GDR, but also its immanent decay. Schmidt considers that monuments preservation was post 1990 submitted to a series of significant changes among which the most notable being the increasing interest in associating material culture preservation to memory practices. Thus monuments would become objects of remembrance, even though were not associated with beauty, harmony and positive memories to be preserved. On the contrary, this lead to question a wider appreciation of the material legacy of the past regime despite of being subjected to dissent and contestation ('Streitwert', Dolff-Bonekämper). Consequently, safeguarding monuments from loss was strongly argued as protecting memory from forgetting.

> Every monument's preservation act is neverthelss a political act. (…) Starting already with the selection of the objects, that one identifies as worthy for protection, one already promotes a certain historical narrative, while objects that have been ultimately not selected, and hence not taken under protection would eventually disappear, and are devoid of any historical significance as a source.[920]

Thus the emergence of the 'dark heritage', 'dissonant heritage' (Tunbridge, Ashworth, 1996), 'unbequeme Denkmale' (Schmidt, 2008), 'unerwünschtes Erbe' (Steinkamp, 2008) associated with painful past events, trauma, underlining negative characteristics from the past, have marked the way one engaged with the legacy of the GDR regime starting the 1990s. These became to some extent one of the predominant frameworks within which the legacy of

---

[916] Falser 2008, 220.
[917] Idem, 313.
[918] Schmidt 2008, 11.
[919] Pohl, Karl Wilhelm. "The German Foundation for the Protection of Monuments", In *Legal structure of private sponsorship*, edited by ICOMOS Hefte des Deutschen National Komitees, vol.26, (1997): 45.
[920] Schmidt 2008, 11.

communism in CEE was addressed. However, in the context of the reunification, monuments preservation and institutions were submitted moreover to the political agenda of 'nation-building' and identity formation, instead of providing criteria and a benchmark for the evaluation of cultural heritage.[921] For example, in the case of Berlin the monuments preservation debate concerning Berlin Mitte focused initially on the discourse surrounding the 'German Kulturnation' instrumentalising the 'good and beautiful' undisputed culture (Museuminsel) and thus hindered a critical historical Aufarbeitung of the so called 'bad and uggly culture (Palast der Republik?)'.[922]

The regime change of 1989 and dealing with the legacy of the past shared similarities to the processes encountered in societies in post-revolutionary times. As such Petzet draws similarities to the measures adopted post 1989 with those in April 1918, following the Decree issued by Lenin 'Concerning monuments of the Republic'. In that context important initiatives have been taken, such as: reinstating commissions to evaluate their artistic and historic value, or even questioning the financial burden to retain or remove monuments or state symbols, and their musealisation.[923]

During the first session of the unified German parliament in 1990, cultural heritage preservation, and in particular reconnecting with the shared heritage inaccessible during the division, have been invoqued as a matter of state responsibility, by the Chancellor Helmut Kohl who was stating that:

> [...] among the contributions of the (new eastern) states (to the unified nation) … we should not overlook the valuable cultural heritage. This includes old landscapes rich in tradition that hold unique testaments (Zeugnisse) to our history. The palaces in Schwerin and Potsdam, the marvellous form of the Naumburg Cathedral, the Semper Opera in Dresden, they all stand for a single Germany. In Wartburg, Luther translated the Bible for all Germans, and Weimar has become a worldwide symbol for German classicism. We are pleased that these monuments belonging to our common history and culture are now accessible to all.[924]

Germany's reunification was not only an ambitious political and economic act, but also it meant overcoming cultural differences and reconnecting with the common tradition. As such it was not a surprise that the first parliamentary commissions (1992, 1996) made the preservation of cultural heritage a matter of debate, and interest for the state. Even though the political message of the former chancellor addressed the interest of the state to support the preservation of heritage, it mainly referred to such reminders of the classic German traditions, and not to preservation of the GDR material culture.

Therefore a great amount of financial support had been directed to the restoration and conservation of the palaces and churches destroyed during the war. These according to Schmidt due to the ideological and financial conditions during the GDR were not a priority for the regime, such as the Frauenkirche in

---

[921] Falser 2008, 320.
[922] Ibidem.
[923] Petzet 1994, 11.
[924] Kohl quoted by James, in Cliver and Smith-Prei 2014, 23.

Dresden, or the restoration of the Berlin Schloss.[925] Such investments came as a result of the decision made at the meeting in Potsdam of the Association for Monuments Preservation (Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger) in 1991. This had as main priorities two topics, namely the reconstruction of built monuments and the restoration of the Museuminsel in Berlin.[926]

Thus if during the GDR the preservation of historic monuments and reconstructions of damaged historical assets by the Second World War became primordially a matter of debate concerning financial and technical support, post 1989 these became a major priority for conservation for the newly established regime. Alternatively the legacy of the recent past raised however several issues which have been addressed both at political and expert level, and will be as following detailed.

4.6.1. First Parliamentary Commission' approach to GDR heritage: 'Aufarbeitung von Geschichte und Folgen der SED Diktatur in Deutschland' (1992-1994)

Following the first parliamentary commission meeting, a report was issued addressing cultural heritage in a broader way. The report focused and delivered an analysis on the role and contribution of cultural heritage to employing and promoting the party ideology. Hence, the report provides a brief description on how cultural heritage (kulturelles Erbe) has been employed by the GDR regime, with the purpose of shaping the identity and national awareness of the GDR. As such the report defines that according to the SED, *kulturelles Erbe* represented 'all encompassing relationships and achievements of the spiritual production from past historic periods'. Its significance 'results as a consequence of its practical use by various social groups (minorities, social class), by various generations and by new socio-economic groups'. The interpretation to the definition of Erbe was adapted by the commission without having any historic reference to the definition provided by the legal framework of GDR.[927]

The report highlights the contribution of the GDR's cultural heritage 'doctrine' to shaping national identity and legitimisation of the GDR as a nation state, presented as a parallel and conflicting development to the Federal Republic.[928] This has been expressed in the SED politics of preservation by appropriating the most significant cultural figures and achievements in the German tradition, for example the Prussian tradition, Luther, the romantics etc. Thus the report highlighted a two-tired development in the politics of cultural heritage throughout the regime. In its first stage of GDR's existence the main narrative promoted by the state focused on the heritage of the entire German nation including the West. Following the political events in 1961, and in particular during Erich Honeker' s regime, the Party was committed to

[925] Schmidt 2008, 73.
[926] Lukas-Krohm 2014, 113.
[927] Bericht der Enquette-Kommission 'Aufarbeitung von Geschichte und Folgen der SED-Diktatur in Deutschland', gemäß Beschluß des Deutschen Bundestages vom 12. März 1992 und vom 20. Mai 1992- Drucksachen 12/2330, 12/2597 (Dealing with the history and consequences of the SED-dictatorship in Germany): 79
http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/12/078/1207820.pdf#page=4&zoom=auto,-135,192 [accessed last 23.01.2017]
[928] Ibidem.

legitimise the cultural heritage of the socialist German nation, and its dettachment from the West.[529] These transformations have been argued in the report, as the consequence of the intervention and manipulation by the political leadership, thus cultural heritage being clearly aligned to state politics. Thus it has been argued that the main interest of the regime was to legitimise the socialist party and its ideology based on the historical continuity and references to tradition, which would explain the increased interest of the SED for cultural heritage presservation. However, despite the strong international orientation of the GDR's approach to cultural heritage - as discussed in the previous chapter - the commission report did not deliver a comprehensive analysis of the role and meaning of cultural heritage developed by the socialist regime. Instead it limited the description to its ideolological means and relationship with the tradition, and as a consequence it has been presented as fully submitted to the cultural politics and ideology of the regime, and opposed to the Western German democratic developments.

4.6.2.   Expert Commission' for Berlin

Although the parliamentary commission addressed cultural heritage of the GDR in general, it has been the expert commission called by the Senat for Urban Development in Berlin in February 1992 that made subject for debate the future preservation of the so called 'politische Denkmälern der Nachkriegszeit im ehemaligen Ost-Berlin' (political monuments from the post-war East Berlin). The commission rejected the proposals to massively remove all political monuments created during the GDR from the public space, or alternatively their preservation as historic documents, and their cummulation in a 'Park für unerwünschte Denkmäler' (park for undesired monuments).[530] Instead it proposed the re-evaluation of the GDR monuments focusing on East Berlin, and it missed the opportunity for a critical revision of the post-war and Cold War memorialisation also in the West.

The expert's commission was initiated in parallel to the parliamentary commission, while each of the eastern federal states had the autonomy to deal with such issues on its own terms and given the legal framework. The report issued by the commission was considered as the basis upon which future decisions would be taken in the near future concerning the preservation or removal of monuments. It further benefited from the involvement of experts, politicians, and civic society organisations. The commission involved additionally to various experts form Eastern and Western Berlin on monuments preservation - architects, urban planners, art-historians, historians, museologists-, also members of the public sphere, such as Rainer Hildebrandt, director of the 'House at Checkpoint Charlie'.

[529] Idem 80.

[530] Staroste, Hubert. "Politische Denkmäler in Ost-Berlin im Spannungsfeld von Kulturpolitik und Denkmalpflege. Ein Bericht zur Arbeit der "Kommission zum Umgang mit den politischen Denkmälern der Nachkriegszeit im ehemaligen Ost-Berlin" [Political monuments in East Berlin between cultural politics and monuments preservation. A report of the 'Commission dealing with political monuments post 1945 in former East-Berlin'], In *Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistische Ära im Umbruch*, edited by ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomites, vol.13, (1994): 85; Bericht, Kommission zum Umgang mit den politischen Denkmälern der Nachkriegszeit im ehemaligen Ost-Berlin, Berlin 15. Febr.1993, Drucksache 12/2743, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin, 7.

As a consequence of the fact that the centralised administrative and legal mechanism in monuments preservation have been discarded following the unity agreement, and a reform of the system pursued, the role of this commission was to address the situation of monuments in Eastern Berlin. It therefore excluded those in former GDR, and from the Western part of Berlin. Therefore, the main subjects for the commission debate, led by the senator for cultural affairs, Ulrich Roloff-Momin and chaired by Christine Steer, were:

> the creation of the inventories of all architectural ensembles, statues, memorials, and commemorative plaques (based on the existing GDR monuments lists),

> to identify criteria for evaluation of the political monuments and their future use,

> to develop recommendations on how to deal with the political monuments, however, considering each individual object apart,

> to realise foto and text documentation for all objects in question.[931]

The commission started its works in March 1992 and held its first public debate in October 1992, after a series of exchanges with the local administration of Berlin, civil society initiatives (Initiative Politische Denkmäler der DDR, Bürgerinitiative Lenin-Denkmal, Initiativgruppe zum Erhalt der Gedenkstätte der Sozialisten). The impressive number of local initiatives of various civil groups supporting the preservation of the GDR monuments has to be noted.[932]

However, a priority was given to the monuments ensembles, memorials, statues and commemorative plaques commissioned during the GDR regime which the commission identified as carrying a political meaning. Hence the commission did not directly addressed the category of 'political monuments' identified by the GDR regime as such, and was listed as a specific category in the central lists. Also a particular attention was dedicated to the antifascist monuments and those dedicated to the victims of the Nazi regime which were erected by the GDR regime. As such, the commission evaluated all political monuments including those that have not been necessarily included on the official GDR monuments lists. These counted all toghether almost 500 objects. The criteria according to which these have been re-assesed and newly identified were linked to their historical relevance, for their significance for the SED regime as the main commissioner, but also based on their state of conservation and frequency.[933] The main three identified categories subjected to the evaluation process by the commission have been thematically organised as:

> monuments of the workers movement,

> opposition and prosecution, and nevertheless

> history of GDR.[934]

Although the commission addressed extensive issues concerning the future of such monuments it did not include architectural ensembles in the re-evaluation process. Also not a subject for debate were issues concerning the integration of monuments preservation in urban development strategies, intellectual

---

[931] Bericht, Kommission zum Umgang mit den politischen Denkmälern der Nachkriegszeit im ehemaligen Ost-Berlin -12 Wahlperiode, Drucksache 12/2743, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin.
[932] Bericht 1993, 4-5.
[933] Idem 5-6.
[934] Idem 7.

property of the monuments, and the specific costs generated by the various solutions concerning their removal or changes.[935]

Following, the commission addressed the meaning of monuments and memorials in the context of political change. Consequently, it made recommendations on how to further proceed in the future, focusing on retain, change or removal. Hence monuments were defined according to the report as 'forms of public use of history, which reflect present interests and future visions'.[936] They were the expression of the historical and political view of the society ever since 19th century and played a significant role in the legitimisation of the historical awareness of a society: 'in authoritarian or dictatorial regimes the historical awareness is imposed from above, whereas in democratic societies it is the result of public debates, of a politically mature and responsible way of dealing with the own history'.[937] As a consequence 'political monuments' have been considered those monuments that are 'testimony for an already closed historic period' ('Zeugnisse einer überwundenen Epoche'), and which 'remind of the individuals and events that are associated and legitimise the SED regime: the memory of the 1848 revolution, the socialist revolutions and their leaders, the revolution of 1918/1919, the victims of and the antifascist opposition'.[938] One needs to mention that the argument invoqued to consider 'GDR as an already closed historic period' has a precedent in 1973 in the Bavarian legislation according to which mouments are defined as 'Bauten aus vergangener Zeit' (buildings from past time). Due to this specification it was possible to propose for listing the Nuremberg Reichsparteitagsgelände (Nazi Party rally grounds), considering indeed NS as a closed historic period.[939]

Hence it has been considered that 'when an authoritarian regime changes, monuments which have been created to legitimise and consolidate such non-democratic regimes, lose their further existential right. This is in particular relevant for such regimes consolidated through the means of violence and illegitimate measures, which are consequently being rejected by the citizens supporting the newly in power political system'.[940] As such monuments that resisted the iconoclastic imbold of regime change, become subject for debate concerning the legitimacy of their further existence. Hence it has been stated that: 'monuments which served the self-adulation and ideology of the communist dictatorship, and of its leaders (equally including street names), do not have any place in a democratic society. Moreover they represent a provocation to the victims of the SED regime'.[941] Consequently the proposal for retaining all monuments from the recent past as 'historic documents' was declined. The argument brought by the commission was that each society had the right and it is legitimated to preserve its own vision over the history. 'Not preserving political monuments of the past is legitime and does not imply overriding the history nor its critical contestation.'[942] Moreover a quantitative reduction of the monuments has been considered as long as their

[935] Bericht 1993, 4.
[936] Idem 5.
[937] Ibidem.
[938] Ibidem.
[939] Schmidt 2008, 68.
[940] Idem 5.
[941] Bericht 1993, 6.
[942] Idem 5f.

memorialisation was not justified by the present. However the condition was to retain the identity of the eastern Berlin neighbourhoods.

> Dealing with the "political monuments" does not mean preserving vs. demolishing. Altough a monument is not considered anymore valuable for preservation, first one needs to debate upon its relevance for preservation. (…) Even without exercising any physical intervention upon such monuments, in the context of regime change, it changes also their meaning and function: from a symbol of power it becomes a sign of lethargy, from victorious gestures an image of loss.[943]

Hence one can argue that the report was moreover a justification for the preservation or removal of the monuments considered as 'politically charged' which were not necessarily part of the official heritage lists identified by the regime itself. Although it did not provide an insight into the GDR history/ideology nor was its aim to conduct an anaylsis on the mechanism of preservation developed during the GDR, the comission contributed to the legitimisation of the newly established democratic regime. Furthermore, the commission rejected the historicisation of the heritage legacy of the past, by questioning its legitimacy for the present democratic regime, while the GDR was reffered to as a 'überwundene Epoche' (closed historical period).

Also one can identify that in the context of the regime change a re-evaluation and replacement/change of the socialist legacy has taken place, and not only an evaluation of the regime's legacy in Berlin. Following to this, formerly acknowledged and officially protected monuments of the GDR, additionally to not oficially registered 'monumental arts', have been extensivley reassessed. This has been done based on their significance for the present and aiming at ensuring the continuity of the cityscape appearance. This re-evaluation was not limited only to the socialist monumental art, but it equally considered significant historical testimonies from past historic periods, such as the Brandenburger Gate or the equestrian statue of Frederick the Great. Monuments dating from the GDR were mostly located in the central parts of the city. These have been evaluated by the commission as 'being of less artistic significance' (ohne große künstlerische Bedeutung).[944] For this particular reason it has been decided to some extent:

➢ to retain those who did not represent a potential provocation to the public (such as the antifascist movement, Marx-Engels, Trümmerfrauen)

➢ their removal (Lenin monument in Berlin Friedrichshain, all monuments commemorating fallen border soldiers which have been replaced instead with the commemorative documentation centre at the Bernauer street, where parts of the Berlin wall were kept),

➢ change/modification, or change of meaning and significance (Spanienkämpfer monument in Friedrichshain) or even suggested the replacement of the socialist monument with a new commemorative plaque such as the case of the Spartacus memorial, at the Chausseestrasse in Berlin or the Relief for the November revolution

---

[943] Idem 6.
[944] Bericht 1993, 6.

1918/1919 at the Marstall, inscriptions from the commemorative plaques.[945]

Until the mid 1990s, both commissions dealt and approached the legacy of the GDR displayed in public spaces, without approaching the wider context of their emergency and the agency behind such artistic developments. It also failed to address such developments in relationship with the post 1945 developments in the Federal Republic. But moreover, it has basically delivered an understanding and asthetic appreciation of their very presentinst significance and relevance for a society based and consolidated on 'democratic values'.

4.6.3. ICOMOS International expert meeting: 'Bildersturm in Osteuropa- Die Denkmäler der kommunistischen Ära im Umbruch' (1993)

It was in February 1993 that an international expert meeting gathered under the titel 'Bildersturm in Osteuropa - Die Denkmäler der kommunistischen Ära im Umbruch' (Iconoclasm in Eastern Europe - The Monuments of the Communist Era in Upheaval) ICOMOS members from former Soviet, and CEE states in the Russian Embassy from Berlin, with no Romanian contribution at this meeting.[946] The purpose of the meeting was to discuss how to further deal with monuments of the authoritarian regimes, whether to evaluate them on the grounds of their political significance or to consider them for preservation on the backgrounds of their historical significance. Questions that have lead the discussions concerned: if the removal of monuments hinders the process of 'coming to terms with the past', or by dismantling statues, memorials, one triggers a necessary liberating gesture? Whether one saves artworks or contributes to the clearing from the political ballast, under the premises that arts appreciation is a matter of time and taste, and in such context the decision between *Kunst* and *Unkunst* proves to be difficult.[947] The tone set by Petzet was in tune with contemporary debates in Germany referring to valuing such legacy for its historical value 'Geschichtswert', 'which from an instrument of a totalitarian ideology, could be turned into a reminder (Manhnmal) for its future historical understanding'.[948] The shared opinion of the participants has been that the history of the communist monuments is representative for the history of communist propaganda and indoctrination of these regimes in CEE, and that served the 'socialist education'. However, it was also highlighted that such developments had a different character in CEE countries, reflecting local specificies reason for which a systematic selection of the monuments was proposed, for which also the artistic and aesthetic value had to be considered.[949] However, one questions to what extent such debates also generated a diverse approach to engaging with the official heritage of the socialist regimes in CEE, given the fact that the nature of these regimes was throughout the period not necesarily constant and similar, while the process of accessing the European

[945] Idem 18-19.
[946] Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistische Ära im Umbruch, Bd.13, ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomittees, 2013.
[947] Petzet, In ICOMOS 1994, 5; 12.
[948] Idem 13.
[949] Dolff-Bonekämper; Tomaszewski In ICOMOS, 1994.

Union structures informed and shaped a certain narrative concerning the past regimes.

4.6.4. Second Parliamentary Commission: 'Überwindung der Folgen der SED-Diktatur im Prozess der Deutschen Einheit' (1995-1998)

It was only in 1996 that the second parlimentary commission addressed the state of art of the arts in the transformation process after 1990. A particular attention was attributed to the state commissioned arts (Auftragskunst) and state agency. Furthermore it extensively elaborated on the role of memorials and memorial culture in addressing abuses of the past regime. Despite the fact that it was only shortly addressed in the report, it has been considered that archiving the legacy of state commissioned art should be pursued, just like monuments, graphic arts, commemorative plaques which undoubtly had a strong 'political character'. The purpose was to prevent their destruction, and ensure their accessibility as 'historical testimonies' of the GDR (historische Zeugnisse).[950] Thus the report made recommendations that artworks produced during the GDR and state commissioned arts should be collected and preserved, as they are 'significant testimonies for the contemporary history and for the artistic developments in the divided Germany in the past 40 years.[951]

However, it has been argued that one should not confuse the cultural politics of GDR with the cultural history of GDR. The difficulty was generated by the fact that at the time no clear anaylsis of the concept of *culture* was delivered. Furthermore, arts has always been commissioned by those in power, reason for which the quality of the artworks should not be decided upon the quality of the commissioner. Hence the commission suggested that commissioned arts in the GDR should be researched and evaluated for its particularities, and not to be limited only to its appreciation as kitsch or political propaganda. Nevertheless, the commission itself would make references to the oppressive nature of the artistic freedom and censoring the creativity of ther artists by the regime.

Additionally, the contribution of this commission was to address transformation processes affecting arts after 1989. Consequently, it addressed also the impact that the reunification had for the cultural politics of the former GDR, such as repealing all state run cultural organisations: agencies, galleries where the ideological intervention in the cultural production was significant, and the difficulties encountered by the GDR artists to establish themselves in liberal market defined system.[952] However, according to the report it has not forseen a re-modernisation of the eastern German cultural structures. Moreover, it aimed at ensuring that a further financial support would be guaranteed. The criticism raised by the members of the former socialist party regarding the assessment of the cultural production in GDR delivered by the report was linked to the fact that it limited and focused on its ideological and politicisation aspect by discussing: commissioned art, state art and artists,

---

[950] Bericht der Enquette-Kommission 'Überwindung der Folgen der SED-Diktatur im Prozeß der deutschen Einheit', eingesetzt durch Beschluß des Deutschen Bundestages vom 22. Juni 1995, Drucksachen 13/1535, 13/1762)- 10.06.1998: 183.
[951] Ibidem.
[952] Bericht 1998, 187.

without taking into account also positive developments such as its dissident character or international orientation.[953]

The substantial contribution of this commission was to develop and elaborate an overarching memorialisation programme (Gedenkstättekonzeption) supported by the federal government and set the conditions for a memory politics to dealing with the 'two dictatorial pasts', the Nazi regime and the communist.[954] The motivation for such a project being to entrust the responsibility for memorials to the states. However, due to the precarious financial situation of the new states in the East this responsibility was assigned to the federal government. Yet the responsibility of the commission was not to elaborate the conceptual development of each of the memorials, instead this has been handed over to each of the memorial so that they will autonomously bring their own contribution.[955] The main goal being - together with museums, memorials, monuments, commemorative plaques - to contribute to the cultivation of a 'democratic remebrance culture' (demokratische Erinnerungskultur).[956] As such the report supported developing a memorial culture that aimed at democratisation, while state support and from the society should be guaranteed. This explains the emergence of memorialisation practice, which although it is open to encourage alternative ways of addressing the past, the report draw attention on the need to set 'a clear normative direction, as one can not take a neutral position against human rights abuses and genocide. Those who have the mission to enlighten on issues such as political abuses and crimes against humanity, and their victims, must address the rule of law and justice, and give people and citizen's rights a voice'.[957]

The second parliamentary commission nevertheless contributed to perpetuating the discourse initiated by the former commission considering that the 'SED dictatorship inflicted to the Germans in the GDR deprivation of liberty and injustice.'[958] It additionally set the framework for the cultural memory work to which 'Gedenkstätte', as places of 'historical authenticity', were assigned a significant role in addressing the so-called 'doppelte Diktatur' on the background of increasing '*Ostalgie*'.[959]

A further goal pursued by the parliamentary commission was the internationalisation of the memorialisation practices. As such the commission engaged in promoting exchange and international networking. In particular countries in CEE were addressed that aimed at joining the European structures and pursued reform and democratisation. More precisely it engaged in a series of exchanges with foreign institutions, responsible to addressing the abuses of dictatorial regimes, such as the memorial Sighet in Romania, Russian initiative 'Memorial', and the 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission' from South Africa.[960] Coming to terms with the past was extensively discussed among 21 member states from the former eastern bloc, the purpose being to develop a

---

[953] Idem 189.
[954] Idem 226.
[955] Idem 227.
[956] Idem 241.
[957] Bericht 1998, 241.
[958] Idem 227.
[959] Falser 2008, 175.
[960] Idem 256.

series of methods to address the past regimes. The purpose of such approach towards the recent past was to achieve an 'anti-totalitarian consensus', and to promote it through various educational projects targeting future generations.[961] The international collaboration in particular among Gedenkstätten and museums, and developing educational projects have been considered essential steps in the process of addressing past abuses and coming to terms with the past.[962] Also according to the report a significant contribution to addressing past abuses was assigned to private and public foundations in the cultural, scientific and social life of the eastern states. These were mainly active in the academic environment, political education and youth education, and preservation.[963]

In his analysis on the the role of the parliamentary commissions Falser argues that they both contributed to coining an anti-totalitarian consensus, and mainly focused on addressing the 'dictatorial' legacy of the GDR in relationship with the Nazi regime and less with the post World War Two developments in the Federal Republic. Consequently, these missed the point of analysing GDR as part of the German history post 1945, and limited its approach to the comparison with the Nazi Germany. This was reflected in addressing in terms of heritage preservation the developments post 1989 in Berlin Mitte which has been transformed into a theatre of 'Erinnerungspolitik' highlighting primordially the criminal nature of both regimes, and it focused less on the post 1945 parallel developments.[964]

Also following such debates for monuments preservation one could identify an increasing interest for the preservation of the Prussian legacy or the development of projects calling for re-use of the Nazi buildings, as an example for the 'Aufarbeitungspolitik'. As Falser ascribes 'the praise for the good collaboration between the political regime and monuments preservation to 'coming to terms with the past by the means of monuments preservation' as an 'act of self-enlightment'.[965]

4.7. Preservation vs. iconoclasm. Memorialisation processes in Berlin

According to the report issued by the parlimentary commission of 1992 the reconstruction projects of cities initiated by the GDR were considered a reflection of the political state of mind of the regime. As such, the period following the construction of Berlin wall it has been noted that lead to the military consolidation of the regime and the 'internment of its population'.[966] The construction programs and renewal of cities gain prominence starting with the 1970s when SED would focus the 'reconstruction of the capital city'.[967]

This was discussed in the report as part of the political project that aimed at promoting GDR's national awareness as a 'socialist nation' based on its revolutionary tradition. As such the SED in 1974 commissioned a plan for developing and designing monuments representative for the revolutionary workers movement. This was not limited only to monuments but also included

[961] Bericht 1998, 246; 256.
[962] Idem 257.
[963] Idem 261.
[964] Falser 2008, 175.
[965] Haspel in Falser 2008, 315.
[966] Bericht 1992, 64.
[967] Idem 66.

architectural sites and places to be adorned by the monumental developments.[368] If such developments depicting the history of GDR were scarce until 1970s and focused mainly on the personalities and events from the beginning of the SED and GDR, contributing to the legitimisation of the GDR and the Party, a narrative change has been pointed out during the 1980s.

According to the report of 1992, the 1980s have been marked by a series of projects of monumentalisation and commemorations of the past by reinventing a German national identity that found its roots in the German tradition and its 'valuable achievements'. Additionally, to the celebration of the GDR nation, it has been a period when the Prussian past, the reformator Martin Luther, Goethe would also regain their place in the newly master narrative of the GDR history. Interestingly, however, none of the political leaders of the GDR (Wilhelm Pieck 1876-1960, Otto Grotewohl 1894-1964, Walter Ulbricht 1893-1973) received any massive monumental construction, but only commemorative plaques or memorials, in the case of the first. Ulbricht would even fall into disgrace being reahbilitated only by the end of the 1970s. Following, the expert report issued by the commission for Berlin (1992-1994) and reinforced by the German participants at the ICOMOS meeting in 1993 in Berlin, in comparison to Eastern European states, Germany did not experience a massive iconoclasm movement which would have lead to the removal and eventual destruction of the socialist monuments, in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin wall or of the reunification.[369]

Moreover, in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin wall in November 1989 no monument associated with the socialist regime has been under threat of iconoclast revisionism. Instead the removal of the GDR monuments would have set in motion only relatively late after the fall of the Soviet Union, and despite strong civil society opposition. In particular with reference to Berlin, Falser argues that 'except the Berlin Wall, the symbol of the division, all monuments of the socialist history remained untouched. The Bildersturz fully emerged only post 1990 administratively, moreover following the involvement of western German politicians in East Berlin.'[370] The political staging (or deconstruction) of monuments partly supported by 'neo-conservative civil organisations, to transform the centre of Berlin in an emotional flux,' emerged. The 'demontage' of the post war history of the Berlin city centre in the name of continuity and culture, started in 1991/1992 with the demolition of the statue of Lenin in Friedrichshain, a monument listed by the GDR on the 'List of Monuments of national and international significance' under the category 'Monuments of arts and applied arts' (Denkmale der bildenden Kunst und angewandte Kunst). Additional to Lenin (Sculpture Nicolaij W. Tomskij, 1968/1969) was proposed also the removal of Thälmann Monument from the Friedrichshain Park, equally under protection according to the GDR legislation and according to the Berlin transition legislation from 1990 (Überleitungsgesetz).[371] However, the newly established Deutsches Historisches Museum (1990) would be turned into a depository for deassembled GDR

---

[368] Idem 67.

[369] Petzet in ICOMOS 1994.

[370] Falser 2008, 223.

[371] Elfert, Eberhard."Die politischen Denkmäler der DDR im ehemaligen Ost-Berlin und unser Lenin" [Political monuments of GDR in former East Berlin and our Lenin], In *Demontage…revolutionärer oder restaurativer Bildersturm?* Texte und Bilder, (Berlin: Karin Kramer Verlag, 1992): 54.

monuments (Flacke on Lenin Statue from Eisleben 1991) [972], and later of the remnants from the Palace of the Republic.[973] This 'demontage' reached its pick in 1995 with the demolition of the former GDR foreign ministry building, and of the Palace of the Republic, the latter to be discussed more in details in the last chapter.

After the removal of the Lenin Statue in 1991, the city established the already mentioned Commission for Dealing with Political Monuments of the Postwar Period in former East Berlin. The Commission, comprising of six Berliners (two from the West and four from the East), was charged with documenting and evaluating the monuments in Eastern Berlin constructed between 1945 and 1990. Its initial report, presented in 1993, called for a rather conservative approach toward preserving the East German past. With only a few exceptions, the commission asked that most of the monuments be preserved, albeit with minor alterations or additional signage. Monuments proposed for removal followed the logic that any monument, whose primary purpose was to strengthen the political legitimacy of a dictatorial regime, had lost its raison d'être and thus should be torn down. Yet, many less controversial monuments were saved by the rationale that neighbourhoods in the eastern part of Berlin had the same right to preserve their past, as did the neighbourhoods in the West.[974]

These interventions were criticised at that time being argued that 'the moment passed, and it just awkward, to catch up trough a cold rational administrative gesture, what should be undone by the people'.[975] Thus it has been argued that 'the inherited legacy of political monuments is limited, it does not get richer, its loss being irreversible'. As such the fall of the SED regime and the reunification were not followed by 'spontanous iconolasm' nor insurgencies of the population, in comparison to some eastern European states, so that the legacy of 'political monuments' remained rich and diverse.'[976] According to Staroste, in comparison to former socialist states in CEE the memorialisation fiever in GDR was relatively limited, while many of the erected monuments, memorials, commemorative plaques between 1945-1989, gain already legal protection under the regime.[977] Yet this granted status by the GDR regime would be questioned already in spring 1990 when first debates concerning the removal of the politically loaded monuments in Berlin emerged. Nevertheless, the particularity of this regime change remains in the assumed and increased state intervention on managing this matter.

According to Elfert following the political changes in the USSR and the subsequent iconoclastic removal of the monuments throughout former Soviet Union, the call for the removal of such monuments in the former GDR became more pertinent. Moreover, it became a matter of state intervention of re-addressing and re-shaping the historical narrative.[978] This administrative and

---

[972] Flacke in ICOMOS 1994, 87.
[973] Landesdenkmalamt Signatur 983973/I: Auflistung und färbig gekennzeichnete Grundrisse der denkmalwerten Raumbereiche, Bauteile und Ausstattung für den denkmalgerechten Umgang im Rahmen der geplanten Asbestsanierung des Gebäudes' Palast der Republik, Teil A und Teil B, Im Auftrag des Bundesbauamtes III, 30.09.1997; Bauhistorische Planungsberatung: Hübner+Oehmig,
[974] Olsen 2015, 225-226.
[975] Gamboni in ICOMOS 1994, 21-22.
[976] Starorste 1994, 84.
[977] Interview January 2015
[978] Elfert 1992, 53.

political intervention explains not only processes of readdressing abuses of past injustices in the present, but also what Gamboni considers a problematic contestation of the western perception and appreciation -moreover de-apreciation- of the aesthetic and artistic value of the 'communist monuments', which eventually led to the prominent developments of what she calls the Burial Parks-Projects instead of Monument Parks.[79]

According to Saunders the memory boom marked the 1990s with debates concerning the removal of the socialist realist monuments, whereas during 2000s a stronger emphasis and interest has been manifested towards new developments and emergent contemporary monuments dedicated to the recent past, which made Berlin a national "theater of memory", while the attention towards the former GDR monuments received less scholarly attention.[80] However, these often have instrumentalised the GDR past in order to legitimate contemporary political discourses.

Monuments development knew an endemic increase in attention in particular in the former East Berlin, which made some to call this phenomenon as 'monumentitis', 'an affliction which relates to both the number of monuments being constructed, and the protracted and controversial debates which accompany their construction and reception'.[81] The number of new monuments developments dedicated to socialism and its leaders knowing the highest concentration in the capital city. These have been displaced in the public spaces of Berlin not necessarily respecting historical events and their connection with the place, but moreover to decorate public spaces with visible signs and symbolic monuments.

[79] Gamboni, In ICOMOS 1994, 25.
[80] Saunders 2013, 164-165.
[81] Idem, 167.

PART II: Regime Change and Cultural Heritage Preservation. Continuities and Discontinuities after 1989 in Romania

4.8. Regime change and coming to terms with the past. Adoption of Transitional Justice measures and their outcome

Among Romanian authors who successfully contributed to researching transitional justice after 1989, one can mention Tismăneanu and Stan (2015) and Ciobanu (2015) who examined truth commissions and investigated history writing.[582] Yet one of the most prolific Romanian researcher analysing this phenomenon is Lavinia Stan, who compared Romania's case to other post-communist countries. She discussed in detail various measures of transitional justice, such as: lustration, court trials and access to secret files, property restitutions and ultimately delivering an overarching summary of the main transitional justice methods adopted between 1989-2009 in Romania, and their outcomes.[583] Stan is providing a useful approach in her article on 'Reckoning with the Communist Past in Romania: a Scorecard', in which she basically summarizes the 'politics of memory' in Romania concluding that improvements in this direction were mainly due to the efforts of individual politicians, 'who often had to confront their own political parties in order to advance transitional justice initiatives, and of the local civil society'[584], or with the support of the European Court of Human Rights and the EU. This explains also the fact that most publications dealing with this topic emerged almost 20 after the regime change from 1989, and more precisely in a political context which will be further discussed. However, according to the author in Romania post 1989 several justice-seeking efforts translated in a multitude of processes and programs that aimed at re-evaluating the communist past, that somehow 'failled to translate quantity into quality. (…) Most programs implemented in Romania have scorred low in terms of efficiency and efficacy.'[585]

In the post 1989 context, the legacy of the communist regime in Romania, and in particular of Ceaușescu's governance, is faithfully reflected by Stan's description who is arguing that of all communist CEE countries:

> [...] Romanian communism was associated with village systematisation, which led to the destruction of traditional Transylvanian villages, (…) and Ceaușescu's megalomanic projects, which destroyed the old downtown Bucharest to make room for the House of the People, the world's second-largest building.[586]

Gabany identified three political stages in the process of overcoming the past regime in Romania and reinstating democratic structures. One is the

---

[582] Stan, Marius, Tismăneanu, Vladimir. "Coming to terms with the communist past. Democracy and memory in Romania", In *Post-Communist Romania at Twenty-Five. Linking Past Present and Future*, edited by Lavinia Stan, Diane Vancea, 23-41, (Lexington Books, 2015); Ciobanu 2015.
[583] Stan 2006; Stan and Nedelsky, 2013c; Stan 2009, Stan, 2010; Stan Lavinia, 2013a; Stan 2013b; Stan and Turcescu 2017.
[584] Stan 2013a, 128-129.
[585] Stan 2013b, 233.
[586] Stan 2010, 380-381.

revolutionary moment (December 1989), secondly the negotiation period until the first free elections have been organised (febr.1990- may 1990), and the regular period (after the elaboration of the Constitution of November 1991).[987]

The political change of 1989 and the empowerment of a temporary government in January 1990 contributed to abolishing the one Party rule. As the Romanian historian Shafir discussed in his article 'the new Romanian government', highlights the great degree of continuity of the former communist political elites,

> [...] was a heterogeneous body made up of experts (some of whom were also officials under Ceaușescu), military officers, former dissidents, and one member of the revived Liberal Party. (…) Among the new ministries, many have relevant experience to their area of responsibility, and some have held positions in the same ministries under the previous regime.[988]

Gabany highlighted the same state of the art indicated by Shafir, based on empiric data from 1990-1992, arguing that 24,3% of the new political elite were technocrats from the communist ministeries, planning and control services; 46,3% were from the administrative sector and 25.3% intellectuals.[989] Under such circumstances it is obvious that the post-communists political elite, which drawn mostly from the lower echelons of the communist elite, was not interested in developing a coherent transitional justice project in the first years after 1989.

In line with such premises, Stan considers that in comparison to the countries in CEE where the collapse of the communist regime brought the pro-democratic opposition to government, in Romania this happened relatively late namely in 1996. Moreover Romania's economic and institutional reform has been severely delayed also due to social unrest and political instability.[990] One of the claimed reasons for such a slow transformation is due to the authoritarian structures which continued to exist after the regime change of 1989, ensured by the continuity in power of the members of the former regime.[991]

A year after the revolution the Romanian Justice Minister Victor Babiuc, was calling to re-establishing the rule of law and to bring to justice those guilty of crimes against the Romanian people, both during the Communist era and in the course of the Revolution.[992] Moreover, by 1992 in an interview the first democratically elected President Ion Iliescu would call the

---

[987] Gabany, Anneli Ute. *Systemwechsel in Rumänien. Von der Revolution zur Transformation*" [System change in Romania. From revolution to transformation], (München: R.Oldenburg Verlag, 1998): 207.

[988] Shafir, Michael. "The new Romanian Government", *Report on Eastern Europe: Romania*, (Jan.21 1990): 35.

[989] Gabany, Anneli Ute. "Die rumänischen Eliten in der Systemtransformation" [The Romanian elites in the system transformation], In *Alte Eliten in Jungen Demokratien? Wechsel, Wandel und Kontinuität on Mittel- und Osteuropa*, edited by Hans-Joachim Veen, (Köln: Bohlau Verlag, 2004): 327.

[990] Stan 2010, 381.

[991] Trappe, Julie. *Rumäniens Untergang mit der kommunistischen Vergangenheit. Eine Untersuchung aus strafrechtlicher Perspektive* [Romania's dealing with the communist past. An analysis from criminal law perspective], Band 3. Diktaturen und ihre Überwindung im 20. Und 21. Jahrhundert, ed. Carola Sachse, Edgar Wolfrum, (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2009): 32.

[992] HU OSA 205-2-20 Box 9 File: Democracy: Law/Justice (1990) Dascălu Roxana, Romanian Minister says communist criminals must be punished, 24. Dec.1990

country for reconciliation by claiming to 'consider all as victims', arguing that is hard to 'shed light on so many bloody and violent events at a time when danger of total chaos and total anarchy prevailed'. His argument being: 'look how hard the United States finds it even today to say who killed Kennedy'.[993]

As Ciobanu concludes in the volume edited by Stan and Vancea on the evaluation on post-communist Romania after 25 years, during Iliescu's three presidential terms (1990-1992, 1996-2000, 2000-2004) the issue of coming to terms with the crimes and abuses committed by the communist regime and Securitatea remained officially unaddressed.[994] Until 1996, President Iliescu opposed the examination of the communist human rights record on grounds that 'the country needed to address its socio-economic problems not to dwell on the past, and the Ceaușescu family alone was responsible for past crimes more than the communist regime'.[995] Instead two myths were promoted justifying the claims for power of the unreformed communist elites. The first myth denied any guilt and responsibility for past abuses by shifting the blame entirely to the Soviet regime. Accordingly, Moscow was held responsible to have victimised the Romanian nation as a whole (Stan and Tismăneanu 2015). Secondly, it was promoted the idea that the Front[996] and its leaders were the sole direct heirs to the revolution, and therefore the events of December 1989 represented a clean and clear break with the past.[997]

Ivan claims that the anti-communist discourse that emerged in Romania post 1989 was nevertheless predominately manipulated by the political elite and often backed by the civil society who pushed for such an approach. Respectively the political leaders in their endeavour pursued the discreditation of their political opponents, or even for the benefit of their own political aspirations, hence often misused the anti-communist discourse.[998] A further example is the position taken by the opposition following the 1996 elections. Stan argues that despite the fact that Constantinescu's government (1996-2000), which represented the first opposition government that won the elections after 1989, and supported lustration as a method to block the access of former communist officials and secret office agents to political office, was claiming that the results of the election of 1996 created the conditions for 'elite renewal, since younger, untainted specialists could replace Social Democrat (run by Iliescu) public officials. In practice, this elite renewal was superficial, affecting more central than local government'.[999]

The 'tactic of collective innocence' used in 2003 by the Romanian historian Lucian Boia, in order to define Romania's approach towards its recent past, in particular of its suppression, and of singling out Ceaușescu as the main responsible for the crimes of the regime, is explanatory for the slow transformation processes in Romania comparing to the rest of CEE countries

---

[992] HU OSA 300/120/6/632 File Romania Museums and Monuments: 1984-1990, Kamm Henry, Romania's monuments make strange bedfellows, In: The New York Times International, 15.12.1992
[994] Ciobanu 2015, 264.
[995] Stan 2009, 129.
[996] The party who came in power in December 1989 later reformed as the Socialist Party
[997] Ciobanu 2015, 264.
[998] Ivan, Ruxandra. "Der Stellenwert totalitärer Erfahrungen im aktuellen politischen Diskurs Rumäniens" [The role of totalitarian experience in current political discourse in Romania], In *Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart. Vom Umgang mit Dikaturerfahrungen in Ost- und Westeuropa,* edited by Großböltig Thomas, Hofmann Dirk, (Wallstein Verlag, 2008): 81.
[999] Stan 2010, 388.

after 1989.[1000] This was highlighted also by Stan and Tismaneau who argue that 'until 2006, Romania had been a textbook case of institutionalised amnesia that directly continued the communist culture, and relied on the neutralisation and elimination of any organised capacity to recover and remember the past.' The effect of these were the 'externalisation of guilt, and the ethnicisation of memory.'[1001]

There are different and multiple causes for the success or failure of transitional justice measure in different countries. Most governments that came in power during the 1990s in CEE have been reluctant to launching transitional justice. For the Romanian case, in a first stage, various causes have been identified for failing to employee several measures of transitional justice. One of them is the already mentioned continuity of its elite and its reproduction, that allowed members of the previous regimes to retain their political power, considering that often 'governments that remain dominated by former perpetrators have no interest in seeing justice done and truth uncovered'.[1002] An expression to this was also the fact that the newly established government after 1989 was nevertheless reluctant in changing in particular the judicial system, which would prevent the effective reinstalling of the rule of law. This is coupled with 'a weak civil society' and the 'lack of social consensus on the need to face the past'.[1003]

According to Stan, the main actors that would eventually support transitional justice efforts were partly from the state and predominantly from non-state actors, domestic, and international actors. Altghough the newly established political elite after 1989 was hesitant in addressing the legacy of the recent regime, an 'alternative way of coming to terms with the past regime' was rooted in a bottom-up approach due to the active involvement of historians, journalists, political scientists and writers to reveal truth and identify responsible for abuses commited during the communist regime.[1004] As Trappe further elaborates, in her study on dealing with the communist past in Romania, the process of overcoming the past had different connotations throught the time. This means it did not limit only to legal terms and pursued political implications, but also in a more abstract way it reflected claiming for a moral prosecution of the regime, and following for a more open and transparent confrontation with the past regime.[1005] Therefore various forms of manifestation from the civil society were encouraged to perform as a means to re-establishing justice - and in particular claiming memory as a form of justice -, in case justice mechanisms themselves failed to actively contribute to dealing with the past regime. 'Where justice fails as a means to memory creation, then memory itself will act as a tool of justice.'[1006]

[1000] Trappe 2009, 242.
[1001] Stan and Tismăneanu 2015, 26; 31.
[1002] Gabany, Anneli, Hunya, Gabor, eds. "Vom Regimewechsel zur Systemtransformation: Rumänien" [From regime change to system change: Romania], In *Die Rekonstruktion Ostmitteleuropas. Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Umbruch*, edited by Pradetto August, (Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994): 81.
[1003] Stan and Nedelsky 2013, 125.
[1004] Trappe 2009, 249.
[1005] Trappe, Julie. *Rumäniens Untergang mit der kommunistischen Vergangenheit. Eine Untersuchung aus strafrechtlicher Perspektive*, Band 3. Diktaturen und ihre Überwindung im 20. Und 21. Jahrhundert, ed. Carola Sachse, Edgar Wolfrum, (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2009)
[1006] Blandiana quoted by Trappe 2009, 248.

Trappe furthermore highlights that in a first stage starting already in 1990 'the Process of Communism' (procesul comunismului) has been strongly claimed by the civil society. Hence immediately after the coup of December 1989, civil society strongly criticised the gaps in the processes of engaging with the past, and in particular the limited intervention of the legal actors in prosecuting the crimes of the regime. As a consequence they actively called on 'banning communist leaders from engaging in post-communist politics, identifying political police agents, condemning the communist regime for its human rights trespasses, returning confiscated property to its rightful owners, rehabilitating former political prisoners, and prosecuting nomenklatura members.'[1007]

The advocates of a real break with the communist regime were also drawn from members of the political opposition to the newly established government run by Ion Iliescu, and the communist-era victims and their surviving relatives. Among them were also members of pre-communism political parties and governmental structures. 'Collaborators of the royal family, individuals involved in the anticommunist resistance during the 1940s and the 1950s, Orthodox, Greek and Roman Catholic, Protestant and Neo-Protestant faithful persecuted for their religious beliefs, outspoken critical intellectuals, persons who unsuccessfully tried to illegally cross the border to escape to Western Europe, and workers and miners who revolted in 1977 and 1987.'[1008]

Additionally, by 2003, various NGO's[1009] issued in a common claim for relief at the Bucharest courthouse directed to the government and its institutions, asking for the government to take stand in the process on communism and its crimes. Their goal being that the state recognises the crimes committed by the regime and its injustices. However, no direct personal accusations have been made.[1010] Such an effort has been then concretised by civil society run NGO's such as the Association of the Former Political Detainees who promoted development of various memorials, and the most prominent in this case is the Sighetu Memorial in the northern part of Romania. However, Trappe is concluding in her research, that in the Romanian case, the priority was not the legal prosecution of the crimes of the regime but moreover their exposal, mostly claimed by victims and their families, in what she calls 'Aufklärung' of the unjustice done by the former regime.

Closely linked to the question of elite continuity is the measure of disclosing and removal of collaborators of the regime from the administration and political members, called 'lustration'. This requires however that the access to such information should be enabled, such as disclosing archival material. As Stan further argues, the government lead by president Constantinescu was pursuing a 'milder way to come to terms with the past'. In that respect he eventually granted opening the secret Securitatea Archives, according to the Law 187/1999, while no concrete lustration law followed. As a consequence, those identified as collaborators of the regime could not be asked to renounce to their public position, but their names were made public in the official

[1007] Stan 2009, 147.
[1008] Stan 2013b, 20.
[1009] Among these: Alianța Civică, Asociația Foștilor Deținuți Politici, Uniunea Mondială a Romanilor Liberi, Asociația „15 Noiembrie 1987"
[1010] Trappe 2009, 249-252.

press.[1011] The lustration Law, although firstly proposed by civil society groups in early 1990, was adopted by governmental ordinance no.16/2006 only before Romania's accessing to the EU, and discarded one year later.[1012] Lustration as a measure was considered mainly regarding the political community at the central level, and it was not drafted, as the German case was, to be implemented at all societal and institutional levels, in case the exposure to the communist ideology and political abuses were noted.

Human rights infringements during communism were addressed mostly by non-judicial methods (the truth commission, the citizens' tribunal and memorialisation processes), 'since the statute of limitations, the old age and health problems of the defendants, and lack of clear evidence of wrongdoing have prevented the judiciary from hearing relevant cases.'[1013] Also Stan argues that 'the extreme politicisation of transitional justice and its instrumentalisation by political actors for electoral gains have delegitimised efforts to uncover the truth about the recent past and prompted public disinterest toward the process.'[1014]

Trappe argues that one can officially talk about a 'Vergangenheitspolitik' in Romania only starting from 2006, while the Romanian prime minister Popescu-Tăriceanu claimed that the transition period in Romania is officially ended by 2004.[1015] However, it is only in December 2006 that the Romanian President Traian Băsescu called for a truth commission to assess in a systematic and academic manner the communist dictatorship in Romania. In 2005 an Institute to Investigate the Crimes of the Communist Regime (IICCR) was set up. Romania, besides Moldova and the Baltic States was the only post communist country to set up a presidential truth commission.[1016] As a state agency its main goal was to document 'the most egregious crimes of the past and to collect evidence for possible legal actions'.[1017] It is also telling the fact that these decisions were taken in the context of the accession of Romania to the democratic structures of the European Union, which eventually happened beginning of 2007.

The main responsibility of the Commission - consisting mainly of political scientists, historians, former political prisoners, and anti-communist dissidents, and civil society members under the guidance of the American - Romanian origin political scientist Vladimir Tismăneanu - to elaborate a scientific documentation about the communist regime in Romania. According to Stan and Tismăneanu 'like truth commissions constituted in other countries, the Romanian Commission had a mandate that informed and oriented its activities.'[1018] The Romanian Commission, having a strong academic approach, was inspired by the Commission Elie Wiesel on Holocaust in Romania (2003) and by the the already mentioned Commission of Inquiry for the Assessment of History and Consequences of the SED Dictatorship in Germany (Enquette

---

[1011] Stan 2010, 388.
[1012] Trappe 2009, 234; 240.
[1013] Stan 2013a, 129.
[1014] Ibidem 130.
[1015] Trappe 2009, 256.
[1016] Stan 2013a, 137.
[1017] Stan and Tismăneanu 2015, 25.
[1018] Idem 26.

Kommission zur Aufarbeitung von Geschichte und Folgen der SED-Diktatur in Deutschland) that operated in 1992.

The authors further argue that the commission had 'features of a truth commission, because: it focused on the recent past, it investigated patterns of abuse over a period of time, rather than a specific event; it was a temporary body which completed its work with the submission of a final report; and it was officially sanctioned, authorised, and empowered by the state.'[1019] Similar bodies operated in South Africa and Germany, yet there are few elements that distinguish it from them.

> First, the absence of a parliamentary mandate meant that the Romanian Commission had no decision-making power and no subpoena prerogative. Second, the Commission (PCACDR) did not rely on the collection of testimonies from the victims and victimizers of the communist regime. It rather took on the mission to provide the scholarly evidence needed to formulate a set of much-needed conclusions and recommendations.[1020]

In that respect the task of the presidential commission was to 'producing a scientifically rigourous and coherent document that would examine the main institutions, methods and individuals that made possible the crimes and abuses of the Romanian communist regime throughout its existence (1945-1989).'[1021] Eventually the final report focused mainly on the abuses of the regime, highlighting in particular the degree and the methods of repression during communist Romania, as a means of promoting the principle of accountability. Also, it is only in its introduction that the report is referring to the way Romania dealt with the communist past after the regime change. As such, it is highlighting the fact that during the past 17 years after the regime change no official legal, moral or political measures have been adopted to deal with the crimes of the regime.

Thus, only in 2006 was the recent past officially condemned, following the political project supported by the President Băsescu. The Romanian President officially took a stand by condemning the communist regime as a criminal regime, while the academic endeavour aimed to reflect on the 'public use of history'. The authors of the report did not claim that the Romanian Communist Party established 'total control over society'. Instead it argued that it created a 'state with totalist claims and extremely intrusive policies. The objectives of the ideology that it unflinchingly and perseveringly advocated throughout its existence made its rule totalitarian.'[1022] Therefore the report concludes with the conceptualisation of the Romanian Communist regime as a totalitarian regime, with an 'uninterrupted Stalinist character that in time acquired a national twist'. 'The Report branded the regime's policies (as well as their immediate and long-term consequenes) as genocidal'.[1023]

According to Ciobanu the relevance of the report lies in 'identifying the guilty and by presenting the communist regime in Romania as a form of

---

[1019] Idem 27.
[1020] Ibidem.
[1021] Idem 26.
[1022] Stan and Tismăneanu 2015, 29.
[1023] Idem 29f.

"national Stalinism"' which eventually 'promoted the principle of accountability and deconstructed the earlier myth of national victimisation.' By describing the regime's policies as genocidal and the communist regime criminal, 'the report was also attuned to current transnational efforts to understand the two types of totalitarianism (fascist and communist) as similar and therefore to bring the European continent together.'[1024]

Despite its strong anticommunist tendency, the report did not clearly state what the condemnation of the communist regime means. Who is to be held accountable for the crimes, what should be condemned the ideology, its application or just concrete political measures?[1025] Equally, the report has been criticised based on the consideration that the regime cannot be generalised but moreover it should encourage diverse approaches towards its understanding. Also its emotional and pathos discourse strongly anti-communist have been contested, as if this approach would be shared by the whole Romanian population. It equally reduced and subjectified the historical understanding of the regime to the voices of the victims. Also, it claims that the crimes committed during the regime were to be condemned as crimes against humanity. However, it did not give any explicit detail on which actions should be considered as crimes against humanity.[1026] In that respect 'its ability "to put the past in the past to rest by making it a matter of public record is (as) illusory" as that of many Eastern European counterparts that were political top-down "narrative-shaping" institutions, more than investigative bodies.'[1027] Therefore, eventually the Commission and the report 'had a relatively minor impact on the way the political elites, the intellectuals, and the general public in that country viewed the communist past.'[1028]

Following the European tradition of condemning the communist regime as a criminal, the report strongly encouraged that a revision of history writing processes should be pursued. In that respect history books, museums and memorials to the victims of the regime were promoted, as much as a scientific approach to the research of the regime. Following the report included one category of recommendations concerning future memory projects. This including the opening of a Museum of Victims of Communism – which until present day was not realised- and an information centre, with the purpose of presenting communism crimes in history museums across the country, declaring a national day for victims and a monument, and encouraging research and educational projects such as history textbooks, together with an encyclopedia on the communist regime.[1029]

However, Stan argues that despite the fact that transitional justice has also emerged in the Romanian context after 1989, various measures have been officially only partly successfully implemented. Among these are: property restitutions, compensations and reconsidering the history of museums collections.[1030] Hence this chapter will further discuss how and to what extent transitional justice measures informed the wider aspect of addressing abuses

---

[1024] Ciobanu 2015, 265.
[1025] Trappe 2009, 257.
[1026] Idem 260.
[1027] Stan 2013a,134.
[1028] Stan 2013b, 22.
[1029] Stan 2013a, 130;132.
[1030] Stan 2013b, 251.

from the past and re-writing history in Romania. For this the impact of the reform in cultural heritage sector will be discussed, questioning to what extent abuses of the past regime in the field have been addressed. Also on the background of these developments it will be questioned if the preservation of the recent past was considered in this context, and which discourses legitimised heritage preservation. Nevertheless, it will further question measures that have triggered cultural heritage democratisation. Thus the impact of various transitional justice measures aiming for addressing human rights abuses and re-intasting the rule of law, will be discussed in the context of transformation processes in post-communist Romania.

4.8.1. Paths towards institutional transformation. The role of Expert- and Historic Commissions

As briefly shown, the process of post-communist transition in Romania should be rather considered a spart of a continuum and not as an absolute break with the past. As discussed in the previous chapter, traditionally preservation in Romania was an issue of expert bodies at an initial stage. Later was marked by the abusive intervention of the state encountering limited oposas reactions from the experts. Moreover, a particular attention has been given by the state following the Law of 1974 to ensure the protection of the national cultural patrimony by claiming the state security interest. 'State security' being the most abused notion under communist regimes, which collided with basic human and citizens rights. Institutionally, the period prior to 1989 can be defined by incoherences and inconsistencess, as previously shown, but also emphasised by Preda who focused in her research extensively on addressing the artistic domain during Ceaușescu's regime.[1031] The author describes the institutional framework concerning arts during Ceaușescu's regime as 'an array of institutions overlap. There is thus, apparent centralisation but in fact diffusion and overlapping of tasks (...) - the institutional framework is difficultly legible'.[1032]

As already mentioned, the socialist system layed down the basis for an institutional and administrative network which was capable of reforming according to democratic principles.[1033] As Beyme further states, in most cases the regime change did not enfold in an institutional vacuum; rather, a set of institutions were developed during the 40 years of communist regime. These eventually following the regime change were subjected to massive restructural measures, and very few had to be built from the scratch. Moreover, in line with Preda's argument (2012), these were marked by continuities and changes between the communist and post communist periods. 'The dictatorial and postdictatorial periods are not completely separated but should be regarded as interacting, intertwined, and transforming each other's periods'.[1034]

[1031] Preda, Caterina. "Art and Politics in modern dictatorships", In Șantiere de cercetare în științe politice, edited by Ghebrea Georgeta, 163-188, (Editura Universității București, 2010); Preda, Caterina. "Art and politics in Postcommunist Romania: Changes and Continuities", The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society, vol.42, no.3,(2012b): 116-127; Preda, Caterina. "Artistic critiques of modern dictatorships". The European legacy: Toward new paradigms, (Routledge, 2012a):1-19.
[1032] Preda 2012, 10.
[1033] Beyme 1996, 4.
[1034] Preda 2012b, 117.

The political shift following 1989 meant that change and continuities at the legislative, administrative and institutional levels facilitating protection and preservation overlapped. Moreover, a significant shift also emerged in the discourse on the significance of protection of valuable cultural assets in the post-1989 debates. In the process of readressing the heritage sector the Western model was considered a reliable source of inspiration. This will be discussed in order to be better understand how the regime change impacted in this case the shift of responsibility (if there was any), meaning which actors were involved in processes of heritage-making post 1989, in addition to norms and discourses.

One of the accusation brought during Ceaușescu's "process" for the crimes committed against the nation was also the destruction of the national cultural patrimony. Following it is noteworthy to mention the fact that the provisory committee of the National Front of Salvation (FSN) for the Cultural Council (renamed as the Ministry of Culture) - established in December 1989 - claimed to ensuring heritage preservation as one of the priorities for the future reformed government. In that respect the committee claimed to engage and support: 'the safeguarding of the cultural and artistic assets, setting up new inventories and appropriation of the assets owned by the "criminal dictatorship", increased border control to prevent their traffic abroad.' Among its further priorities were to restablish the contact with international cultural and artistic networks, and to promote exchange with the international bodies.[1035]

However, cultural reform seemed to be more resistant to substantial change. The newly appointed Minister of Culture, considered a 'spectacular' appointment Andrei Pleșu - art critic, writer and a former dissident, initiated a long period of instability at the ministerial leadership.[1036] As one will see the immediate period following the regime change has been marked by divergent opinions how the cultural sector should be reformed, and in particular on which basis the relationship with the state should be ensured. However, as already shown, measures adopted in order to reform bureaucracy such as lustration has mostly impacted the higher echellon and it remained the same at the local level as during the communist regime, making difficult to reform even the cultural sector.[1037] Additionally as already mentioned by Preda, one of the first measures taken by the provisory government was to transform former communist institutions or Party structures by 'fusion, division or name changing' into new institutional tools, thus ensuring a great institutional continuity.[1038] As such the former Council of Culture and Socialist Education (CSCE) an organism with double role submitted to the Central Committee of the Party and the Ministry Council, responsible for the coordination of the cultural and educational activities, merged into the new Ministry of Culture. Despite the fact that measures have been initially undertaken to ensure the decentralisation of the cultural sector, a recentralisation under the Ministry of Culture re-emerged in the period from 1994 to 1996, being nevertheless marked by a high degree of political instability. Yet the state through its Ministry of Culture continued to be the main patron in the cultural sector, highlighting Preda's statement that the 'first period of Romanian democracy was thus

[1035] HU OSA 205-2-20 File of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Radio Bucharest, Dec.1989
[1036] Shafir 1990, 38.
[1037] Beyme 1996, 121.
[1038] Șuteu quoted in Preda 2010.

dominated by a policy of continuity with the past rather that the logic of change.[1039]

Setting up commissions for addressing the basis for discussion of future preservation actions was mandatory in the process of reforming the heritage sector. Later on in autumn 1990, according to the Report on the situation in Romania post 1989 Revolution, issued by the Council of Europe, stated that measures have been adopted by the newly established government, such as the creation of commissions to ensure the protection of the patrimony, and nevertheless it brought to the halt of the strongly internationally contested abusive systematisation works, carried out nationwide.[1040]

One can argue however that despite de fact the state institutions were relentless to change, in a first stage the role of experts in the field of cultural heritage was significant to call for the reform of the institutions responsible for the preservation and protection of cultural heritage. The main goals claimed by the experts to be achieved, as an immediate step after the regime change in December 1989, were: the decentralisation, de-politicisation of the preservation mechanism and its professionalization, and nevertheless its alignment to the international standards. Meaning, setting up an administrative and autonomous institutional mechanism based on the involvement and the contribution of the commissions constituted by experts, thus avoiding a politicisation of the patrimonial sector.[1041]

However, past injustices affecting national cultural patrimony, such as the abusive destruction of the patrimony in particular during the 1980s, and the legal status of the abusively nationalised valuable assets, were not yet a subject for debate for the newly set up commissions and institutions. Yet the newly established Commissions aimed at addressing and correcting the past abusive institutional and legislative practices instated by the communist regime. In a first stage two autonomous Commissions: the Commission for Museums and Collections (CMC) and National Commission for Historic Monuments, Ensembles and Sites (CNMASI) including mainly experts in field of preservation (architects, archeologists, art historians) - have been set up close to the Ministry of Culture (HCM 942/1990, adopted in 1992). At this stage these did not have any legal status yet. Independently they would be responsible for issuing two different laws concerning movable, respectively immovable heritage - the only recognised categories of assets until 1994 (HCM 68/1994) - which from this moment became subject of divergent and uncoordinated measures of protection.

On the 5th of February 1990 according to the governmental Decree nr. 90 the Law 63/1974 on monuments preservation was denounced, without being replaced by any legal framework that would ensure cultural heritage protection and preservation for the years to follow. According to the same Decree 90/1990 CMC was organised as an autonomous institution under the supervision of Radu Florescu - Professor of archaeology who was also one of the experts who contributed to drafting the Law of 1974 - with the condition to provide within 30 days proposals concerning the regulation of the museum's

[1039] Preda 2012b, 119.
[1040] HU OSA 318/0/5 Box 106 File: Romania Council of Europe (1989-1993), Noerens, 1990, *Rapport sur la situation en Roumanie, Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly*, (21.Sept.1990): 15.
[1041] Arh. Derer, Peter. "Nu există decât două lucruri care înving uitarea oamenilor: poezia și arhitectura' (John Ruskin) Monumentele istorice. Încotro?" In *Dilema*, I/15, (April 1993): 8.

field.[1042] According to Cezara Mucenic, Vice Director for the Direction of Monuments, Florescu promoted banning the Law of 1974 and of the HCM of 1955, having as a direct consequence the fact that starting 1990 Romania had no officially listed monuments and legal framework to ensure the protection of its cultural heritage.[1043]

Among the assigned responsibilities to the CMC were: preservation, restoration, safeguarding, registration, raising awareness and valorisation of the movable national cultural heritage. Nevertheless, the well functioning and management of the museums and collections were among its responsibility, while the decisions of the CMC had a mandatory character independent of ownership (Decree 90/1990 Art.1). However, as the normative decrees emerged, one can identify that less attention has been given to organising this commission, which kept to a great extent its structures inherited from the communist regime. Although the governmental decisions of 1992 made a series of specifications concerning the protection and responsabilities in this direction of the National Commision of Museums and Collections, and of the Directorate for Museums and Collections, one can say that an increased attention has been attributed to reorganize the commission responsible for the built environment, and reglementation of the immovable assets. One could argue that the protection and safeguarding of the movable assets has been closely maintained to the structures created prior to 1989 and its regulation severly delayed. Even more, the lack of the experts in the department for monuments preservation of DMASI was completed by experts who during the communist regime were active in the Offices for monuments preservation established within museums. This was decided in 1992 following the protocol which ensured the collaboration between the National Commission for Museums and Collections and DMASI.[1044]

According to a further decree 91/1990 the National Commission for Historic Monuments, Ensembles and Sites (CNAMSI), was established under the supervision of Prof. Grigore Ionescu, who held the leading position of the Direction for Monuments Protection until 1977. Interestingly as the name evokes the newly established Commission adopted the categories which the 1972 World Heritage convention identified as heritage, namely: monuments, ensembles and historic sites. To be mentioned, Romania ratified the World Heritage convention in March 1990, demonstrating its interest to reconnect with international bodies.

Its members were stated according to the Ministerial Decision nr.79/1990. It included members of the former Historic Commission for the Monuments Preservation that officially ended its activities in 1977, such as Stefan Balş and Eugenia Greceanu among others, hence a continuity of the experts in this field can be equally identified. Among the competences assigned to the CNAMSI one can identify: the registration, documentation, protection

[1042] Niţulescu, Virgil. "Patrimoniul între Raţiune şi Pasiune", In *Dilema*, I/15. (1993): 9.
[1043] Ionescu, Petre. Interview with Cezara Mucenic: "'Culmea Perversităţii este de a pune legile în slujba nedreptăţii' (Voltaire) DMASI nu are Director! Are, în schimb, un inspector la trei judeţe şi un referent la şase", În *Dilema*, I/15, (April 1993): 9.
[1044] Art. 9, Protocol de colaborare încheiat între Comisia Naţională şi Direcţia Muzeelor şi Colecţiilor şi Comisia Naţională şi Direcţia Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor şi Siturilor Istorice, In *BCNAMSI*, issued by CNAMSI, Anul III, no.3, (1992): 77.

and conservation, restoration and valorisation of historic monuments.[1045] The responsibility for the protection of historic monuments was delegated by the state to CNAMSI, a board of experts which was empowered to set regulations, to list, to conserve and to monitor historic monuments. Additionally CNAMSI in its first years of activity had to re-establish the collaboration with various international organisations such as ICOMOS and ICCROM, and of the Council of Europe, additional to similar national organisations responsible for heritage preservation in Hungary, Germany, France, the UK and Switzerland.[1046]

The executive role of CNAMSI was attributed to the Directorate for Monuments, Ensembles and Historic Sites (DMASI), whose President was assigned the architect Peter Derer. The leading principle that laid as basis for the functioning of DMASI was the decentralisation of the preservation sector, and to ensure a clear division between the activities of financing and accounting, from research, restoration and repairs.[1047] Among DMASI's responsibilities were included also preparing the documentation, and setting up the general inventories for all monuments in Romania.[1048]

One of the first measures taken by the DMASI was to re-appropriate belongings of the former institutions responsible for preservation, hence establishing a legal and historical continuation with the previous institutions. The main archival bodies created by various institutions responsible for the activities of research, conservation and restoration in Romania, were organised according to Iuliu Şerban as following: fond of the Commission for Historic Monuments (CMI), 1909-1947; fond Directorate for Historic Monuments (DMI) 1952-1977, fond of the Economic Directorate of the National Cultural Patrimony (DEPCN) 1977-1989. These have been all stored during the communist regime in the Casa Scînteii (Typography House) in Bucharest, however in very poor conditions. Reason for which only few have been transfered in 1990 to the headquarters of the DMASI in Ienăchiță Văcărescu Street No.16: fond CMI (3.000 volumes), Fond DMI (approximately 9.000 vol. containing files of various monuments, questionairs, material for the archaeological and historic research, evidence); fond DEPCN (4.500 vol. containing technical and economic documentation, reports, evidence, etc).[1049]

DMASI was at this stage the main institution that functioned again as a central organism dealing with heritage preservation, while locally the Regional Offices for National Cultural Heritage has been maintained.[1050] Eight Provincial Commissions (CZMASI) have been however newly created to overview activities in the following regions, aiming thus at ensuring a decentralisation of the patrimonial activities: Transylvania, Moldova, Bucovina, Oltenia, Banat and Crişana, Dobrogea, Muntenia and Bucharest.[1051] These included experts of CNAMSI and local experts. The goal of such decision was the transferring of the responsibility of the National Commission locally in the

[1045] Mucenic, Cezara."Constituirea CNAMSI", In Revista Arhitectura. Revista de Critică, Teorie şi Informaţie a Uniunii Arhitecţilor din Romania şi a Ministerului Culturii, no.1-6, (1990): 14.
[1046] Derer 1993, 8.
[1047] Derer, Botez. "Organizarea Comisiei Naţionale şi a Direcţiei, Ansamblurilor şi Siturilor Istorice", In BCNMASI, vol.1/2, Anul I., (1990):15.
[1048] Muceninc 1990, 14.
[1049] Şerban 1990, 34.
[1050] Muceninc 1990, 14.
[1051] Avram Alexandru, Bucur Ioan. "Aspecte privind ocrotirea monumentelor istorice în Judeţul Sibiu în perioada 1990-1996", In BCNAMSI, Anul VII, no.3-4 (1996): 93.

territory.

The argument of such a structure was to enforce a decentralised mechanism and ensure the preservation and restoration activities independent of the social-political context.[1052] Yet the role of the regional commissions would lose in significance starting from 1994, when a recentralisation of responsibilities, such as approval of restorations activities, was pursued by transferring these to CNAMSI. Meanwhile, the role of control and evidence was assigned to the local offices for preservation, established according to the Law 63/1974 and perpetuated also after 1989, which according to the Law 11/1994 have been reinstated under the supervision of the local council for culture.[1053] Also it was aimed to clearly separate the activities of evidence, research, funding, execution and planning of the works, which all made the activity of various compartments of the DMASI. Under its supervision was transferred also the activity of approving interventions in the urban setting, guided by the UNESCO' s principles stated in the *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* (Nov.1976), and of international conventions to which Romania adhered post 1989.[1054]

As Lazea argues, one can identify a series of fluctuations concerning the state interest in cultural heritage post 1989 which was often subjected to the various and multiple political instabilities that eventually left their footprint. The severe mismanagement of the Ministry of Culture impacted throughout the period post 1989 the management of cultural heritage preservation.[1055] The political instability of 1991 brought once again political regime change. This created the premises that the Ministry of Culture empowered in 1993 with the responsibility for the monuments preservation a new General Directorate for the National Cultural Patrimony, under the museologist Ioan Opriş. The new Commission was responsible for issuing a law proposal for the national cultural patrimony, initiative which did not consider the involvement of the experts in the field of built monuments in particular, and very few experts in the field of heritage in general.[1056]

Nistor identified what he calls a neo-centralised administrative period (1994-1996) which according to him had two characteristics: the re-centralisation of the decisions related to historic monuments, meaning a shift from the professional commission to the administrative body of the Ministry of Culture, and a scarcity of the financial means allocated by the state in respect of the actual conservation needs. 'The National Commission for Historic Monuments, Ensembles and Sites, although being budgetary coordinated by the Ministry of Culture, retained its independence as a professional body until mid 1994, when it was engulfed in the Ministry's departments.'[1057] Since 1994, scientific issues (proposals for listing) became the responsibility of the renamed National Commission into the National Commission for Historic Monuments, which now included 31 experts in the field of historic preservation nominalised

[1052] Derer and Botez, In *BCNMASI*, 1-2, (1990): 15-16.
[1053] Avram and Bucur 1996, 93.
[1054] Muceninc 1990, 14.
http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13133&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
[1055] Lazea 2012, 187.
[1056] Interview with Cezara Mucenic, in *Dilema*, Ionescu Petre (1993): 9
[1057] Nistor Sergiu, *Romania's urban architectural heritage: between neglect and revitalisation*, (2003): 1. http://www.arcchip.cz/w03/w03_nistor.pdf, [accessed January 2017]

by the Ministry of Culture. The regulation, conservation work, inspection and monitoring of historic monuments, became the administrative task of the Ministry of Culture. The restoration works of the historic monuments was assigned to the Directorate for Historic Monuments, an expert body under the direct guidance of the Ministry of Culture (Art.23 Law 11/1994). Hence one can identify that once again a recentralisation and submission of the patrimonial sector under the political structures. This situation persisted until 1997 when the National Commission for Historic Monuments was reactivated following the Governmental order 2001/1997 under Andrei Pippidi, a prominent Romanian historian. The members of the commission included historians, art historians, architects, museum's directors, archaeologists, restores, and nevertheless the orthodox metropolitan bishop for the historic provinces of Moldavia and Bucovina. [1058] Given the fact that Romanian state is laic, and despite the fact that the the majority of the population is orthodox, it also includes numerous religious minorities which were not represented in such organisations, paving a clear path of priorities for the newly reinstated Commission. Despite the numerous political changes and ministerial changes, predominantely just formally, the patrimonial sector was submitted to the Ministry of Culture overarching both commissions for movable and immovable assets, a situation which is valid also currently.

Hence one can identify that at an initial stage the reform of the heritage sector was promoted by experts in the field, by partly including those who were already involved in the institutional network exiting prior to 1989. Moreover, the pursued decentralisation mechanism for cultural heritage was in a very short time dismissed. The commissions responsible for heritage were embed in the Ministry of Culture structures, which took a lead in managing heritage. These structures were kept to a higher degree intact in relation to the prior extistent structures created during the communist regime. Therefore, one can argue that by the end of the 1990s despite the initative of establishing expert-led structures, in order to manage cultural patrimony independent of the political influences, the sector of cultural heritage was again part of the political structures of the Ministry of Culture. However, only during the 2000s independent NGOs started to actively engage in the field of heritage preservation in addition to the most prominent in the field (Transylvania Trust, Pro Patrimonio, etc.).

After more than 25 years, Gabany argues, the transformation and adoption of Western principles in Romania 'resembles nineteenth-century process of modernisation which resulted in superficial changes which changed neither the nature nor the functioning of Romania institutions.'[1059] As the author further state this was the consequence of power distribution and monopol of the economic ressources among the former communist elites. The main strategy being not to 'reform the system but moreover to control the transformation process'.[1060]

[1058] Componenţa Comisiei Naţionale a Monumentelor Istorice, In: *BCNMASI,* Anul VIII, no.1-4, (1997): 114.
[1059] Gross quoted by Ciobanu 2015, 268.
[1060] Gabany 1998, 206.

4.8.2.   Cultural heritage law

4.8.2.1   *Legislative reform of the national cultural patrimony*

The Law that would ensure the protection of patrimony became hence a priority for the experts in the field after 1989, as much for the Ministry of Culture. However, the Ministry was prioritising a more comprehensive legislation that would consider the patrimony from a holistic approach, and did not consider the categories of movable and immovable heritage as distinctive categories of interest.[1061] This approach was shared not only by the Ministry but also by the museologists, which did not find any support from the architects.[1062]

   According to the Decree 91/1990 CNMASI was responsible for issuing a proposal for regulating built monuments preservation within following 90 days from its constitution. The collaboration with the Ministry of Culture was pursued in a first attempt to legally acquire the support and legitimacy over the legacy of the institutions responsible for monuments preservation prior to DMASI, and to establish the yearly financial support for the restoration projects.[1063] Yet soon the complexity of the project revealed its gaps. The deadline for issuing a proposal for the legal framework was not met, and the first law proposal was submitted by the CNAMSI in September 1990. The CMC delayed its proposal until March 1991, hence creating a legal vacuum for the period to follow that would facilitate abuses concerning the state of protection of the patrimony equally movable as immovable.[1064] Even more the Romanian Constitution elaborated in 1991 made no specification among the declared civil rights and responsibility of the state to guarantee the protection of cultural heritage.[1065]

   Nevertheless, initially the debates concerning the legislative framework for both commissions shared a common responsibility and starting point. Namely, a constant reference was made to the Law of 1974, and in particular to the gaps and failures generated by the law. Following, various proposals for the new Law on heritage protection considered previous conditions which created the premises for a dysfunctional and abusive state mechanism for protection. Moreover, it was considered that these were implicitly the consequence of the law that addressed patrimony in general, and it did not created conditions for preservation separately for each category of assets. This argument was used to lobby for two separate laws addressing movable and immovable assets independently.[1066] Nevertheless the logic of this argument, according to Opriş, had also an economic motivation. According to the Decree of 1990 Art.2 the state was responsible to ensure the financial support of the patrimonial sector. Therefore the strategy to promote the division between the two categories of objects, and to assign this responsibility

---

[1061] Mucenic, In Ionescu 1993, 9.
[1062] Niţulescu, In *Dilema* 1993, 9.
[1063] Derer 1993, 8.
[1064] Niţulescu, In *Dilema* 1993, 9.
[1065] http://www.cdep.ro/pls/dic/act_show?ida=1 [accessed last 23.03.2017]
[1066] Ioan Opriş, In Ghiu Bogdan, "De ce nu avem încă o lege a patrimoniului?" Interview with: Radu Bogdan, Ruxandra Demetrescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, Ioan Godea. Anca Lazarescu, Ioan Opriş, In *Dilema*, Anul I, no.15, 23-29 (April 1993): 5.

to different independent Commissions, was motivated to ensure a wider financial support from the state for the two categories of patrimonial assets.[1067]

The Commission for the Protection of Built Monuments seemed to be more efficient at reframing the conditions for the protection of the built environment, while the Commission of museum experts followed closely the indications of the Ministry of Culture. Also by analysing the normative frameworks issued after 1989, one can identify an increased interest in regulating in particular immovable assets, the most neglected category during the communist regimes. Meanwhile the CMC retained to a great extent its structure and vision. However, despite the abusive conditions for protection of movable assets created during the communist regime, only in 2000 (Law 182) the first and only concrete legal framework addressed the protection of movable heritage in a complex manner.

The decentralisation and de-politicisation of the institutions responsible for the protection of monuments was the key issue which became subject for all law proposals. The project Law for Monuments, Ensembles and Historic sites was in preparation by CNSMASI, which draw its inspiration from the legislative framework isssued in between war period and post World War Two, and by looking at the international legislation, mainly European: French, Italian, Anglo-Saxon, and international conventions ratified by Romania to a great extent after 1989.[1068] Hence the first concrete governmental decision concerning the protection of the national cultural patrimony was issued by CNSMASI under the form of the HCM 91/1990, and by CMC the HCM 901/1991. Yet, one identifies a lack of interest of the newly established government in debating the Law proposals, postponing it until 1992.[1069] Ultimately national cultural patrimony made subject again to a unitary Law proposal, as envisioned by the Ministry of Culture. According to the governmental decree OG 27/1992 approved by the Law 11/1994, later replaced by the OUG 68/1994 (Law 41/1995), following priorities have been pursued:

➢ defining cultural heritage in line with UNESCO definitions, following to which a clear distinction was made between movable and immovable heritage (historic monuments replacing the term of cultural monument established during the communist regime). However, these have not been defined, nor identified the assets, or methodologies required for their identification and evaluation;

➢ defining the responsibilities of the CNMASI (Art.6). Yet despite the fact that the ministerial decree referred also to movable assets, the role of the CMC was not elaborated;

➢ defining sanctions in case of abuse and preventing destruction, ensuring the conditions for the legal circulation of movable assets (Art.3);

➢ issuing heritage lists, creating registers for historic monuments destroyed or lost and for experts, (the quality of protected monument

[1067] Opriș 1993, 5.

[1068] Pleșu Andrei, Ionescu Grigore. "Expunere de motive către Parlamentul României, Adunarea Deputaților, Comisia pentru cultură, arte, mijloace de informare în masă", In: *BCNMASI*, Anul III, no.3, (1992): 60.

[1069] Boroianu, Radu. "Comunicat al Ministerului Culturii 03.03.1992", In *BCNMASI*, Anul III, Nr 1-3-4, (1992): 85.

is guaranteed only following its publication in the monuments list. Art.1)

> setting up a technical commission which approves experts in the field of monument preservation, conservation and restoration. (Art.6)

Although issued in a very short version, it is the OUG 68/1994 (sanctioned by the Law 41/1995) that states the meaning of the 'national cultural patrimony', a concept which remained in use as before 1989. For the first time after 1989 a first attempt to provide its definition was pursued, as following:

> [...] movable and immovable cultural goods of great value, for public interest, testifying the human creator spirit in its relationship with the natural and historic environment on the Romanian territory, and the history and civilisation of national and universal value.[1070]

Hence national cultural patrimony preservation for the first time is invoqued for the public interest, in comparison to the prior specification setting the state interest above the societal or public interest. Despite the fact that the concept was referring also to the natural component, and in comparison to the Law of 1974 which created a category including the natural component in the form of goods of scientific interest, one can identify post 1989 that the natural component was not a priority at this stage for designing policies for its preservation. Also one identifies an opening towards the international discourse and reintegrating the Romanian legacy into the international context by claiming its universal value. Following, UNESCO's recommendations were not only consulted, but they have been integrated in the national legislation, in particular to regulate interventions in urban spaces and preservation of monuments at national and local level, also for sites which were not recognised as UNESCO's sites.

The concept of historic monument was defined in reference only to the built environment, proving a continuation with the Law of 1974 definition of historic monuments, meaning as: 'immovable goods and ensembles of immovable goods of value for archaeological, historic, architectural, religious, urban planning, artistic, landscape and technico-scientific interest.'[1071]

Futhermore the OUG 68/1994 identified three different categories of monuments depending on their 'exceptional' value, although at this stage no criteria have been identified to establish their 'exceptionalism'. This structure

---

[1070] 'Bunuri culturale mobile și imobile cu valoare deosebită, de interes public, care sunt mărturii de neînlocuit ale potențialului creator uman în relația sa cu mediul natural și cu mediul istoricește construit pe teritoriul României, ale istoriei și civilizației naționale și universale.' (OUG 68/1994, Art. 1)

[1071] 'Bunurile mobile și ansamblurile de bunuri imobile care prezintă valoare din punct de vedere arheologic, istoric, arhitectural, religios, urbanistic, artistic, peisagistic sau technico-științific' (Art.1). Among these are:

• archaeological monuments,
• archaeological sites,
• monuments and ensembles of architecture,
• monuments of art,
• buildings, monuments, and memorial ensembles;
• technical monuments;
• historic places;
• parks and gardens. (Art.1)

was perpetuated in the same spirit with the Law of 1974, despite the fact this was moreover tailored in order to regulate the mobility of movable assets leaving the country. One needs to understand that the use of 'exceptionalism' is a characteristic that defines the patrimonial awareness continuing the tradition of the legislation issued during communism, which will eventually be replaced with the significance assigned to assets.

Thus historic monuments were hierarchically divided in the following categories of exceptionality (Art.2):

➢ Category A: monuments, including assets of exceptional national value, representative for the Romanian civilisation of universal value, and that have a special protection status,

➢ Category B: monuments of national significance,

➢ Category C: monuments representative for a specific area, period, style, author, ethnographic region.

Immovable cultural goods which don't belong to any of the three specified categories, are considered common cultural goods. (Art.2)

Equally the OUG of 1994 (Art.1) considered part of the national cultural patrimony also movable assets. However, these were considered depending on their values, instead of categories of objects, such as:

➢ goods of historic and documentary significance,

➢ goods of artistic value,

➢ goods of ethnological value,

➢ goods of scientific and technical value.

A distinction was made also for movable assets which belonged either to the categories of treasury, fund and common movable patrimony (Art.3). The concept of treasury continued to dominate the understanding of classification of the movable assets, showing in this sense a continuity with the previous legislation issued in 1974.

Meanwhile, following the Law of 1995 the return to the historical denomination of the institutions responsible for monuments preservation and protection was facilitated. Thus the CNMASI was reorganised as the National Commission of Historic Monuments (CNMI) under the Ministry of Culture. Moreover, its compentences were doubled by a newly created institution, namely the National Institute of Historic Monuments also under the Ministry of Culture with responsibilities in research, expertise and documentation of historic monuments (Art.9). At this point, the Directorate for Historic Monuments (also renamed) was directly submitted to the Ministry of Culture and not anymore to the CNMI, raising a strong opposition among the experts claiming the submission of the scientific knowledge to the political decisional mechanism, dismissing thus any initiative of establishing a decentralised mechanism.[1072] Yet a positive contribution was the decision to organise the inventories of the national historic monuments destroyed or disappeared (Art.8). Also the identification of the CNMI as decisional actor to finally approve strategies, norms, and methodologies that would facilitate activities, such as: 'research, documentation, protection, conservation, restoration, revitalisation and valorisation of historic monuments' (Art.10). Nevertheless it

---

[1072] Lazea 2012, 174.

was stated the collaboration with the National Commission for Museums and Collections to facilitate the export of artefacts and elements of decoration and design from immovable assets, which were however protected as movable assets (Art.10).

However, this Law was later contested for being unconstitutional based on the argument that it infringed the right to property raised in the case of restitutions made by private individuals following the abusive depropriation by the state following the Law of 1974 (Decision 50/2000). Hence it was only in 2000 that comprehensive laws on the protection of national cultural patrimony which treated separately movable and immovable assets were adopted, dismissing the unconstitutional Law of 1994. The Law 182/2000 amended in 2004 by the Law 314/2004 addressed movable assets. While immovable assets protection has been regulated following the OUG 228/2000, and amended by the Law 422/2001.[1073]

The Law 182/2000 on national cultural movable assets, deserves here a more detailed analysis as it is the first attempt after 1989 to draft the legal norms that address movable assets independently from immovable assets. A series of novelties are to be recorded but also continuities with the previous legislations. Among the most notable was maintaining the categories of museums fund, including cultural goods of significant value, and the treasury, including cultural goods of exceptional significance (Art.4). Therefore valuable movable cultural goods were included respectively in the inventories of the national cultural patrimony fund and treasury (Art.15). The National Commission of Museums and Collections, under the Ministry of Culture, was responsible for aproving norms that classified assets as national patrimony (Art. 53).

The newly organised Directorate for cultural and national cultural patrimony at local level, by reorganising local offices for national cultural patrimony were considered a step towards the decentralisation of the Ministry of Culture (Art.54). These were assigned responsibilities in ensuring locally the protection of national cultural patrimony (Art.55). An important step in reinstating the rightful ownership was introduced by this Law (Art. 80) which guaranteed the restitution of movable assets to the rightful owner, and access to documentation concerning ownership and provenance. Also according to the law artefacts of living contemporary authors were excluded from the patrimonalisation process (Art.81). The annexes to the law indicated the categories of cultural goods which can be restituted to its rightful owner.[1074] Still the laws of 2000 which were in comparison to the prior version extremely elaborated have however introduced the pre-emption right of the state in case of public sale of assets considered part of the category of treasury (Art.36, 182/2000). A similar condition being issued by the OUG 228/2000 Art.29 (y).

The Law on movable assets was amended by the governmental decree 2035 published in M.Of nr.470/2000 which introduced norms and

---

[1073] Together with the subsequent legislative norms of 2003 and 2008 have been discussed by Lazea (2012), therefore will not be detailed in this research
[1074] Annexes published in M. Of. 259 in 09 April 2014
These included archaeological assets older than 100 years, parts of deassembled artistic, historic, religious monuments older than 100 years, paintings, mozaics, sculptures, photographic materials and films, manuscripts, books older than 100 years, maps older than 200 years, archival documentation older than 50 years, ethnographic and natural-science collections.

methodologies that reglemented creating and managing the inventories of cultural goods from museums, public collections, memorial houses, cultural centres and others. According to this, also procedures of delisting museum goods have been introduced.[1075]

Thus one can conclude by stating that the period following 1989 was defined by the adaptation of the national legislation to the international normative framework ensured by the UNESCO's and European Council. It equally maintained various components from the legislative norms issued during the communist regime. Following one could argue that a hybrid between old and new normative framework and institutions emerged, without properly adapting them to the newly created context which could ensure the democratisation of the former abusive state supported structures and norms. In particular during the 1990s Romania adopted a series of international recommendations and conventions ensuring heritage preservation and in particular immovable heritage. UNESCO Charta (issued 1972, adopted 1990), Granada Convention (issued 1985, adopted 1997), European convention for the protection of the archaeological sites La Valetta (adopted 1992), Convention on the cultural landscape Florence (adopted 2000). UNESCO categories have been included in its area of supervision, without being further discussed and adapted to the local conditions, completely disconsidering the categories of assets existent prior to 1989.[1076] These categories have been adopted by the legislation post 1989, and addressed historic monuments protection as being part of the national cultural patrimony until the adoption of the OUG 228/2000 and Law 182/2000.

However, movable and immovable assets considered part of the national cultural patrimony were regulated until 2000 from an unitary perspective. Only staring 2000 extensive legal norms have been issued for the regulation of both categories of assets separately. However, one can state that an increasing interest for a wider category of assets can be identified. Again a reconsolidation of the Ministry of Culture was noted as the main actor supervising institutional mechanism in monuments preservation and protection, despite initial tentatives following regime change to consolidate autonomous expert bodies.

Alltogether one can argue that only in 2000 did Romania's patrimonial policies start to align with international standards, and to actively engage with framing the complex field by ellaborating norms and conditions subscribed to the public interest. These framed the national cultural patrimony as an identitary resource for future generations, clearly stating the role and attributions of the state authorities (local and central), and of individuals in ensuring monuments preservation and its protection. A new aspect introduced by the OG 47/2000 was reffering in particular to sites included on the UNESCO World Heritage Lists, which seems to be have been submitted to a series of 'special' conditions to ensure management and protection.

[1075] M.Of nr.470/2000, Chapter VII, Scoaterea din gestiune a bunurilor culturale, Art.6-9

[1076] Historic Monuments: unique built heritage or monuments of fine arts

• Ensembles: complex of built heritage or reserves of built heritage of historic, architectural, environmental values and valuable urban components: streets systems, squares, plots

• Archaeological and Historic Sites.

Although the process of issuing a coherent legislative framework to ensure the preservation and protection of the national cultural patrimony was delayed following the regime change of 1989, one can highlight also the lack of consistent support from the governmental bodies to prioritise the democratisation process and reform of the patrimonial sector. These have been strongly criticised by various experts in field. Often the reason invoked for the delay of the legislation was due to the increased interest in illegally trafficking with patrimonial assets, while the property right and restitutions were still a matter for debate carrying strong political implications.[1077]

According to the Report issued in 2008 by the Presidential Commission on the state of the art of the built environment and natural and cultural sites in Romania after communism, it is stated that international conventions and declarations concerning the preservation of cultural heritage have been merely adopted formally and declamatory whithout having the appropriate legislative measures to enforce them. As the Report concludes the adoption of the international conventions did not have any concrete impact on the state of the art of cultural heritage. Often concepts were integrated in the local legislation without being adapted to the local particularities. An example for such practice is the term cultural landscape which gives space for misinterpretation and abuse for not having individually nominated each building as monument but as ensemble, hence targeting the destruction of individual monuments part of the ensemble. Moreover, Romania did not develop a strategy for ensuring the preservation of its heritage and ensuring sustainable development; instead it perpetuated some priorities as before 1989 of limiting the capacities of managing heritage to its touristic use and economic benefits.[1078] This state of the art emerged as a consequence of an incoherent legislation in the field, development pressures conflicting interests for preservation, of the mismanagement of the local administration, and lack of experts and opportunities for their formation, added to the lack of awareness and active participation of the civil society concerning the preservation of the value and significance.[1079] However, the abuses identified by the report have a descriptive and general character and missed to provide a concrete state of the art and measures to counteract them.

Although the report was issued almost 20 years after the regime collapse, the circumstances identified affecting cultural heritage are similar to those prior to 1989. Moreover, according to the report the condition of cultural heritage preservation in Romania was described as 'dramatique', by failing to ensure the minimum standard required by European norms for preservation. According to the report one of the priorities was to adequately consider cultural heritage preservation as an important trigger for sustainable development, and therefore of national interest, and as a consequence its preservation should be made constitutional.[1080] The abusive practices affecting the conditions of monuments preservation have however lead numerous

[1077] Ionescu, Petre. "Care este situația Legii?–Răspund membri ai Comisiei pentru cultură, artă, patrimoniu-", In: *Dilema*, I/15, (April 1993): 10.
[1078] Report. Presidential Commission on the built monuments, historic and natural sites in Romania in post-communism, September 2009.
[http://old.presidency.ro/static/rapoarte/Raport%20CPPCSINR.pdf], accessed January 2017, 4.
[1079] Report 2009, 4.
[1080] Report 2009, 4.

experts to promote the idea of including monuments preservation in the Romanian Constitution as a fundamental right that needs to be guaranteed and respected, again bringing the experts as the main actor to promote and support heritage preservation, while state intervention remained deficient.[1081]

4.8.2.2. *Evaluating and re-evaluating heritage from the past and heritage listing*

An aspect which was not taken into consideration by Harrisson when discussing heritage listing (2013, 2015) is how non-democratic state governments are addressing heritage listing, and how regime change is dealing with this legacy. As already mentioned the modern Romanian experience in organising its protected national heritage lists after the Second World War is rooted in the practice of the abusive state intervention of the nationalisation of valuable assets. This practice was maintained throughout the regime and brought to the extreme starting in the 1970s, when national cultural patrimony became subject of the state security. This had a major impact on the participation and transparency of the process of heritage listing, which ultimately was not made available to the public.

After 1989 these lists - constantly revised and updated throughout the regime as annexes to the officially published lists of 1955 - were re-evaluated and granted a provisorial status, as argued by the architect Peter Derer.[1082] The initial motivation of this action was to protect as much as possible from the already listed monuments, considering the fragile political context and its immanent threats. Hence heritage listing becomes once again an issue to ensure the security of valuable assets against potential threats, and not invoquing the prioritisation of state interests. Romanian architects, historians, planners and art historians, employees of local architecture offices or museums, and academics in the field, all contributed to the listing process post 1989.[1083] One needs to specify that in Romania in comparison to the German example inventories do not also guarantee the legal protection of the monuments. These are legally subjected to protection by the state only after an evaluation procedure was carried out. Lists comprising national cultural patrimony issued by the communist regime were not limited only to the built environment, but equally considered movable and archaeological assets. However, in the course of the re-evaluation these were separately assessed, yet it is not known to what extent museums engaged in the process of revising their inventories. Yet at the time of their re-evaluation no legal framework was in place to guarantee their protection, neither norms and methodologies based on which their selection was conducted. However, the guiding principle was their exceptionality which was specified also in the legislation.

Among monuments to be added to the lists issued in 1991 were those declared by the H.C.M 1160/1955, in addition to monuments included on the tentative lists (provisory) throughout the 1980s. Following the destruction

---

[1081] Lazea 2012, 223.
[1082] Interview June 2015
[1083] Nistor 2003, 1.

experienced during the communist regime one has registered numerous damages brought to the listed monuments (see the chart bellow). [1084]
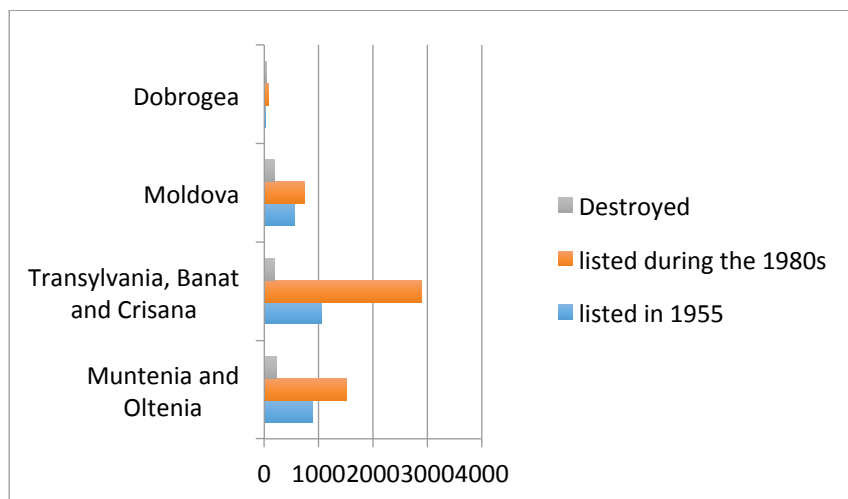
Tabelle 1. Listed monuments destruction

Lists were compiled for each county so that by 1992 these were finalised and approved by CNAMSI, and communicated to the local administration and regional museums.[1085] The list of historic monuments grew by 23,697 items (Nemțeanu, 2000), comprising historic buildings, monuments and archaeological sites, sculptures, architectural reserves, memorial sites, historic sites, as well as the sites of the recently demolished monuments. The largest amount of the new entries in the list comprised 19th century civil architecture, meaning mostly dwellings. In addition, since the 1990s first World Heritage Sites have been inscribed once Romania became active member of the international bodies such as ICOMOS and UNESCO. This came after a period (1982-1989) during which due to its suspended financial contribution to the organisations, Romania was sanctioned from actively participating in the international bodies. As a consequence, in comparison to former socialist states such as Poland and Bulgaria amongst others, no World Heritage site was inscribed prior to 1989. However, first steps to include sites on the UNESCO Heritage lists or on the tentative list, followed soon after 1990 and focused on those sites which gain prominence and benefited from state protection under the socialist regime, such as the Moldavian monasteries (1993), and the Dacian Fortress of the Orăștie Mountains (1999).[1086]

[1084] Lista monumentelor de architectură demolate în București 1977-1989, In *BCNAMSI*, Anul III, no. 2 (1992): 31f.
[1085] Mucenic, Cezara. "Activitatea CNMASI (octombrie-decembrie 1991)", In *BCNAMSI*, Anul III, no. 1-3-4/(1992): 87.
[1086] http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/ro (last accessed 23.03.2017)

As far as the legal status of the nationalised properties was not addressed, the ownership status of the new listed monuments was nonetheless still public (between 1990 and 1994, excepting agricultural land and a few small industrial facilities, no major privatization impacted built monuments). [1087] Related to the listing process between 1994-1996, this period was, according to Nistor, confronted with no significant new entries but several hundreds of requests for de-listing. This was due to the fact that the Parliament issued the law entiteling the tenants of the nationalized dwellings to apply for purchasing their properties, except for those declared historic monuments. In this respect, de-listing the building was a pre-requisite for the tenants becoming owners of their flats. 'Political pressures were directed towards the National Commission for Historic Monuments, local politicians being the bearers of the tenants applications for de-listing. Some 400 applications were accepted, in many cases the specialists having to admit that the buildings had been over-estimated during their appraisal for listing'. [1088] According to Lavinia Stan 'with its many politically appointed and corrupt judges, the judiciary was not truly independent from the executive, which continued to influence court decisions in areas such as property restitution.' [1089] Such an example of abusive practice was the transferred Greek Catholic Church property to the Orthodox Church during the communist regime, whose restitution was refused by the post communist authorities. [1090]

Yet at this stage one needs to state that no methodology was elaborated based on which immovable assests would be listed and de-listed. The official list of 1991, the third in the Romanian history after the lists of 1903 and 1955, has been elaborated as an 'urgent' measure following the regime change aiming at avoiding the negative impact on monuments generated by new constructions and demolishing actions. [1091] It was only following the governmental decision 2013/2000 that methodologies for conducting the listing procedure, inventories and keeping the records, and defining the criteria for the evaluation of immovable assets were clearly stated. [1092] The purpose of these activities was to ensure a transparent approach and popularisation of a field which remained for long a matter of interest of the state. As such it was following this governmental decision that only two categories were identified to be listed as historic monuments, namely:

➢ historic monuments representative of national significance and universal value (category A)

➢ historic monuments of local significance (category B). [1093]

Also the responsibility for issuing the lists was assigned to the Offices for Historic Monuments [1094], to be ultimatley approved by the National Commission of Historic Monuments (Art.22 OG 228/2000). Consequently, the lists approved in 1991-1992 by CNMASI have been confirmed also by the Law 422/2001

[1087] Nistor 2003, 2.
[1088] Ibidem.
[1089] Stan 2010, 383.
[1090] Ibidem.
[1091] Nemțeanu, Ruxandra. "Metodologia evidenței monumentelor istorice. Rezumat", In: *BCNMASI*, Anul XI, no.1-4 (2000): 176.
[1092] Idem 177.
[1093] Art.8 OUG 228/2000, published in M.Of. Nr. 616 30.11.2000 M.Of. 25.01.2001
[1094] The National Office of Historic Monuments has been reorganised under the Ministry of Culture following the OG 228/2000 Art. 30 (1).

(revised in 2006)[1095]. Surprisingly, after almost ten years of lacking a proper methodology for assessing the assets susceptible of being declared as monument, the categories identified in the listing procedure issued during the 1980s have been perpetuated also after 1989 by integrating assets to various 'chapters':

- ➢ archaeological monuments,
- ➢ monuments and ensembes of architecture, technical monuments,
- ➢ memorial buildings,
- ➢ monuments of arts, monuments and memorial ensembles,
- ➢ architectural reserves and of urbanism, historic places, parks and buildings.[1096]

These would be eventually amended by the OUG 2260/2008 as: archaeological, architectural, public monumens and commemorative/funeral monuments.[1097]

The specificity of the new legislation was the fact that a cummulative value based approach was adopted for addressing specific and general criteria. The general criteria were: age, architectural and urban planning, memorial-symbolic, rarity-uniqueness-frequency (Art.7). For each of these further specific subcriteria have been identified. These norms have been updated by the following legislative norms. However, these kept the structure provided by the OUG 2013/2000:   OUG 2682/2003 and OUG 2260/2008.

As previously discussed, the first concrete normative measures that addressed and regulated movable assets independent of immovable assts, were elaborated relatively late starting in 2000. Only in 2008 were the criteria elaborated based on which movable assets were assessed as part of museum's fund or treasury according to their significance.[1098] Similar to the procedure of assessing immovable assets, identified criteria were:

- ➢ general criteria: age, frequency, and state of conservation,
- ➢ specific criteria: historic-documentary, memorial, authenticity, auhtor-school-atelier, and formal quality (OUG 886/2008, Art. 5).

Similar to the procedure of listing immovable assets a cummmulative procedure of points was introduced, and a treshhold of minimum 150 points established. The treshhold for assets to be declared part of fund was between 200-350 points by cummulating general and specific values, and above 350 for the treasury (OUG 886/2008, Art.7). The assessment of the significance of movable assets was conducted by experts approved by the National Commission for Museums and Collections (OUG 886/2008, Art.3). Furthermore, the process of delisting was detailed. It had to be enacted in case of destruction or damage, following to which the asset had to be assesed providing expertise whether to be restored, or declared as ineffective (OUG 886/2008, Art.23-31). Thus such specification emerged rather late, 20 years to be accounted during which no clear sets of norms were effective to ensure monuments protection, giving space for numerous abuses.

[1095] Art.60 In Law 422/2001 published in M.Of. Part I. nr.407 24.07.2001, revised in 2006 and published in M.Of. Nr.938/2006.
[1096] Annexes No.2 to the OUG 2013/2000.
[1097] OUG Nr.2260/2008, Annexa Nr.1. Methodological norms for listing and inventoring historic monuments, 2008, published in M.Of. Part I Nr.540 17.07.2008.
[1098] Norm 20.08.2008 concerning the classification of movable cultural goods, published in M.Of. Part I nr.647/2008, HCM 886/2008 published in M.Of. Part I Nr. 647 11.09.2008.

4.9. Iconoclasm vs. preservation. Memorialisation practices

The fall of the communist regime brought to attention several issues concerning how to engage with the remnants of the former regime in the public space. The transformation of the public space by the means of memorials, monuments, streets' renaiming in CEE and in Romania has been extensively analysed by various authors.[1099] Light and Young are accounting these to a series of attempts carried out by incoming regimes to remake urban public landscapes often by: 'removal or erasure; renaming to reflect new political values; re-education to the new political order; and reuse for other purposes entirely.'[1100] Assessing the way post-governments in Romania have addressed the inherited urban landscape, authors have identified following stages: 'post-revolution attempts to "cleanse" the official communist-era public landscape through erasing and removing key symbols and replacing them with others; a period of neglect of the urban landscape in the 1990s which resulted in "leftovers" landscapes; and renewed attention to reshaping the urban landscape in the 2000s in view of European Union accession.'[1101]

Following the violent dimissal of the communist leader Ceaușescu in December 1989, interventions in the public space were initially a matter for the state, in the form of the Ministry of Culture or local administration, or for NGO's of the victims of the regime and Revolution, such as the Association 21. December. Therefore one can account these to the first measures to symbolically address justice and regime abuses implemented during the 1990s, aiming at the revision of the symbolic presence of the past regime in the public space. There were few actions committed by the protesters during the violent events of the Romanian 'revolution' against the symbolic presence of the regime. This was accounted by Light and Young to the hesitant concerns on the change of regime or not. Yet the authors pointed out some of these spontaneous reactions, such as 'the removing of the communist emblem from the flag (which was to become an iconic image of the revolution), protesters also attacked portraits of Ceaușescu. They also pulled down, painted over, or grafittied banners and posters containing communist slogans. Some statues and monuments (such as the bust of Alexandru Moghioros in Drumul Taberei) were also attacked and overturned, and one bust of Ceaușescu.'[1102]

[1099] Light, Duncan. "Tourism and Romania's Communist Past: Coming to terms with an unwanted heritage", In *Post-Communist Romania. Coming to terms with transition*, edited by Light Duncan, Phinnemore, David, 59-79, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Young, Craig, Light, Duncan. "Place, National Identity and Post-socialist Transformations: an introduction", Political Geography, 20, (2001): 941-955; Czepczyński, Mariusz. *Cultural Landscape of Post- Socialist Cities. Representation of Powers and Needs*, (Ashgate, Adlershot, 2008); Czepczyński, Mariusz. "Interpreting post-socialist icons: From pride and hate towards disappearance and/or assimilation", *Human Geographies–Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geography*, 4.1, (2010): 67-78; Light, Duncan. "Street Names in Bucharest 1990–1997: Exploring the Modern Historical Geographies of Postsocialist Change", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30, (2004): 154–72; Light Duncan, Young Craig. "Urban space, political identity and the unwanted legacies of state socialism: Bucharest's problematic Centru Civic in the post-socialist era", *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 41:4, (2013): 515-535; Light Duncan, Young Craig. "*Public space and the material legacies of communism in Bucharest*", In *Post-Communist Romania at Twenty-Five. Linking Past Present and Future,* edited by Lavinia Stan, Diane Vancea, 41-63, (Lexington Books, 2015); Stan and Nedelsky, 2013c.
[1100] Light and Young 2015, 42.
[1101] Ibidem.
[1102] Idem 44.

Questions have been raised in the national and international contemporary press on how to further proceed with the monuments associated with the communist regime that were displayed in the public spaces.

> What will become of the monuments that decorate the capital landscape? Those that can be removed evidently will be. Such was the fate of the Statue of Lenin that stood in the foreground of the Casa Scînteia, itself a concrete tribute to Stalin and socialist realist aesthetic. This historical irony that this institution now houses the Ministry of Culture is not lost on those working in it. This monumental structure cannot readily be deconstructed; it will remain as a repository of public historical memory lest Stalinism be forgotten. And so will the massive complex built by the whims of Ceaușescu, whose central palace is an architectural monstrosity. What to do with "state" property is generally problematic, one of the myriad complex issues that must be addressed.[1103]

A Commission responsible for the dismantling of communist "vestiges", comprising members of the 21. December Association, the December 1989 Revolution Foundation and the Revolutionary Party of Romania was active at the beginning of the 1990s in the process of lobbying for the removal of the monuments associated with the regime, and re-enacting monuments dedicated to the fallen "heroes of the Revolution" or past events from the Romanian history.[1104] The post-communist Romanian government was quick in responding and removing the symbols of the communist regime, by destroying the portraits of Ceaușescu (as there were no statues of the political leader), removing communist symbols (such as the coat of arms of the Communist Party, the communist Youth League, and the Romanian Socialist Republic) and the statues of communist leaders from public spaces and institutions. Moreover museums, exhibitions and museums sections related to the communist leaders and the regime have been closed down.[1105]

According to the Romanian contemporary press, starting from 1990 and carried out throughout the summer of 1991, a series of monuments associated with the communist regime were removed from the public space: additional to the Monument of Lenin from the Square of the Free Press (sculpture Boris Caragea, 1960-March 1990), followed by the statue of Petru Groza former prime Minister (March, 1990) placed in front of the Medicine Faculty in Bucharest, and of the Soviet Soldier from the Kisseleff Boulevard (Sept.1991); the hammer and sickle symbols from various monuments have been also removed:

> [...] the hammer and sickle emblem of Communism was removed from the base of Bucharest's Memorial to the Soviet soldiers on Friday at 7.15 pm and replaced by the Romanian Revolution Flag. (…) We are

[1103] HU OSA 205-2-20 File of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Klingman Gail, "Reclaiming the Public: a reflection on recreating civil society in Romania", *Eastern European Politics and Society*, Vol.4 No.3, (University California Press, 1990): 403-404.

[1104] HU OSA 205-2-20 Box 94 File State Symbols Statues (1990-1993): Bucharest Rompres, Political Life, 31.08.1991.

[1105] Stan 2013a, 142.

taking it to the headquarters of the 21 December Association, Corneliu Tynzhala, Chairman of the initiative Committee said and added: "this is the first of many exhibits we plan to show in a Museum of Monstrosity of Communism in Bucharest.'[1106]

Moreover the Committee was actively against any intervention that would ensure the preservation of the communist legacy. Their protest against the Party of the National Reconstruction to retain the Monument of the Soviet Soldier is exemplary in this direction, asking for the Criminal Court to act legally against the Party for the crime of 'defending Communism and its reliquaries.'[1107]

According to the national press agency Agerpress, the idea concerning the future of such dissembled monuments, discussed by the National Commission for the removal of the monuments and communist symbols in Romania, has been reiterated at any public intervention proposing to open a museum in the House of the People to exhibit the 'monstrosity' of Communism, which would also host the planed 'international court for the crimes of Communism'.[1108] Often the removal of the monuments from the public space was presented by the contemporary Romanian press, as a symbolic gesture of overcoming the Communist regime; while limited press would report favourably for their retention.[1109] However, the Committee never put in place the plan or organising such an exhibition, while the deposition of most of the collected monuments removed from the public space, in the case of Bucharest, became merely a responsibility for the public administration. Excepting Lenin and Petru Groza statues which have been disposed initially in the communal trash at the city outskirts of Bucharest close to the International Fair Base (TIB), and later removed to the backyard of the Mogosșoaia Palace, and the Engels Lenin and Marx busts that have been mostly deposited in the basement of the Museum for the Romanian Peasant, it is not clear were most of these monuments arrived.[1110]

A further symbolic gesture demonstrating that Romania has broken with its Communist past was the unceremonious exhumation of the former stalinist Leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej together with other 18 former communist leaders from the Mausoleum in the Park Carol in Bucharest, and its transfer to Bellu cemetery. A monument to Romania's Unknown soldier, in honour of those who died in the Second World War, has been raised instead. This was not a new construction instead the Monument was transferred from the town of Mărășești to the capital. The initial plan was to transform the mausoleum, built in 1959, into a church. 'A monument composed of five intersecting arches on top of the mausoleum will be destroyed, the spokesman said, because it emerged that its design was a "perfect copy of a Zionist

[1106] HU OSA 205-2-20 Box 94 File State Symbols Statues (1990-1993): Bucharest Rompres, Political Life, 31.08.1991.
[1107] HU OSA 205-2-20 Box 94 File State Symbols Statues (1990-1993): Expresiv Monitoring, Actualități TV, 31.08.1991.
[1108] HU OSA 205-2-20 File of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Agerpress, Radio București, Radiojurnal, 10 Sept.1991.
[1109] HU OSA 205-2-20 File of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Oprescu, Plecat-am, dragi tovarăși și prieteni…', In: "22", No.8., 9.03.1990, 24.
[1110] HU OSA 205-2-20 Box 94 File State Symbols Statues (1990-1993): Goia Ion D. Clasicii din Beci, In: Flacăra, no.45, 7.11.1990, 3.

monument near Tel Aviv" in Israel. The arches will be replaced by 5 crosses, he said'.[1111] The removal of the bodies was part of a drive, according to the national press at the time:

> [...] to erase all symbols of communist rule, which ended bloodily in a revolution in December 1989 when Dej 's successor, Stalinist dictator Ceaușescu, was ousted and executed. (…) The authorities decided the mausoleum, called the Monument for heroes of the fight for liberty and socialism, could not remain a sacred resting place for communist leaders.[1112]

Despite these rather limited reactions, the newly established government would soon intervene and claim the symbolic presence of the new regime by delegating decisional actors how to further proceed. As a first reaction, after the regime change of December 1989, the Bucharest City administration took the decision to temporary re-place communist statues and monuments with commemorative monuments in areas within the city centre where the revolution took place, 'which speak about the present through the past' by putting on 'cultural trial the repression sites, the identity of former perpetrators, and their crimes'.[1113] This initiative was taken by the local administration as a consequence of the call launched by Ministry of Culture, in August 1990.[1114] However, the call was intended to create memorials whose typology was linked to the Christian orthodox tradition of commemorating dead, raising: churches, crosses, installing icons (troite).[1115] While groups of former political prisoners and civil society organisations have been actively engaged in erecting monuments and mausoleums dedicated to anti-communist events and individuals, these would mostly be realised with financial support from the Council of Europe.[1116] Stan argued the civil society interventions, as important facilitors of transitional justice, to symbolically re-address abuses and abusers of the past regime.[1117]

    If in Bucharest the iconoclast and preservationist initiatives in the aftermath of the political change were fairly managed by the state administration without encountering much resistance, this situation was not valid in the rest of the country, and in particular in the region dominated by minorities. Although major initiatives in the direction of officially removing monuments and symbols linked with the political leaders of the Communist regime from the public space were carried out beginning of the 1990s, soon it was shadowed by the ethnic conflict emergent in Transylvania during the summer of 1991 between ethnic Hungarians and Romanians. Promoting a

[1111] HU OSA 205-2-20 File of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Pîrvulescu Cristina: Communist Leaders bodies removed from Mausoleum, 25.Oct.1991.
[1112] HU OSA 205-2-20 File of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Dascălu Adrian, Romania transfers remains of ex-leaders from communist shrine, 25.Oct.1991.
[1113] Stan 2013b, 206.
[1114] HU OSA 205-2-20 File of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Concurs organizat de Ministerul Culturii pentru realizarea de monumente dedicate Revoluției din 16-22 Decembrie 1989, in Adevărul 19.08.1990.
[1115] HU OSA 205-2-20 File of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Press Release from the Ministry of Culture. Romanian Monitoring Radio Bucharest, 3.05.1990.
[1116] Stan 2013a, 142.
[1117] Stan 2013b, 205-206.

nationalistic discourse, political leaders such as Corneliu Vadim Tudor and the maire of Cluj Napoca, supported in a visible manner in the public space a series of monumental developments in the region of Transylvania. A wave of monumental initiatives praising the "latinity" of Romanian nation and "Romanian heroism", have rapidly emerged and received great state support. On the other hand, new memorials continued to emerge and stood out in their strongly ideological component of orthodoxism, national heroism and victimhood. These became mainstream in the discourse when referring to the recent past and the horrors of the communist regime.

As Duncan and Light argued 'in seeking explanations for this situation (removal/retain of monuments) we should focus on the specific political and economic circumstances of post-communist Romania. Different governments have adopted different approaches at different times towards reshaping the official public landscape inherited from the communist period.'[1118] Thus one can argue that the removal of the communist symbols from the public space in Romania in a first stage was not necesarily a gesture that would lead to the democratisation of the public space. Moreover, it generated a space for confronation of various political ideologies, such as the re-emergence of nationalist and chauvinist symbols that made reference to the fascist Iron Guard and Marshal Ion Antonescu, or of various Romanian personalities in communities strongly dominated by the Hunagrian minority.[1119]

It was only in 2006, as a consequence of the Presidential Commission and of the engagement to condemning the crimes of the communist regime, that concrete initiatives were launched concerning state supported plan to open a Museum of Communism, intended to be similar to the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC. This was supposed to be located in the House of the People and depict the most gruesome crimes of the regime. However, the economic restraints caused by the economic crisis of 2008 and the lack of support from the civil society groups, put the project on hold. Its concretisation being handed over to the Commission responsible for the condemnation of the communist crimes. This only recently in 2015 has set up a commission including international experts to deliver a concept for its realisation, proof that its concretisation was not given up. The delayed state's involvement in the adoption of transitional justice measures to address the history of the recent past, was however also financially determined. Consequently, it was mainly due to the European Commission's Active European Remembrance programme support that memory projects related to education and public outreach have been recently realised.

The destruction and transformation of such monuments, whether officially akowledged during the communist regime or not as being part of the national cultural patrimony, can be interpreted also as a willingness to erase one part of history or a specific narrative. In the Romanian case, one can identify a strong intervention of the state through its administrative means to manage public space and its symbols from communism, or of the victims association strongly influencing the solutions provided to such remnants. Moreover the removal to great extent carried out under state supervision of such remants was followed by a re-appropriation of the narrative again by the

---

[1118] Light and Young 2015, 55.
[1119] Stan 2013b, 251.

state emphasizing rather a strong religious and nationalist identity, instead of providing support for a critical approach and alternative discourses concering such remants' significance.

As a consequence, further questions concerning the material legacy of the regime will be raised focusing on how to manage architectural legacy or museums with strong symbolic connotations when non-democratic regimes collapse. Should the new government destroy, conserve or transform these legacies? Answers vary from situation to situation, frequently giving rise to intense controversy. The choice to conserve, transform or destroy always carries meaning and legimitise certain versions and discourses how these past regimes should be remembered and not only. However, such questions will be further addressed when discussing particular case studies which reveal the complexity of the processes of dealing with the legacy of the communist regimes.

Concluding Remarks

After demonstrating the ambigous approach to the legacy of the recent past in CEE, discussed as 'socialist heritage' in the second chapter, this chapter introduced 'transitional heritage' as a means to addressing heritage-making in the context of regime change in societies which adopted transitional justice measures. Informed by the theories from political sciences which discuss regime change, transition and democratisation of CEE countries following the 1989 collapse of communism, this chapter aimed at highlighting conditions created in societies that adopted transitional justices measures to address abuses of the past regime. In this respect, this chapter aimed at discussing the role of the state in managing heritage in contexts of major economic, cultural, political and social change. It has been highlighted that the role of the state in managing transformation processes of institutions and normative frameworks, was instrumental to consolidating also the discourses how to manage the legacy from communism. As a consequence of such developments, it has been demonstrated that the narrative within which the former socialist regimes have been discussed, meaning as criminal and totalitarian, has stronlgy impacted also what has been legitimised as heritage in the post 1989 context. Both German and Romanian experience of dealing with the past regimes have been extensively discussed on the background of the impact of various measures promoted in transitional justice.

Discussing the legal and institutional transformation of the former centralised mechanism of protection established by the GDR, this chapter focused moreover on the processes of decentralisation and reform of institutions of monuments preservation and protection, and normative frameworks in Berlin. Furthermore, it has demonstrated that a strong politicised discourse concerning communist regime as criminal and totalitarian, had a strong effect on the way various experts and parliamentary commissions decided how to proceed with the legacy of the former regime. Thus, it was hoped this will legitimise the process of reunification of Germany, and also Berlin as a new German capital. For this a selective process of dealing with the heritage of the former GDR has been carried out, demonstrating a strong submmission of the expert knowledge, civil society interests to the political discourses. For this, processes of re-evaluation of the GDR 'national cultural

heritage' and new heritage listings have been discussed, in addition to the memorialisation processes emerging in the post 1989 context.

Also the Romanian experience of dealing with the abusive legacy of institutional and administrative bodies, and abusive normative frameworks have been discussed in the context of transition from communism. On the background of a great continuity of the former political elites it has been demonstrated that experts interest in reforming and creating autonomous bodies for dealing with heritage and abuses committed during the communist regime, have been strongly impacted by a lack of support for a consistent transformation. Instead a continuation of the former centralised administrative bodies, and submission of the institutions to the Ministry of Culture have created the premises for a further politicisation of the patrimonial sector. Moreover, the normative framework has been rather slowly tailored to the conditions inherited from communism, and missed the opportunity to address immediate needs to ensure protection and preservation of heritage. Its rather general character, and even lack of it in the first years immediate after the collapse of the communist regime, created opportunities for further abuses, which require additional research. Furthermore the process of re-evaluation of the communist regime's 'national heritage' facilitated a great continuity by further ensuring protection of the assets, questioning thus the validity of the dominant 'socialist heritage' concept. Yet abusive practices through the means of the local administration, and of various cultural institutions, ministries and Securitatea Services have not been sanctioned nor even addressed in the context of reform of the patrimonial sector. Even more engaging with the recent past has been rather symbolically addressed by parliamentary commissions and adopted an official approach aiming at aligning Romania to the European core values in the eve of the accession to the European Union. No consistent debates aiming at bringing communities, various ethnic and religious minorities, experts and the state in dialogue on how to further proceed with the legacies and abusive measures impacting heritage during communism have taken place. But moreover processes of symbolically addressing material legacy asssociated with the regime and its ideology have demonstrated a strong state intervention which ultimately supported an even more controversial approach on how to deal with the communist past. By facilitating a nationalistic and strongly religious narrative, the state severly limited a critical approach to dealing with the past regime' legacies.

Chapter V. Picking up the Pieces from the Past. Communist Regimes' legacy as Heritage for the Future[1120]

5. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to fill a gap in the interdisciplinary field of heritage studies, and go beyond the discourse analysis on the intangible significance of what the communist past and its legacy mean today for the former communist European countries, specifically in Germany and Romania. The purpose of this chapter to go beyond how it is perceived and if, then how it was interpreted, remembered or simply forgotten or ignored. Instead we will focus on how ideas and discourses are transformed into actions, and how these countries actively dealt with the complex legacies of the communist regimes in the immediate aftermath of the regime change. Hence, this chapter explores when, what, and under which circumstances the material legacy of the still highly debated and contested political regimes was subjected to processes of being identified, recognized, re-evaluated and treated as heritage (or not). Furthermore, this chapter aims to discuss the implications of these actions in the politics of heritage reform after 1989. Thus, by addressing the legacy of the past regime are meant, material culture associated with the ideology, which in its evolution was granted and acknowledged official protected status already by the socialist regime either in the form of heritage listing or museum inventories. Alternatively, inherited material culture which became subject of contested debates in the post 1989 context concerning its significance for the newly established political regimes will be also considered. Additionally, it will be discussed under which circumstances the previous protected status acquired during communism was re-negotiated by the newly established regimes in Germany and Romania.

More precisely, this chapter adopts a long duree perspective for revealing continuities and discontinuities in the processes of heritage-making when referring to the recent past. For this, a particular attention will be given to assessing the significance, value and meaning when specifically dealing with the material assets from the communist past. One central problem to be discussed is the method by which assets are historically negotiated and constructed as culturally valuable, and how are they being incorporated, perceived, and preserved as components of the national cultural heritage. Following, a brief historical overview of the most prominent built assets from communism as a means of power representation, meaning the urban developments in Berlin and Bucharest including palaces of socialism will be delivered. Then a particular analysis will be provided on the impact of the

---

[1120] Parts of this chapter have been already published in various articles and have been here further extended: Demeter, Laura. "Picking up the pieces: traces of the communist past in Bucharest and Berlin", in *ICOM International Conference: Museums and Politics, Conference Proceedings*, 9-14 Sept. 2014, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Russia, (2014): 323-334; Demeter, Laura. "Assessing the cultural value of the communist legacy in Romania", in *Heritage 2014: proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Heritage and Sustainable Development*. Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development, (2014): 531-540; Demeter, Laura. "Value creation mechanisms and the heritisation of the communist legacy in Romania", In *The Right to [World] Heritage: conference proceedings*. IAWHP, (2014): 8-20.

regime change, and their subsequent re-evaluation. Another venue of investigation is provided by the less known legacies of the past regime to the public, namely the museums and their collections developed by the regime as museums of national history in Berlin and of the Communist Party in Bucharest. These being both dedicated to celebrating the achievements under communism. The choice of these various case studies aims to highlight the current specificities and difficulties when engaging with the legacy of the communist regimes in Germany and Romania.

5.1. Palaces of socialism re-assessed. One to stay, another to go

5.1.1. Introduction

For the past twenty-five years transformation processes of the socialist legacy in Berlin Friedrichshain and Mitte have been thoroughly researched, although predominantly in relationship to parallel developments in West Berlin. These have made the object of detailed historical, art-historical, urban planning, development, sociological, memorial, preservation and architectural studies.[1121] The comparative research of Karl-Marx-Allee (former Stalin Allee built in Berlin East starting 1952) and Hansa Viertel (built in Tiergarten Berlin West, for the International Architectural Exhibition IBA 1957 in response to the reconstruction projects in Berlin East) is exemplary for the numerous debates dealing with the post-war developments in Berlin. These predominantly focused on highlighting two opposed social and political regimes.[1122] However, these studies depicted eastern Berlin developments as opposed or parallel to those in the West, as such being often described as integrative part of the competitive systems ('Streit der Systemen'): 'Construction and

---

[1121] Haspel, Jörg. "Zwischen Erhaltung und Erneuerung: Die Karl-Marx-Allee in Berlin" [Between preservation and renewal: Karl-Marx-Allee in Berlin], In *Stalinistische Architektur unter Denkmalschutz?* ICOMOS XX, (1995): 18.; Dolff-Bonekämper Gabi, van Voolen Edward, 1998; Flierl, Bruno. *Berlin baut um- Wessen Stadt wird die Stadt? Kritische Reflexionen 1990-1997* [Reconstructing Berlin. Whom the city will belong to? Critical reflections 1990-1997], (Verlag für Bauwesen Berlin, 1998); Huyssen, Andreas. *Present Pasts, Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, (Stanford University Press, 2003); Jordan, Jennifer A. *Structures of Memory. Understanding Urban Change in Berlin and Beyond*, (Stanford University Press, 2006); Bernhardt Christoph, Flierl Thomas, Guerra Max Welch, eds. *Städtebaudebatten in der DDR. Verborgene Reformdiskurse* [Debates on city construction in the GDR. Hidden reform discourses], Theater der Zeit, 2012; Ladd Brian, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*, (University of Chicago Press e-book, 1998).

[1122] Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi, Kier, Hiltrud, eds. *Städtebau und Staatsbau im 20.Jahrhundert* [City construction and state building in 20th century], (München Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1996); Tönnesmann, Andreas. "Bundesrepublik und DDR: Ihre Staatsbauten in der Konkurrenz der Systeme" [Federal Republic and GDR: state buildings in competitive systems], In Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi, Kier Hiltrud, 193-213, (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1996); Nicolaus Herbert, Obeth Alexander, *Die Stalinallee. Geschichte einer deutschen Strasse* [Stalin Allee. The history of a German street], (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1997); *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall. Eine Zwischenbilanz.* Edited by Landesdenkmalamt Berlin im Auftrag der Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, 1 Auflage, (Verlag Schelzky &Jeep, 1997); Ladd, Brian. "Double Restoration: Rebuilding Berlin after 1945", In *The resilient city. How modern cities recover from disaster*, edited by Vale, Lawrence J., Campanella Thomas J., 117-135, (Oxford University Press, 2005); Engel, Helmut, Ribbe Wolfgang, eds., *Karl-Marx-Allee Magistrale in Berlin. Die Wandlung der sozialistischen Prachtstraße zur Hauptstraße der Berliner Ostens* [Karl-Marx-Allee avenue in Berlin. The transformation of the prominent socialist street to the main street of Eastern Berlin], (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996); Engel, Helmut, Ribbe Wolfgang, eds. *Via triumphalis, Geschichtslandschaft "Unter den Linden" zwischen Friedrich-Denkmal und Schloßbrücke* [Via triumphalis, historical landscape "Unter den Linden" between Fredrick monument and palace bridge], (Berlin: Akademie Verlag,1997).

counter-construction (Bau und Gegenbau), are alike argument and counter-argument within a highly contested approach to better urban development, and ultimately better social systems.'[1123]

Predominantly research concerning the preservation of the built legacy has been addressed from the perspective of the present responsibility of dealing with urban developments from socialism. Thus, the legitimisation for protection focused rather on its significance for the society, or present issues raised by restoration and conservation measures, and challenges raised by dealing with modern architecture preservation.[1124] Often the focus was on further extending the protected status and granting protection to additional assets from GDR[1125], or the conflicting situation generated by new urban development plans in a new urban social context.[1126]

Similar isssues have been raised by the research on the Palace of the Republic. Here a full range of studies focused on architectural evaluation, architectural history, urban planning developments, but also the active process of demolition of the Palace on the background of the current contested development project of reconstructing the former Prussian Stadtschloss, or its temporary use after 1990.[1127]

Contrary to the rich and diverse amount of research on the built legacy from socialism in Germany, in Romania this topic became increasingly the subject of enquiry only from 2000, when a few Romanian authors, mainly architects, urban planners, architectural historians, anthropologists, addressed the socialist project trying to break the patterns of perpetuating the silence surrounding the architecture of this period or the very biased opinions that often framed it.[1128] As Zahariade argued her endeavour of:

[1123] Dolff-Bonekämper 1996, 166: ‚Bau und Gegenbau, sie sind Rede und Gegenrede in einem auf höchstem Anspruchsniveau geführten Disput über den besseren Städtebau und letztlich das bessere Gesellschaftssystem'

[1124] Engel, Ribbe, 1996; Nicolaus, Obeth, 1997; Barth, Holger, ed. *Projekt Sozialistische Stadt. Beiträge zur Bau- und Planungsgeschichte der DDR* [Socialist city project. Contributions to built and planning history in the GDR], (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1998).

[1125] *Stalinistische Architektur unter Denkmalschutz?* Eine Tagung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees von ICOMOS und der Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz in der Architektekammer Berlin, 6-9.IX.1995, ICOMOS Journals of the German National Committee XX; Haspel Jörg, Petzet Michael, Zalivako Anke, Ziesemer John, eds., *The Soviet Heritage and European Modernism,* Heritage at Risk Special Edition edited by ICOMOS Publication, (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2006); Haspel, Jörg. "Nach dem Fall des Eisernen Vorhangs-Das Architektonische Erbe des Sozialistischen Realismus in Berlin", *Architecture of the second half of the 20ᵗʰ century. Studies and Protection,* edited by Szmygin Bogusław, Haspel Jörg, 77-91, ICOMOS Polska, ICOMOS Germany, Warsaw, Berlin, 2010; Grünzig Matthias, Rehabilitierung der Moderne. Ein "Konsensplan" für die Karl-Marx-Allee II.Bauabschnitt, Bauwelt, 19/ 2012, Wochenschau, 8, (Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)

[1126] Karl-Marx-Allee, II. Bauabschnitt, Berlin Sozial-räumliche Untersuchung. Resümee, Stadtbüro Hunger. Stadtforschung und –planung, May 2000, (Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)

[1127] Flierl Bruno, 1998; Kuhrmann Anke, *Der Palast der Republik. Geschichte und Bedeutung des Ost-Berlin Parlaments-und Kulturhauses* [The Palace of the Republic. History and significance of the Eastern Berlin parliaments- and cultural house], (Michael Imhof Verlag, 2006); Birkholz Tim, *"Schloß mit der Debatte!"? Die Zwischennutzungen im Palast der Republik im Kontext der Schloßplatzdebatte* ["Debates on the Palast!"? The temporary use of the Palace of the Republic in the context of the palast debate], Ed. Forum Stadt- und Regionalplanung e.V., (Universitätsverlag der Technischen Universität Berlin, 2008); Falser, Michael, 2008; Holfelder Moritz, *Palast der Republik. Aufstieg und Fall eines symbolischen Gebäudes* [The Palace of the Republic. Raise and fall of a symbolic construction] (Berlin: Ch.Links Verlag, 2008).

[1128] Iosa 2006; Lazea 2012; Zahariade, Ana Maria. *Ahitecture in the communist Project. Romania 1944-1989*, (Bucharest: Ed. Simetria, 2011); Jugurică Constantin, *Memoria carnetelor cu însemnări-Bucureștiul cutremurat 1977-1989* [The memory of the notebook-Bucharest under tremour 1977-1989], (București:

> [...] sketching a meaningful geometry of architectural development under communism' was motivated by the fact that: 'behind the "House", thirty-five years of design and construction lay hidden, shrouded by the silence of the architectural profession, which thereby enabled the surreptitious/illicit establishment of a kind of "official history". It was only rarely that "opinions" emerged here and there, each more contradictory than the next: cliches, dogmatic statements, personal idiosyncracies … I saw their lack of arguments and I felt that they were unfair.[1129]

There were few publications capturing the architectural developments during communism in Romania. An interdisciplinary perspective on the centrally-planned urbanization project under communism is provided by the sociological study of the already mentioned Swedish researcher Per Ronnas in 1984.[1130] The Swedish scholar addressed urbanisation in its economic, historical and demographic context covering the historical period from the end of the First World War and the reunification of Romania 1918, until 1977. This allowed the author to assess the systematisation and urbanisation project during communism, comparatively with the period what now is historically considered as the heyday of development in Romania, namely the interwar period, prior to 1948. His contribution is not only notable for its interdisciplinary approach, but also for the attempt to develop a theoretical approach to explain centrally planned urbanisation implemented within a centrally planned economy. The subject of systematisation and urban planning in Romania was very detailed analysed by the recent study of Rauță. The author provided a very well documented and profound analysis on the developments of civic centres in the Romanian context, by focusing on smaller cities, thus extending the scope of his research to areas less studied in comparison to the capital city.[1131]

Another recent architectural study describing architectural developments in Bucharest during the communist regime, was delivered by the architect Pănăitescu.[1132] However, on the same note as many of the studies issued by the architects active during communism, this study also subscribes to those committed to exculpate architects involved in the urban projects of the capital city.[1133] In Pănăitescu's words 'even one had to undertake extraordinary efforts, which architects managed to overcome them with professionalism,

Arhilibra, 2012); Rǎuță Alex, *Negocierea Centrului Civic. Arhitecți și politicieni în România secolului XX* [Negotiating the civic centre: Architects and politicians in Romania 20th century], (București: Editura Universitară "Ion Mincu", 2013); Nemțeanu Ruxandra, The "Scînteia House" in Bucharest-a Proposal for Nomination to the World Heritage List", In *Socialism Realism and Socialist Modernism. World Heritage Proposals from Central and Eastern Europe.* Documentation of the European expert meeting of ICOMOS on the feasibility of an international serial nomination of 20th century monuments and sites in post-socialist countries for the UNESCO World Heritage List, Warsaw 14th-15th of April, 2013, 101-105, ICOMOS Journals of the German National Committee LVIII.
[1129] Zahariade 2011, 7.
[1130] Ronnas, Per, *Urbanization in Romania. A geography of social and economic change since independence*, the Economic Research Institute Stockholm School of Economics, (Stockholm 1984).
[1131] Rǎuță Alex 2013.
[1132] Panaitescu 2012.
[1133] Roguski, Camil, Chivu Florentina. *Ceaușescu: Adevăruri interzise* [Ceaușescu. Prohibited truth], (Editura Lucman, 2004).

dedication and sometimes with enthusiastic naivity, these did not find their concrete expression in architectural achievements, in particular in Bucharest'. [1134] On this note the author aims to introduce the reader to the profound transformations underwent by professionals and architectural practices. However, despite the rich visual documentation and numerous integrated maps, the author profoundly misses out providing evidence for most of his arguments, as very limited sources are used. Hence, one can not identify what were his personal experiences and based on which information is he supporting the argumentation. Contrary, the former Chief Architect Jugurică at the House of the Republic whose journal included notes taken during the construction period of the House provides a series of details from the construction period of the administrative centre in Bucharest. [1135]

However, the preservation of the regime's legacy was addressed to date by the research of Iosa (2006) who questioned the 'monumentality' of the House of the People, as a reflection of its memorial value for the revised national identity of the Romanians. [1136] Similarly, the anthropological study of Lazea focusing on the administrative project, and in particular on the current potential of the House of the Parliament to be officially preserved as heritage, briefly questioned various experts involved in heritage preservation, on *What can we do with the Parliament House/House of the People?* [1137] Based on interviews the author is concluding that there is a wide public acceptance for its preservation, and rejection among the experts. Nemțeanu's proposal for a potential UNESCO nomination addressed, however, only the Stalinist project the House of Free Press in Bucharest (ICOMOS 2013). [1138] Numerous articles signed by the architects Derer, Ioan, and Beldiman and others immediatley after the regime change debated on the further use and function of the urban project in Bucharest, by also raising considerations for the retain of the House of the People. [1139] Equally numerous articles in the Architectura magazine, the main publication in the field during communism (1950-1989) and published also after 1989, discussed after 1989 the use and function of the urban project in the context of reshaping the visibly transformed city by the recent regime. [1140] These issues have been poorly addressed by the publication on *Monuments Preservation* issued by the National Commission of Monuments, Ensembles and Historic Sites. This surprisingly does not offer much information either on the demolished historical monuments and the impacts of the urban development projects, carried out nationwide in particular during the 1980s, nor does it

---

[1134] Panaitescu 2012, Argument.
[1135] Jugurică 2012.
[1136] Iosa 2006.
[1137] Lazea 2012, 215-221.
[1138] Nemțeanu 2013.
[1139] Derer, Peter. "Nu există decat două lucruri care înving uitarea oamenilor: poezia si arhitectura' (John Ruskin) Monumentele istorice. Încotro?" In *Dilema*, I/15, April (1993): 8; Beldiman Alexandru, "Din Raportul Uniunii Arhitecților pentru perioada 20 ianuarie-1 Octombrie 1990" [From the report of the Architectural Union for the period 10th of Jan.-1st. Oct.1990], *Arhitectura*, Anul XXXVIII, no.1-6, (1990): 41-42; Ioan 2006.
[1140] Mahu, Adrian. "Expoziţia Bucureşti-starea orasului" [The exhibition Bucharest-the state of city], In *Revista Arhitectura*. Revista de Critică, Teorie şi Informaţie a Uniunii Arhitecților din Romania şi a Ministerului Culturii, no.1-6, (1990): 16-18; Pascariu Gabriel, "Prolog la un Prolog", In *Revista Arhitectura*. Revista de Critică, Teorie si Informaţie a Uniunii Arhitecților din Romania şi a Ministerului Culturii, no.1-6, (1990): 19.

engage in problematising the neglect or difficulties confronted immediately after 1989 to ensure protection and preservation in Romania.[1141]

Only a few authors have undertaken a transnational and interdisciplinary approach to discuss the material legacy of the communist regime in Romania. Cavalcanti's articles pursued such an approach to address urban developments under authoritarian regimes comparing the developments of Paris, Berlin and Bucharest.[1142] A similar approach has been undertaken by Caterina Preda who compared both modern dictatorship in Romania under Ceaușescu and Chile under Pinochet in several articles, by focusing on arts and artists in general, and their relationship with the state from a political scientist perspective.[1143] Also the collection of studies edited by Leach, dealing with the legacy of the communist regimes in a volume dedicated to the changes post 1989 in CEE, has successfully integrated also developments in Bucharest.[1144]

The following sub-chapter aims at covering the gap in debates concerning the legacy of the socialist regime and heritage protection and preservation from a transnational perspective which focuses on the emblematic built projects of the regimes in Berlin and Bucharest. The purpose of this sub-chapter is to question processes of heritage-making in the aftermath of regime change conditioned by various developments during the communism, as demonstrated in the previous chapters. For this the processes of re-evaluation of the Palaces of Socialism and urban developments associated with power representation, such as the Stalin Allee and the Civic Centre in Berlin and Bucharest, as potentially having heritage status will be further detailed.

5.1.2. Built socialism as protected heritage in the GDR and its re-evaluation after 1989

5.1.2.1 Brief historical introduction to Stalin Allee (renamed 1961 Karl-Marx-Allee,) and the Palace of the Republic (1973-1976)

After the Second World War major initiatives concerning the assessment of destructions and reconstruction (Wiederaufbau) of the built environment were promoted by the GDR. In Berlin, the reconstruction of the city began already in 1946. Preservation and development were two issues that were addressed during the process of reconstruction of the city and in the rest of East Germany. Therefore one of the priorities during the process of reconstruction of Berlin was also to obtain a clear overview on the state of the art of the inherited cultural monuments (Kulturdenkmale) and artistic monuments (Kunstdenkmale). In that respect setting up systematic inventories was encouraged. A significant responsibility has been assigned to the Office for

[1141] BCNMASI, Anul I, Nr. 1-4/1990; *BCNMASI*, Anul III, Nr 1-4/1992; *BCNMASI*, Anul VI, Nr.1-2/1995.

[1142] Cavalcanti, Maria de Betania. "Urban reconstruction and autocratic regimes: Ceaușescu's Bucharest in its historic context", *Planning Perpectives*, 12:1, (1997): 71-109.

[1143] Preda, Caterina. "Dictators and Dictatorship, Art and Politics in Romania and Chile (1974-1989)", In *Terror and the Arts. Artistic, Literary, and Political Interpretations of Violence from Dostoyevsky to Abu Ghraib*, edited by Hyvärinen, Matti, Muszynski, Lisa, 147-165, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Preda 2010; Preda 2012a.

[1144] Leach, Neil, ed. *Architecture and Revolution. Contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, (London, New York: Routledge, 1999).

Monuments Preservation at the Main Office for Urban Planning, under the Department for Constructions and Housing. For these purposes a commission was set up to decide on demolishing or restoring strongly damaged built assets, considered of high significant value. The commission included members of the offices: for urban planning, constructions, urban design, monuments preservation and museum arts property, for arts and recreation activities, for science and research, for fine arts, for museums and collections.[145]

In this process it was proposed by the Berlin administration, (Hauptreferat von Magistrat von Groß-Berlin), to record monuments in the form of registers or lists, together with a historical documentation and technical surveys.[146] Subsequently, immediate measures for their maintenance were identified, in accordance with the required financial contribution. The proposed categories for the listing have been already discussed in the second chapter and do not make subject of an extensive analysis here.

Following the Soviet Blockade and Western airlift 1948/49 the division of Berlin into two separate administrative sectors was speeded up, one under the control of the Western allies and the other under the Soviet governance, a state of the art that dominated the period after until 1989.[147] The division of the city and ultimately the foundation of the GDR (October 1949) led to developing the national program 'Nationale Aufbauwerk' (NAW) aiming to reconstruct demolished cities after the Second World which became exemplary for entire GDR.[148] During the 1950s one was still developing plans for Berlin envisioning the city as the future capital of Germany, plans which ultimately during the 1960s would be dismissed.[149] As such, part of the NAW programme in Berlin, in the meanwhile claimed as the capital city of the socialist state,[150] assigned one of the responsibilities to the State comission for cultural affairs to support the re-construction of buildings and monuments of cultural historic significance, and to engage in constructing new cultural buildings such as theaters, concert halls etc.[151]

Beginning of the 1950s the level of destruction of the monuments during the war in Berlin was still in the process of being assessed. According to archival material from 1953 it was still not known what precisely was destroyed or reused during the Nazi regime in terms of cultural heritage, movable and immovable. Partly the lack of such awareness was argued by lack of information regarding the cultural goods stored in Western Germany by the Allies by the end of the war.[152] During these activities the condition of the Prussian Stadtschloss has been assessed by the end of the 1940s, and declared as being strongly damaged and almost completely destroyed in the interior. This ultimately raised a series of concerns regarding the financial burden that its

[145] Landesdenkmalamt: Magistratbeschluß Nr.518 vom 20. November 1947, 1-2.
[146] Landesarchiv, C Rep 121: Magistrat Beschluss nr. 518 from 20 November 1947.
[147] Ladd, Brian. *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*, (University of Chicago Press e-book, 1998): 178.
[148] Gesetz über den Aufbau der Städte in der DDR und der Haupstadt Deutschlands, Berlin, 6.9.1950.
[149] See Flierl 1998.
[150] Nationale Aufbauprogramm Berlin, Beschluss of the Central Committe of SED Nov.1951.
[151] BArch DH /2/20018: Kulturelle Objekte im Nationalen Aufbauprogramm, Berlin, 29.Febr.1952.
[152] Landesarchiv File: C Rep 121, Nr.1038p.1-2 Magistrat von Groß-Berlin, Abt. Kunst und kulturelle Massenarbeit - Denkmalpflege, Schreiben vom 17.3.1953.

restoration would generate.[1153] Consequently, its demolishing has been decided upon[1154], and instead the restoration of the Berlin Dom was prioritised.

As Ladd states, apart from the demolition of the former Schloss, the historic city centre was first neglected and did not make subject to urban developments, in favour of the reconstructions of the devasted district in the East, namely Friedrichshain.[1155] Following the adoption in 1950 of *Grundsätze zur Neugestaltung Berlin* it has been decided the construction of the Stalin Allee as 'the first socialist avenue in Germany' (between Frankfurter Tor and Strausberger Platz). This sought to become the most representative socialist housing project for the post war reconstruction of Germany.[1156]

Almost 43 proposals were submitted for the design competition of the area between Strausberger Platz to Bersarin/Warschauer Street. The construction of the Stalin Allee started in 1952, once the competition organized between April and July 1951, was won by Egon Hartmann, together with a team of five architects. For the first time in the German city development history, representative architecture was not designed for the dominant social class but for its citizens. [1157] Built in record time between 1952-1956 in neoclassical style rooted in the so-called 'national tradition' style oriented towards the 'German classicism', and inspired by the Soviet socialist realism, the first 'socialist avenue' aimed at building first palaces for the people, *Arbeiterpaläste*. Its purpose was to harmoniously combine public and private spaces, although in all stages of its development it lacked to incorporate in its structure, cultural and administrative components. The reconstruction of the city was considered a political statement, since the entire reconstruction plan for Friedrichshain, and in particular of Stalin Allee, emerged as the symbol for the reconstruction of postwar Germany. The reconstruction projects emerging in West Berlin later during the 1950s came as a direct response to Stalin Allee, namely by building the Hansaviertel in 1957 in the context of the International Building Exhibition (Internationale Bauausstellung, Interbau).[1158]

Due to political changes after 1953, following the death of Stalin, the extension of the first section continued between 1959-1965 reaching Alexander Platz. However, it was built in a relatively modified form and style dismissing the stalinist inspiration, and it marked the construction of the 'first socialist housing complex' that made use of industrial pre-fabricated materials. The second section sucessfully higlighted the transfer from the national tradition construction style, to the first industrialised prefabricated concrete-panel constructions. The change of the name Stalin Allee to Karl-Marx Allee followed once the de-Stalinisation was completed (November 1961). This extention of the Allee over two neighbourhoods in Berlin Mitte and Friedrichshain, eventually facilitated the continuation with the prestigious Unter den Linden in Berlin Mitte.

[1153] see the file in Landesarchiv C Rep.120 Nr.2070, C Rep.127 Nr.305-306; and Verzeichnis der noch vorhandendn kunsthistorischen Denkmäler, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin.
[1154] BArch DH 2/20082: Aktenvermerk, Betrifft: Berliner Schloß und Zeughaus, Berlin 4.September 1950.
[1155] Ladd 2005, 181.
[1156] Kuhrmann 2006, 14.
[1157] For a detailed history of its construction see Herbert, Nicolaus and Alexander Obeth, *Die Stalinallee: Geschichte einer deutschen Strasse* [Stalin Allee- The history of a German street], Huss-Medien, 1997.
[1158] Ladd 2005, 175.

Beginning with 1961, following the construction of the Berlin Wall, new conditions concerning the re-design of the centre of Berlin were created. One of the priorities during this process was not only the construction of the socialist Berlin Mitte, focusing on the governmental buildings, but also the re-evaluation of the inherited monuments and developing proposals for new monuments to adorn the capital's centre. Together with the Institute for Monuments Preservation and the city planning offices, a comprehensive documentation of existing monuments considered for demolition was compiled. This documentation was based on photographic material, plans, models and details, etc. According to their significance monuments were divided in three categories: extremely valuable (besonderes wertvoll), valuable (wertvoll) and to be retained (erhaltenswert).[1159]

The void created after the demolition of the Berlin Stadtschloss dominated the historic centre until the beginning of the 1970s, when the Palace of the Republic has been built (1973-1976).[1160] Built on the former area of the Prussian Schloss, demolished begining of the 1950s together with the Bauakademie as a consequence of the damages suffered during the war, and of the new urban development plans to reshape the city centre.[1161] The planning of the palace was just like in the case of Stalin Allee, not the result only of a master architect, but moreover of a collective of architects that brought their contribution. Among these, to be mentioned: chef architect Heinz Graffunder, Wolf Eisentraud, Christian Schulz, Karl Ernst-Swora etc.[1162]

As Ribber would argue, the Palace was not a 'palace' built to praise the authoritarian leadership (Herrschaftarchitektur). Instead, it was designed as a multifunctional building, serving various cultural and social events, in addition to its role as the parliament building.[1163] Thus the building incorporated facilities that would serve the following functions: it became the headquarter of the Volkskammer, a congress hall for international and national events, and a venue for various cultural events and leisure activities, and was made accessible to the wide public prior to 1989.[1164] The source of inspiration seems to be provided by the congress buildings and 'palaces of culture' from Moscow the Kremlin Palast, and the 'Ukraina Palast' in Kiew built beginning of the 1970s, a type wide spread within the socialist countries developed as a multifunctional cultural and social centre.[1165]

Thus the construction of the 'house of the people' (Haus des Volkes) aimed to be integrated within a wider complex which would include also the Central Committee Headquarters, and the planed Marx-Engels-Place, to be adorned with a monumental Marx-Engels sculpture, the urban development

[1159] Landesarchiv, C Rep. 121, Nr.190 Arbeitsplan für 1965, (13.01.1965): 4.
[1160] Beschluß of SED 27.03.1973
[1161] Schnedler, Henrik. "Wie bedeutend ist der Palast der Republik?" [How significant is the Palace of the Republic], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, (Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997): 132.
[1162] Ribber 1996, 126.
[1163] Idem 128.
[1164] BArch File DY30/J IV/2/3/2267: Beschluß über Manßnahmen zur Nutzung des Palastes der Republik, von 30. Januar 1975.
[1165] BArch File DC 207/148: Bericht über den Studienbesuch im Kremlpalast in Moskau und im Kulturpalast "Ukraina" in Kiew vom 20-25.11.1974.

along the Karl-Marx Alle up to the TV Tower.[1166] These aimed at highlighting significant historic stages in the evolution of the GDR, starting from its foundation to the fullfillment of the socialist society. However, the plan to redesign the city-centre during the 1970s did not correspond with the concept developed during the 1950s. Ribber's statement is relevant when he argues,

> [...] that the process to re-designing Berlin Mitte demonstrates the construction, and de-construction of Socialism. Comparing the main concept from the 1950s, with the realities from the 1980s demonstrates such evolution. Nothing is in the end as it was planned in the beginning: instead of a closed governmental building, an open house for communication emerged; instead of a place for celebrations, marches and parades there was in the end a parking-space in the centre, without any social significance. Parades and marches took place since 1977 on the Karl-Marx-Allee. And instead of a monumental Marx and Engels installation on the main square, it emerged moreover a contemplative monument at the city margins.[1167]

Even though the central square at Lust Garten and the palace were aimed at hosting initially demonstrative and propagandistic parades, it was only starting with the 1970s under Erich Honecker that actually Karl-Marx-Allee became officially the parade and demonstrations allee of Berlin, after the Palace of the Republic has been completed. This demonstrates Kuhrmann argument that labeling architecture created during fourty years time of the regime as being 'socialist' does not refer to a specific architectural style, but moreover the political regime under which it emerged:

> [...] different political regimes might employee similar architectural forms, while similar political regimes might use different architectural forms. Thus one can argue that although there might have been a wish to employee architecture and urban development in the GDR for political legitimisation, however one can not speak about a definite closed architectural concept as being typical "socialist". During four decades of GDR's existence various styles emerged, which the regime adopted or dimissed. The concept "sozialistisch" does not refer to a style, instead it referes to the architectural ideas' content, and it ultimately defines the ideological system, under which the buildings have been created.[1168]

The prominent role the Allee achieved throughout the regime brought also its official recognition from the state. During the 1980s parts of Karl-Marx-Alle were proposed for the protection on the local lists (Bezirksliste),[1169] along with

[1166] BArch DR1/10459, Konzeption zur bildkünstlerischen Gestaltung Palast der Republik/Marx Engels Platz.
[1167] Ribber 1996, 128.
[1168] Kuhrmann 2006, 166.
[1169] Trost, Heinrich, ed. *Die Bau-und Kunstdenkmale in der DDR. Hauptstadt Berlin II* [Built- and artistic monuments in the GDR. Berlin, capital city II], Institut für Denkmalpflege, (Berlin: Henschelverlag, Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1987): 437.

the 1979 Hochhaus an der Weberwise inscribed on the central national lists,[1170] as representative constructions for the early reconstruction of GDR and the first ever built 'Plattenbauten'. These included the first accomplished section of the allee 1951-1955 and 1958-1960 between Strausberger Platz and Proskauer Straße, including the first 'palaces for workers' built in traditional national style. It was considered as most representative street for the national traditional style.[1171]

This was not a singular case, respresentative buildings for GDR were already listed on the central lists from 1979, and declared as significant monuments of national and international relevance, such as the Staatratsgebäude. [1172] Also the Marx-Engels Ensemble was nationally listed under the fourth category comprising significant monuments for the city development and architecture (Denkmale des Städtebaus und der Architektur). However, for this research no evidence could be found that could confirm the Palace of the Republic as a listed monument, as part of the Ensemble Marx-Engels, that would legitimate its protection by the official heritage lists of GDR. Despite the fact that in the last years of GDR government, pressured by the political instability and economic constraints, fearing a potential destruction of its heritage following a political change, decided to officially register on the tentative lists the most representative built achievements under GDR, an issue which will be discussed in the following.

5.1.2.2. Regime change and value assessment of the socialist regime' legacy as heritage

Falser categorised the way one dealt with the built legacy in Berlin post 1989 as deconstructivist (demolition), reconstructions (assemblage) and simulation (recreating a stage that has not prior existed by the means of demolition and reconstruction), and adaptation.[1173] James (2012) succintley identified concepts such as 'Normalisierung' and 'Erinnerung' as the dominant of the discourse concerning collective identity and cultural authenticity in Berlin after reunification, aiming at however 'reversing socialist mistakes'.

In one of the articles published in 2010 by Jan Prömmel starts with the following description concerning the state of the art of the former eastern German cities in the aftermath of the German reunification:

> In the GDR significant economic and political decisions of the SED impacted negatively the modernisation and maintenance of the historic buildings. By the end of the 1980s, almost one million apartments in historic city centres registered major structural damages and decay. In many places old historic centres were abandonned and considered for demolition. The threat of loss of significant testimonies for centuries of historical architecture between Oder and Elbe was

---

[1170] GBL from 5th October 1979, Sonderdruck Nr.1017

[1171] Haspel, Jörg. "Denkmalpflegerische Aspekte der Sanierung und Revitalisierung der Karl-Marx-Allee", In *Karl-Marx-Allee Magistrale in Berlin. Die Wandlung der sozialistischen Prachtstraße zur Haupstraße der Berliner Ostens*, edited by Engel, Helmut, Ribbe Wolfgang, (Akademie Verlag, 1996): 190.

[1172] GBL from 5th October 1979, Sonderdruck Nr.1017

[1173] See Falser Michael 2008.

immanent. After the reunification saving and revitalisation of the historic centres was perceived as "one of the priorities for the revitalisation of society and socio-cultural life" as much in the politics, as in the patrimonial sector and urban development, as for the various numerous eastern German social movements.[1174]

In the resumee following the Symposium on monuments preservation after the reunification organised by Wüstenrot Stiftung, together with the Federal Association of Monuments Preservationists in Germany and the National German Committtee of ICOMOS in 1995, Marquart introduced the legacy of the GDR on a similar note as Prömmel, stating that: 'the socialist planning economy had during the past fourty years of GDR, indeed different priorities than the preservation of the built cultural heritage in Eastern Germany or the faithful reconstruction of the damaged buildings in the postwar. It had moreover to deal with managing shortage and not only. The selective concept of history was dictated by the state'. Furthermore, even though not historically complete and accurate the author emphasised with his statement, an argument which was predominantley promoted when addressing the legacy of the GDR regime, namely that: 'Mandated by Ulbricht, the demolishing of the Berlin Stadtschloß, which had to make place for the Palace of the Republic, and the destruction of the Leipzig University Church are amongst the most spectacular cases'.[1175]

A state of delapidation and decay seemed to describe inner cities of GDR and their historic buildings but not only, also the capital city and its socialist developments were described on a similar depressing note:

> [...] this was the image of the (Karl-Marx Alee) beginning of the 1990s. It seemed musealised and triste, there was not much left from its former urban life. The former lively "shopping avenue" was lacking shops and restaurants. At the end of 1993 there were left only 26 out of 149 restaurants and shops. (…) Everywhere along the allee one could discover the unpleasant "missionairs" of the new order: derelict courtyards, closed shops and overdimensioned flashy adverts of globaly renowed products. (…) On the buildings from the 1950s, which earlier were adorned with flags celebrating various events, one has installed posters stating "this house is protected as monument by the law". (…) The freshly restored liberty left soon its reminders and it generated a strange mix of no longer existing socialism and market oriented capitalism.[1176]

An overall state of decay and poor management of the built legacy was the dominant image which Western German authors created when describing the GDR in the aftermath of the regime change.[1177] Nevertheless this was praised by

---

[1174] Prömmel 2010, 111.

[1175] Marquart, Christian. *Denkmalpflege im vereinigten Deutschland* [Monuments preservation in reunited Germany], Wüstenrot Stiftung Deutscher Eigenheimverein e.V., (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1997): 13.

[1176] Nicolaus, Herbert, Obeth, Alexander. *Die Stalinallee. Geschichte einer deutschen Strasse* [Stalin Allee - The history of a German street], (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1997): 288-289.

[1177] See Flierl 1998.

the western Germans who found old towns and city centres mostly unaltered and 'unfalsified' by 'reckless modernisation', referring actually to the architecture created prior to the World War.[1178] Thus, it is not surprising that 'the battles over preservation in the mid-1990s were strongly informed by earlier conditions in the GDR and developments surrounding the revolution of 1989'.[1179] As such the eminent state of decay of the cities and built environment in the eastern federal states became symbolically associated with the 'regime's own degeneration'. Meanwhile 'restoration served as a way to symbolically perform national unity as a reclamation of heritage', however, by undoing the legacy of socialism.[1180] This further lead James to argue that the assertion made by the western Germans concerning the lack of interest from the state to guarantee protection and preservation of the monuments, resonates very much with the assertions made by 'wealthier countries against poorer ones: the claim that a society cannot take proper care of its heritage'.[1181] On the other hand international experts reaction would express admiration for the socialist legacy, such as Aldo Rossi, known for his socialist political views and admiration for Moscow's architecture, who would call Karl-Marx-Allee as 'Europe's last great street'.[1182]

However, dealing with the national heritage of the GDR, and the state of the art of preservation politics of GDR prior to the reunification, and during the reunification are issues which have been less discussed by current authors, as already mentioned in the second chapter. As previously mentioned, the reunification of Berlin did not mean only questioning and safeguarding 'built socialist' legacies, but it also generated multiple debates and revision of the officially inherited GDR national cultural heritage.

The adoption of the 'Vereinheitlichung des Berliner Landesrechts'[1183], issued in order to integrate the former GDR capital into the western model, guaranteed the preservation of the GDR official cultural heritage. The 'poor' condition of the built monuments encountered at the end of the regime, lead authors to generalise and argue that GDR'efforts for preservation have focused mainly on the 'prominent landmarks' (James, 2012) in particular due to financial constraints. An argument which is valid in particular for the state of the art encountered during the 1980s, as previously discussed. This issue being equally acknowledged by experts and authorities at the time.

However, one can not limit GDR's interest in preservation by reducing it only to the most prominent cases. Throughout the regime, the field of monuments preservation experienced various stages of its development, and this can be faithfully accounted to the diversity of the categories which fell under the concept of *Denkmal*. The former identified categories by the GDR as *Denkmal*, based on their significance such as: monuments dedicated to events and personalities from politics, economics, culture, arts and science; monuments of culture and folk; monuments of production and technics; monuments of urban settlements, urban planning and architecture; monuments of landscape and gardening, monuments of fine and applied arts.

[1178] James 2012, 77.
[1179] Idem 62.
[1180] Idem 79.
[1181] James 2012, 81.
[1182] Rossi quoted by Ladd 1998, 187.
[1183] Reunification of the Berlin federal law. (28.9.1990, GVBL, S.2119, §1 (1) and Anlage 2 Abschnitt X, 1.

These have been following the regime change, however, dismissed and newly organised.

As discussed in the previous chapter monuments in the public space became subject for the re-assessment procedure initiated by the experts commission, while the built environment was not considered by such commissions. The preservation of the built environment has been addressed however by numerous conferences, symposia and expert meetings, nationally and internationally throughout the 1990s, which are partly going to be discussed in this chapter.

Contrary to Kier's statement issued in the introduction following the XXIII. *Deutschen Kunsthistorikertages* in Dresden in 1994 - dealing with the evaluation and preservation of 20th century German architecture - that debates concerning the evaluation and preservation of the architecture of the 1950s started in Federal Germany already during the 1980s while in former GDR it started only after the reunification[1184], this chapter demonstrates that such statement is partly inaccurate. GDR's practices of preservation brought such issues to attention already during the 1960s, as discussed in the second chapter when referring to the heritage of GDR's history and achievements, to be protected by the regime. However, one could state that GDR's contemporary built heritage became in the post reunification context, subject of re-evaluation debates due to the newly created political context, and it is not the result of a new evaluation.

Despite the fact that in 1979 the GDR regime already listed as heritage contemporary architecture significant for the regime's history and its achievements, the regime change, and implicitly the change of legislation, generated a series of debates in former Western Germany on the issue to what extent contemporary architecture from socialism is eligible to be considered for protection. As such, research and debates post 1990 presented and analysed GDR architectural developments, and their ideological, historical and aesthetic appreciation from their post 1990 significance for the present, and it has less addressed the significant status as protected heritage these developments acquired during the regime.[1185]

Since the GDR and its regime was labelled a 'closed historical period' in 1990, it was considered essential to retain the GDR postwar built legacy, due to potential risks and threatens caused by new urban developments.[1186] The modification of the legislation of 1995 created the legal condition that the protection of contemporary modern architecture was guaranteed, despite the political-ideological and aesthetic criticism that has been addressed concerning GDR's architectural legacy. Thus, one can argue that the premisis for the preservation of the GDR built legacy in the post 1989 context in Germany, was facilitated moreover by the legal condition that ensured the transfer of the officialy GDR heritage on the current regional or local heritage lists. This fact

---

[1184] Dolff-Bonekämper 1996, Introduction, 8.

[1185] Dolff-Bonekämper, Kier, 1996; Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi: *Gutachten. Überarbeitete Begründung im Rahmen der Denkmaltopographie Mitte.* 1993, last update 2014, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin: Following the regime change of 1990 it has been considered that 'the two sections of the former 'Stalin Allee' document through the change in architecture and urban planning also the political change. The second part of the Karl Marx Allee was considered a testimony for the new awareness of the GDR starting with the 1960s as a modern, economic, rational and progressive society.

[1186] Landedenkmalamt: Grünzig Matthias, Rehabilitierung der Moderne. Ein "Konsensplan" für die Karl-Marx-Allee II.Bauabschnitt, Bauwelt, 19/ 2012, Wochenschau, 8, Berlin.

eventually was triggered on the background of urban development pressures and revitalisation, in particular in Berlin, which intensified once it has been decided the transfer of the federal capital from Bonn to Berlin in 1991.

The reunification of the monuments lists for Berlin East and West ensured the further protection of the Karl-Marx-Allee. Furthermore it contributed to the extension of the protected area, by including additional segments under protection. Although this decision was initially highly controversial and politically contested.[1187] As the federal commission report concerning the GDR legacy states, the Stalinallee - in present Karl-Marx-Allee - has been acknowledged as a symbol of the GDR regime (Symbolbauwerk der DDR) reason for which it has been declared monument the day of the reunification, which ensured its preservation.[1188] A statement which is only partly accurate. As previously mentioned the day before the reunification additional sections of the urban development from 1959 until 1965 starting from Strausberger Platz towards Alexanderplatz have been included on the tentative lists of the GDR for protection. Among the buildings included on the tentative list (Denkmalverdachtliste) issued on second of October 1990, were: the Kino International, (1961-1963), Kino Kosmos (1961-1962), Café Moskau (1961-1964), Interhotel Berolina (1961-1963) Haus des Lehrers with the Congress Hall (1961-1964).[1189] The house at Weberwise was already included in 1979 on the central lists.[1190]

In the context of the regime change and reunification of the Berlin legislation, eventually the protection of Karl-Marx-Allee was acknowledged as an ensemble testifying the industrialisation of housing in the GDR. As such, in 1993 the Ensemble Karl-Marx Allee, including buildings that have been listed on the central list for Berlin Fridrichshain in 1979[1191], and on the tentative lists from 1990, extended officially its protected area, so as to include: Strausberger Platz 1-19; Karl-Marx-Allee 53-67, 71-143, 1-52, 54-68, 72-140; Koppenstrasse 31-33, Frankfurter Tor ½ and 8/9, Frankfurter Allee 1-3, 5-7, 9-19, 21-23, 25-27, 2-16, 8-12, 14, 16, 18-26, Proskauer Str.38, Hochhaus an der Weberwiese 25-250, Strausberger Platz until Alexanderplatz.[1192] Additionally, the Karl Marx Statue at Strausberger Platz, Circular Fountain built by Fritz Kühn (1967), and the green area were set under protection after 1990. Yet the process of listing and extending the protected status was not devoid of conflicts. These surrounded the political, ideological and aesthetic appreciation of this legacy which have been extensively addressed by the Chief conservation officer in Berlin Jörg Haspel (1996), and will not be reproduced here.[1193]

The Ensemble Karl-Marx-Allee was listed in 1995 as a unique testimony for the 'architectural and urban development of Berlin', its significance being of historic, urban planning and architectural relevance. The assessment statement of its protected status, however, provides an art-historical analysis of the ensemble highlighting its significance. Although

[1187] Haspel, Jörg. "Zwischen Erhaltung und Erneuerung: Die Karl-Marx-Allee in Berlin" [Between preservation and renewal: Karl-Marx-Allee in Berlin], In *Stalinistische Architektur unter Denkmalschutz?* ICOMOS XX, (1995): 18.
[1188] Bericht 1992, 81.
[1189] Landesdenkmalamt, Denkmalverdachtliste October 1990.
[1190] Trost 1987, 437.
[1191] GBL from 5th October 1979, Sonderdruck Nr.1017.
[1192] Landedenkmalamt: Berlin Mitte 5.3.1993.
[1193] See Jörg Haspel 1996, 194f.

parts of the avenue were listed as monuments under state protection already during the GDR as just shown, this information is not provided in the data base (Denkmaldatenbank) to the public, nor included in the published monuments list.[194] None of the descriptions referring to the monument's status includes information concerning its previous protected status acquired prior to 1990. Various stages and regimes, under which the Ensemble came under protection, can not be read from the current monuments statements (Denkmalerklärung). As such, the protection of the Ensemble Karl-Marx Allee is presented to the public as a new nomination and listing, issued in the post 1990 context as a result of its valuable acknowledgement after the reunification, and it is not referred as a re-evaluation of its priorly protected staus.

Furthermore, according to Dolff-Bonekämper both sections of the allee can be read as a 'medium for the representation of power structures, as much as internal as external, of two competing systems'.[195] Therefore, it is not suprising that Karl-Marx-Allee became subject for the UNESCO nomination in 2012, when a proposal has been recommended to the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the States in the Federal Republic. The UNESCO nomination file for 'Das doppelte Berlin' highlighted the two parallel urban developments in Berlin East and West, a nomination which again missed to delivering a comprehensive historical narrative on the particularities of this ensemble reffering only to the attention it gained following the regime change, and the increased appreciation of the modernist architecture.[196] The proposed nomination was eventually rejected in June 2014. The announcement followed the international debates on the assessment and evaluation of the 'socialist heritage' which brought various CEE countries together to debate on a potential transnational nomination for UNESCO (ICOMOS meeting Warsaw 2013). One has, however, to highlight here the fact that the UNESCO nomination was the only to date which included GDR's legacy. Germany showing somehow reluctance to nominate for the UNESCO status any site which might be in connection with the former Nazi and GDR regimes.[197]

Maybe the most prominent case for the contested preservation of the GDR legacy after 1990 in Berlin is the attempt to ensure protection and preservation of the Palace of the Republic. The Marx-Engels forum (finalised in 1986) in Berlin Mitte was listed on the tentative lists (Denkmalverdachtsliste) of the GDR by the end of the regime and continued to be protected also after the regime change. The ensemble at Marx-Engels square including: the Dom, Staatsratsgebäude, Marstall, Lustgarten and the granite plate which were all included on the central lists of the GDR of 1979, was further listed as protected

[194] Baudenkmale in Berlin, Bezirk Friedrichshain, Denkmaltopographie Bundesrepublik Deutschland, edited by Landesdenkmalamt Berlin, (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung Beuermann GmbH, 1996).
[195] Landedenkmalamt: Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, Karl-Marx-Allee, zweiter Bauabschnitt. Gutachten zum Denkmalwert, Berlin 221: 2.
[196] Flierl, Bruno. "Karl-Marx-Allee and "Interbau 1957". Berlin Postwar Heritage between confrontation and co-evolution", In ICOMOS Journals of the German National Committee LVIII, (2013): 64.
[197] http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/de , [accessed last September 2017]

after the regime change. [1198] The further protection of the ensemble and monumental developments in Berlin Mitte have not raised such concern in the context of regime change, as the Palace of the Republic located in the same area. Although these were set under protection by the GDR as part of the national lists, the Palace was not indicated as such neither on the national lists of 1979, nor on the regional or local monuments lists of Berlin, nor has it been listed on the tentative lists on the second of October 1990. [1199] The only indication so far including the Palace to the ensemble appeared in the volume issued by Trost compiling all monuments in Berlin, including a description of the Palace of the Republic together with the Ensemble at Marx Engels Platz. [1200]

As already mentioned, one of the priorities identified by the western German experts of the Association for monuments preservation in 1991 was the reconstruction of the historic cities in former GDR damaged during the war. However, this was a strongly contested decision as many of the GDR monumental developments were placed in the historic city centres. Due to this state of art the 'Städtebaulicher Denkmalschutz' program was developed starting 1991 aiming at developing a systematic revitalisation of the cities in the former GDR states, including Berlin. The goal was the maintenance of the affected city center parts as ensembles, and adapting them to new use and functions. [1201]

The adoption of the Federal German Law on constructions in 1990s became a legally binding document concerning urban planning also for the former eastern German cities. [1202] In this context a working group including members of the monuments preservation office in Berlin has been set up. It had the task to further assess the monuments' value of the Staatrastgebäude, Palace of the Republic and the Foreign Ministry building, under the auspices of the raising voices claiming the reconstruction of the former Prussian Stadtschloss. [1203] Development plans for Berlin Mitte [1204] was strongly criticised by the art-historian Kruft in his publication 'Rekonstruktion als Restauration? Zum Wiederaufbau zerstörte Architektur' stating that a reconstruction for Berlin would 'not be primordially an urban planning, aesthetic, technical or financial impediment, instead a historic-moral problem'. [1205] Moreover this has been

---

[1198] Landesdenkmalamt, File Beschlussvorlagen Denkmalerklärungen: Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz, Abt.III-Gartendenkmalpflege- IIIB41. Liste der Denkmale des Bezirks Mitte von Berlin, 21.01.1992.

[1199] Landesdenkmalamt, File Beschlussvorlagen Denkmalerklärungen: Zentralliste, published in GBL from 5th October 1979, Sonderdruck Nr.1017; Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz, Abt.III-Gartendenkmalpflege- IIIB41. Liste der Denkmale des Bezirks Mitte von Berlin, 21.01.1992.

[1200] Trost, 1987.

[1201] http://www.staedtebaufoerderung.info/StBauF/DE/Programm/StaedtebaulicherDenkmalschutz/Programm/programm-node.html (last accessed 12.07.2017)

[1202] Verordnung zur Sicherung einer geordneten städtebaulichen Entwicklung und der Investitionen in den Gemeinden (Bauplanungs- und Zulassungsverordnung – BauZVO) vom 20. Juni 1990 (GBl. der DDR I Nr. 45 S. 739), active since 31. July 1990.

[1203] Kier, Hiltrud. "Pro und Contra Rekonstruktion Berliner Stadtschloss" [Pro and contra the reconstruction of the Berlin city palace], In Dolff-Bonekämper Gabi, Kier Hiltrud 1996: 228.

[1204] Berlin Mitte was a recurrent subject for debate for various authors, see also the edited volume by Engel, Helmut and Ribbe Wolfgang, eds. *Hauptstadt Berlin–Wohin mit der Mitte? Historische, städtebauliche und architektonische Wurzeln des Stadtzentrums*, (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

[1205] Hanno-Walter, Kruft. "Rekonstruktion als Restauration?" [Reconstruction as restoration?], In *Der Architekt* 9/93, 522.

completely denied by the German National Committee for Monuments Protection in the statement concerning the 'Development of Berlin as the German capital city'.[1206]

Although a new concept was elaborated in May 1990 by the GDR authorities for the Palace of the Republic that foresaw its further activites[1207], it was eventually closed in September 1990. This was prior to the measures undertaken by the preservation authorities of GDR to list significant GDR achievements on the eve of the official reunification. An assessment of the Palace found an asbesthos contamination, for which reason the building was closed until 2005. During this period a series of debates, reports and analyses emerged concerning the future of the palace, which will be discussed in part bellow.

The report issued by the commission dealing with the SED legacy acknowledged the significance attributed to architectural achievements during the regime for their meaning for the society ('hochangebundene' gesellschaftliche Zwecke) such as the Palace of the Republic, Friedrichstadtpalast, and additional hotel buildings which were considered as representative 'architectural expression for a epoch in the German history.'[1208] Yet on the 23rd of March 1993 it has been decided its demolition (Beschluß des Gemeinsamen Ausschusses Bonn-Berlin). New developments have been considered in the same area such as a congress hall, a library and a representative headquarter for the Federal Foreign Ministry.[1209] This explains Flierl critique concerning the decision of returning of the state in the city centre. 'Der Staat soll in der Mitte sein und bleiben!'[1210] The Palace was eventually demolished between 2006 and 2008, despite strong protests and support from the experts and civil communities.[1211]

The campaign to oppose the proposal for its demolition and retain it as a monument received support not only from the civic society, but it also polarised experts in monuments preservation and institutions in the field, which will be further detailed. Debates emerged on the background of planning and reshaping Berlin as the capital city for reunited Germany in 1991. Also debates concerning the preservation of the post war architecture started to raise concerns in Germany, and in particular to developing criteria for assessing architecture from the 1970s and 1980s.[1212] As such despite de fact that the legislation of Berlin for monuments protection did not specify any age limitation, such consideration to include an age limit for 30 years was proposed, given the fact that at the time GDR history was not yet assessed.[1213]

[1206] Haspel, Jörg. "Zwischen Hohenzollernschloß und Palast der Republik-Konservatorische Anmerkungen zur Behandlung eines Denkmalortes" [Between Hohenzollernschloß and Palace of the Republic-conservation measures for the treatement of a monument place], In *Städtebau und Staatsbau im 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Dolff-Bonekämpfer, Gabi; Kier, Hiltrud (Berlin 1996): 236.
[1207] BArch DC 207/165, Grundkonzeption für den Palast der Republik, Berlin May 1990.
[1208] Bericht 1992, 81.
[1209] Flierl 1998, 143.
[1210] Idem 82.
[1211] These are documented at the Landesdenkmalamt Berlin Archives
[1212] Sauerländer, Willibald. "Erweiterung des Denkmalbegriffs?" [Enlarging the concept of monument], In *Denkmal-Werte-Gesellschaft. Zur Pluralität des Denkmalbegriff*s, edited by Lipp Wilfried, 120-150, (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1993).
[1213] Haspel 1996, 122.

According to the Berlin legislation issued in 1995, built monument was considered 'a built construction whose preservation amongst others is of public interest for its historic, artistic or scientific significance or to maintain the integrity of the city'.[1214]

Following the definition set by the law a series of statements concerning the value as a monument were identified by the experts (members of the monuments preservation office in Berlin, or researchers such as Kuhrmann's study from 2006), which will be as following discussed. Yet one of the main arguments brought by the experts, was the lack of temporal distance for assessing its significance.[1215] Thus the selective process of dealing with the GDR remnants such as the Palace of the Republic faithfully reflects, according to Kuhrmann the 'selective way Germans deal with their history'.[1216]

From the beginning of the 1990s experts from the Berlin Monuments Preservation Office expressed the intention of protecting the ensemble of the GDR Staatsforum on the Marx-Engels Platz, including the Palace of the Republic as a 'significant [monument] for the identification of the GDR's history'. In line with this, it engaged in elaborating documentation which would consolidate the argument for its preservation. The main arguments brought by the experts of State Office for Monuments Preservation in Berlin concerning the Palace' significance for preservation, argued for its:

➢ Historic value: it is a representative construction for the GDR architecture of the 1970s, which can not be considered only as representative for the GDR architectural and aesthetic forms. On the contrary it demonstrates connections with the international architecture, the result of innovative technical and engineering contributions towards a multifunctional building, which through its interior design emphasises the socialist art;[1217]

➢ Artistic value: through the arts display in its interior it is representative for arts of GDR of the 1970s, one could even argue it resemblace to a museum for applied arts of the GDR;[1218]

➢ Scientific relevance: a unique document testifying artistic and architectural development, as much for the city development as for the urban planning of Berlin and GDR. [1219]

[1214] Gesetz zum Schutz von Denkmalen in Berlin (Denkmalschutzgesetz Berlin, DSchG BLN 1995) DschG BLN 2130-12, Law § 2 Abs.1 DSchG Bln 1995

[1215] Haspel in Kuhrmann 2006, 184.

[1216] Kuhrmann 2006, 188: 'Der Abriss des denkmalwerten Palastes der Republik sagt viel über die Haltung der Deutschen zu ihrer überlieferten Geschichte; den selektiver Umgang mit Denkmalen muss als Ausdruck eines selektiven Umgangs mit Geschichte gewertet werden'.

[1217] 'architekturgeschichtliche Bedeutung, weil es als Repräsentationsbau der DDR in den 70er Jahren keine adequate architektonisch- ästhetische Form hervorgebracht hat, die als "die Architektur der DDR" bezeichnet werden könnte, im Gegenteil, in der Anknüpfung an die international Architekturentwicklung einen ingenieurtechnisch beachtenswerten multifunktionalen Bau hervorgebracht hat, der die ästhetischen Ansprüche an die sozialistische Kunst in die Gestaltung des Innenraumes verlegt' (Begründung zum Palast der Republik, Anlage 1, 24.01.1992, File Schloßplatz, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)

[1218] 'einzigartiger Weise eine Galerie der Kunst der DDR der siebziger Jahre darstellt, indem neben den 44 Tafelbildern von 12 Landschaftsmalern und den 16 großformatigen Gemälden der 'Galerie des Palastes' im Hauptfoyer sowie der 5 m hohen Glas-Edelstahl-Plastik 'Gläserne Blume' und weiteren 300 Werken der bildenden und angewandten Kunst ein Museum der DDR-Kunst ist' (Begründung zum Palast der Republik, Anlage 1, 24.01.1992, File Schloßplatz, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)

[1219] 'für die Kunst- und Architekturentwicklung sowie den Städtebau und die Stadtplanung Berlins und der DDR-deren geschichtliche Aufarbeitung und wissenschaftliche Bewertung thematisiert

➤ Visual integrity of the city: it is integrated in the urban structure of the city together with the major buildings in the area such as Marstall and Dom, which is reflected by its glas façade.[1220]

Although the assessment of significance delivered a coherent argumentation to support the preservation of the palace, this was just an attempt for the experts from the preservation office to justify its preservation, and it was not an official statement issued by the Landesdenkmalamt in Berlin.

Further initiatives have been supported also by experts of the 'German National Committee for Monuments Protection' that issued two declarations (1993, 1995) concerning the preservation of the 'post war topographie in Berlin Mitte' focusing on its characteristic continuities and discontinuities, and highly supported the preservation of the representative buildings for the state and socialist system of the GDR. [1221] The recommendations of the declarations concluded that:

> The closed historic period of GDR is part of the young German architectural and constructions history. It is part of the great reconstruction effort in entire Germany after the Second World War, testimony through the planning efforts and developments from "Palast bis zur Platte" for the socialist construction culture. (...) The preservation of the monuments' relevant testimony for the architectural and urban planning in GDR its a challenge for our society to dealing with the cultural heritage, that belongs to this epoch.[1222]

As previously discussed the reunification brought Berlin's cultural heritage preservation under the Western Berlin legislation and institutional framework. The Überleitungsgesetz vaguely guaranteed the protection of the GDR official heritage. Among the ideologically 'unappropriate monuments' were also monumnets already protected by the GDR monuments protection law. These made object for reassesement by the expert commission in 1993. However, as already mentioned, the activity was limited only to monuments from public spaces, and did not make subject of its analysis also the built environment. As

---

werde müssen-als einzigartiges Zeitdokument und Geschichstquelle dient' (Begründung zum Palast der Republik, Anlage 1, 24.01.1992, File Schloßplatz, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)

[1220] 'fügt sich in die Stadtstruktur ein und mit seiner Baukörperausbildung die historischen Bauten der Umgebung, wie den ehem. Marstall (1896-1902, Ernst von Ihne) und den protestantischen Dom (1894.1904, Julius Carl Raschdorff und Otto Raschdorff) respektiert und in seiner Glasfassade diese Gebäude wiederspiegelt; was besonders beim Dom zur Zeit seiner Entstehung von besonderer Bedeutung war, da hier auf die diffizile Weise das wechselseitige Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche einen Ausdruck fand. Die Spreefassade nimmt mit ihren Terrassen stadträumlichen Bezug auf die Flusslandschaft, was von der Fassaden-Ausbildung zum Platz und der Funktion als Platzwand nicht im gleichen Maße zutrifft' (Begründung zum Palast der Republik, Anlage 1, 24.01.1992, File Schloßplatz, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)

[1221] Schnadler 1997, 135.

[1222] 'Die abgeschlossene Bauepoche der DDR ist Teil der jüngsten deutschen Architektur und Baugeschichte. Sie ist Teil der in ganz Deutschland immensen Aufbauleistung nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, planerisch und in der Ausführung vom 'Palast bis zur Platte. Zeugnis sozialistischer Baukultur. (…) Die Erhaltung von denkmalwerten Zeugnissen der Architektur und des Städtebaus der DDR ist ein Prüfstein für den Umgang unserer Gesellschaft mit dem kulturellen Erbe, zu dem auch diese Epoche gehört.' (Empfehlung des Deutschen Nationalkommitees für Denkmalschutz, Magdeburg November 1995, In: Landesdenkmalamt Berlin (Ed.) 1999/2000 "Fort mit den Trümmern und was Neues hingebaut". Berliner Bau-und Gartendenkmale der Nachkriegszeit)

such, it is too late to question whether a potential legal protection by the GDR regime would have further guaranteed the retain of the Palace of the Republic after the re-unification, as the case of the Staatratsgebäude in its closer proximity for example. As this question does not justice to the present situation, it does not however exclude the fact that such an argument was taken in consideration during the debates which opposed various opinions and stakeholders, extensively detailed in the research of Holfelder and will not be reproduced here.[1223] Although one has to keep in mind, the arguments brought by the experts who strongly supported its preservation was not always based on valid historical and legal facts. Exemplary is the argument promoted by certain experts from the Office for Monuments Preservation in Berlin who in the assessment arguing the significance of the Palace of the Republic for its preservation falsely stated the special status that the Palace of the Republic acquired as a protected monument listed in the official central list of the GDR from 1979.[1224]

The Marx-Engels Forum together with the Marstall and Staatsgebäude, were listed on the central lists of the GDR as being part of the national heritage, as monuments of 'besonderen nationaler Bedeutung und internationalem Kunstwert'.[1225] Yet this protected status was not extended over the Palace of the Republic. The motivation of the initiative of the experts from the preservation office in Berlin, involved in preparing the nomination file for the preservation of the Palace after 1990 argued the protected status by the GDR regime, most probably due to the fact that a protected status during the GDR would have guaranteed in the context of the debates after 1990 the legal framework based on which a further protection or delisting had to be re-evaluated. Within this re-evaluation process the unsuitability of the Palace had to be demonstrated and as following its delisting could be legally justified, and also its demolition. Morewever, this position of the expert committees from the preservation office, to support its preservation, would change under political pressure excercised by the Senate for Urban and Environment Development. Eventually, the debate concerning the protection of the Palace of the Republic turned versus the reconstruction of the Berlin Schloss into the 'biggest German Denkmal-Politikum since the Heidelberger Schloss'.[1226]

> Berlin monuments preservation (authorities) drifted away in the context of the debates concerning the Palace of the Republic from its modern mission of maintaining a pluralist and critical potential. Moreover it has abandoned slowly its basic parameters (monuments research, further development of the Riegel's evaluation criteria, scientific performed restoration) and its ethic-moral decisional capacity (protecting monuments marked by their destiny and age) for a monuments preservation marked by emotional fiever and aesthetical appreciation.[1227]

[1223] Holfelder, Moritz. *Palast der Republik. Aufstieg und Fall eines symbolischen Gebäudes,* (Berlin: Ch.Links Verlag, 2008).
[1224] Landesdenkmalamt, Annexes.
[1225] Zentralliste published in Gesetzblatt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik v.25.9.1979. Sonderdruck Nr. 1017 v. 5.10.1979
[1226] Falser 2008, 314.
[1227] Idem 319.

The main argument brought by Kurmann was the fact that all responsible institutions failed contributing to listing the Palace of the Republic as a monument because of the lack of 'political will'. 'The responsible political authorities at federal and state level have stronlgy denied the monument value of the palace, despite the scientific expertise and statements provided by the responsible institutions'.[1228]

Yet one has to highlight the fact that not all experts supported its preservation, and therefore cannot be regarded as a unitary professional group. Beyond the ideological component that motivated its construction, the building was mostly condemned for its aesthetic and architectural achievements. One of the strongest arguments brought against its retain and protection as a monument was the fact that it was built on the former Stadt Schloß area.

Holfelder identified three major events as decisive for the demolition of the Palace: the demolition report of the political Commission Berlin-Bonn in March 1993 motivated by the asbesthos contamination, the reconstruction of the former Schloss scafolding during the summer of 1993, and setting up the international expert commission Historische Mitte Berlin in 2001 and its recommendations (2002) to reconstruct the former Schloss within the Humboldt Forum project.[1229] Parallel with the discussions referring to the reconstruction of the Frauenkirche in Dresden in October 2005, were conducted also the debates concerning the demolition of the Palace of the Republic, and the reconstruction instead of the former Berlin Schloss.[1230]

The demolition of the Palace of the Republic and other reminders of the GDR regime, such as the Foreign Ministry (1995) and the Ahornblatt (2000), was counterbalanced by reconstructions of the former Prussian history, such as the Berlin Schloss, part of the Museuminsel, and the planned Bauakademie.[1231] These are considered as parts of a wider program of historical revisionismus which aimed at systematically transforming the historic centre of Berlin and creating an ideal image for a prospective future within which (finally) a good version of history would be transmitted.[1232] As Falser argues an 'emotional retrospective of renationalisation of cultural heritage' (as the Prussian debate in Berlin) has basically emerged in Germany post reunification.[1233] Futhermore, the reconstruction of the Berlin centre and dismissing traces of its GDR past, cannot be others understood than a negation of the GDR existence, a 'fatalist way of performing forgetting' and of coming to terms with the history through the means of reconstruction, and new building developments.[1234] The dismissal of the Palace from the city centre was not limited only to its built presence, but equally people involved in activities carried out in the Palace of the Republic, approximately 180 individuals, have been temporary dissmissed immediately after the reunification in October 1990 until the activity of the Palace would be clarrified and reopend.[1235] Eventually this never happend.

[1228] Kuhrmann 2006, 181.
[1229] Holfelder 2008, 82.
[1230] Falser 2008, 221.
[1231] Idem 316.
[1232] Idem 317.
[1233] Idem 322.
[1234] Idem 226.
[1235] Holfelder 2008, 82.

The conservative civic organisations and city planners have supported the reconstruction of the Berlin Stadtschloss, 'claming that only this act could restore the urban harmony of the city, whereas more left-leaning architects, planners, and intellectuals considered the proposal to be a nostalgic and reactionary attempt to deny the contentious history of the twentieth century'.[1236] The way one dealt with the Palace, and other artefacts representative for the monumental or political forms of expression of the GDR, was condemned by Kurhamnn (2006) as an act of *damnatio memoriae* in the context of regime change.

> However, the demolition of the palace does not only reflect the condemnation of the past memories, instead brings on historical revisionism into play, which does not only consciously fades-out the GDR, but also the Nazi regime and thus negates the war destruction affecting the Berlin city centre. The anomaly must be disposed off, the German double troubled history sould be rectified. One wishes to construct an unbroken, organic national history.[1237]

Thus, after the palace' demolition the place remained a space for contestation as the plans for the Humboldt Forum have been announced, to be built starting 2013. Yet the absurdity of the way one dealt with the Palace its reflected also by the ways its disassembling has been carried out. Namely, a value assememessment of parts of the Palace, potentially carrying monument value, was conducted by the office responsible for its disassembling, Hübner+Oehmig. The survey reports concerning the asbesthos contamination of the building documented a 'denkmalgerechte Umgang' and assessment of 'denkmalwerten Raumbereichen' in 1997.[1238] Following, the assessment provided by the office, parts of the building, decorations, furnishing, considered as potentially having monument value, have been removed and stored. The disassembling of the building was carried out on the background that a potential re-construction of the building to be based on its original material, or in case evidence and proof to testify the history and the architectural achievements of the building were needed in the future. Therefore the Palace was eventually retained, however as a relict of the past, in 'pieces' banned from the public eye for now. The furbishing of the interiors has been equally stored in the German Historical Museum in Berlin, the House of History in Bonn, and in the military depots in Spandau Berlin, under the auspicies that in case of its potential reconstruction, these could be returned. Among the assets that have been documented by the DHM in 1997 were not only furniture and decorations, but also numerous artworks which have been thoroughly analysed by Feist as a 'significant testimony for the art-history of the 1970s in the GDR.[1239] These made subject of

---

[1236] Cliver and Smith-Prei 2014, 5.

[1237] Kuhrmann 2006, 189.

[1238] Auflistung und farbig gekennzeichnete Grundrisse der denkmalwerten Raumbereiche, Bauteile und Ausstattung mit Angaben für den denkmalgerechten Umgang im Rahmen der geplanten Asbestsanierung des Gebäudes 'Palast der Republik, Teil A und Teil B. Im Auftrag des Bundesbauamtes III 30.9.1997. Bauhistorische Planungsberatung Hübner+Oehmig, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin, p.4

[1239] Feist, Peter H. "Geschichsträume. Störbilder, die Wandbilder im Berliner Palast der Republik", In *Städtebau und Staatsbau im 20.Jahrhundert* [Historical spaces. Residual images, murals in Berlin's Palace

the exhibition organied by Monika Flacke on 'Auftrag: Kunst. Bildende Künstler in der DDR zwischen Ästhetik und Politik 1949–1990' (27.1. – 18.4.1995). Yet in 2008 decorative parts form the Palace, furnishing and various assets were available also on ebay for purchase. This activity was carried out by the Federal office for central services and estate enquiries (BADV), an institution which deals with restitutions and property issues from the Nazi and GDR regimes.[1240]

The way one dealt with the non- and official material legacy from socialism in Berlin after 1990 reflects what James defines as 'the practice of orientalisation', encountered also in the rest of the Eastern European countries in post-communism, and in particular in societies working towards democracy.

> The additional assumption among many West Germans that East Germany would recover from socialism by retracing the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) postwar trajectory (and avoid its mistakes with the benefit of western hindsight) closely resembles the colonial view that "savages" need progress and to achieve it they have to become more like Europeans. To be sure, East Germans did desire to become like their Western brethren in many respects, but like many native peoples, they were not ready to reject everything that previously defined their identity and way of life.[1241]

As Huyssen describes 'this was not just tinkering with the communist city text. It was a strategy of power and hummiliation, a final burst of Cold War ideology, pursued via politics of signs, much of it wholly unnecessary and with predictable political fallout in an East German population that felt increasingly deprived of its life story and of its memories of four decades of separate development'.[1242] As such it is also not surprising that none of the elaborated status as a monument did not take into account the symbolic significance of the building for the community, even though a strong support from the East Berlin people was demonstrated for retaining the Palace. Instead it was mostly limited to its artistic, architectural and urbanistic values that would qualify it for preservation, community interest eventually did not prevail.

5.1.3. Bucharest's Civic Centre: Casa Republicii and Victoria Socialismului Boulevard, 'a gift for the people'

5.1.3.1 Historical Background: bulldozing the past, building communism

Following the administrative reform of 1968, the communist regime implemented a series of measures which lead to a radical transformation of cities, towns and villages throughout Romania, as already indicated in the

---

of the Republic], edited by Dolff-Bonekämper Gabi, Kier Hiltrud Deutscher Kunstverlag München Berlin, 1996, 173.

[1240] Verwertung Archiv, Wandgestaltung aus Meißner Porzellan, Palast der Republic, 2008, BADV, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin http://www.badv.bund.de/DE/ZentraleDienste/Kunstverwaltung/Verwertung/Archiv/palast_der _republik_02.html [last accessed 19.02.2017]

[1241] James 2012, 83.

[1242] Huyssen 2003, 54.

second chapter. Cavalcanti argues that Ceaușescu's vision on modernization 'was to be opposed to the backward legacy illustrated by the built form inherited from previous regimes', which was regarded as unrepresentative for the glorious era under his rule.[1243] Indeed, as emphasised also by Ronnas in his sociological study from 1984 on the systematisation of the rural areas, urbanity was considered a reflection and trigger for 'modernity', and economic development. For this reason a nationwide systematisation program has been pursued. Debated already during the 1960s, and implemented starting from the 1970s systematisation policies aimed to trigger not only the urbanisation nationwide, but equally to achieve economic development in rural areas. Thus policies developed between 1969-1972[1244] must be understood in the wider context, in which urbanisation was considered a driver for economic development and modernisation.[1245]

> A fundamental idea of the programme (launched 1972 and reglemented by the Law 58 of 1874) was to structure urban and rural localities into a well-defined hierarchy with a predetermined place and function for each locality, with each region and locality developed according to the role planned for it to ensure a harmonious national development. (…) Systematisation aimed at facilitating continued rapid industrialisation without depopulation of rural areas and excessive concentration into large cities.[1246]

According to Ronnas, the systematisation program of 1972, was the basis for the urbanisation policies developed throughout the 1970s. This primarily forsaw the transformation of villages into agro-industrial towns. Additionally, it recommended amongst others, also the preservation of elements of traditional architecture and using local raw materials in the construction of new buildings[1247], at least one could say theoretically. Following Rauță, closing the gap between rural and urban space was not only a one-way directional process by only focusing on modernisation processes of villages, but also of cities.[1248] By the same token, the 'civic center' returned in discussions among urban planners by the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s. According to Jugurică, the former chief architect who supervised the construction site at the House of the Republic, plans for the systematisation of Bucharest were debated already during the 1960s. In 1965 first sketches have been presented to the Party leadership, indicating Bucharest as the first economic and industrial centre of the country.[1249]

Already in 1973 a series of articles issued by the publication *Architectura* have been dedicated to urban developments and restoration,

---

[1243] Cavalcanti, Maria de Betania. "Urban reconstruction and autocratic regimes: Ceaușescu's Bucharest in its historic context", *Planning Perpectives*, 12:1, (1997): 71-109.
[1244] Romania was traditionally a profound agrarian country, and systematisation of the rural areas during Socialism was not a novum, being a matter of interest prior to coming to power of the communist regime. (For more details: Rauță, Alex *Negocierea Centrului Civic. Arhitecți și politicieni în România secolului XX*, București: Editura Universitară "Ion Mincu", 2013.)
[1245] Ronnas 1984, 63.
[1246] Idem 64.
[1247] Idem 65.
[1248] Rauță 2013.
[1249] Jugurică 2012, 18.

conservation and protection of monuments. In his study concerning the valorisation of the historic areas and city centres, the architect Bilciurescu was highlighting the great diversity of opinions existent at the time among experts on approaching urban development and monuments preservation. [1250] These varied from radical bulldozing, preservation only of the most significant monuments, radical reconstruction of old neighbourhoods, preserving monuments as decoration in the urban context, and pursuing urban modern reconstruction. Others supported urban preservation respecting the historic city urban plan. On the background of the great diversity of opinions, the author emphasised, however, trends in monuments preservation. These initially considered single individual buildings to be preserved for their aesthetic and architectural qualities. It further emerged to consider the development of an integrative approach of preserving monuments within a system which would not only ensure their preservation and protection, but equally the adequate use and integrity in the urban environment.

In the urban space of Bucharest one of the most representative interventions from the late communist period is the Civic Centre[1251], considered iconic for the political legacy of Nicolae Ceaușescu's regime. The civic centre, which in this chapter will be referred to as a 'systematic group of public buildings redefining urban central squares', as defined by Rauță in his research[1252], was built starting 1984. This included the building known today as the Parliament House (initially the House of the Republic, alternatively the House of the People). Together with additional buildings constituted the 'political-administrative centre' - the 'politically correct' concept equivalent to 'civic centre' according to Rauță[1253] - at Victoria Socialismului Boulevard.

Within the administrative centre the historical and architectural particularities of the House of the Republic, and Victoria Socialismului Boulevard have been extensively analysed by various studies, and will not make subject of a detailed research here. These have been moreover discussed in the context of systematisation plans of Bucharest[1254], and detailed within studies focusing on the architectural socialist project, and massive demolition actions post 1977[1255]. Very often these have been reflected upon in numerous 'memories' of contemporary architects to the events [1256], depicting very contradictory and biased 'histories', as suggested also by Zahariade (2011). As

[1250] Bilciurescu, Virgil. "Unele probleme în legătură cu valorificarea zonelor istorice" [Some problems concerning the valorisation of historic areas], In *Architectura*, Anul XXI. Nr.4 (143), (1973): 20.

[1251] A detailed analysis of the concept in the Romanian architectural and urban planning context has been elaborated by Răuță 2013.

[1252] Răuță 2013, 205.

[1253] Idem 201. Răuță is arguing that by the end of the 1970s Ceaușescu must have acknowledged the shortness of carrying capacities to support development of civic centres, which included not only political - administrative functions but also cultural and social programs. Instead he would demand for spaces for 'public rallies', and only in specific cases he would agree also for additional functions. In Rauță's words 'In 1977 it appears that Ceaușescu had developed civic centre nausea. This might be the reason for the Bucharest central area project, and perhaps others from the same period, to have placed the administrative seat separate from the many new amenties the overall design envisaged'.

[1254] Deletant, Dennis. *Ceaușescu and the Securitate: Coercion and Dissent in Romania, 1965-1989*, (New York: C. Hurst &Co. Publishers, 1995).

[1255] Panaitescu, Alexandru. *De la Casa Scînteii la Casa Poporului. Patru decenii de arhitectură în București 1945-1989*, (Bucharest: Ed. Simetria, 2012); Giurescu Dinu C., *International Preservation Report. The Raizing of the Romania's Past*. A Project of the Kress Foundation European Preservation Program of the World Monuments Fund, World Monuments Fund, US/ICOMOS Publishing, 1989.

[1256] Jugurică 2012, Panaitescu 2012.

a consequence, such approaches contributed to building a particular kind of 'myth' dominating the narrative of this legacy, which atributes slowly the responsibility on the 'abhorent project' to the 'illiterate despotic couple'.[1257]

However, this research brings additional sources in discussion that contribute to going beyond the discourse promoted in the current literature on the topic. For this reason, it will first historically contextualise the construction of the political administrative centre in Bucharest, from the contemporary perspective. Namely, it will discuss how its development was perceived and depicted in the local and international press, and discussed in official documents of the major decisional actors, such as the Central Committee of the Communist Party, or experts. Furthermore, it will emphasise the significance of the urban project by the end of the regime, and following the regime change.

Additionally, to major developments in the country, such as the construction of the Danube Black Sea Chanel, the Metro in Bucharest, another 'gift granted to the people by Ceaușescu', was publicly announced in July 1984. Despite the foundation ceremony of the major project of the Civic Centre, inaugurated by Nicolae Ceaușescu and his wife Elena on June 25th during an event that took place at the Communist Party headquarters, being publicly celebrated, the evolution of this project was banned from the public eye.[1258] Stated also by Panaitescu there were no public debates and consultations on the topic, nor an open public call for the realisation of the project, which eventually was assigned to the young architecture graduate Anca Petrescu, still not known according to which criteria. Additionally, a numerous group of architects, estimated by Panaitescu around 300 between 1984-1989, brought their contribution just for the planning of the House of the People.[1259] For its realisation, according to the Central Committee of the Party, 194 buildings were considered for demolition, stretching over a surface of almost 167.257,30 square meters. These were predominantely private property (85), while only 32 were under state property and 27 mixed.[1260]

However, as highligthted by Zahariade, despite the centralised mechanism of urbanisation, there were few public planning investments. Among these the construction of nomenklatura's buildings (luxurious residential buildings, holidays resorts, etc.) and of the Party administration. These have been overseen by a particular Party department having a 'secretive' status, namely the Party's Houshold (Gospodaria de Partid).[1261] The author characterizes this institution as promoter of a 'preferential' architectural planning. Eventually was turned in time into a smaller Planning Institute Carpați, that oversaw the most important urban developments in the country and in Bucharest, such as the planning of the House of the People and of the Civic Centre.[1262] Contrary to the Berlin Palace of the Republic, which enjoyed already during the regime great public support and acceptance among Berliners as an open multi-functional house, the project in Bucharest remained

[1257] Panaitescu 2012, 188.
[1258] HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Romania Situation Report, Radio Free Europe Research: Paul Gafton, 1984, *Ceaușescu lays foundation stone for grand Bucharest project*, 16 July.
[1259] Panaitescu 2012, 188.
[1260] ANIC, Expunere de motive, p. 44
[1261] Zahariade 2011, 40.
[1262] Ibidem 42.

throughout its conception phase limitedly known to the public sphere, a kind of 'cite interdite', in the words of Iosa (2006), for the wide society.

As Cavalcanti states, urban reconstructions carried out by authoritarian political regimes such as Stalin's intervention in Moscow, Hitler's in Berlin and Mussolini's in Rome, had to correspond to the interests of the ruling elite or the political leader, while reflecting the new social and political ideals.[1263] As such one can argue that indeed the plan aiming at restructuring the city centre of Bucharest reflected the centralised character of the political regime. Debated already early 1979, the project of the administrative centre, aimed at concentrating all country's party and state headquarters in the new 'political-administrative ensemble'. Major political institutions, such as the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Government, State Council and various ministries, would have had their headquarters in this area.[1264]

One needs to state here that most of the major political and administrative headquarters of the Party were located in old historical nationalised buildings, and only very few new socialist constructions were used to harbour the political administration. Again compared to the developments in the GDR, which supported the construction of a new building for the State Council (Staatratsgebäude) already beginning of the 1960 and listed the building as monument by the end of the 1970s, the construction of representative architecture for the political elites was in Romania a belated phenomenon. The idea of such projects emerged in the context of the debates for a general plan for the reconstruction of Bucharest, which forsaw not only the construction of housing but also the redesign of the city-centre.

However, as stated also by Zahariade the 'myth' according to which the earthquake of 1977 triggered the following urban re-design of Bucharest, needs further reconsideration amongst architects. In this sense the opinion expressed by Panaitescu, without being supported by any evidence, that 'restructuring the central area of Bucharest was justified by the necessity to remove the debris following the earthquake of 1977, and of the desire to locate a new urban centre with political-administrative functions, in the safest seismographic area of the city, south-west from the river Dâmbovița, between the Arsenal Hill and Union Square'[1265] might be just a late condition which facilitated the construction of the political administrative centre in that specific area. As Panaitescu argues developments in the Uranus area have been considered during the 1960s, but this envisioned single constructions such as new University headquarters.[1266]

One might need to reconsider the initial motivation of this project on the background of the July Theses of 1971, argues Zahariade. These paved the cult of personality of Ceaușescu and triggered a series of developments, as will be later discussed also in relationship with museum developments. Zahariade, who was an architectural student at the time in Bucharest and experienced the events, sensitively acknowledges that:

[1263] Cavalcanti 1997.
[1264] Panaitescu 2012.
[1265] Idem 184.
[1266] Idem 188.

[...] the reconstruction after the earthquake could have taken any other form. Hence, no matter how vigorously the earthquake stimulated Ceaușescu's "Bauwurm" the new shape of the architectural landscape he "indicated" had long since been politically decided. Everything that happened after the July Theses was just the beginning of a decline that became catastrophic after 1980.[1267]

According to a series of studies issued in *Architectura* 1973 demonstrate the interest for the refurbishing of the city centre of Bucharest including the Arsenal area prior to the events of 1977 in the spirit of the systematisation of the city and reshaping the city center.[1268]

Therefore one needs to understand this ensemble on the background of two different events. Firstly, its conceptualisation as the consequence of the emergence of the personality cult of Ceaușescu which emerged independently of the events of 1977. And secondly, of its physical development opportunistically facilitated and conditioned by the events of 1977, but nevertheless as part of the wider programme of reconstructing the capital city. According to this it was supposed to become by 1985 'a modern, socialist city, worthy of the epoch of the multilaterally developed socialist society.'[1269]

As part of the five year planning strategy, the reconstruction of Bucharest envisioned to finish by 1985 the streets plan, the systematisation of the city, and the development of the new political and administrative centre. However, decisions were taken without any public involvement, overriding and undermining the institutional framework. Experts submissively followed and supported the intrusive intervention of the political leader, while architects who rejected the involvement in the project acted mostly individually, and did not concretised into a unified oppositional group.[1270] Unrestricted intervention in various stages in the planning process was also facilitated by the decisional act that allowed Ceaușescu to dissolve government institutions responsible for the protection of national cultural heritage, already discussed in the previous chapter. In addition, their replacement with institutions strictly controlled by state officials, facilitated political intervention in the architectural processes to the detriment of the expert's knowledge.

The international contemporary press described the project, in addition to limited local media, highlighting how the project was depicted to Romanians, banned actually from their sight, as following:

> According to the media, the House of the People will be a "monumental" construction dominating the whole complex and will be the headquarters of the party Central Committee, the State Council, and the Government. According to the chief Architect from the Bucharest Planning Office Petre Vraciu "the idea of constructing a centre for the capital, of course, belongs to Comrade Ceaușescu. (…) The architecture will show the imprint of our period. It is an original

---

[1267] Zahariade 2011, 83.
[1268] Architectura, 1973, Anul XXI. Nr.4 (143)
[1269] Ceaușescu, quoted by Cavalcanti 1997, 85.
[1270] Concerning the relationship of architects with the political regime see Vais Dana, "The productive role of margins. Architectural discourse in the late 1960s Romania", *Studies in History & Theory of Architecture*, (2016):202-215.

attempt to represent its spirit in an architecture that is new, but also recalls the ancient tradition of Romania".[1271]

Such a statement rather reflects the politics of the cult of personality, which emphasised the role of the presidential couple as patrons of all achievements and development projects in socialist Romania. As a direct result, the quality of the urban design and architectural components was discussed as the result of the personal taste and vision of Nicolae Ceaușescu. Furthermore, it has less addressed the role of the numerous groups of architects promoting massive modernisation projects, which reflected no respect or ignored sensitive solutions for city development. Moreover, this massive urban intervention implied the destruction of the entire neighborhood in the historic city centre of Bucharest Uranus, known at the time for its historic monuments. This effectively lead to displacement of 40.000 inhabitants and demolishing of 9.000 buildings dating from 19th century for which Ceaușescu was held accountable, among others, in the 1989 process that lead to his death penalty.[1272] The large - scale demolition of the historic fabric impacted radically the morphology of the city, while new developments not taking into account the character of the built environment emerged. These could not be smoothly integrated into a homogenous urban context. However, the full scope of the project was not known, while the decision to demolish buildings came often after the work was done, without any prior public discussion or explanation. The impact of the demolition process was partly addressed in the previous chapter and extensively detailed by a series of authors, as such will not be extensively detailed here.[1273]

Eventually, the plan for the construction of the administrative centre included major components: the House of the Republic, the Socialist Victory Boulevard and several administrative buildings for various ministries and residential housing for the political elite of the regime. The political elite who would have benefited from the project included members of the Central Committee of the Party, of the trade union, high positioned members from the Ministry of Inner Affairs, Foreign Affairs, diplomats, members of the Justice Department, local council of Bucharest, members of the Academia and 'socialist heroes'.[1274] The project of restructuring the city centre forsaw additionally plans for the construction of major socialist cultural and research headquarters. Among these the plans for the construction of the first National Museum building, the House of Science and Technology, National Library and of the Academy House.[1275] To that date one needs to specify that despite the increasing numbers of the museums founded by the socialist state post 1948 no major new museum buildings project was realised, the construction of the National Museum being one of the fewest proposed during the regime.

The Victory of Socialism Boulevard was supposed to be decorated with a series of monuments depicting important historical leaders of the

---

[1271] HU OSA 300/120/6/632 File Romania Museums and Monuments: 1984-1990: Kamm, Henry, 1985, *Romania Leader Puts its imprint on Capital,* The New York Times, 6 October 1985.
[1272] Iosa 2006, 59.
[1273] Giurescu 1989, Iosa 2006, Panaitescu 2012.
[1274] ANIC, Fond CC al PCR Gospodaria de Partid, File 5/1987: Propuneri privind modul de repartizare a spațiului locuibil din Centrul Civic, (4.05.1987): 3-4.
[1275] Jugurică 2012, 55.

country. The model presented for the House of the Republic showed a massive construction in neo-classical style, heavy, pitch roof topped, academic. A structure which was compared starting from the Forum of Augustus in Rome, to Speer's plans for Berlin and Hausmann's remodellation of Paris.[1276] Several authors have primordially cited the urban develoments of Phenian in North Korea as the main source of inspiration for the civic centre in Bucharest, arguing that Ceaușescu dimissed Western architectural style and 'European socialist architecture'.[1277]

Contrary to the argument of Salecl that suggests Ceaușescu's 'undertaking should be understood as a *creatio ex nihilo*, an attempt to make something out of nothing which would totally eradicate the previous symbolic order which had been realised not only in the previous political system but also in its material remnants, its architecture', the choice of the location for constructing the new urban centre was inscribed in a prior urban planning scheme. This was issued long before the communist regime took power in 1948.[1278] As such one can not describe this project as merely Ceaușescu's 'intention to erase history'.[1279] Moreover, according to Jugurică, the plans for redesigning Bucharest in the 1970s and 1980s retrieve some of the proposed plans for systematisation of the city from 1935. The Victory of Socialism and the House of the Republic can be symbolically inscribed in the proposals indicated by the systematisation plans of 1935. These included the idea of a Parliament building in the same Arsenal Hill area [1280], indicating thus a symbolical continuity in the significance of the designated place.

Yet the aesthetic choices and the scale of the project are to be debated to what extent these were ultimately following the intrusive interventions of the leader. According to archival material Ceaușescu's descriptions were rather modest hoping and aiming for a 'beautiful house' which should be a reflection of the modern Romania and its tradition, thus strongly emphasising the choice of the materials and styles to be of Romanian provenance. One could even argue that architects moreover engaged in inventing a 'national-traditional' architectural style for the design of the political-administrative centre.[1281] However, one needs to complement here that the labour force used for the construction of the administrative centre often relied on unskilled military soldiers. These have been often employed in large construction projects such as the Chanel Danube-Black Sea, a subject which has not been researched until present.

This intervention was criticized internationally, and reported by UNESCO in the autumn of 1989.[1282] The international public outcry related to the developments in Bucharest and in the country, were received by Romanians only through the means of Radio Free Europe and have been already extensively discussed.

[1276] Cavalcanti 1997.
[1277] Salecl 1999, 101; Panaitescu 2012.
[1278] Idem 102.
[1279] Idem 103.
[1280] Jugurică 2012. 44.
[1281] See the contribution of Vais conceerning the national style
[1282] Mission in Romania Protection of the Cultral Heritage, UNESCO August-September 1989 http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000876/087699eb.pdf [last accessed 12.07.2017]

By the end of 1989, the outcome was an urban space under construction, marked by over-monumentalism, divided by wide straight axes and display of massive architectural structures. It was adorned with its iconic building, the House of the Republic without its pitched roof and unfinished interiors, completley discordant with the human scale, and still very much unfamiliar to the Romanians by the end of the regime. Despite the fact that urbanisation and systematistion dominated economic and social planning policies, the central idea that triggered this particular urban development was ultimately rather by political ambitions and symbolism, than by the wider social and urban needs. However, one needs to acknowledge its significance as being a late and single contribution to the communist project of designed architecture for the use of political elites in Romania. Prior to that the communist regime invested and only prioritised, additionally to the residential projects, public architectural projects: local administrative, social, industrial, infrastructure and cultural projects. We can only conclude that the administrative centre project in Bucharest can be accounted as the only representative project of the political regime integrated in the visible urban structures of Bucharest, while most of the residential and leisure projects designated for the political elites have been developed rather dettached from the public sphere. Research on these developments is unfortunately missing. Furthermore, one can argue that the development of the political and administrative centre was rather driven by representational ambitions translated by architects who complied with the ambitions of the leader, and in consequence provided highly questionable and still controversial urban and aestethic solutions to the urban development of Bucharest by the end of the 20th century.

5.1.3.2.   Regime Change and the re-evaluation of the recent past

First impressions in the international press after the dimissal of Ceaușescu on the socialist legacy in Bucharest, were disturbing:

> [...] town planners in Bucharest have inherited a city that Ceaușescu was developing into his concept of a capital worthy of the "new socialist man". Despite its reputation as the "Paris of the Balkans", Bucharest is showing the strain of years of austerity imposed by the executed former dictator. (…) The dozen of cranes on the skyline are only slowly meeting housing needs, and the planners are realising they cannot afford to abandon Ceaușescu's grandiose, but uninviting building schemes. To the South-West of the Centre near the Dambovita river, the former dictator knocked down thousands of houses and a number of historic buildings to create a concrete civic centre, grouping apartments and public buildings around the massive House of the People. A public call was launched for ideas on what to do with the huge white marble buildings, modelled after the great hall of the people in Peking, which dominates the paved boullevard of the Socialist Victory. According, to the mayor of Bucharest, the palace, brainchild of Ceaușescu and one of the world's biggest buildings, will probably be turned into a Conference centre. Dan Predescu told the Daily Tineretul Liber on Tuesday that the White Palace was

"Ceaușescuesque folly" but could not be demolished. (…) " we have had a lot of suggesting about what to do with it, but the best appears to be to turn it into an international conference centre", Predescu said. (…) Gabrea's office wants to reclaim the former dictator's properties, such as the Cotroceni Palace, a former royal palace and then a youth centre, where the dictator planned to live. He also hopes to replace some of the 29 churches torn down in the city. Some, like the 16th century Church of St. Spiridon, can be reconstructed, and it is hoped to build churches in the newer suburbs where there are none.[1283]

Dealing with the built legacy of the past regime in Romania became an urgency and responsibility in the immediate period following the events of 1989. During the 1990s a series of initiatives emerged in Bucharest engaging experts both national and international, government and public opinion, on matters related to the state of the art of the built environment in Bucharest.

When the communist regime fell in December 1989, the Palace of the Republic, and the surrounding area of the Civic Centre, including the Victory of Socialism Boulevard were still under construction. As a first measure of the newly established provisory government was to put on a halt all construction works at the site. Soon questions have been raised concerning the destiny of the now renamed House of the People, which from the entire complex of the civic centre captured the attention mostly during the debates that followed. Firstly, whether the building should be finished at all, and secondly, if then what should be done with it?[1284] As highlighted also by Anne Marie Cousin immediately after the regime change in her report issued for the Direction for Patrimony in Paris during her mission to Bucharest:

[...] the current neo-classic constructions or neo-1930 along 3.5 km exhibit no physical nor aesthetic alligment with the historical tissue dating from the 19th century. Moreover nobody knows how to further proceed with the monstrous and unfinished palace dominanting this perspective: shall its completion be carried out and then what should one make use of its giant spaces (of 40.000 m)?[1285]

The exchange with the French expert highlighted the increasing interest of the Romanian experts for the knowledge and practice of managing preservation in France, expressing their interest for collaboration in the process of reforming the heritage field in Romania.

Yet the danger one could be exposed to in time, claimed by Ioan soon after the regime change, was that once deprived of the cultural ties to the place and its history one might start searching for positive qualities in the 'festiviste' architecture. Even worst conditioned by the lack of documentary material, one

[1283] HU OSA 300/120/13 Box 141 File Housing General (1968-1991) Reuters General Feature: Bucharest planners inherit chaos and palaces, 21. Febr. 1990.
[1284] Ionescu, People's House: a cumbersome legacy, Radio Free Europe Dan Ionescu, 1990, 46.
[1285] Anne Marie Cousin, "Mission à Bucarest (Roumanie)", In *BCNMASI* issued by CNMASI, Anul I, Nr. 3-4, (1990):10.
'les constructions actuelles néo-classiques ou néo-1930 totalement alignées sure 3.5 km de long n'ont aucun lien physique ni esthétique avec le tissu ancien du XIXieme. Par ailleurs personne ne sait quoi faire du palais monstrueux et inachevé qui domine cette perspective: faut-il le terminer et comment utiliser ces espaces gigantesques (au total 40 000 m)?'

might even start liking it.[1286] Therefore recommendations coming from experts focused on issues, which prioritised limiting its visual impact in the urban context, either by changing its façade or recontextualising the House of the People, by developing new buildings in its proximity, and nevertheless finding a suitable function. The former was categorised by Ioan as the 'reflection of cultural infantilism'[1287], which superficially sought for symbolical reconversion of the 'bad' with the 'good', from its 'totalitarian' function to a 'democratic' one. Yet what was soon generally accepted was that the House and the now renamed Union Boulevard (Victoria Socialsmului Boulevard) must stay, their demolition would be otheriwse a financial burden for the economy.

The suggestions made varied greatly, however most of them have been expressed for its retain and attributing a function which symbolically would address the legacy of the building. 'One of the first suggestions Romanians made was that the house to be turned into a university, partly out of gratitude for the students' role in the revolution', an idea which was soon dismissed:

> The People's house is not suited for a university, as somebody suggested recently. It is too big. The mammoth structure could harbour all the universities in Romania's neighbouring states. I think it is better to turn it into a museum to megalomania pushed to paroxysm. It could become Europe's main attraction, similar to the pyramids in Egypt…. We could eventually recuperate a good share of the fabulous amount of money spent building it.[1288]

Various proposals have been made to accommodate international organisations which eventually would contribute to its positive international recognition:

> [...] the house should accommodate the European Headquarters of the United Nations and be used for "activities in the service of peace, freedom, and human rights. Another architect listed the UN's Industrial Development Organisation, UNESCO and the European Community among the possible users of the house. The Ecological Movement of Romania would like to see an International Institute for Ecology and the Planet's Protection operating in that building, while a French businessman of Romanian origin proposed temporarily locating the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development there. "Establishing the Bank in the palace of Europe's last Stalinist dictator would symbolise the triumph of freedom and creativity over tyranny.[1289]

However, after a short period - during which the Palace opened for visitors (March-May 1990) and polls have been organised on how to use the house best - the Bucharest based Institute of Architecture Ion Mincu, together with Italian architects, launched an international call 'on the reorganisation of what had

---

[1286] Ioan 1992, 68.
[1287] Idem 69.
[1288] Ionescu, *People's House: a cumbersome legacy*, Radio Free Europe Dan Ionescu, 1990, 46.
[1289] Idem 46-47.

been improperly called the Civic Centre of the Romanian Capital', with a focus on the Palace of the Republic.[1290] In the meanwhile the architect of the Palace, Anca Petrescu, 'has denied any responsibility for the demolitions in Bucharest's historical centre', and as Ionescu further argues 'she tried hard to pose as something of a victim of the former regime.'[1291] Not a surprise was the reaction of the fellow architects. Ionescu mentioned the strong criticism of Ascanio Damian, former rector of the Institute of Architecture and former member of the former Commission for Architecture and Systematisation of Bucharest: 'wondered if Petrescu's guilt was not graver that that of Zoe Ceaușescu (N. Ceaușescu's daughter), who is in custody waiting to be tried for crimes against the people.'[1292] The author nevertheless concludes with the remark that 'as for the House of the People, the prevailing opinion immediately after the revolution was that "it could never be dissociated from an odious epoch". That opinion has been challenged, and today one can read in the media calls such as the following: 'Let us forget the person who initiated the construction and its original purpose. But let us keep in mind that (the People's House) is an expression of the creative force of the Romanian people.'[1293]

A series of exhibitions and public debates addressed how to deal with the 'scars' of the communist regime, and one of the major confrontations was how to deal with the legacy of the House of the People. Already between April-Mai 1990 the Commission for Urban Planning and the Architects Union, with the support from the Ministry of Culture and Bucharest municipality have organised the exhibition 'The state of the art in Bucharest' ('Starea Bucureștiului' at Sala Dalles): 'One needs to appreciate the intention of organisers of the exhibition: to bring into attention of the public opinion problems affecting architecture and to sensitise public opinion in front of efforts to retain valuable architecture.'[1294]

Among its topics: 'democratic spaces (which preserves) - totalitarian space (which destroyes)' (S. Cantacuzino), reconstruction of monuments, strategies for the rehabilitation of the urban space, priorities for the city, living, public space and monuments, architecture critic and architect ideology, architecture competitions.[1295] The exhibition's main idea was to inform on the urban continuity and developments throughought history by highlighting the urban interventions of Ceaușescu starting 1976 until 1989 as a breaking point, presented as a moment of breaking with the tradition.

Beyond the calls and debates emerging in the press on the matter which reflected public opinion, also experts engaged in a series of debates and actions which addressed the built legacy of the past regime. A first initiative of the architects took place between 18th and 19th of January 1990 (Consfătuirea de la Hotel Parc), occasion which brought to public's attention the issue how to proceed with the Palace of the Republic. However, the issue of monuments protection, how to further deal in particular in the area affected by the

---

[1290] Idem 47.
[1291] Ibidem.
[1292] Idem 49.
[1293] Ibidem.
[1294] Adrian, Mahu. "Expoziția București-starea orașului", In *Revista Arhitectura. Revista de Critică, Teorie și Informație a Uniunii Arhitecților din România și a Ministerului Culturii*, No.1-6, (1990): 17.
[1295] Pascariu, Gabriel. "Prolog la un Prolog", In *Revista Arhitectura. Revista de Critică, Teorie și Informație a Uniunii Arhitecților din România și a Ministerului Culturii*, no.1-6, (1990): 19.

civic-center development and in general how monuments preservation should be dealt with within future urban planning and projects of restructuring of the capital city, have not been addressed.[1296]

Following the Decree of 24th of June 1991, the Commission for the central and local administration and territorial and urban planning, having the headquarters in the House of the People, organised in June 1991 a meeting under the title 'Operation two thousand milliard'. This focused on the continuation and finalisation of the construction works in Bucharest brought to a halt after the 1989 Revolution (the two thousand milliard reflecting the estimated value of the constructions unfinished by the end of 1989).[1297]

The political shift in 1989 generated various polemics in regard to the destiny of this particular urban intervention. Despite the effervescent engagement of the experts in addressing the legacy of the regime the emphasis has been put on the particularity of the current Parliament building and of the Union Boulevard (former Victorial Socialismului). The Museum Building, the Academy House and the Science House remained outside of the public opion and experts' attention and debates. Even more for long the identity of the museum building was still unclear, and only recently following an atempt to sell the property to a private investor (2006) brought attention to the derelict building, which continues to be unused and in a continuous state of decay.

Also, despite the fact that Bucharest experienced one of the major demolition projects conducted in Europe after the Second World War in the name of modernisation, which affected its historic centre with numerous historic monuments and religious buildings, reconstruction was not a major issue addressed by experts or communities in the period following the regime change. Instead, additionally to the decision to finalise the construction of the socialist project, the Orthodox Church, having the state's support, prioritised the development of a new project for the Patriarchy in the proximity of the House. To date only few churches have been reconstructed in the area such as the Church of Saint Old Spiridon (1992-1996), the Church of the Monastery Cotroceni (2003-2004, finalised in 2009), Church Saint Friday (Biserica Sf. Vineri Hereasca) (reconstruction started in 2008), while no further civil buildings reconstructions being pursued or reclaimed in the area.[1298]

Proposals for national and international architectural competitions followed. The most comprehensive was called by the government in 1995 'Bucharest 2000', which gathered almost 235 proposals. Yet the winning proposal aiming at the rehabilitation of the civic centre with the focus on the Parliament House, submitted by the German team Meinhard von Gerkan and Joachim Zais, was never realised.[1299] Instead the exorcisation of the place from the ghosts of the past was invoqued by claiming spiritual purification and return to the Christian morals and values, by which erasing the 'totalitarian burden' would be ensured. The current development of the Orthodox Patriarchy in the proximity of the Parliament House, is a vivid example for such an approach. The symbolical exorcism of the place was further

[1296] Alexandru, Beldiman. "Din Raportul Uniunii Arhitecților pentru perioada 20 ianuarie-1 Octombrie 1990", *Arhitectura*, (1990): 41-42.
[1297] HU OSA 300/120/13 Box 141 File Housing General (1968-1991) Express Monitoring, Radio Bucharest 28 June 1991
[1298] Panaitescu 2012, 214.
[1299] Ibidem.

guaranteed by the government decision in 2005 to grant the concession to the Orthodox Patriarchy to build in the proximity of the former Palace the most voluminous Orthodox Cathedral in the South-East Europe. This decision was argued as the make-up for the demolition of numerous churches in the area which formerly belonged to the Orthodox church, yet its construction with public funding has stirred up the Romanian civic society. The project is in course of finalisation by the end of 1918, despite strong opposition from the civic society.

In line with Leach's claims 'architecture always exists within a political context, and is therefore always "politicised" by association', so can the political-administrative project in Bucharest be understood.[1300] The strong symbolic meaning and association with the political regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu, and of the architectural appreciation of the currently moreover individually perceived components of the administrative centre, continue until present days to be loaded with a negative connotation. As emphasised by Petrescu:

> [...] the architecture of Ceaușescu is a chalenge to order, to architectural orders, to urban order(s). It defies and exceeds. It carries the disproportionate measure of *hubris* and the violence of the hybrid. (…) This desire of architecture, Ceaușescu's "architecturophilia", is first and foremost an "architecturomania": the mania of architecture, architecture as mania, as madness, the delirious become architecture.[1301]

Therefore, the project continues to be perceived as an act of aggression of the regime towards the historical core of the city, as it required the massive demolition of important historic monuments and uprooted the population from its traditional environment. Indeed as highlighted by Petcu, the socialist project prioritised its contemporary achievements by physically screening off historic buildings, or dimissing elements of the old city from the socialist project by actively pursuing their demolition or translocation.[1302] An evaluation carried out by the Architect Hanna Derer in 1995 concerning the architectural patrimony of Bucharest assessed the city-centre. Yet a particular attention being given to the relationship created between the socialist intervention and the remnants of the historical city. Based on this study it was proposed the maintenance or removal of certain buildings in the area. However it primordialy emphasised the restoration of the retained historic buildings predominantley from the 19th century, highliting the strong negative impact that the socialist development had in the area.[1303]

Furthermore, according to experts, ten years after Iosa's anthropological research, a similar judgement is given in the present, in particular concerning the Parliament House. Namely, no architectural, technical or aesthetic value can be identified when assessing the potential that

[1300] Leach, Neil. "The dark side of domus", In *Architecture and Revolution. Contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Leach, Neil, (London, New York: Routledge, 1999): 157f.
[1301] Petrescu, Doina. "The Peopls's House, or the voluptous violence of an architectural paradox", In: Leach, (1999): 190.
[1302] Petcu, Constantin. "Totalitarian city: Bucharest 1980-9, semio-clinical File", In Leach, (1999):184.
[1303] Derer, Hanna. "Evaluarea patrimoniului arhitectural-Studiu de caz: București", In: *BCNMASI*, issued by CNMASI, Anul VI, No.1-2, (1995): 49-54.

could qualify Ceaușescu's urban intervention for preservation.[1304] Moreover, any act that would lead to its preservation as part of the national heritage would be perceived as an act of legitimization of a 'criminal' political regime and its actions. This type of initiative would not comply with the current understanding of heritage supported at the legislative level, as being an act of legitimization and recognition, identification, prioritization of positive qualities and characteristics of historical assets. Additionally, from a legal perspective, assets dated after 1960 have less chance to be designated as heritage at the moment due to age value restrictions.

Yet one must question though to what extent can one consider the legacy of the House of the Republic only a reflection of the political regime of Ceaușescu, on the background that the project was not finalised when the regime collapsed. Instead its finalisation was approved by the second echellon of communists who took power post 1989. This further appropriated the project and decided not only the continuation of the construction of the House, but also of additional constructions in the area. Excluded were the Museum building or the completion of the Academy of Science which until present day are unfinished or derelict, or partly in use (the Academy). Furthermore, its physical appropriation and use by the newly established political elite, by locating the Romanian Parliament into the former House of the Republic, it further symbolically ensured a continuity of the former political elites. Even though this gesture was ascribed the democratisation of the space by allowing democratic political structures to domesticate the space.

Thus, we argue that the House of the People, now celebrated as the Parliament building, can be considered as much a product of the communist regime as of the post 1989 changes and its subsequent politicised appropriation. Hence, it would be a very limited approach to further associate the communist urban project only to Ceaușescu's regime, while its legacy was politically appropriated in the post 1989 context. The lack of democratisation of the project has not only defined the space during the construction period, but also after its finalisation by its subsequent political appropriation, and the use of the properties belonging to the project as originally planned. Various ministries and state institutions moved in, while the residential constructions along Victoria Socialismului Boulverad have been distributed among the former nomenklatura members.

Only later would the public space be re-addressed by opening the square in front of the Parliament House and of the Victoria Socialismului Boulevard to numerous events. Almost 25 years after the regime change and the opening of the National Museum for Contemporary Arts (MNAC) in 2004, the building gained its appreciation among civil society. It became the most popular public space for organizing various cultural events in particular due to its wide open space and façade which is used mostly as a backstage. Although the House of the People and the Boulevard of Socialism gain public recognition and support of the public for its preservation, the ensemble is still

---

[1304] Iosa 2006, 107; Derer, Hanna. "Gewinn und Verlust. Zur Entdeckung und zum Verfall von Bauten der Nachkriegszeit in Rumänien" [Won and Lost. The discovery and decay of post war buildings in Romania], In *Von der Ablehnung zur Aneignung? Das architektonische Erbe des Sozialismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa* [From denial to appropriation? Architectural heritage of socialism in Central- and Eastern Europe], (Visuelle Geschichtskultur, vol. 12), edited by Bartetzky Arnold, Christian Dietz, Jörg Haspel, 70-82, Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014.

facing strong disapproval from the experts concerning its official protection as a monument. During the ICOMOS meeting in Warsaw 2013 which gathered experts from CEE countries concerning a potential transnational UNESCO nomination including socialist heritage, Romania's contribution presented by the architect Ruxandra Nemțeanu included a proposal on the 'Scînteia House' in Bucharest. The Stalinist building (1952-1957) whose design was inspired from the State University in Moscow, the Lomonosow University, hosted the 'I.V.Stalin Casa Scînteii Printing House' renamed after 1989 as the House of the Free Press.[1305] To be mentioned at the time the building was not included as a monument on the official heritage lists in Romania, and no other architectural construction representative for the communist period was at the time listed. As Nemțeanu argued, at the time there was an administrative process undergoing for listing 5 more objects from the period 1950-1953, as 'expression of an urban reconstruction program, (…) a program aiming to accomplish the "typical Soviet city" made of a network of grand boulevards, sided by monumental buildings in the "socialist realism" architectural style.'[1306] These included additionally the residential area 23 August, Floreasca neighbourhood, the ensemble including Bucureștii Noi Boulevard and Vatra Luminoasă. According to Nemțeanu 'they represent, beyond the negative connotations connected to the ideological substratum of the discourse, undeniable values of the Romanian cultural heritage, witness of a historical period which needs to be re-evaluated in terms of architectural production'.[1307]

5.2. Museums and collections from communism and their re-contextualisation

5.2.1. Introduction

The musealisation of the material culture from the communist past and its ideology in Central and Eastern Europe have been analysed in numerous studies.[1308] Yet these often failed to address how the regime change of 1989 impacted museums and collections rooted in the ideology and cultural program of the past regimes from a transnational perspective. Museums dedicated to Communism and to the Party have their origin not in the post 1989 developments, but in the post-war developments in all countries which entered the Soviet sphere of influence. This has been argued by Bădică in her doctoral research, in which she analysed from a historical perspective the museological practices in post-war and post-communism Romania.[1309] There are

[1305] Nemțeanu, Ruxandra. "The Scînteia House" in Bucharest- a Proposal for Nomination to the World Heritage List", In ICOMOS Journals of the German National Committee LVIII, (2013): 102.
[1306] Idem 103.
[1307] Idem 105.
[1308] Petkova-Campbell, Gabriela. "Uses and Exploitation of History: Official History, Propaganda and Mythmaking in Bulgarian Museums", In *Great Narratives of the Past. Traditions and Revisions in National Museums*, edited by Poulot Dominique, Bodenstein Felicity, Lanzarote Guiral José María, 69-81. Conference Proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Paris 29 June – 1 July and 25-26 November 2011. (Linköping University Electronic Press: http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=078, 2011); Apor Peter, *Master narratives of contemporary history in Eastern European National Museums,* In Poulot Dominique, Bodenstein Felicity, Lanzarote Guiral José María eds.), (2011): 569-587.
[1309] Bădică, Simina. Curating communism. A comparative history of museological practices in post-war (1946-1958) and post-communist Romania, (Budapest 2013).

currently few studies which debated the musealisation of communism, that have addressed also these former institutions and their collections, [1310] and none to date which addressed such developments in Romania and Germany from a transnational perspective.

Bădică's extensive research on the musealisation of communism is addressing memorial museums' developments and Communist Party Museum in Romania. Her doctoral research on the Museum of the Communist Party, and its follower the Museum of the Romanian Peasant in Bucharest, focused on addressing discourses and curatorial practices in times of social change by proposing a 'genealogy of exhibiting communism' in order to explain current attempts at building museums of communism. She further elaborated on the connections between museums of communism of the 1950s with the 'post-1989 (anti) communist museums' by tracing down their curatorial practices, concluding that curatorial practices are historically determined. Also the author highlighted that museums of communism from early 1950s could be considered as 'probably the first organised network of museums in CEE, incorporating both Soviet and European tradition in museology and equally working toward the emergence of a new genre', which eventually was succesfully employed in establishing the (anti) communism museums post-1990.[1311] Additionally, to Bădică's research, Cornel Ilie also dicussed the Party Museum in his recently published doctoral research that focused on developments of national history museums in communist Romania.[1312] Both authors encountered, however, difficulties to thoroughly study this institutions mainly due to limited access to basic archival material and further documentation, that could facilitate the detailed research on this topic.

The role of the arts museums and artists from the GDR and their re-evaluation in the course of the political reunification of Germany has been already touched upon in the collection of articles edited by Rehberg and Kaiser and will not be discussed here as it makes a subject for itself.[1313] The Museum for German History in Berlin East, which functioned as the main museal institution engaged in the national program of socialist education of the German Socialist Party, was subject of analysis in the doctoral research of

[1310] Bădică, Simina. "The Black Hole Paradigm. Exhibiting Communism in Post-Communist Romania". In *History of Communism in Europe, Politics of Memory in Post-communist Europe* edited by Neamţu M., vol.1, 81-99, (Bucharest: Zeta Books, 2010); Cristea, Gabriela, Radu-Bucurenci Simina. "Raising the Cross: Exorcising the Romanian's Communist Past in Museums, Memorials and Monuments". In *Past for the Eyes. East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989*, edited by Sarkisova O., Apor P., 275-307. (Budapest, New York: Central University Press, 2008); Ilie, Constantin. *Regimul Comunist și Muzeele de Istorie din România* [The communist regime and history museums in Romania], (Editura Dobrogea, 2013); Coroama Radu, Neguțu Mariana, Ilie Oana, eds., *Comunismul în Romania 1945-1989*.Catalog editat de Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României, (Târgoviște: Editura Cetatatea de Scaun, 2007); González, Pablo Alonso. "Museums in revolution: changing national narratives in revolutionary Cuba between 1959 and 1990", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Routledge, 2014; González, Pablo Alonso. "Transforming ideology into heritage; A return of nation and identity in late socialist Cuba?", *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol.19, no.2, (2016a): 139-159.

[1311] Bădică 2013.

[1312] Ilie 2013.

[1313] Rehberg Karl-Siegbert, Kaiser Paul, eds. *Bilderstreit und Gesellschaftsumbruch. Die Debatte um die Kunst aus der DDR im Prozess der deutschen Wiedervereiningung* [Conflicting arts and society change. Debates concerning arts from the GDR in the process of reunification of Germany], (Berlin: Siebenhaar Verlag, 2013).

Mary-Elizabeth Andrews.[1314] The author provides a comprehensive overview of the historical evolution of the Zeughaus (the Prussian armoury house) via successive museums and collections housed over centuries, and in various political, cultural and social contexts of Prussia and Germany. As such the author focused on 'the construction of a national historical image via museological practices, museum technologies, and above all, the perception and interpretation of the objects and collections as a whole.'[1315] Consequently, the Museum of the German History is analysed in the wider context by tracing down the evolution of its historically evolved core collections under several museums. As reiterated by Andrews, most of the studies that addressed the post-unification site specific studies, one has missed to 'investigate how objects, together with museums as architectural monuments, have been re-fashioned according to representative requirements.'[1316] This is partly explained by the author due to limited understanding of the role of objects in museums which tend to be perceived as something 'fixed in time, no longer subject to the normal processes of deterioration and decay. But neither materiality nor meaning is stating in the museum context. Instead, the technologies of the museum itself - selection, preservation, categorisation, interpretation, and display - create multiple layers of meaning, as objects are envisaged across time'.[1317] These equally are time bound and culturally, economic and politically conditioned. The foundation of the museum was discussed in Pfundt's diploma' research "Die Gründung des Museums für Deutsche Geschichte 1952 in der DDR", while Ebenfeld's research discussed the Museum for German History (1950-155) as part of the historical strategies for legimisation of 'Herrschaft' of SED, aiming at highlighting the dictatorial character of the socialist regime.[1318]

Thus it is not subject of this chapter to detail the history of these institutions, nor of their collections. Instead, it will provide an analysis of various mechanisms developed by the GDR and communist Romania to preserve and manage movable cultural heritage representative for the socialist regime's achievements. Therefore, it will highlight how these institutions engaged in developing collection strategies and considered systematic approaches in order to manage and preserve GDR's and communist Romania's significant cultural heritage. I twill further question which measures and tools to evaluate assets were developed according to their significance. As such, collections dedicated to the regime's national contemporary history, and the mechanisms developed to manage and assess contemporary collections will be detailed. This is significant to be discussed on the background of the impact that the regime change had not only on the dissolution of the Museum for Germany History, and on the Museum of the Communist Party, but also on the

---

[1314] Andrews, Mary-Elizabeth. "*Memory of the Nation": Making and re-making German history in the Berlin Zeughaus*, Dissertation, (Sydney 2014).
[1315] Idem 20.
[1316] Ibidem.
[1317] Andrews 2014, 22.
[1318] Pfundt, Karin. *Die Gründung des Museums für Deutsche Geschichte 1952 in der DDR* [The foundation of the Museum for German History 1952 in the GDR]. Diplomarbeit (Berlin, 1993/1994); Ebenfeld Stefan, *Geschichte nach Plan? Die Instrumentalisierung der Geschichtswissenschaft in der DDR am Beispiel des Museums für Deutsche Geschichte in Berlin (1950 bis 1955)* [Planning history? The instrumentalisation of historical studies in the GDR exemplified by the Museum for German History in Berlin (1950 to 1955)], (Tectum Verlag, 2001).

way their inherited collections have been re-evaluated and assessed in the post 1989 context. Thus it will be questioned the selection mechanisms, and whether any systematic approach, has been considered when such collections were re-evaluated. Subsequently, it will be discussed if and how collections have been preserved or discarded in the context of regime, institutional and normative change, by the newly created institutional framework of the German Historical Museum (a museum project promoted by the Western German Chancellor Helmut Kohl), and the ethnographic Museum of the Romanian Peasant in Bucharest (brought back to its existence by the artist Horia Bernea). These new institutions have replaced the communist museums in the post 1989 events.

5.2.2. The Museum of the German History (Museum für Deutsche Geschichte- MfDG) in Berlin. Brief introduction

Trimborn argues that monuments preservation during the GDR became increasingly submitted to socialist cultural politics due to its political-ideological and didactic potential. Although during its first stage of GDR existence the regime was committed to legitimise the new socialist ideology, it will later reverse towards the legitimisation of monuments preservation as historical documents.[1319] As rightly identified by Trimborn preservation of monuments started to be strongly impacted by the poor economic conditions during the 1980s. This lead the regime to prioritise the financial support towards those of national and international significance.[1320] An issue which will be further discussed in the context of museums, and assessment of their collections.

In January 1949 the Executive Committee of the Socialist Unity Party issued the order according to which museology became an important tool in educating and shaping the national conscience according to Party's guidelines.[1321] According to Olsen establishing museums dedicated to the socialist ideology in Berlin draws its inspiration from the Soviet experience, as a consequence of the visit in the Soviet Union of Fred Oelßner, responsible for the Propaganda section of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED).[1322] Oelßner during his trip in the early 1950s visited various museums, among others the Revolutionary Museum and Lenin Museum, and various Soviet history museums. Following to this, a museum dedicated to the revolutionary movements or a 'Museum of Liberation' was supposed to be created also in Berlin. His contribution, and later of Eduard Ullmann member of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Berlin, were essential in the process of establishing the first national history museum under close supervision of the Party. Inaugurated in 1952 the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte (MfDG) was founded as the first national history museum to portray Germany's national history from a Marxist historical materialist perspective. This aimed at demonstrating continuity from the earliest traces from the Paleolithic until present time, including not only GDR but also FRG's history in its narrative. Ullman has been appointed the provisional director of the museum being later

---

[1319] Trimborn 1997, 70f.
[1320] Idem 71.
[1321] Pfundt 1993/1994.
[1322] Olsen 2015, 70.

replaced by Prof. Alfred Meusel.[1323] Following the III. SED Party meeting (Beschluß of the Central Committee 16.08.1951), the building of the Zeughaus designed by Friedrich Schinkel in 1831 on Unter den Linden - former public Prussian museum of arms and armour, and army and military historical museum after 1871 - officially became the host of the Museum for German History, at the time under renovation.[1324]

The Museum for German History in Berlin opened officially in July 1952, under the guidance of the historian Alfred Meusel, and aimed at becoming a 'center' for work to be carried out by German historians, dedicated to educating youth.[1325] The museum became the 'central' museum that the political regime used to export its vision on the national German history, namely in the first stage, by enforcing the idea of the contribution of the SED and workers movements to the formation of the German state. The mission of the Museum was to locate the place of the GDR within the larger context of Germany's historical development and the history of German socialist development. Therefore during its first years of existence it developed a historical narrative based on the Marxist interpretation of the past that emphasised the experience of the German working class. This narrative promoted the state as 'the culmination of hundreds of years of socialist evolution and political revolution.'[1326] As Olsen argues 'this new museum was supposed to tell the story of the German people through displays comprising items representing its material culture. Moreover, the museum was charged not only with displaying a Marxist narrative of the historical development but also with propagating and actively "enlightening" the masses about the "proper" interpretation of historical events and personalities.'[1327]

First were inaugurated the sections for pre- and early history and Middle Ages. Following next year, a new section dedicated to the historical period 1850-1945 opened. However, it became compelling to present contemporary history starting 1945. As such acquiring assets representative for the contemporary history, with the aim to legitimise the foundation of GDR, the workers revolutionary moments and role of the Party was priority from the very first stage of its inception.[1328] While the historical period after 1945 has been displayed in various temporary exhibitions, it was only during the 1960s that the permanent section dedicated to contemporary GDR was realised[1329], and eventually revised between 1981-1984. The historical evolution and content of these permanent exhibitions have been closely analysed by Andrews (2014), and will not make subject of detailed description here.

As a history museum, one of its first priorities was to reconsider the periodization according to which the collections were organised. In particular during the 1950s according to Olsen 'the SED intended the Museum for German History to document specific lines of historical continuity, while simultaneously delimitating the state from other possible interpretations of

[1323] Ibidem.
[1324] Engel and Ribbe 1997,114.
[1325] DHM-HA: MfDG/16: Thesen. Die Aufgaben der fortschrittlichen deutschen Historiker und der Aufbau des Museums für Deutsche Geschichte, 16.01.1952, Bl.06.
[1326] Olsen 2015, 217.
[1327] Idem 70.
[1328] DHM-HA: MfDG/132: Entwurf des Rahmenprespktivprogramms der Museen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Rat für Museumswesen beim Ministerium für Kultur der DDR, Bl.15.
[1329] MfDG 497/1964-65.

Germany's past. Both of these functions were seen as a vital component of the state's overall attempt to promote itself vis-à-vis West Germany.'[1330] As such distinct epochs of the historical and economic development using Marx's interpretation have been outlined. Accordingly, curatorial departments were formed to cover the areas of early history, the Middle ages up through 1517, 1517-1848, 1848-1895, 1895-1918, 1918-1945, and a final department that focused on the present day. This will, however, change due to the political events of 1961 when the construction of the Berlin Wall brought on a new change in the relationship between the East and the West of Germany.

Hence after 1961 the Party actively acted to highlight the national relevance of the socialist tradition, as discussed in the previous chapter. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the museum, in line with the developments in museum science, worked towards implementing a standardized country's public portrayal of history.

Olsen highlighted mainly the role that the museum played in educating eastern Germans trough its permanent and its numerous temporary exhibitions, but also actively provided guidance to institutions engaged in shaping the GDR historical narrative. 'Between 1959 and 1977 the MfDG worked either as a direct partner or as a consultant on over twenty different memorials and museums in the GDR'[1331], Buchenwald being amongst its most prominent museum partner.

The period following 1970s and 1980s was characterised by a new state of the art of the relationship between the two German states. Under these newly created circumstances the GDR regime openly engaged in expanding the conceptual framework governing German national history, however in a differentiated manner from its West German counterpart. This new reassessment created also the conditions for historians to engage in a theoretical debate throughout the 1970s and 1980s concerning "heritage" and "tradition" (Erbe und Tradition), which have been already discussed in the second chapter of this research. This explains the interest of GDR in shaping an historical awareness of the socialist regime, which eventually translated in various measures which included not only the preservation of monuments, but also an increased interest for displays on the GDR history emerged. These have been concretised also in the plans for the transformation of the MfDG in its last years before the regime change of 1989 into a planned Museum of the GDR National History.

Yet what Andrews did not mention when addressing the increasing role of heritage starting 1970s, is what role the MfDG had in shaping and preserving the national cultural heritage of the GDR. As the museum was not involved only in promoting political-ideological education according to the Party, it also actively engaged in developing methodologies for a scientific approach in museum activities. As such, no clear analysis has been provided concerning the methodologies developed to facilitate the systematisation and value assessment of the museum objects and collections, which have been considered as part of the GDR heritage of national or international significance. Thus the development of a systematic approach for museums, their collections

---

[1330] Olsen 2015, 80.
[1331] Idem 109.

and exhibitions, their value assessment is subject of interest in this chapter, and will be detailed as following.

5.2.3. Towards a systematic approach in managing collections and museums

Andrews argues that 'efforts to develop a theoretical and methodological framework for the GDR museums had not yet been concluded when the state collapsed in 1989/1990. However significant progress was made, both in terms of the definition of a Marxist-Leninist museology and the practical application of new and effective exhibition methods, the professionalisation of the sector and the care of cultural property.'[132]

Therefore, the author focused in her analysis on discussing the role assigned to historical museum from the dialectical and historical materialism perspective, and its contribution to the historical scientific work. On the background of these developments the author argued MfDG's reluctance to subscribe to a theory on 'museum science' (Museumswissenschaft) 'as an independent field of study'.[133] Andrews further stated that after joining international organisations such as ICOM which ensured 'better information regarding national and international museum developments', the access has been facilitated to the 'systematic evaluation of international museum literature' and an increased exchange with various museum institutions in the socialist block, which subjected the museum to international developments in the practice and museum theory.[134] However, the museum was connected from its early foundation with museums and developments accross CEE which engaged in addressing national and contemporary history or the party's history, but also exchanged with various Western prestigious museums to facilitate exchange and restitutions concerning various artefacts in particular from its militaria collections.[135]

Beyond its national and international collaboration with various historical museums, MfDG actively engaged in debates focused on developing a 'museum's science' (Museumswissenschaft). This emerged as part of the debates referring to 'scientific documentation' (Dokumentationswissenschaft), to include also libraries and archives. As such despite the fact that no clear definition has been given to what was understood with 'museum science', a characterisation has been pursued in Theses issued in Neue Museumskunde (1964).[136] 'Museum science' was considered to be dealing with 'the research of objects: visual, accoustic, and specific original written testimonies, in relationship with the connections which ensure their preservation, as much as further explore possibilities for scientific analysis, and moreover their evaluation for exhibition purposes. (Museum science) has therefore significant pedagogical, scientific, and cultural-political responsibilities'.[137] Subject of

---

[132] Andrews 2014, 346.
[133] Idem 354.
[134] Idem 358.
[135] DHM-HA: MfDG 221.
[136] DHM-HA: MfDG/218: Entwurf von Thesen zur Museumswissenschaft, In: Diskussionsbeiträge zur Museumswissenschaft, Neue Museumskunde, Jahrgang 7, no.3.
[137] DHM-HA: MfDG/218: Entwurf von Thesen zur Museumswissenschaft , In: Diskussionsbeiträge zur Museumswissenschaft , Neue Museumskunde, Jahrgang 7, no.3, Beilage, 1964, S.20.

scientific inquiery for museum science were issues related to following activities:

> defining principles for the selection of museal objects,
> developing a collections systematic approach,
> research on the documentary values of museum assets, based on a collection methodology,
> developing restoration, and conservation methods,
> developing sociological studies on museums visitors, reflecting on their expectations from the museum and the impact of the exhibitions on them,
> research on the significance of the museums assets in the overall concept of the exhibitions.[1338]

Nevertheless it was important to argue also the museum's role for the benefit of the society, which was assumed for three major reasons:

> as scientific institutions contributed to the documentation, research, collection and preservation of the museal assets;
> played a significant role through their collections and storages in protecting 'cultural treasuries' (Kulturschätze) of high material and intangible value of national and international significance;
> through their exhibitions and pedagogical projects contributed to the cultural politics of the GDR.[1339]

Furthermore, the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism was the methodology to be employed in activities defining the field of museum's work, such as: research, collections, preservation, and exhibiting museums assets. It was considered that the role of 'historical museums was not to research or display developments of nature and society. This attribution was reserved to philosophy, and particularily to historical materialism. As such, a historical museum of the GDR can only deal with the representation of the historical evolution of German people'.[1340] As Andrews stated museum science in that respect 'saw the object of its research and the specificity of its methodology in original objects-their documentation value as the "results" of given development processes, their effective evaluation and research, the conditions for their preservation, and their ability to communicate within the total context of the exhibition'.[1341] This explains the reason for which 'Gegenstände' (museum objects) were not considered significant for exhibitions

'gegenständliche, bildliche, akustische und bestimmte schriftliche Originale Sachzeugen, untersucht die Beziehungen ihrer Erhaltung, sowie die Möglichkeiten, sie für die weitere wissenschaftliche Arbeit aufzuarbeiten und sie vor allem in musealen Ausstellungen auszuwerten. Sie hat damit bedeutende pädagogische, wissenschaftliche und allgemein-kulturpolitische Aufgaben zu erfüllen'

[1338] DHM-HA: MfDG/218: Entwurf von Thesen zur Museumswissenschaft, In: Diskussionsbeiträge zur Museumswissenschaft, Neue Museumskunde, Jahrgang 7, no.3, Beilage, 1964, S.21-22.

[1339] DHM-HA: MfDG/218: Entwurf von Thesen zur Museumswissenschaft, In: Neue Museumskunde, Jahrgang 7, no.3, Beilage, 1964, S.23.

[1340] DHM-HA: MfDG/218: Erwin Gülzow, Diskussionsbeiträge zur Museumswissenschaft. 2. Zu Fragen der Darstellung gesetzmäßiger historischer Prozesse und Erscheinungen mit musealen Mitteln, In Neue Museumskunde, Jahrgang 7, no.3, Beilage, 1964, Bl.32: 'Von diesen Überlegungen ausgehend, ist es einleuchtend, dass die Aufgabe des Geschichtsmuseums nicht darin bestehen kann, Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Entwicklung der Natur und Gesellschaft zu erforschen oder darzustellen. Diese Aufgabe fällt der Philosophie allgemein, insbesondere dem historischen Materialismus zu. Ein Geschichtsmuseum der DDR kann sich also nur mit der Darstellung des gesetzmäßigen Verlaufs der Geschichte des deutschen Volkes beschäftigen.'

[1341] Andrews 2014, 353.

in their self representation, but it was the collection that was considered the core of the museum, which selectively gathered objects that stood in relationship with each other.

Following, developing methods that would contribute to ensuring scientific research and documentation in museums, have been discussed increasingly starting the 1960s as an issue of interest for museum science, and in particular it addressed museums as the field of an interdisciplinary enquiry:

- ➢ developing scientific selection methods to systematically collect and document museum assets, such as inventories, setting up catalogues and storage activities,
- ➢ based on knowledge acquired from museum practice and other scientific disciplines, museum science contributes to develop methods to ensure preservation (activities such as conservation, restoration),
- ➢ based on a interdisciplinary approach (sociology, psychology, pedagogy) museum science develops methods for educational and propaganda purposes, publicity for museums, and methods for exhibition design.[1342]

Despite of the increasing interest in defining and organizing how museums should communicate their collections and engage with their visitor, no specific interpretation strategies have been considered along with all-above mentioned activities. The systematic approach that laid the basis for organising museum's activities referred to:

- ➢ theoretical developments concerning museums as a scientific documentary institution and its role in educational and formation process,
- ➢ theoretical research on the role and function of museums,
- ➢ developing methodologies for the research of collections and exhibition of museal assets. These methodologies included:
- ✓ methods for the systematisation of collection, based on a scientific selection of the museal assets following an analytical research of the documentary value,
- ✓ developing best practice and conditions for conservation and restoration works,
- ✓ discussing best practice for developing criteria and principles for the inventories, storages and catalogues.
- ➢ developing methods and principles for exhibition design, starting with its scientific conceptualisation to the technical, artistic, pedagogical, psychological, didactic principles. These included the selection of the original material to be exhibited following scientific criteria to be defined,
- ➢ developing norms for the research, preservation, collection, restoration, inventorisation, aiming at building an unitary museal system and ensuring its funding,
- ➢ developing administrative norms for museum management, and norms for the classification of the museal assets as 'peoples goods' (Volksvermögen), developing principles to ensure the protection of

---

[1342] DHM-HA: MfDG/218: Entwurf von Thesen zur Museumswissenschaft, In: Diskussionsbeiträge zur Museumswissenschaft, Neue Museumskunde, Jahrgang 7, no.3, Beilage, 1964, Bl.23.

collections in private ownership; documentation and protection of all museal assets owned by various state institutions.[1343]

One of the main strategies starting MfDG's foundation was to develop a national museum's fund of GDR, to implement systematic approaches to its collections, and nevertheless to support the adoption of the legislation in the field. As such, museums throughout GDR were encouraged to publish and to set up museum's inventories, which MfDG did in 1970.[1344]

Therefore it is significant to be detailed in this research, the strategies by which the museum engaged to form and increase its own museum's fund, and by which means relevant assets were selected, inventorised, and preserved as part of the GDR national heritage. MfDG was a new emergent institution without a collection of its own yet, but located in a prestigious historical building. The freshly history museum and the Party embarked soon enough on the mission to expand its collections. Since the museum's mission aimed at highlighting essential moments in the German history, and not to exhibit 'rare' objects, that would eventually turn the museum into a treasury house, its priority was in a first stage not the object exhibited. Instead, its first priority was to acquire assets which were in compliance with the textbooks describing German history with a focus on the revolutionary movements and workers history. This reflected the dialietical and historical materialism' approach to collections, which made the main subject of enquiry for the scientific work carried out in museums. Therefore one engaged primordially in addressing the natural-scientific, social, artistic significance of the museal assets and their documentary value. As part of the systematic approach to museum's collections, the selection of museal assets was submitted to principles which excluded contingency. Moreover, reflected typical and characteristic traits according to which museal assets could objectively testify various historical processes. [1345]

In that respect the museum's purpose was to function as an active research and educational centre, closely supervised by the Party, as emphasised by Andrews, 'the Party strictly controlled exhibition concepts throughout the life of the museum, making judgements about the selection of the exhibition themes, the emphasis of particular events and personalities, the formulation of text panels and labels, the choice of the objects and their placement, lighting considerations, and the size and colour of wall texts'.[1346] As the author argues in their first stage during the foundation of the museum the exhibits remained predominantley textual, including major parts only of printed materials accompanied by museum's texts and richley detailed labels.[1347] Yet one needs to stress that the methodology of exhibitions and of collections have been gradually organised and developed.

Starting from the 1960s an increasing attention was paid to exhibiting contemporary history, while debates on the role of museum science were

---

[1343] DHM-HA: MfDG/218: Entwurf von Thesen zur Museumswissenschaft, In: Diskussionsbeiträge zur Museumswissenschaft, Neue Museumskunde, Jahrgang 7, no.3, Beilage, 1964, S.23.

[1344] DHM-HA: MfDG/132: Entwurf des Rahmenperspektivprogramms der Museen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Rat für Museumswesen beim Ministerium für Kultur der DDR, S.15.

[1345] DHM-HA: MfDG/218: Entwurf von Thesen zur Museumswissenschaft, In: Diskussionsbeiträge zur Museumswissenschaft, Neue Museumskunde, Jahrgang 7, no.3, Beilage, 1964, Bl.24.

[1346] Andrews 2014, 303.

[1347] Idem 309.

gaining prominence. Until then no permanent exhibition with a collection was organised by MfDG yet, it focused initially on organising various temporary exhibitions dedicated to personalities, events and later on the GDR's achievements in social, cultural, economic and political life. Collected, acquired or commissioned objects, varied from original to reproductions, models, facsimile, documents, newspaper, photography, these ultimately were considered as auxiliary (Hilfsmittel) to the original asset (Exponat), which was nevertheless prioritised. Moreover, acquiring objects or in some cases entire collections from various institutions or museums from GDR was a common practice, such as the case of the Museum für Meereskunde in Berlin whose collections have been entirely transferred to MfDG, Army Museum in Potsdam and Völkerkundemuseum in Leipzig in 1963/64[1348]; the Collection Wolf, and Sachs (posters), rests of the Collections of Dr. Könnecke and Wäscher (documents); Collection Bonsack, collections of the former Hohenzollern Museum (militaria).[1349] Also acquiring objects related to developments in West Germany and West Berlin, was strongly supported from its early stages, since the Party engaged to enforce the image of GDR as the only legitimate German state.[1350]

Following the political changes during of the 1970s 'the inclusion of permanent contemporary displays, the revision of the periodisation to better reflect the development of German history as part of the (socialist) world-historical process, and the need to improve the integrity and effectiveness of the exhibition as a whole became increasingly important.'[1351] The refurbishing of the permanent exhibition between 1981-1984 is considered by Andrews as: 'the culmination of the MfDG museological evolution and a reflection of the developed historiographical treatement of the whole German history as presented in the socialist museum'.[1352]

The contemporary section has been first organised in 1974 and it covered the period between 1945-1971, updated in 1974 to also include 1974 as the twenty-fith anniversary of the GDR foundation was celebrated, and again reworked in 1978 before its last revision from the 1980s. The main priority given during all stages of the exhibition development was to provide a comprehensive vision of German history by depicting the GDR as 'the continuation of lawful historical progress (both national and global) as well as the high-point and culmination of many centuries of German history. (…) By the late 1980s the MfDG was no longer referring to itself as the "central" historical museum as it had over three decades, but as the "national" historical museum of the GDR'.[1353]

A new department was created within MfDG the 'Fundus' responsible with activities such as the creation of inventories, catalogues of collections, storage, security, visitors centre, communication, technical support,

[1348] DHM-HA: MfDG 208: Vorläufige Bestandsübersicht, über museale Exponate des ehemaligen Museums für Meereskunde Berlin, die 1963/64 vom Museum für Deutsche Geschichte übernommen wurden, S.123-156.
[1349] DHM-HA: MfDG 208: Analyse der bisherigen Prinzipien und Methoden bei der Bestandsbildung zur Geschichte der neuesten Zeit und Grundsätze und Perspektiven zu deren weiterer Entwicklung, Arbeitsgruppe Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung, Mai 1968, S.219.
[1350] DHM-HA: MfDG/475, 1968.
[1351] Andrews 2014, 361.
[1352] Idem 384.
[1353] Idem 385.

acquistions. Beginning of 1972 was finalised one of the major inventories of the museum's collections in MfDG, by the museum fund. Every section was documented, registered and gaps in information or material culture has been notified. New suggestions for acquisitions or documentation have been made, such as interviewing last antifascism fighters followed for the section dedicated to the period 1917-1945.[1354] Already beginning of the 1970s the museum was indicating reaching its limited storage capacities for new acquisitions which according to collections planning were at 200-300 assets each year by 1968. Also museum sections changed their acquisition priorities starting 1972 by addressing issues concerned with the quality of the museal assets, while the quantity was not anymore prioritised. As such the politics of acquisition has been oriented towards prioritising acquisition of valuable assets for collections. The significance of the museal assets for collections was differentiated by the frequency of their display (temporary or permanent exhibitions).

Collections were evaluated according to their national and international significance. This had to be established based on their unique character, or by comparison with similar assets or collections of various national or international institutions. However, one needs to mention that the evaluation of the museal assets was conducted based on the identified categories such as: technological, artistic, historical, militaria, material culture (ethnographic), documents; while no historical period was prioritised. Their quality being demonstrated by assessing their 'intangible value' (Ideeller Wert) following criteria such as scientific, artistic, cultural-historic, and it equally considered also their economic value. An economic estimation of the collection value has been individually assessed. The acquisition price of the museal assets was considered as a starting point for the calculations. However, this procedure encountered difficulties in case assets have been acquired not by purchase but donnations, gifts, transfer or property.[1355] Such details have been included in the inventories, together with the short description of the asset, its provenance, and former owner contact details.[1356] Also part of the documentation provided in the inventories was the state of conservation of objects, recommendations being made to the fundus department, either to ensure their retain and restoration, or their cassation.[1357] The retain of the assets was considerd also on the background of their significance for MfDG, which was identified based on how relevant they were for exhibition purposes, permanent or temporary. The main sections that have been organised by MfDG were: arts and material culture, documents, militaria, production technologies, film and image, and restoration atelier has been organised.[1358]

Few examples of collections' evaluation will be further detailed. The section of insignia and medals, part of the wider militaria collection, which was newly created by the MfDG, and did not include assets from the previous Zeughaus collection, was considered of national significance. Internationally this collection was compared with the collection of the National History

---

[1354] DHM-HA: MfDG 208: Sammlungstätigkeit im MfDG, Abt.1917-1945, Schreiben 20.04.1972, S.15.

[1355] DHM-HA: MfDG 208: Einschätzung der Bestände, Plastik, Abt.1789-1900, 29.1.1969, S.121-122.

[1356] DHM-HA: MfDG 208: Einteilung des Inventarbuches, Bl.158.

[1357] DHM-HA: MfDG 208: Bestandseinschätzung der Sammlung historischer Uniformen (einschl. Ausrüstungsstücke), Orden und Auszeichnungen, Fahnen, und Standarten sowie Militariagraphiken und Zinnfiguren, 28.10.1969, Bl.58.

[1358] DHM-HA: MfDG 221: S.82.

Museum in Budapest, but yet it was not considered as significant as the one in Budapest.[1359] Another example of evaluation of collections was the collection of posters, which has already been addressed by Andrews (2014) in particular in relationship with the restitution issues raised after 1989 of the formerly Jewish owned Sachs collection. This collection included three main categories, according to the inventories issued in 1968: political posters until 1945 (6.709 in 1968), posters after 1945 (18.954 in 1968) and the 'Sonder' collection Sachs (10.268 in 1968, post 1989 have been only approximately 4.200 restituted), considered of political, historical, cultural, artistic and aesthetic value, and of national and international significance.[1360] Copies were not counted in the inventories, and often have been selected for cassation in case no significance for the retain could be demonstrated.[1361] In November 1989 when the poster collection was revised, it has reorganised including: international and German posters until 1914, international and national posters from the First World War, of the Weimar Republic, political posters 1933-1945, of the Soviet and western occupation, GDR posters, basically reordering them without keeping for instance the Sachs collection integrity.[1362] This demonstrates that MfDG was, contrary to opinions expressed by current DHM curators, not only involved in massively acquiring assets[1363], but it often revised its collection politics, and selection mechanisms have been developed in order to address cassation of assets.

The arts collections included paitings, graphics and sculptures. Among collected artists, starting 16th century until present, were Rembrandt, Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach, Otto Dix, George Grosz, Leo Haas, Käthe Kollwitz, Willi Sitte, Walter Womacka, Eva Schulze-Knabe, Lea Grundig etc. All were considered of having an intangible value for their artistic and historical significance, while the economic value of the collection could not be defined due to the major differences between the individual works of art. However, the entire collection was not considered of having national nor international significance, and only the collection 'Revolutionäre deutsche Graphik' was considered of national significance for being unique in the Republic.[1364] It was considered however that GDR collection was poorly represented, and henceforth recommended to systematically cover such gaps in line with an acquisition plan. Yet GDR collections have been systematically revised in November 1989 following to which the GDR collection was removed considered as insignificant 'nichstsagend', as the Collection Kroos, or not relevant 'überflüssig' (Sächsische Schlachtenbilder).[1365]

[1359] DHM-HA: MfDG 208: Bestandseinschätzung der Sammlung historischer Uniformen (einschl. Ausrüstungsstücke), Orden und Auszeichnungen, Fahnen, und Standarten sowie Militariagraphiken und Zinnfiguren, 28.10.1969, S.56.
[1360] DHM-HA: MfDG 208: Die Plakatsammlung des Museums für Deutsche Geschichte, Sektor Dokumente, 23.04.1968, S.211-212.
[1361] DHM-HA: MfDG 208: Bericht über den Stand der Bearbeitung der Plakatsammlung, 28.11.1968, S.172-175.
[1362] DHM-HA: MfDG 208, 20.11.1989, S.90.
[1363] Interview with Beyer de Hahn Curator DHM Berlin, August 2014.
[1364] DHM-HA: MfDG 208: Graphik. Komplex: Werke großer Künstler des 16.,17.,18.,19.,20. Jahrhunderts, S.182-183.
[1365] DHM-HA: MfDG 208, S.79.

5.2.4.   Deutsches Historisches Museum a 'gift to the people' and dealing with the legacy of the Museum for the German History

During the 1980s Chancellor Helmut Kohl's politics to 'normalise' Germany's past by historicising the Nazi period and placing it in a 'broader historical context' found its expression in a series of initiatives. According to Koshar during the 1980s in the Federal Republic two main museum projects were debated, one for the Federal Republic in Bonn Haus der Geschichte, and the second in Berlin at the German Historical Museum (DHM). Originally announced by Chancellor Kohl in his government declaration in 1985, the DHM was intended to serve as an answer to the MfDG in East Berlin. Officially presented to the public in 1987 as 'a gift from West Germany to the people of West Berlin', the founding of the museum was part of the 750th commemoration festivities honouring the city of Berlin. The aim of the latest being to 'encapsulate all of German history in a single building. "The museum should stimulate a critical coming to terms with the past (…) but also make (historical) understanding possible, and allow possibilities for identification.' [1366] The author further argues that these developments reflected efforts 'to recentralise identities and memories around a national state that, rhetoric notwithstanding, accepted the division of Germany. (…) For Kohl and his key supporters, such as the historian Michael Stürmer, the goal was to reduce German memory to an identification with Western values as expressed by the Atlantic community, NATO, and the substantial accomplishments of the Federal Republic's liberal constitutionalism'.[1367]

By the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s, however, the idea of establishing a history museum that would focus on national history, including a perspective of the German history after 1945, fired up the German society. Experts, historians, art-historians, politicians, and institutions debated on the relevance and feasibility of such a project within a federal state. Meanwhile on the Eastern side of Berlin, the museum committed to the idea of national German history was fully functional since January 1952. The concept for the 'national museum' developed firstly in strong opposition to its counterpart in the Eastern part of Berlin. The declared museum's mission was coined on three major pillars: namely its permanent exhibition aimed at presenting the German history within European context, while various aspects would be emphasised in the temporary exhibitions. Further attention had to be given to raising awareness about the historical past by employing innovative and modern tools.[1368] While the main idea has been layed out, its promoters intensively searched for an adequate location in Berlin and objects to consolidate its collections, concluding for the proposed plan of the museum building of the architect Aldo Rossi.

However, the regime change of 1989 created new opportunities for the western German museum promoters. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Museum for German History had to redefine itself in the newly emergent political context, and as such 'it looked to the West, to its counterpart, the embryonic German Historical Museum, as a potential collaborator, but also as

[1366] Koshar 2000, 234.
[1367] Ibidem.
[1368] Ottomeyer Hans, Czech Hans-Jörg. *Deutsche Geschichte in Bildern und Zeugnissen*, Deutsches Historisches Museum, (Edition Minerva, 2007).

a rival'. [1369] In June 1990 MfDG was elaborating various concepts for transforming MfDG in a historical Brandenburg-Prussian museum, including Zeughaus as the museum building and parts of its collections, under the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (Stiftung Preussische Kulturbesitz)[1370], or alternatively a History Museum of GDR hosted in a typical and representative socialist building.[1371] Priority was given to safeguarding as many as possible assets which were representative for the GDR history, while the overall collection of MfDG was estimated at approximately 450.000 assets. [1372] Alternatively was considered the transformation of MfDG into an enthographic museum of material culture, or to establish a Militray museum in line with the former Prussian museum.[1373]

In this context, the politicised understanding of the past was seen as a significant hindernis to successfully unify East and West German societies, as demonstrated when discussing the parliamentary commissions in the previous chapter. As such it was not surprising that cultural figures like Christoph Stölzl, the first director of the German Historical Museum (DHM), held very strong opinions regarding the burdend legacy of the socialist regime. In 1991, Stölzl would argue that,

> [...] just as the Allied forces forbade the display of Nazi symbols in 1945, and both governments in East and West Germany did the same, so too should Germany now have the right to remove monuments that were dedicated to honouring people like Lenin - likening it to preserving a statue to Göring. Many of the monuments, museums and commemoration events covered in this work became the subject of great scrutiny following the collapse of the SED regime.[1374]

As such the solution adopted concerning the legacy of the MfDG is explanatory. By the end of August 1990 the Ministry of Education and Science together with the Ministry of Culture issued a decree concerning the future use of the museums collections and properties.[1375] As such it has been decided to disolve the MfDG, and to legally transfer its collections, the building Zeughaus, the library, the cinema, the storages in Weißensee and Scheune Neulöwenberg in Oraneninburg, and the memorial 'Berliner Mauer' at Bernauer Straße to the German Historical Museum (DHM)[1376], and less its people. Plans to erect the new museum near the Reichstag in Berlin were scrapped once it was clear that the two Germanies were going to unite. Shortly before MfDG's closure in June 1990, the museum launched a last call to the eastern Germans to donate objects associated with the daily life in GDR from 1945-1990. Nevertheless the museum's mission throughout 1990 was to preserve and collect assets

---

[1369] Andrews 2014, 401.
[1370] DHM-HA: MfDG/236: Entwurf, 14.06.1990, S.1.
[1371] DHM-HA: MfDG/236: Entwurf (Diskussionsgrundlage) Die nächste Aufgaben und die Zukunft des MfDG, 13.Juni, 1990, S.12-13.
[1372] DHM-HA: MfDG/236: Anhang, Schritte zur Vereinigung von MfDG und DHM, 13.06.1990, S.6.
[1373] DHM-HA: MfDG/236: Entwurf, 17.04.1990, S.15.
[1374] Olsen 2015, 221-222.
[1375] DHM-HA: DHM/1.45: Beschluß zur künftigen Entwicklung des bisherigen Museums für Deutsche Geschichte, 24.08.1990, S.1.
[1376] DHM-HA: DHM/1.45: Rahmenvereinbarung, S.5.

significant for GDRs representation in its foreign and national politics.[137] Soon after on the 15th of September the transfer of the MfDG took place, already before the German reunification was officially pronounced. The General Director of the DHM, Christoph Stölzl announced however its intention to close all existing permanent displays of the MfDG as of third of October 1990. The decision to close the MfDG found little resistance, except from those who worked at the museum themselves, who have been during the immediate period following reunification massively dimissed from their positions.

Following these events the new museum DHM's collection suddenly increased to almost 800.000 objects. Its main sources were: the previously acquired objects, Zeughaus collection, and collections of objects of MfDG. However, DHM continued to collect objects associated, or relevant for the already closed historical period of GDR, the diversity of the collections ranging from military assets, to objects collected to depict the contemporary history of GDR. Nevertheless, it is difficult to reconstruct what has been lost from the legacy of the MfDG during the transition from the former to the new historical museum, since no official record of the transfer has been issued or it is not known. According to the interviews conducted with witnesses of the political and institutional change from 1990, most objects from the MfDG, which were transferred to the DHM, have been retained. Once the political regime changed, the GDR was already considered a 'historical' period reason for which it made possible preserving and protecting its material legacy.[138] Exceptions were registered as well, namely in cases when objects were considered cases for restitution to individuals or institutions (archives, museums), damaged, copies, or they had no historical or 'musealen Wert' (no value for the museum). How the value for the new museum has been identified it is not clearly stated. Often the poor state of conservation has been argued, or the fact that it was not significant for the museum's profile. There has not been any systematic approach issued in order to assess the significance and relevance of the acquired objects and collections, even though such a system of assessing the relevance and significance existed previously for the collections of the MfDG. Officially all inherited objects were considered equal of historical relevance, and no distinction was made between museum artefact of national or international significance. However, it seems that in some cases the pragmatic principle of costs/use was applied when certain objects have been delisted from the museum records, and sent for cassation between 1993-1998.[139] A great part of the objects sent for cassation were either from the production section (including various technical devices) or daily life items. Only those assets which would demonstrate an economic value and have been identified as not being significant to be retained, the exchange against financial benefits had to be individually assessed.[140]

One of the most difficult tasks for the newly created museum, headed by Christoph Stölzl, was to find a new identity for the institution and the collections inherited. In the first stages of the museum various temporary

[137] Ottomeyer and Czech 2007.
[138] Ludwig, Andreas. "Die Musealisierung der DDR" [the Musealisation of the GDR], In *Die Deutsche Demokratische Republik 1949-1990, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin*. Begleitmaterial zu den Ausstellungen, (Berlin, 2007): 36-38.
[139] DHM-HA: DHM/2.159: Kassationlisten,1993, 1995, 1996, 1998.
[140] DHM-HA: DHM/2.159: Abgabe von Sammlungsbeständen, Dr. Boos, 28.Juni.1993, S.997.

exhibitions have been organised that captured aspects from the GDR period, while the first permanent exhibition opened only in June 2006, with a ceremony attended by both Chancellor Angela Merkel and former Chancellor Helmut Kohl.[1381] The purpose of the exhibition was to chronologically highlight the German history and the role of Germans within European context, avoiding delivering a metanarrative on the evolution of the German nation, instead to critically inform about continuities and discontinuities of the social and political developments in Germany. However, this also raised criticism, 'by portraying German history and the history of the Germans within a broader European context, the curators bypassed many more controversial topics that plagues other sites of memory during this period of transition.'[1382]

The exhibition incorporated in its narrative also a section on GDR history, for which 50% of the objects were made use of, were incorporated previously in the collections housed by the Museum for German History. The role of the objects in the exhibitions display was not understood as a means to illustratively understanding of the historical events or their aesthetical appreciation, instead they were ascribed an evidential and testimonial value for the historical processes. However, often no reference was made in regard to the provenance or ownership of the exhibited objects from the GDR period, a situation which is valid until present. Moreover, limited amount of documentation captured the house history, which incorporated also the MfDG, while bringing to light the identity of its previously housed collections.[1383]

As Andrews states, the official effort to promote the discourse on 'coming to term with the past' does not 'represent a genuine confrontation with the past, but rather in author and jurist Bernhard Schlink's words, a "longing for impossible: to bring the past into such a state of order that its remembrance no longer burdens the present".'[1384]

5.2.5. History Museum of the Communist Party, Revolutionary and Democratic Movements in Bucharest. A brief introduction

In the context of the emergent Stalinism in the Romanian political and social life, cultural Stalinism was also taking over the cultural landscape of Romania after the Second World War. In that respect the connections and cultural influences of Romanian intelligentsia to the West were severed. 'The Romanian Academy was dissolved in June 1948 and replaced with a new one, a majority of whose members were docile party appointees, many with doubtful scientific qualifications. (…) The old research institutes were broken up in the summer of 1948, and replaced with new ones under the revamped Academy'.[1385] According to Georgescu among the first measures taken by the new government in power was the immediate russification: 'To develop these characteristics the party early set in motion its intensive campaign of Russification setting up in rapid succession the Russian Book, publishing houses and bookstores (1946), the Institute of Romanian-Soviet Studies (1947), the Romanian-Russian Museum

[1381] Ottomeyer and Czech 2007.
[1382] Olsen 2015, 224-225.
[1383] Ottomeyer and Czech 2007.
[1384] Andrews 2014, 11.
[1385] Georgescu, Vlad. *The Romanians: a history*, (I.B. Tauris&co Ltd Publishers, 1991): 240.

(1948) and the Maxim Gorki Russian Language Institute (1948)'.[1386] The aim of these: publishing house, bookstore, museums, and study institutions was to popularise in Romania the achievements of Soviet science and culture.

Romania experienced a museum boom starting the 1950 when a series of new museums have been founded in the country, the context of their development having been briefly discussed in the second chapter. At an initial stage these have been organised under the local councils and only a quarter of them depended on the Ministry of Education and Culture, Defence Ministry, and Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications, or various institutions under the direct control of the party.[1387]

Along with the arts, ethnographic, archaeological museums a new type has emerged. The Soviet inspired revolutionary museum[1388], like many others that emerged in the CCEE at the time - historical revolutionary movements, workers museums, Lenin-Stalin museums - was intended to show how Romanian-Russian relations were long-standing and friendly. After its opening on the 3rd of November 1948 of the Romanian-Russian Museum, a further museum dedicated to the socialist regime was inaugurated in Bucharest on the 4th of May 1951 the 'Museum for Revolutionary struggle of People' (1951-1954),[1389] which would be later revised as the 'History Museum for the Romanian Workers Party' (1954-1965), and in its final version as the History Museum of the Communist Party, of the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement of Romania[1390] - under the Institute for the Party History, close to the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers, later Communist Party. Its goal was to raise awareness and document the history of the 'revolutionary fight' of the Romanian people and of the Party.[1391] These will however not make subject of a detailed anaylsis as they have already been discussed by Bădică (2013) and Ilie (2013), instead I will briefly provide an overview of the Museum History Museum of the Communist Party, of the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement of Romania, shortly addressed as the Party Museum. This despite several name change and of the development of a National History Museum in Bucharest, it was functional until the regime change of 1989.

The display of communism by history museums in their permanent exhibitions, became a subject for debate in 1959 between the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Culture and various museum directors and museologists, while in the country various temporary exhibitions on the subject were organised. The aim of such initiative had an educational purpose while history in progress becomes subject of interest for the expositional space.[1392] However, starting with the 1960s the de-Sovietisation of the country politics, lead to banning all institutions that have been created between 1946 and 1948 in order to promote Russification.[1393] Following the 1966 decree of the Central

---

[1386] Idem 241.
[1387] HU OSA 300/60/1 Box 146 File: 812 Culture/Museums (1951-1960), Atanasiu Eugen, Pentru tot mai mulți vizitatori, 1960.
[1388] Bădică 2013, 153.
[1389] HU OSA 300/60/1 Box 146 File: 812 Culture/Museums (1951-1960), Monitoring Radio Bucharest, 4th of May 1951.
[1390] Bădică 2013, 155.
[1391] HU OSA 300/60/1 Box 146 File: 812 Culture/Museums (1951-1960), Monitoring Radio Bucharest, 1954.
[1392] HU OSA 300/60/1 Box 146 Culture/Museums, Scînteia, 11 July 1959.
[1393] Georgescu 1991, 247.

Committee (CC al PCR) it was decided the reorganisation of the the Museum for Revolutionary struggle of People', with a focus on: struggle of the Romanian people for the national and social liberation, social movements XIX century, origins and development of the workers movements, history of the communist party, in connection with the national, economic, social and political history.[1394]

The Museum of the Communist Party was considered an important agent of ideological propaganda and functioned under the surveillance of the Propaganda and Press Section of the Executive Committee of Romanian Communist Party. Therefore the museum's contribution went far more over its exhibition space, and engaged as veritable tool of ideological communist propaganda by also providing 'consultancy' to various institutions involved in the propaganda machinery of the party, such as television, film studios, universities and schools, and other cultural institutions.[1395] Similar to the MfDG it functioned as a 'central' museum, and in that sense it was also responsible for organising all museum sections in the country that incorporated exhibitions on the national history and socialism. Initially, it was established according to the principles of the Soviet museology according to which the role of the museum was not understood, and limited only to that of a storehouse, which simply preserved its collections. Instead it was actively engaged in the scientific research and process of raising awareness of Romania's historical past, and the 'patriotic socialist' education of the society.[1396]

The main thematic concept developed by the Party Museum was based on the argument that previously museums focused mainly on the medieval and antique representation of the Romanian history. As a consequence the museum's mission from then on was to contribute in addition to the 'objective' and 'scientific' documentation and representation of the national contemporary history. Since the Party Museum was a newly emerging museum, from its beginning it strived to increase its collections and became actively involved in the process of gathering 'proof' for the nation's historical moments and in particular of those concerning contemporary history. Similar to the museum in Berlin a documentary value has been ascribed to the collected assets which testified and legitimised historical events. [1397] The acquisition of objects (photography, documents, flags, etc.) was conducted after a thorough research activity, carried out in: the Archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, National Archives, Supreme Military Archives, Foreign Office Archives, local archives, Institute for Historical and Socio-Political Studies, the National Academy Library and Central Library.[1398]

Its display concept focused on designing thematic rooms, organised chronologically, focused to present unity in diversity, but not uniformity. Again the historic and materialist dialectic approach was the overarching

---

[1394] Scînteia, anul 35, nr.6 , 6 May 1966.

[1395] Cioroiu 1973, 23.

[1396] Lupescu, Ioan. Catalogue: *Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Comunist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romania*, (Museum of the Communist Party, Revolutionary and Democratic Movement in Romania), (București: Editura pentru Turism, 1974): 5.

[1397] DHM Library Signature: ZA 4262-4 Sonderdruck: Lupescu, Ioan, Dimos, Cornel "Metode și sisteme de expunere în Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Communist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romînia" In *Revista Muzeelor*, Număr Special, edited by Cioroiu, Nicolae, Ardeleanu Ion, Rața, Vasile, (1967): 105-110.

[1398] Cioroiu 1973, 24.

guiding principle of the exhibitions, while the theme or main topic of the museum would lay the premisis for collecting the appropriate objects. In particular under Ceaușescu's regime which sought a re-orientation of the historical narrative by emphasising the latin origin and continuity in the national history, dismissing the significance of its slavic component, exhibitions would start from pre-historical times and were updated on a regular base so as to always include recent 'achievements'. In order to avoid the uniformity of display and to highlight relevant historical events, the concept of display was based on creating the so called: 'moments', a technique applied also in the National History Museum, which concentrated on exhibiting objects and documents to a specific topic, thematic, historic event. The most valuable artefacts and documents (flags, party membership IDs, objects used for communist party propaganda, objects from internment and concentration camps, military and Party insignia, personal items of members from the Resistance)[1399] were displayed in showcases, or centrally in the exhibitionary space. Their significance being emphasised by various display strategies such as the use of high quality material, special lightening, individually designed,[1400] contrary to the Berlin example whose main priority was the unity of the collection and did not emphasised the singularity of assets. The original authentic artefact and document represented the core of the display, yet these were complemented by fotocopies, facsimile, models, maps, plans, text, panels (the main idea being to create a holistic processual narrative). As a modern museum that exhibited past and contemporary 'achievements' under communist guidance, the museum made use of the newest technical achievements to organise its display. It often deployed installations, and mediatic tools such as interactive maps (1929-1933), graphics (to highlight statistics of economic development, etc.) in their exhibitions. These interventions in current museum display are prioritised in order to facilitate the relationship between the visitor and objects, whereas in the communist Party museum such interventions would become themselves the exhibited object, illustrativley conveying the historical information for which no authentic object could be used. Therefore, one could learn about various military interventions of 1944, or economic development stages by gazing at interactive, flashy, in relief modelled maps, and charts.[1401] One could even argue that the 3D installations often deployed in the exhibition space of the Museum Party, beyond the message it conveyed, could be accounted as the novelty for this type of museum.[1402]

Bădică has detailed in her research the function of exhibitions in the Party Museum, which could be read as history books. However, this subchapter aims at complementing the information provided by Bădică, highlighting some of the adopted display strategies for this particular museum. It is significant to emphasise this issue since the display strategies of

[1399] DHM Library Signature: ZA 4262-4 Sonderdruck: Ștefănescu M., Sarafolean G., Georgescu E. "Obiecte originale expuse în Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Communist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romînia", In *Revista Muzeelor*, Număr Special, edited by Cioroiu, Nicolae, Ardeleanu Ion, Rață, Vasile (1967): 111-126.
[1400] Lupescu and Dimos 1967,108.
[1401] Idem, 109.
[1402] Pîrvulescu, Gheorghe. "Einige Aspekte des Erkenntniswertes der Museumsexponaten für die Geschichtswissenschaft" [Few issues concerning the epistemic value of museum objects for historical studies], In *Beiträge und Mitteilungen, Museum für Deutsche Geschichte*, 4, (1977): 74-48.

documents and objects, emphasised also a prioritisation of certain objects considered as valuable. As already mentioned the museum favored the case-display for those original assets which had a significant value, while wall displays was structured on three to four registers. Oversized objects were always displayed in the first register, above the eye level, and included mainly maps, graphics, diagrams, and oversized photographic material. These were usually introductory and provided general information. The second register displayed documentary materials. They were displayed at the eye-level so to be easily read by the visitor. The documentary value of the exhibited material was of high significance, reason for which it tended to include primary sources: documents, laws, letters, portraits, etc. The third and fourth register usually provided secondary sources to the already displayed materials in the previous two registers, and aimed at complementing those with general information.[1403] One needs to highlight however, that it was not controversial whether one made use of reproductions, models, originals, or copies, since the attention and appreciation was not addressed to the 'artefact' but to the narrative which it documented and the relationship with its 'visitor'. The mission of the museum was to turn its 'visitors into eyewitnesses, to make them feel that, after leaving the exhibition, they could testify to the things they saw with their own eyes.'[1404]

Constructing a coherent museum narrative was supported and translated by the unitary design of the exhibition space. Despite of the lack of uniformity of the architectural space, the entire exhibitionary space was re-designed, wooden panels being installed in all museum rooms, fake walls built in. Thus curtailling massively the interior of the historically preserved 19th century building, it created a neutral space detached from any historical associations. Also it was considered that building in such wooden panels, which often covered windows or any other openings, would contribute to increasing the expositional space. However, this prevented any natural light intake, which led to fully integrating artifical lighting systems correlated with the space, exhibited material and objects.[1405] Indeed this strategy reflects Bădică's argument that 'the museum (as a space and its inner organisation) does not function if the content of the museum and the museology that exhibits it stand in contrast'.[1406] Also the extention of the museum building with a new wing in modernist style, has been constructed in direct connection with the 19th century building and can be accounted to the politics of increasing its exhibitionary space. This was designed, according to Lupescu, to precisely house the core collection of the Party museum. However, the new addition was completly ignoring the overal architectural appearance, and can be acounted among the few modern museum building projects.[1407]

Major exhibitions organized by the Communist Party Museum in its early stage were dedicated to 'promoting' the 'revolutionary tradition' of the Romanian nation, and focused on 'the national independency movements of the Romanian people, development of the revolutionary movement of the socialist workers and its international connections, national movements in the

[1403] Lupescu and Dimos 1967, 107.
[1404] Bădică 2007, 8.
[1405] Lupescu and Dimos 1967, 106.
[1406] Bădică 2013, 11f.
[1407] Lupescu and Dimos 1967, 106.

19th century, national and Communist Party's history'.[1408] Starting from the 1970s the variety of the displayed topics ranged from social, political, cultural, economic, technological and scientific achievements under the Party's guidance, to the glorification of the Communist Party leader Nicolae Ceaușescu. As pointed by Bădică the section on 'the construction of Socialism' was present in all Romanian museums.[1409] Forging on the Communist Party's contribution to the nation formation and development, the museum was THE place where the achievements under the guidance of the Party and of its leader, could be acknowledged. As such national history was presented through the lens of the Party's and its leader contributions. Thus collected, acquired, commissioned assets were prioritised moreover for their evidential and documentary value for the historical events. The cult of personality imposed by Ceaușescu following the Thesis of July (1971) had a tremendous impact on cultural development, and its impact is summaried by Georgescu as following:

> The state put less and less money into cultural activities', while 'dynastic Stalinism, however, closed the windows on the West, left education and research in disarray, and brought literature and science back under strict party control. (…) the most striking cultural change was probably the unqualified return to ideology as the primary instrument of social development. (…) the preferred field of these new intellectuals seemed to be history. (…) The first room of the Communist Party Museum of History was devoted to the Dacians and dominated by imposing busts of Decebalus and Trajan. (…) By using history the regime intended to demonstrate its legitimacy while at the same time diverting the public's nationalism to party use.[1410]

Shortly after issuing the new political and cultural direction of 1971, namely in 1972 a new National History Museum in Bucharest emerged. The Party Museum remained however throughout the regime committed to its initial mission, namely to depict Romania's achievements under the communist Party. As a consequence also its permanent exhibition would be refurbished in 1974. However, the increasing role of the leader and its cult of personality, brought a stronger association of the Party with its leader, which was reflected with the increasing significance of the National History Museum. This museum housed a much richer and numerous collection from its early foundation (50.000 objects) including not only the so-called treasury, a collection of assets which is considered to be of national and international significance including mostly artefacts of precious metals, but it also organised the exhibition dedicated to the cult of personality of Ceaușescu emphasising its role in constructing communism. Therefore, one can argue that on the background of the emergence and increasing role of the National History Museum the role of the Party Museum became of secondary relevance. The permanent exhibition was organised in 1974 by a series of institutions, including: the Institute for historical and social-political research, CC of PCR Archives, State Archives, Romanian Academy Library, National Art Museum, Topographic Military

---

[1408] Cioroiu 1973, 24.
[1409] Bădică 2013, 186.
[1410] Georgescu 1991, 261f.

Organisation, and it included 14 rooms and 6.000 objects. Among the objects displayed it is hard to reconstruct if and which assets were of significance for the museum's collections, due to on-going lack of access to the former Archive of the Museum, unavailable for research. The published catalogues from the 1960, 1967 and 1974[1411], and few pictures of the Museum's exibitions discovered in the Archives of the Deutsches Historisches Museum in 2014, and the current digital archive constructed by the Peasant Museum, make possible to partly reconstruct how the exhibtions of the museum were designed. These are highlighting however the limited presence of artefacts for the contemprorary period, and a predominance of the visuals, diagrams, interactive maps, posters, images, maps, press slips predominantely in super-size dimensions. The lack of access to the Museums Party Archive, makes difficult to reconstruct how and which museum evaluating strategies were developed for its collections. Given the centralised structure of the museums network and policies to be followed nationwide, and the fact that the National History Museum of Bucharest was actively contributing to developing such norms[1412], one can belive that also the Party museum collections were evaluated according to the norms, already discussed in the second chapter. Its engagement in international exchanges with similar museums, such as the Museum for German History in Berlin[1413], and on the background of an active legislative framework strictly regulating since 1974 the traffic of museum's goods, one suspects that also the Museum's Party adopted such norms of evaluation for its collections.

Therefore, one can argue that the Party museum's contribution was significant together with its forerunner the 'ephemeral museums'[1414] - the Romanian-Russian Museum (1947-1963) and the Lenin-Stalin Museum (1954-?, collections integrated in the Party Museum) - in organising and exhibiting contemporaneity in historical museums for the first time in Romanian museum's history. Yet beginning with the 1970s its contribution to exhibiting national history, and the achievements of the Party and its leader, overlapped with the attributions of the newly created National History Museum, and it somehow missed the opportunity to establish itself as a singular institution depicting Party's achievements. Moreover, the newly created National History museum in 1972 housed rich and numerous collections, including original artefacts, and economically valuable assets.[1415] While one can not fully reconstruct the collections of the Museum Party due to the limited inherited

[1411] *Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Communist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romînia,* București, 1960 In: Museum of the Romanian Peasant Library; Cioroiu, Nicolae, Ardeleanu Ion, Rata, Vasile, "Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Communist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romînia", In *Revista Muzeelor*, Număr Special, 1967; Lupescu Ioan, *Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Communist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romînia,* (București Editura Politică, 1969); Lupescu Ioan, *Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Communist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romînia,* (București Editura pentru Turism, 1974).

[1412] Opriș, Despre evaluarea patrimoniului cultural, (personal Archive) 31-34.

[1413] Cioroiu, Nicolae. "Die Darstellung der internationalen Solidarität in den Geschichtsmuseen Rumäniens," In: *Beiträge und Mitteilungen, Museum für Deutsche Geschichte*, 8, (1974): 49-57.

1973 Exhibition '40 Jahrestag der Kämpfe der Eisenbahnarbeiter und der Erdölarbeiter Rumäniens im Febr.1933' opened in MfDG March 9. (Fotoausstellung); 1973 Mai international collaboration for the temporary exhibition 'Sturmjahr 1848/49': Poland, Hungary, Romania, USSR (DHM-HA: MfDG/171)

[1414] Bădică 2013, 192.

[1415] DHM Library, Signature A79/527: Georgescu, Florian. *Muzeul de Istorie al Republicii Socialiste Romînia,* (București, 1975).

Muzeul National, secția istorie contemporană, Brochure (to be dated during the 1980s as exhibition is covering the period 1965-1980), In DHM Library, Signature KA 4959.

assets and access to documentation, one can identify from the exhibition catalogues of the permanent exhibition constructed in 1974[1416] the limited presence of artefacts in its contemporary exhibitions, which were predominately constructed with the help of informative boards, printed newspapers, charts, statistics, maps.

By the end of the regime the refurbishing plans for the new and administrative and political centre of Ceaușescu in Bucharest, including Victoria Socialism Boulevard and the House of the Republic, considered also the construction of the future National Museum, which was supposed to house the most representative assets from the national cultural patrimony. As such the new museum building located in the proximity to the new political and administrative centre of Bucharest, had to be built in harmony with the rest of the centre namely in the spirit of the Neo-Romanian architectural style, and serve representatively for future official demonstrations settings.[1417]

Therefore the decision for both the Party and National History Museum to merge their collections and receive a new socialist building, speaks for the irrelevance of the parallel co-existence of the museums during the 1980s, reflecting the power relationship according to which Ceaușescu was cummulating also Party Leadership. One needs to add here, that the majority of the museums established during the communist regime have re-used nationalised historic buildings[1418], no new museum construction was pursued either in the country or in Bucharest during communism. This late urban intervention in Bucharest can be considered the first major museum building construction by the communist regime in Bucharest. An exception might be considered the construction added to the 19th century building in Kiselleff to host the core collection of the Party museum, which might be considered as the first attempt of providing to the Party museum a house of its own.

5.2.6.   Collections and museums from communism as heritage? Dealing with the inherited collections of the Communist Party Museum in Bucharest in the Romanian Peasant Museum

In CEE countries, as discussed in the previous chapters, patrimony issues during communist regime were subjected to the national state's administration. Despite the recent political shift of 1989 in Romania, state intervention in the field of heritage remained dominant. On that account engaging with the material legacy of the past revealed a series of continuities and discontinuities, in terms of discourses, institutions and norms. After the political shift of 1989, institutions such as museums, found themselves in the difficult position of re-evaluating anew their mission and collections. A peculiar situation was encountered by national museums that displayed collections incorporating a strong historical narrative. The case of the national museum that housed collections depicting the history and evolution of the Communist Party in

---

[1416] Lupescu, Ioan. *Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Communist, a mișcării revoluționare și democratice din Romînia,* (București Editura pentru Turism, 1974). In DHM Library.
[1417] Romania Liberă, (August 1989): 3.
[1418] This practice of setting modern museums in historic buildings, was inspired from the Soviet model of the Lenin Museum, Olga Sergejewna Kriwoscheina, "Moderne Museen in alten historischen Gebäuden am Beispiel der Leninmuseen in der UdSSR" [Modern museums in historic buildings exemplified by the Lenin museums in the USSR], In: *Beiträge und Mitteilungen, Museum für Deutsche Geschichte*, 8, (1981): 41-48.

Bucharest, founded in July 1958, is symptomatic of these developments. After the fall of Communism in 1989, the Communist Party Museum's building was immediately occupied and the former ethnographic museum - The Romanian Peasant Museum, organised under the Ministry of Culture – called by the artist Horia Bernea moved in February 1990. The former party museum was eventually transferred into the custody of the Peasant Museum already in February 1990.[1419] The process of establishing the ethnographic museum, and its curatorial practices, have been detailed in Bădică's research and will not be reproduced here.

Significant however for this research is to highlight how one dealt with the legacy of the former communist museum and its collections, following the regime change. As previously mentioned, the Communist Party Museum was dismissed February 1990. The Romanian Government issued a governmental decision repealing the Institute for Historical, and Social-Political Studies (ISISP)(Nr.136, February 1990, Art.1), who was majorly responsible for the Party Museum conceptual developments.[1420]

However, following the Decree nr. 30/18.01.1990, Art.1 former properties of the Communist Party have been transferred into state property, this including among others museums and their collections and buildings, while commissions were to be set up to assess and facilitate the transfer of property (Art.2), and decide upon their redistribution (Art.4).[1421] According to archival material from the Peasant Museum a series of transfer agreements testify the transfer of former Party Museum objects between 1990-2002 to various institutions like the National History Museum, National Arts Museum, the National Archives, and numerous local museums in the country.[1422] A great amount of its objects stayed in the basement of the Romanian Peasant Museum being slowley archived, or were ultimately destroyed as only very few items have been reused in the newly refurbished ethnographic museum.[1423]

According to archival material from the Peasant Museum by 1993 the Peasant Museum already completed its inventories, and it has been recommended by the expert commissions under the Ministry of Culture the cassation of various assets from the museum's depots based on the argument of lacking historical and documentary value, being merely propaganda tools.[1424] One needs to highlight that assets belonging to institutions that have been dismissed following the regime change, such as the Party Museum or research institutions, have been redistributed among those that have been kept intact after 1989. All above-mentioned institutions which received assets belonging to

[1419] Documents Archives, Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Referat de disponibilizare, 2001.
[1420] Documents Archives, Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Hotărîre privind desființarea Institutului de Studii Istorice și Social-Politice, No.136, 12 February 1990, Art.1.
[1421] Întregul patrimoniu care a aparținut fostului Partid Comunist Român trece în proprietatea statului, ca bunuri ale întregului popor. Patrimoniul ce se preia în proprietatea statului cuprinde unitățile economice, mijloacele de producție și de transport, terenurile, indiferent de destinație, clădirile și dotările acestora, bunurile cu caracter cultural și artistic, instituțiile de învățămînt, sanitare, muzeistice, bazele sportive, de odihnă și turism și altele asemenea, precum și orice alte bunuri materiale și fonduri bănești și valutare, inclusiv creanțele care au aparținut fostului Partid Comunist Român, organizațiilor și unităților din subordinea acestuia, indiferent de data și de sursa dobîndirii lor. (Art.1, Decree Nr.30/18.01.1990)
[1422] Archives, Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Direcția Economică 1992-2002, Transfer bunuri, VI A 10. Data începerii 19.02.1992. Data încheierii 20.03.2002
[1423] Interview Ion Blăjan, Peasant Museum Bucharest July 2015
[1424] Archives, Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Doc. Nr.615/30.Mai 1994, Horia Bernea Director,

the former Communist Museum, continued to function as state institutions, as such basically only a redistribution among various state actors has been performed nationwide soon after 1989, contributing to nothing more than a re-nationalisation of the cultural goods, similar to those conducted during the communist regime. It is nevertheless questionable the gesture of the Peasant museum's management, that appropriated the Party Museum's collections including those containing precious metals to a great extent, for which was seaking exchange in 1991 with the National Bank against financial benefits.[1425] Here it is not clear by which means the Peasant Museum is the legal successor of the former collections, as no agreement was signed, and the current Museum does not identiy itself as being the follower of the Party Museum, but of the enthographic Museum which resided in the Kiseleff building at the begining of the 20th century.

It is a fact that no mechanisms were set in place for the assessment of the cultural significance of the inherited collections surviving the political shift of 1989, and the first stage of refurbishment of the new ethnographic museum, in order to ensure their preservation and management as no legal framework was issued at the time. Most of the items retained by the Peasant Museum (maps, paintings, sculptures, newspaper articles, etc.) have been recorded as archival material in the archives of the museum in past years. Only to a small percentage has been reintegrated into the current collections of the Museum.[1426] Since 1997 the 'Plague' (Ciuma rosie) installation was organised in the basement of the Peasant Museum as the only permanent exhibition on Communism in Romania, which used such objects, displayed until September 2016.

> Its display of Communism was meant to counterbalance the serenity and balance of the permanent exhibition on peasant life, which hid the fact that peasants were deprived of their possessions and lifestyle during the collectivisation drive of the 1940s. The small and ugly room, which is a "memorial of the pain and suffering collectivisation caused to the peasant world", includes issues of Scanteia that name peasants who resisted collectivisation and poems children had to learn and write about the benefits of the collective. The display's radical position transpired in the claim that it represented the entire communist regime, not just the Stalinist period. As museum director Horia Bernea wrote in his booklet accompanying the display, communism was "a disease of society and soul", an "ideal stupidity, totally oriented against life", a "destructive atheistic sect", the "excultation of shameful evil", "absolute hatred", and a "sinister utopia". To convey a dictatorial reality that no longer exists, the museum had to be an antidote to amnesia.[1427]

However, the retained museum objects continued to be considered as devoid of any artistic or aesthetic qualities, as well as authenticity. On the contrary, they

---

[1425] Archives, Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Brief from the Peasant Museum to the National Bank, section Treasury.
[1426] Interview Ion Blăjan, Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Bucharest July 2015.
[1427] Stan 2013b, 218.

were often regarded as kitsch, 'trash' or reproductions with no aesthetic value. The poor management of the remaining collections from the Communist Museum is not only due to the low significance that experts often assign to these assets, but also partly due to the positivist, and to a high degree the hybridised Romanian legislation concerning movable heritage protection and its evaluation. Ironically, the normative framework perpetuated the previously developed communist model, and equally incorporated elements from international legislation without adapting it, or even properly reforming according to the context created in post-communism.

The mechanism developed for ensuring protection and preservation of movable assets and their classification/designation as national heritage was adopted for the first time only in 2000 (Law no.182/2000, reviewed and completed in 2002, 2004, and 2008). The National Commission for Museums and Collections, under the Ministry of Culture, is responsible for granting expertise for the assessment of the value and cultural significance of movable assets (according to the Law 886/2008 Art.3). According to Law 886/2008 Art.4, there is a juridical distinction in the classification of assets in the category museum *fund* and *treasury* (of exceptional cultural value) similar to the hierarchical model introduced during communism. For the assessment of cultural significance of heritage, a mechanism has been developed based on the attribution of points following two types of criteria, namely *specific* and *general*. According to Article 6 of Law 886/2008, *general criteria* are related to age (at least 50 years old), rarity and state of conservation, whereas *specific criteria* (Article 7 of Law 886/2008) incorporate historical value, meaning, memorial, authenticity, authorship and formal quality. If the sum, of the specific and general criteria for the asset is between 250-350 points, then the asset will be classified: in the category *fund* of the museum's collection, while a sum over 350 points qualifies the asset for the *treasury* status.

Examining the system of classification, it becomes clear that a hierarchical and positivist understanding and appreciation of heritage is established, where some assets are classified as being of an exceptional value (*treasury*) in comparison to others of less significance (*fund*). The system of assessing the cultural value automatically privileges the designation of specific categories of heritage as being of exceptional value, such as the archaeological assets. Whereas, more recent items such as the inherited communist collections might embody historical and memorial value, yet in respect to their age and current understanding and appreciation of their cultural significance, these assets are excluded from being recognized as part of the national heritage.

The status of the objects, which ocasionally enter the current exhibition space and come on display, are often reduced to 'memorabilia', while their value is only linked to the historical significance of documenting the communist history, an inheritance from the past itself. The curator in charge of the documentation and archiving of the collection of the Communist Party Museum currently held by the Romanian Peasant Museum, stated that according to her knowledge, assets of the permanent exhibition on Communism, were considered as part of the museum's archive and were not considered as being part of the museum's collection fund.[1428]

[1428] Information was provided during an interview with Simina Bădică, December 2013

The destiny of one of the Marx, Engels Lenin (sculptor Mihai Wagner) busts which were on display at the entrance of the Party Museum and later removed in the courtyard of the Peasant Museum together with other 'museums relicts', until 2011 is telling for the treatement of the collections items belonging to the Party Museum. Following an inquriy on its current situation, as the asset could not be found following a later visit made at the museum in 2015, the staff of the museum was not aware of its dissapearance. Upon a research of the administrative files of the museum's management, it has been identified that the director personally granted its removal by the end of 2013, without any prior consent from the scientific commission of the museum, overriding any decisional mechanism and basically abusing his position. He agreed, together with the local administration for cultural heritage and monuments in Bucharest, the transfer of the asset under the custody of the foundation 'Om bogat, om sarac'. The foundation was planning to organise a museum dedicated to communist art in collaboration with the local administration of Bucharest, and already 2011 requested the transfer of the busts. In 2015 details of the abusive managerial practice, concerning the management of the former communist museum relicts, resurfaced on a website, which between Mai and August 2016 was periodically leaking official documents demonstrating the abuses of the former manager of the museum Virgil Stefan Nițulescu, during his position as director of the Peasant Museum.[1429] The Museum of the Romanian Peasant went in September 2016 under major renovation works, and with it also the only permanent exhibition/installation on communism in Romania which remained unchaged until 2016, as well.

Concluding Remarks
As discussed in the previous chapters, heritage-making in the context of regime change in CEE in 1989 was conditioned by a series of continuiies and discontinuities of normative and institutional frameworks, in addition to the discourse concerning the significance of the regime' legacy for present processes of democratisation and re-unification, in the case of Germany. This chapter is drawing on the theoretical part developed in the previous chapters which discussed the presentist approach to heritage-making in the post 1989 context in Germany and Romania, as being strongly discursively informed by the politics of transitional justice and coming to terms with the past. As a consequence this chapter demonstrates that a series of measures adopted by the state after 1989 in order to address abuses of the communist regimes, have impacted the official heritigisation process of the legacy of past regimes. For this a transnational approach was adopted to highlight parallel developments following the collapse of communism in Germany and Romania, which have been not made subject to inquiry in heritage studies from this comparative perspective. For this various case studies discussed movable and immovable assets which have been either officially acknowledged (or not) as heritage by the regimes in GDR and communist Romania, and their subsequent treatement following the collapse of communism in 1989.

[1429] AMINTIRI DE LA MȚR – III, June 16.2016
https://mtrleaks.wordpress.com/2016/06/ (accessed last 04.03.2017)

Discussing the built legacies associated with political representative urban developments in Berlin and Bucharest, this chapter demonstrated that the treatement of the built legacy of the socialist regimes has been strongly informed and conditioned by the framework created already by the communist regimes themselves. As such it has been demonstrated that the preservation of the built legacy associated with the socialist achievements made already subject of interest for the regime prior to 1989 to be protected and listed as national heritage, such as parts of the prominent Karl-Marx-Allee. This innovative approach to contemporary architecture guaranteed in the aftermath of the regime change its further official protection. However, the narrative within which their protection was legally ensured has been strongly informed by the discourses within which the communist regime was assessed after 1989. Consequently GDR nominations have not been included in the protected statements delivered officially. Moreover these continue to be officially presented to the public as new nominations, and not as exemplary re-evaluations of the national heritage of the GDR. Exemplarily for such politicised debates is the treatement of the Palace of the Republic. Therefore this chapter is demonstrating that despite its wide public acceptance during the regime, its further preservation became a highligthy contested issue, questioning even the credibility of the experts involved in the process of preservation. However, this chapter demonstrated that the preservationist approach to carrying out its de-assembling, 'protection in pieces' and re-use of its parts and its collections, demonstrate the selective approach to what becomes heritage or not, highlighting the fact that heritage-making is a selective process of legimisation certain narratives concerning the past significance for present needs.

Contrary to the Palace of the Republic, the Bucharest intervention of Ceaușescu also to be inscribed in the typology of the power representative legacies from the communist regime, was banned from the public eye and not finished by the time the communist regime fell. This chapter demonstrated that the association of the House of the People including the urban development of Centru Civic in Bucharest, with the authoritarian legacy of Ceaușescu is rather a limitative approach to dealing with the legacies from the communist past in Romania. Moreover this chapter aims at indicating the fact that the urban development in Bucharest has to be rather considered as representative with the way Romania dealt with its past, meaning rather in a continuum than as a break. For this, decisions to further continue the contruction works and to find an appropriate meaning overlapped. The continuity in power of the former communist elites guaranteed that no major changes have been undertaken. This has been reflected by the decision to assigning the same architect and architectural offices to finalise the project, in addition to the functions which have been considered for the Bucharest project, meaning political and administrative for the new political class.

In comparison to the built environment, museums and collections developed by the communist regimes have been less addressed in the research dealing with the communist regime legacies. Consequently, this chapter adopts an innovative approach by discussing similar innovative projects such as historical museums: Museum for German History in Berlin and Museum of the Party in Bucharest. These case studies have not been discussed in this context by any research to date. Moreover focusing on the systematic approaches

developed for the evaluation of movable assets as heritage, this chapter is demonstrating an increasing interest of the state in the patrimonial process and its historicisation process. In the aftermath of the regime change these museums and their collections experienced the same fate, namely have been closed down and replaced by new institutions committed to new legitimisation processes. These have however adopted the same narrative namely, being committed to highlight the criminal nature of the past regimes. Nevertheless, despite de fact collections and museum assets have been identified by the communist regimes as having patrimonial values, hierarchical categories of national and international value in the course of the regime change have been discarded in the German context, all museum assets being considered of equal value. While in the Romanian case one identifies that the lack of clear normative frameworks facilitated a redistribution of the museum assets, not always legally acquired as discussed in the previous chapter, among state institutions ensuring thus a re-nationalisation of the cultural assets, without raising the question of provenance and ownership. Thus in both examples museum assets and collections of the former communist museums, have been re-integrated by museums followers, reorganised, and in case of display these have been rather employed as historical proof or evidence for the communist regimes, while their own identity and history often dismissed.

Chapter VI: General Conclusions

This chapter aims to answer the main questions the thesis addressed in the introductory part. Namely, what became heritage in the context of regime change in societies which in the process of democratisation adopted transitional justice measures, in order to address abuses of the past regimes? As a consequence, the impact of the collapse of communism in 1989 in Germany and Romania on heritage-making processes were analysed. Therefore, this concluding chapter will summarise the main arguments discussed in the research, by highlighting the innovative contribution to the field of heritage studies, the limitations of this research and its further potential.

6.1. Contribution to the field of heritage studies

The main contribution of this research in heritage studies lies in highlighting the complex nature of the legitimisation of heritage in societies in the context of regime change, and overcoming authoritarian regimes of governance. Informed by theories from political sciences that discuss regime change and the adoption of transitional justice in the process of democratisation of societies in CEE after 1989, this research focused on their impact on heritagisation processes in Germany and Romania. Another venue of investigation is the field of critical heritage which emphasises the idea of heritage as a process strongly informed by social, cultural, political and economic contexts. Thus moving from the consideration that the value of heritage lies in its intrinsic qualities, this thesis demonstrates the complex mechanism whithin which heritage processes are embeded in the context of authoritarian forms of governance, and regime change. Starting from Hartog's understanding of heritage as a manifestation of various regimes of historicity, this thesis discussed concepts such as patrimony, Kulturerbe and heritage as being strongly informed by social, political, cultural and economic developments. As a consequence, it has revealed the gap in understanding alternative discourses to heritage, such as the heritage discourse in communism. Furthermore, it has been argued the presentist approach adopted after 1989 concerning how to deal with the legacies of the communist regimes in Germany and Romania. This thesis demonstrates that the preservation and protection of legacies from the communist regimes have been discussed moreover from their current significance for the society. Consequently, these have been strongly informed by discourses of 'coming to terms with the communist past'. Moreover one has experienced the emergence of the dominant discourse on 'socialist heritage', which can be considered a generalisation when referring to the material legacy inherited from the recent past, and its ideological association. Consequently, research in the post 1989 context concerning the preservation and protection of the legacies from the recent past has often dismissed a long durree analysis concerning 'heritage in socialism', and the preservation of significant achievements by the regimes themselves. Therefore, this thesis adopted a long duree approach in order to better explain heritage-making processes and discourses after 1989 in Germany and Romania, and in particular when discussing the legacies of the communist regimes. However, in order to better explain heritage-making in the context of regime change this research

introduced the concept of 'transitional heritage'. This has been employed in order to emphasise the transformative and temporary condition of heritigisation processes whithin fragile social, economic and political contexts, generated in this specific case by regime change following the collapse of communism of 1989, and subjected to democratisation processes.

The second chapter introduced the theoretical framework of the research. The literature review demonstrated that heritage-making during communism, and its wider impact globally prior to 1989, have been poorly discussed in heritage studies. Moreover, studies that discuss heritage-making in CEE focusing on the legacies from the recent past have rather adopted a presentist approach concerning its significance for present needs, such as: regime legtimisation, democratisation, and reunification specifically in Germany. Also, heritage evaluation and listing have been discussed. It has been argued that to current date an increasing interest has been manifested to discuss heritage listing moreover focusing on the World heritage listing and lists. Therefore this chapter highlighted the limited contribution to the topic concerning such developments at the national level in former communist countries. In addition to current studies that discuss the value of heritage predominantely in liberal capitalist systems, this chapter highlighted the limited approach concerning economic interest in heritage preservation during communism, a competitive system to the liberal capitalist democracies. Therefore, this chapter discussed the increasing interest of the socialist state in heritage as an alternative to the model developed in state democracies, but it equally considered points of reference and intersection such as the engagement of the communist countries in the UNESCO project, and its affiliated bodies. This chapter concluded by highlighting the vagueness of current categorisation of the legacies from communism as 'socialist/communist heritage'. This often disregarded the fact that the regimes' own achievement have been subjected to preservation and musealisation already prior to 1989. Consequently, this research adopted a critical approach to the current emergence of the debates concerning 'socialist/communist heritage'. This has been highlighted by briefly exemplifying the theoretisation of heritage during socialism. In addition the interventions of the Soviet state in managing heritage an increasing bureaucratisation, and state institutionalisation of patrimonial interest have been briefly introduced. But moreover this chapter has revealed the agency behind such initiatives demonstrating that one has to adopt a critical approach when discussing the intervention of the state during communism in heritage matters. In addition it highlighted the complexity and local specificities that need to be accounted when discussing 'heritage in socialism' and 'socialist heritage'. Furthermore, it proposed a look into the heritage-making during communism as subjected to a network of various actors and social processes, which have been exemplified in the third chapter.

The shift from one political regime to another in 1989 opened up the discussion on how and what to safeguard from the communist regimes' legacies. Therefore, the third chapter demonstrates that the conditions under which preserving the heritage of socialism/communism became a responsibility for the society; namely, not after 1989, but also early before 1989 as the case of the GDR and communist Romania politics for preservation and musealisation reveal. Therefore, in order to better understand the conditions

created during the 1990s for heritage-making, first a general understanding of the conditions prior to 1989 in the field of heritage preservation and protection was outlined. For this, the role of the socialist state through the means of institutions and normative frameworks were discussed. In addition mechanisms of heritage-making were analysed, focusing on value assessement and heritage listing. These demonstrated an increasing interest of the regimes in the heritigisation processes which varied in time, being strongly conditioned by political developments and economic conditions.

The third chapter discussed the role of the socialist state in managing cultural heritage in the GDR and Romania. The intervention of the state through the means of institutions and normative frameworks was anaylsed in case of both countries, demonstrating an increasing bureaucratisation of the patrimonial activities. It has shown that there was an increasing state interest in controlling and managing heritage as a source for political legitimisation, but also accumulation of economic resources. It has been pointed out the fact that in the debates concerning the role of heritage in identity formation the creation of national heritage lists in the context of state socialism, and the evaluation of heritage received less attention. Consequently, these have been both discussed in the GDR and Romania, revealing a series of specificities but also common points of reference.

This chapter revealed that, following the Second World War and coming to power of the communist regimes, the state intervention in managing heritage was consolidated. This was facilitated through the means of institutions and normative frameworks, and discourses concerning the role of heritage. First the consolidation of the German socialist state's intervention in the politics of preservation was discussed. On the background of political developments following the Second World War also the institutionalisation of heritage preservation and protection, and the discourse surrounding it have been stronlgy informed by such developments. Thus, the intervention of the German state in the politics of preservation can be argued as being marked by institutional consolidation and stability. A centralised model has been proposed, transfering the authority to the central institution the Institute for Monuments preservation in Berlin, which was responsible for coordinating its activity and responsibility with three main regional working groups. Thus, a central national, local and regional administrative body was created under the Ministry of Culture. A particular attention was given to the development of a centralised normative framework, which also set the conditions for the evaluation and listing of heritage. The innovative aspect introduced by the historical and materialist dialectic in defining heritage highlighted that heritage was understood as a process, revealing continuities and discontinuities, and not limiting heritage'understanding to instrinsic qualities of material culture. Therefore discussing processes of preservation and protection of the regime's own achievements can be accounted to the innovative approach in heritage by the German socialist regime. This chapter also demonstrated an increasing opening towards the international sphere of heritage preservation not only by actively exchanging with socialist states, but also by actively engaging in the project promoted by UNESCO and its affiliated bodies. It has been shown that the German support of the international project was strongly informed by the political ambitions of the international legitimisation of the GDR nation state.

The Romanian case was discussed comparatively to the GDR developments, demonstrating a series of common characteristics but also divergences. In that respect it can be argued that the centralisation of the patrimonial activities and hierarchical administrative structures at local, regional and central level were established, thus securing the intervention of the state in detriment to the experts' knowledge and authority. Heritage became merely a matter of bureaucratic administration, facilitated also by issuing a comprehensive normative framework. According to this heritage preservation and protection have been guaranteed, contributing nevertheless to expanding the state ownership over a wider category of valuable assets. However, this might be the point at which common characteristics with the German developments can be identified. Despite of the policies and intentions of institutional consolidation, this has been rather inconsistently carrried out, often attributions overlapped among various institutions. In particular the period starting from the 1970s, following the coming to power of Nicolae Ceaușescu and its administrative reforms, we see a rapid institutional and administrative reform, dimissing rather the role of institutions and experts, by transferring responsibility in heritage-making to state administrative bodies. These were, however, lacking economic resources, as much as experts in the field and know-how, to properly ensure heritage preservation, thus strongly impacting its outcomes. In addition, urban modernisation projects were rather prioritised in detriment to ensuring built environment protection. This has been reflected also in the normative framework which despite addressing heritage in its general understanding, meaning including movable and immovable assets, it particularly created conditions for the state to abusively acquire movable assets. As such, it has been demonstrated that heritage evaluation and heritage listing under communism in Romania emerged rather in the context of abusive measures of nationalisation of valuable cultural goods. In this context a particularity was discussed in the Romanian context: namely, the intervention of the state through the means of Securitatea surveillance mechanisms to facilitate property ownership transfer to the state. Therefore, in the Romanian context the intervention of the state in the patrimonial sector was to ensure 'state security' rather than prioritising assets protection and preservation. Moreover, the abusive intervention of the state was discussed also in the context of its negative impact on built environment. This was discussed in the context of modernisation projects in the capital city which seriously endagered valuable cultural heritage. An innovative aspect in the international context at the time was the contribution of dissidents movement internationally against the destructive campaign carried out in particular during the 1980s. Furthermore, due to complex international relationships, the destruction of cultural heritage in Romania eventually was invoqued as an argument against Ceaușescu's policies. This was followed by Romania's sanctioning against violation of human rights in 1989. Also the Romanian example is demonstrating that the relationship with international bodies in heritage preservation such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICOM has to be case dependent analysed, given the 'exceptional' position adopted by Romania concerning its involvement with the international bodies throughout the regime.

The impact of the regime change on cultural heritage was discussed in the fourth chapter. This drew upon theories from political sciences which discuss regime change, transition and democratisation of CEE countries following the collapse of communism in 1989. This was requried in order to explain the conditions created for heritage-making in societies engaged in democratisation processes, and that adopted transitional justice measures in order to address abuses of the past regime. The contribution of this chapter lies in introducing 'transitional heritage' as a means to addressing heritage-making in the context of regime change. Therefore the role of the state in heritage-making has been discussed in the context of major political, economic, cultural and social change. Both the German and Romanian experience of dealing with the past and the adoption of various transitional justice measures and their implications in heritage-making were highlighted. This included: the impact of institutional change; lustration measures; instating historic commission responsible for addressing the basis for discussion of future preservation actions; cultural heritage law; memorialisation and reconciliation processes; and evaluating and re-evaluating heritage lists and preservation policies. These were briefly explained, and in details analysed for each country separately.

The German experience demonstrated that there was a strong intervention of the state in reforming the institutional and normative framework in the heritage preservation and protection sector. A particular attention was dedicated to processes enfolding in Berlin, as the future capital of the reunified Germany. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that there was an an increasing intervention of the Western German state in leading the process of coming to terms with the past, strongly impacting discourses concerning the selection process of the legacies from the recent past. For this, the processes of re-evaluating of the GDR's 'national cultural heritage' and new heritage listings were discussed, in addition to the memorialisation processes emerging in the post 1989 context. Yet this chapter demonstrated that past references to the protected status garanted by the state socialism was often disregarded in the debates after 1990.

Alternatively, it was demonstrated that in its incipient stage following the immediate dismissal of the authoritarian leader Ceaușescu from power in December 1989, Romanian experts played a significant role in reforming and pushing for a depoliticisation of the patrimonial sector, as well as its opening to international developments. Furthermore, the Romanian experience of dealing with the abusive legacy of institutional and administrative bodies, and abusive normative frameworks has been addressed. It demonstrated that despite experts' intervention, a great institutional and administrative continuity was ensured. Thus, the intervention of the state and the subsequent politicisation of the patrimonial sector was further facilitated. Also, the normative framework missed the opportunity to address abuses facilitated during the communist regime, being rather slowly adapted to the post 1989 conditions. Also the process of re-evaluation of the communist regime's 'national heritage' has been analysed, questioning thus the validity of the dominant 'socialist/communist heritage' concept. This demonstrated that a further perpetuation of the national lists issued during communism was ensured. Nevertheless, it highlighted that engaging with the recent past focused on processes of symbolically addressing material legacy asssociated with the regime and its ideology, and less judicial measures have been adopted in order to address abuses of the past regime.

The last chapter of the thesis adopted a long duree perspective for revealing continuities and discontinuities in the processes of heritage-making when referring to the recent past. Its aims was to exemplify when, what, and under which circumstances the material legacy of the highly debated and contested political regimes was subjected to processes of being identified, recognized and treated as heritage (or not). For this, a particular attention was given to assessing the significance, value and meaning when specifically dealing with representative legacies for the communist regime's legitimisation. Subsequently, a case study analysis was conducted considering the most prominent built assets from communism as a means of power representation, some already considered part of the national heritage of the communist regimes. Therefore urban developments in Berlin and Bucharest have been discussed. These included the administrative and political representative built developments, such as palaces of socialism, and civic centres. Another venue of investigation was provided by the less known to the public legacies of the past regime such as the museums and their collections developed by the regime as museums of national history in Berlin and of the Communist Party, both dedicated again to addressing the achievements under the communist regimes.

6.2. Limitations

The ellaboration of this thesis encountered two major limitations, namely content-wise and in terms of the availability of sources.
In terms of content, this research focused on the analysis of case studies being geographically limited to the capital cities Bucharest and Berlin, and on the most significant built developments associated with power representation, due to space and time limitation of this research. Also, despite the fact that museums' field was marked by extensive developments during communism, the choice of the case studies was limited only to the two major history museums which actively engaged in depicting the national history through the perspective of the party history. However, despite the abusive practices of nationalisation of valuable cultural goods which have been subsequently transferred to various museums equally in Berlin and Bucharest, this research did not explore the great variety of museums and their collections developed under state socialism, and their subsequent transformation post 1989. In a strong relationship with this issue is also the issue of restitution in post 1989 which due to its complexity has not been included in this thesis. Another issue not considered by this research is represented by the wider categories of movable and immovable assets which made subject of interest for the communist regimes, and their re-evaulation after 1989. And last issue which has not been extensively discussed is the role of local and regional administration in managing heritage during communism, as much as the relationship with the central administrative bodies and institutions.

In terms of the accessibility of resources, I have to indicate on the lack of access to the Ministry of Culture archives, the limited and difficult access in the Foreign Archives in Bucharest, and the lack of knowledge concerning the destiny of the Archives of the Museum of the Party in Bucharest. Another aspect which has been noted is that the immediate period following the events

of 1989 was poorly documented, making hard to reconstruct institutional and collections transfer. While during the research in the institutions in Berlin despite the granted access to reasearch, I have encountered opposition from various archivists in receiving documentation concerning institutional transfer between 1989 and 1990. Exemplary is the German Historical Museum holding the archives and collections of the former Museum for German History, which housed the poster collections Sachs and was claimed for restitution after 1990. While in the Office for Monuments preservation I was not granted access to the documentation of the expert, responsible for the files concerning statements of the preservation of the Palace of the Republic. Due to time contraints no research has been conducted in the UNESCO and ICOM, ICOMOS archives in Paris in order to provide the complex nature of the communist regimes involvement in the international projects of heritage preservation and protection.

6.3. Further Development

There are several issues which can be further explored in order to overcome the limitations indicated by this research.

1. First, the thesis introduced 'transitional heritage' to explain heritage-making processes in the context of regime change and democratisation processes. As such, this subject can be further explored considering various case studies in Central and Eastern Europe, but also in Asia and Latin America which adopted transitional justice measures to address abuses of the past, following regime change. Further examples can be explored in the context of regime change followed by democratisation processes, or even under authoritarian regimes of governance.

2. An in depth critical approach to the current discourses and concept of socialist/communist heritage are required.

3. The conditions of creation of national cultural heritage during communism in various CEE countries need to be further addressed, as one needs to better understand their meaning and significance throughout time, and not limit only to the present needs.

4. Another major topic which can be further explored is the issue of restitutions in case of art museums, given that most of museums during communism acquired collections and assets not always by legal means, as demonstrated both in the GDR and communist Romania.

5. The involvement (or lack of it) of socialist states to the international projects of UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM, ICOM needs to be further clarified, as the current dominant is focusing on presenting them as rather Western products.

6. This study focused merely on the role of the state during communism in heritage-making processes, however it further opens the potential to explore the role of the Orthodox Church in Romania, which has been to date always presented as a victim of the regime, yet this research indicated the co-operation of the institution with the authoritarian regime of Ceaușescu also in terms of monuments preservation.

7. Linked to the prior idea, and given the increasing interest of preservation of Orthodox churches and monasteries for touristic purposes, it has been showed the interest of the Orthodox Patriarchy to dismiss during conservation works traits of non-christian iconography, a subject that needs further investigation as well the preservation of cultural heritage of minorities in Romania during the communist regime.

References

Books, Articles

Ahmad, Yahaya. "The scope and definitions of heritage: From tangible to intangible", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 3 (2006): 292-300.

Andrews, Charlotte. "Heritage ethnography as a specialised craft. Grasping maritime heritage in Bermuda", In *Heritage Studies. Methods and Approaches*, edited by Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, John Carman, 140-164, Routledge, 2009.

Andrews, Mary-Elizabeth. "The GDR belongs in the museum": East Germany's National Historical Museum and the negotiation of shifting identities", In *Building Identity: The Making of National Museums and Identity Politics*, edited by Yui-tan Chang and Suzanne MacLeod, 91-110, Taipei: National Museum of History, 2013.

Apor Peter, "Master narratives of contemporary history in Eastern European national museums", In *Great Narratives of the Past. Traditions and Revisions in National Museums*, edited by Poulot Dominique, Bodenstein Felicity, and Lanzarote Guiral José María, 569-587. Conference Proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Paris 29 June-1 July and 25-26 November 2011. (Linköping University Electronic Press: http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=078, 2011)

Askew, Marc. "The magic list of global status: UNESCO, World Heritage and the agendas of states", In *Heritage and Globalisation. Key Issues in Cultural Heritage*, edited by Labadi Sophia, Long Colin, 17-19, Routledge, 2010.

Armstrong, John A. "The Soviet Attitude toward UNESCO". *International Organization*, 8, (1954): 217-233.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Avram E., Mason Randall., de la Torre Marta, eds. *Values and Heritage Conservation*. Research Report. The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles: The Getty Trust, 2000.

Bădică, Simina. "The Black hole paradigm. Exhibiting communism in Post-Communist Romania". In *History of Communism in Europe, Politics of Memory in Post-communist Europe* edited by Neamțu M., Vol.1, 81-99. Bucharest: Zeta Books, 2010.

Bădică, Simina. *Curating communism. A comparative History of Museological Practices in Post-war (1946-1958) and Post-communist Romania*, Dissertation in History presented to the Faculties of the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 2013.

Bakos, Jan. "Denkmale und Ideologien" [Monuments and Ideologies], In *Denkmal-Werte-Gesellschaft. Zur Pluralität des Denkmalbegriffs,* edited by Lipp Wilfried, 347-361, Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1993.

Baller, Eleazar. *Communism and Cultural Heritage,* USSR: Progress Publishers, [1984 English translation].

Barbu, Daniel, Ciuceanu, Radu, Roske, Octavian, eds. "Condiţia monumentului sub regimul communist" [The state of the art of monuments under the communist regime], II, *Analele Totalitarismului*, no. 28-29, vol.3-4, (2000): 196-212.

Barbu, Daniel, Ciuceanu, Radu, Roske, Octavian, eds. "Va supravieţui Bucureştiul până în 1984 ? [Will Bucharest survive until 1984?], I, *Analele Totalitarismului*, no. 32-33, vol.3-4, (2001): 231-241.

Barris, Roann. "Contested mythologies: The architectural deconstruction of a totalitarian culture", *Journal of Architectural Education*, no. 54, vol.4, (2013): 229-237.

Barth, Holger. ed. *Projekt Sozialistische Stadt. Beiträge zur Bau- und Planungsgeschichte der DDR* [Socialist city project. Contributions to built and planning history in the GDR], Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1998.

Bartetzky, Arnold. "Changes in the political iconography of East Central European capitals after 1989 (Berlin, Warsaw, Prague, Bratislava)", *International Review of Sociology: Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 16:2, (2006): 451-469.

Bartetzky, Arnold. "Denkmalschutz und Denkmalsturz nach der politischen Wende von 1989" [Monuments protection and iconoclasm following the political change of 1989], In *Zeitschichten: Erkennen und Erhalten-Denkmalpflege in Deutschland; 100 Jahre Handbuch von Georg Dehio; Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Residenzschloss* edited by Scheurmann Ingrid, 300-307, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag München, 2005.

Bartetzky Arnold, Christian Dietz, Jörg Haspel, eds. *Von der Ablehnung zur Aneignung? Das architektonische Erbe des Sozialismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa* [From denial to appropriation? Architectural heritage of socialism in Central- and Eastern Europe], (Visuelle Geschichtskultur, vol. 12), Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014.

Beattie, Andrew W. "The politics of remembering the GDR: Official and state-mandated memory since 1990", In *Remembering the German Democratic Republic. Divided Memory in a United Germany*, edited by Clarke David, Wölfel Ute, 23-37, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Beichelt, Tim. *Demokratische Konsolidierung im post-sozialistischen Europa. Die Rolle der politischen Institutionen* [Democracy consolidation in post-socialist Europe. The role of political institutions], Opladen: Leske+Budrich, 2001.

Beldiman Alexandru, "Din Raportul Uniunii Arhitecţilor pentru perioada 20 ianuarie-1 Octombrie 1990" [From the report of the Architectural Union for the

period 10th of Jan.-1st. Oct.1990], *Arhitectura*, Anul XXXVIII, no.1-6, (1990): 41-42.

Berger, Stefan, Seiffert, Joana, eds. *Erinnerungsorte: Chancen, Grenzen und Perspektiven eines Erfolgskonzeptes in den Kulturwissenschaften* [Memory places: Chances, limits and perspectives of a successful concept in cultural studies], Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen. Schriftreihe A: Darstellungen, vol. 59, Essen: Klartext, 2014.

Bernhardt Christoph, Flierl Thomas, Guerra Max Welch, eds. *Städtebaudebatten in der DDR. Verborgene Reformdiskurse* [Debates on city construction in the GDR. Hidden reform discourses], Theater der Zeit, 2012.

Beyme, Klaus von. "Transition to Democracy-Or Anschluss? The two Germanies and Europe", *Government and Opposition*, vol.25, no. 2, (1990): 170-190.

Beyme, Klaus von. *Transition to Democracy in Eastern Europe*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996.

Bilciurescu Virgil, "Unele probleme în legătură cu valorificarea zonelor istorice" [Some problems concerning the valorisation of historic areas], *Architectura*, Anul XXI. no.4 (143), (1973): 20-39.

Birkholz, Tim. *"Schloß mit der Debatte!"? Die Zwischennutzungen im Palast der Republik im Kontext der Schloßplatzdebatte* ["Debates on the Palace!"? The temporary use of the Palace of the Republic in the context of the Palace debate], edited by Forum Stadt- und Regionalplanung e.V., Universitätsverlag der Technischen Universität Berlin, 2008.

Blake, Janet. *International Cultural Heritage Law*, Oxford University Press, 2015.

Boesler, Dorothee. "Wertewandel und Denkmalpflege" [Value change and monuments preservation], In *Konversionen Denkmal-Werte-Wandel*, edited by Jahrestagung der Vereinigung des Landesdenkmalpfleger in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Arbeitshefte zur Denkmalpflege in Hamburg, no.28, (2012): 255-262.

Boia, Lucian. *Mitologia științifică a comunismului* [The scientific mythology of communism], București: Ed. Humanitas, 2000.

Bonnard, Pascal, Cecile, Jouhanneau. "Governing the memories of communism in Central and Eastern Europe: policy instruments and social practices", *European Politics and Society*, vol.18, no.1, (2017): 1-9.

Boswell, David, Evans Jessica, eds. *Representing the nation: A reader. Histories, Heritage and Museums*, London, New York: Routledge, 1999.

Brandt, Sigrid. *Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in der SBZ/DDR. Dargestellt an Beispielen aus dem sächsischen Raum 1945-1961* [History of monuments preservation in the GDR. Exemplified by cases from the Saxon region 1945-1961], Lukas Verlag, 2003.

Brandt Sigrid, *Kurzstatement anlässlich des ICOMOS-Workshops "European Heritage Label und Weltkulturerbe"* am 20/21. November 2009 in Berlin, kunsttexte.de 1/2010.

Brandt, Sigrid. "Die Frage einer Beteiligung am 'Europäischen Jahr des Kulturerbes' kann nur von den Regierungen der sozialistischen Länder entschieden werden"- Positionen und Realisiertes in der DDR" [The question concerning the contribution to the 'European Heritage Year' can be decided only by the socialist countries"- Decisions and achievements in the GDR], In *Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit/A Future for Our Past/Un Avenir pour Notre Passé* edited by Michael Falser, Wilfried Lipp, 358-366, MONUMENTA III Series der deutschsprachigen Nationalkomitees von ICOMOS, Berlin, 2015.

Brüggemann Silvia, Schwarzkopf Christoph. "Germany", In *Policy and Law in Heritage Conservation*, edited by Pickard Robert, 137-158, London and New York: Spon Press, 2001.

Brülls, Holger. "Denkmalschutz für gerade vergangene Gegenwart?" [Monuments protection for the recent past?] In *Zeitschichten: Erkennen und Erhalten – Denkmalpflege in Deutschland; 100 Jahre Handbuch von Georg Dehio*; Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Residenzschloss, edited by Scheurmann Ingrid, 290-299, München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005.

Buddensieg, Tilmann. "Urbane Zukunft verbaut?" [Obstructed Urban Future], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. A intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, 124-125, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, (Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997.

Burghardt. "Introduction", In *Denkmale in unserer Zeit*, edited by Deutscher Kulturbund mit dem Institut für Denkmalpflege, 196,-?.

Blutke, Günter. *Obskure Geschäfte mit Kunst und Antiquitäten. Ein Kriminalreport.* [Obscure businesses with arts and antiquities. A criminal report], (Berlin: LinksDruck Verlag).

Calligaro, Oriane. "Legitimation through remembrance? The changing regimes of historicity of European integration", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Routledge, 2015.

Cameron Christina, Mechtild Rössler, eds. "Voices of the pioneers: UNESCO's World Heritage Convention 1972-2000", *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, vol. 1, no. 1, (2011): 42-54.

Cameron Christina, Mechtild Rössler, eds. "The shift towards conservation. Early history of the 1972 World Heritage Convention and the Global Heritage Convention", In *Understanding Heritage. Perspectives in Heritage Studies*, edited by Albert Marie-Therese, Bernecker Roland, Rudolff Britta, 69-76, Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, 2013.

Casini, Lorenzo. "International regulation of historic buildings and

nationalism: the role of UNESCO", *Community Interests Across International Law*, edited by Eyal Benvenisti, Georg Nolte, OUP, forthcoming.

Cavalcanti, Maria de Betania. "Totalitarian states and their influence on city-form: The case of Bucharest", *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, vol. 9, no. 4, Theme Issue: Influences on Urban Form, (1992): 275-286.

Cavalcanti, Maria de Betania. "Urban reconstruction and autocratic regimes: Ceaușescu's Bucharest in its historic context", *Planning Perpectives*, vol.12, no.1, (1997): 71-109.

Ciobanu, Monica. "Post-communist Romania at twenty-five and hopes for the future", In *Post-Communist Romania at Twenty-Five. Linking Past Present and Future*, Lavinia Stan, Diane Vancea eds., 259-271, Lexington Books, 2015.

Cioroiu, Nicolae. "*Cuvintul Tovarășului Nicolae Cioroiu la Adunarea Festivă Consacrată Implinirii a 25 de ani de la Înființarea Muzeului*" [*Introductory Speech of the Museum's Director at the Celebration of 25 years since the Museum's Foundation*]. In *Slujba Muzeografiei Marxiste. Culegere de Communicari prezentate cu prilejul a 25 de ani de existența a Muzeului de Istorie a Partidului Communist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romania (1948-1973)* (Scientific Presentations at the Celebration of 25 years since the Museum's Foundation): 21-33. Bucharest, 1973.

Choay, Francoise. *Alegoria patrimoniului* [The allegory of patrimony], Editura Simetria, 1998.

Clarke David, Wölfel Ute, eds. *Remembering the German Democratic Republic. Divided memory in a united Germany*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Cliver, Gwyneth, Smith-Prei, Carrie, eds. *Bloom and Bust. Urban landscape in the East since German reunification*, Berghahn Books, 2014.

Cohen, Jean-Louis. "Preserving Modernism: A Russian exception?", In *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, vol.5, no.1, Special Issue on the Preservation of Soviet Heritage (Summer, 2008): x-xvi.

Coombe Rosemary J., Weiss Lindsay M., eds. "Neoliberalism, heritage regimes, and cultural rights", In *Global Heritage: A reader*, edited by Meskell Lynn, 43-70, Willey Blackwell, 2015.

Copot D., Vătavu G., Diaconescu, V., Diaconescu, R., Rusu, I. "Juridical Protection of the Romanian Cultural and Religious Patrimony". *European Journal of Science and Technology*, vol.8, no.1, (2012): 103-111.

Cowan Jane K., Dembour Marie-Benedicte, Wilson Richard A. eds. *Culture and Rights. Anthropological Perspectives*, Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Cristea, Gabriela, Radu-Bucurenci Simina. "Raising the Cross: Exorcising the Romanian's communist past in museums, memorials and monuments". In *Past for the Eyes. East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989*, edited by Sarkisova O., Apor P., 275-307. Budapest, New York:

Central University Press, 2008.

Crossley-Frolick Katy A, *The European Union and Transitional Justice: Human rights and post-conflict reconciliation in Europe and beyond*, Paper prepared for the 11ᵗʰ Biennial International Conference, European Union Studies Association, Los Angeles, California, April 23-25 (2009).

de Cesari, Chiara. "Thinking through heritage regimes", In *Heritage regimes and the state*, edited by Bendix Regina, Eggert Aditya, Peselmann Arnika, 399-413, Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property, vol.6, Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2012.

Czepczyński, Mariusz. *Cultural landscape of post-socialist cities. Representation of powers and needs*, Adlershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Czepczyński, Mariusz. "Interpreting post-socialist icons: From pride and hate towards disappearance and/or assimilation", *Human Geographies – Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geography*, 4.1, (2010): 67-78.

Danta, Darrick. "Ceaușescu's Bucharest", *Geographical Review*, vol.83, no.2, April, (1993): 170-182.

David C. Harvey, "Heritage pasts and heritage presents: Temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies", *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* vol. 7, no.4, (2001): 319–338.

de la Torre, Marta, *Assessing the values of cultural heritage*. Research Report. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002.

Deiters, Ludwig. "Zum kulturpolitischen Interesse der Gesellschaft an den Denkmalen" [Concerning the cultural-political interest of the society in monuments], In *Denkmale in unserer Zeit*, edited by Deutscher Kulturbund mit dem Institut für Denkmalpflege, 196-?.

Deiters, Ludwig. "Zur Denkmalpflege in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [Concerning monuments protection in the socialist society], In *Materialien und Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, edited by Institut für Denkmalpflege der DDR, (1971): 5-41.

Deiters, Ludwig. *Denkmale der Geschichte und Kultur* [Monuments of history and culture], edited by Institut für Denkmalpflege der DDR, Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1974.

Deiters, Ludwig. "Historic monuments and the preservation of monuments in the German Democratic Republic", In *Proceedings of the Seminar on Architecture and Historic Preservation in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Placzek Adolf K., Senkevitch Anatole, Jr., Knapas Rainer, Kalinowski Wojciech, Sekulič-Gvozadnovič Sena, Entz Geza, Deiters Ludiwg, Shvidkosky Oleg A., Greceanu Eugenia, Marinescu Constantine, Hruška Emanuel, Bliznakov Milka T.,New York, 28-30 November 1975, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol.38, no.2 (May 1979): 142-147.

Deletant, Dennis. *Ceaușescu and the Securitate: Coercion and Dissent in Romania, 1965-1989*, New York: C. Hurst &Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1995.

Derer, Hanna. "Gewinn und Verlust. Zur Entdeckung und zum Verfall von Bauten der Nachrkriegszeit in Rumänien" [Won and Lost. The discovery and decay of post war buildings in Romania], In *Von der Ablehnung zur Aneignung? Das architektonische Erbe des Sozialismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa* [From denial to appropriation? Architectural heritage of socialism in Central- and Eastern Europe], (Visuelle Geschichtskultur, vol. 12), edited by Bartetzky Arnold, Christian Dietz, Jörg Haspel, 70-82, Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014.

Demeter, Laura. "Picking up the pieces: traces of the communist past in Bucharest and Berlin", in *ICOM International Conference: Museums and Politics, Conference Proceedings,* 9-14 Sept. 2014, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Russia, (2014): 323-334

Demeter, Laura. "Assessing the cultural value of the communist legacy in Romania", in *Heritage 2014: proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Heritage and Sustainable Development*. Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development, (2014): 531-540.

Demeter, Laura. "Value creation mechanisms and the heritisation of the communist legacy in Romania", In *The Right to [World] Heritage: conference proceedings.* IAWHP, (2014): 8-20.

Dobrenko, Evgeny. *Stalinist Cinema and the Production of History Museum of the Revolution,* Edinburgh University Press, 2008.

Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi. "Das Spanienkämpfer-Denkmal von Fritz Cremer" [Spanish fighters - monument by Fritz Cremer], In *Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistischen Ära im Umbruch*, edited by ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomittees, vol.13, (1994): 89-90.

Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi, Kier Hiltrud, eds. *Städtebau und Staatsbau im 20.Jahrhundert* [City construction and state building in 20th century], München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1996.

Dolff-Bonekämper Gabi, van Voolen Edward, eds. (Idee und Konzeption in Zusammenarbeit mit Carolin Schönemann und Inge Zimmermann), *Denkmale und kulturelles Gedächtnis nach dem Ende der Ost-West-Konfrontation* [Monuments and cultural memory after the East-West confrontation], Akademie der Künste, Dokumentation der Internationalen Fachtagung vom 18.bis 22. November 1998 in Berlin, Jovis Verlag.

Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi. "Denkmale der Zeitgeschichte - Wie bestimmen wir ihren Wert?" [Monuments of contemporary history-how do we assess their value?], In *Kulturerbe-Denkmalpflge-Zeitgeschichte*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Forum Berlin, (2000): 17-18, 35-38.

Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi. "Cultural heritage and conflict: the view from Europe", *Museum International*, vol.62, no.1-2, UNESCO, (2012): 14-19.

Dormaels, Mathieu. "The concept behind the word. Translation issues in definitions of heritage", In *Understanding Heritage. Perspectives in Heritage Studies*, edited by Albert Marie-Therese, Bernecker Roland, Rudolff Britta, 107-117, Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, 2013.

Dragan, Klaic. "Remembering and forgetting communist cultural production", In *Heritage, Memory & Identity*, edited by Anheier Helmut, Raj Isar Yudhishthir, 177-186, The Cultures and Globalisation Series 4, Sage Publications, 2011.

Duggan, Colleen. "Show me your impact: Evaluating Transitional Justice in Contested Spaces", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 35, (2010): 199-205.

Duedahl, Poul, ed. *A History of UNESCO. Global Actions and Impacts*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Durbach, Andrea. *Cultural Heritage as Transformation: a study of four sites from post-apartheid South Africa*, DRAFT for UNSW Law Research Paper No.2014-58, Presented at *Twenty Years of South African Constitutionalism: Constitutional Rights, Judicial Independence, and the Transition to Democracy'*, New York Law School, co-hosted by New York Law School Law Review (13-16 November 2014), [accessed on 01.02.2016]:

http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2520020##)

Dushkina, Natalia. "World Heritage List: Evaluating the 20th century heritage", In *Values and Criteria in Heritage Conservation*. Proceedings of the International Conference of ICOMOS, ICCROM and Fondazione Romualdo del Bianco, edited by Tomaszewski, Andrzej, 417-425, Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, (March 2008).

Duße, Elke. "Die Ressourcen der Berliner Denkmalpflege 1990-1995 - Eine Rückschau" [The ressources of the Berlin monuments preservation 1990-1995 – A retrospective], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, 27-28, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997.

Ebenfeld, Stefan. *Geschichte nach Plan? Die Instrumentalisierung der Geschichstwissenschaft in der DDR am Beispiel des Museums für Deutsche Geschichte in Berlin (1950 bis 1955)*, [Planning history? The instrumentalisation of historical studies in the GDR exemplified by the Museum for German History in Berlin (1950 to 1955)], Tectum Verlag, 2001.

Elfert, Eberhard. "Die politischen Denkmäler der DDR im ehemaligen Ost-Berlin und unser Lenin" [Political monuments of GDR in former East Berlin and our Lenin], In *Demontage…revolutionärer oder restaurativer Bildersturm?* Texte und Bilder, 53-59, Berlin: Karin Kramer Verlag, 1992.

Elster, Jon. *Closing the Books. Transitional Justice in Historical Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Engel, Helmut, Ribbe, Wolfgang, eds. *Karl-Marx-Allee Magistrale in Berlin. Die Wandlung der sozialistischen Prachtstraße zur Haupstraße der Berliner Ostens* [Karl-Marx-Allee avenue in Berlin. The transformation of the prominent socialist street to the main street of Eastern Berlin], Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996.

Engel, Helmut, Ribbe, Wolfgang, eds. *Via triumphalis, Geschichtslandschaft "Unter den Linden" zwischen Friedrich-Denkmal und Schloßbrücke* [Via triumphalis, historical landscape "Unter den Linden" between Frederick-monument and palace bridge], Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997.

Escherich, Mark, ed. *Denkmal OST-Moderne Aneignung und Erhaltung des baulichen Erbes der Nachkriegsmoderne* [Monument EAST-Modern. Appropriation and preservation of the built heritage from post war modernity], Stadtentwicklung & Denkmalpflege, vol. 16, Jovis Diskurs.

Escherich, Mark, ed. *Denkmal OST-Moderne II. Denkmalpflegerische Praxis der Nachkriegsmoderne* [Monument EAST-Modern II. Monuments preservation practices on post war modernity], Stadtentwicklung & Denkmalpflege vol. 18, Jovis Diskurs.

Eriksen, Anne. *From Antiquities to Heritage. Transformation of Cultural Memory,* Berghahn Books, 2014.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland, "Between universalism and relativism: a critique of the UNESCO concept of culture", In *Culture and Rights. Anthropological Perspectives,* edited by Cowan Jane K., Dembour Marie-Benedicte, Wilson Richard A., 127-149, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Espinolda, Juan. *Transitional Justice after German Reunification. Exposing Unofficial Collaborators*, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Falser, Michael. *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität. Zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland* [Between identity and authenticity. A political history concerning monuments preservation in Germany], Thelem Universitätsverlag&Buchhandel, 2008.

Falser Michael, Lipp Wilfried, Tomaszewki Andrzej, eds. *Conservation and Presevation. Interactions between theory and practice. In memoriam Alois Riegl (1898-1905).* Proceedings of the International Conference of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee for the Theory and Philosophy of Conservation and Restoration, 23-27 April 2008 Vienna: Edizioni Polistampa.

Falser Michael, Lipp Wilfried, eds. *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit. Zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres* (1975-2015) [A future for our past. 40th Jubilee of the European Heritage Year (1975-2015)], ICOMOS Austria, Monumenta Series III, Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015.

Falser Michael, Lipp Wilfried. "Trehsholds of monuments awareness in the mirror of the European Architectural Heritage Year 1975. An introduction", In *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit. Zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen*

Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2915), ICOMOS Austria, Monumenta Series III, edited by Falser Michael, Lipp Wilfried, 21-63, Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015.

Feist, Peter H. "Geschichsträume. Störbilder, die Wandbilder im Berliner Palast der Republik" [Historical spaces. Residual images, murals in Berlin's Palace of the Republic], In *Städtebau und Staatsbau im 20.Jahrhundert*, edited by Dolff-Bonekämper Gabi, Kier Hiltrud, 173-193, München Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 1996.

Feldbrugge, F.J.M., "Monuments in Soviet Law", In *Soviet Administrative Law: Theory and Policy*, edited by Ginsburgs George, Ajany Gianmaria, van den Berg Ger P., Simons William B., 193-209, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1998.

Fisch, S. *National Approaches to Governance of Historical Heritage over Time. A Comparative Report*. International Institute of Administrative Sciences Monographs. 29. IOS Press, 2008.

Ferkai, Andras. "Recording and preserving the modern heritage in Hungary", In *Modern Movement Heritage*, edited by Cunningham Allen, 37-41, London, New York: E & FN SPON Routledge, 1998.

Flierl, Bruno. *Karl-Marx-Allee and "Interbau 1957". Berlin Postwar Heritage between Confrontation and Co-evolution*, In ICOMOS Journals of the German National Committee LVIII, 2013.

Flierl, Bruno. *Berlin baut um - Wessen Stadt wird die Stadt? Kritische Reflexionen 1990-1997* [Reconstructing Berlin-Whom will the city belong to? Critical reflections 1990-1997], Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998.

Flügel, Katherina, Ernst, Wolfgang, eds. *Musealisierung der DDR? 40 Jahre als Kulturhistorische Herausforderung* [Musealisation of the GDR? 40 years of cultural historical challenge], Leipziger Gespräche zur Museologie, Schiftenreihe des Instituts für Museologie, Band I, Leipzig (Hochschule für Technik und Wirtschaft und Kultur), 1992.

Forest, Benjamin, Johnson, Juliet, eds. *Soviet-Era Monuments and Post-Soviet National Identity in Moscow*, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Blackwell Publishing, vol.92, no.3, (2002): 524-547.

Form Wolfgang, "Dealing with the past. Transitional Justice - Maßnahmenkataloge für den Umgang mit der Vergangenheit" [Dealing with the past. Transitional Justice – Catalogue of measures for dealing with the past], In *Gerechtigkeit nach Diktatur und Krieg: Transitional Justice 1945 bis heute: Strafverfahren und ihre Quellen*, Garscha Winfried R., Kuretsidis-Haider Claudia, 15-31, eds. CLIO Verein f. Geschichts- & Bildungsarbeit, 2010.

Frey, Bruno S., Steiner Lasse. "World Heritage List: does it make sense?" *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol.17, no.5, 2011.

Frey, B. S., P. Pamini, L. Steiner. "Explaining the World Heritage list: An empirical study", *International Review of Economics*, vol.60, no.1, (2013): 1–19.

Four Pierre-Alain, "La protection du patrimoine et sa genèse" [The protection of patrimony and its genesis], Fiche de Synthèse, Agenda métropolitain - Gros plan: Quand le patrimoine devient un ressort de la modernité, Automne, (2003): 6

Gabany, Anneli, Hunya, Gabor, eds. "Vom Regimewechsel zur Systemtransformation: Rumänien" [From regime change to system change: Romania], In *Die Rekonstruktion Ostmitteleuropas*. *Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Umbruch*, edited by Pradetto August, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994.

Gabany, Anneli Ute. *Systemwechsel in Rumänien. Von der Revolution zur Transformation* [System change in Romania. From revolution to transformation], München: R.Oldenburg Verlag, 1998.

Gabany, Anneli Ute. "Die rumänischen Eliten in der Systemtransformation" [The Romanian elites in the system transformation], In *Alte Eliten in Jungen Demokratien? Wechsel, Wandel und Kontinuität in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, edited by Hans-Joachim Veen, Köln: Bohlau Verlag, 2004.

Gallinat, Anselma. "Memory matters and contexts: Remembering for past, present and future, In *Remembering and Rethinking the GDR. Multi Perspectives and Plural Authenticity*, edited by Saunders, Anna, Pinfold, Debbie, 149-163, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Gamboni, Dario. "Die Zerstörung kommunistischer Denkmäler als Bildersturm – Historische und Typologische Fragestellungen" [The destruction of communist monuments as iconoclasm – Historic and typological enquires], In *Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistische Ära im Umbruch*, edited by ICOMOS - Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomittees, vol.13, (1994): 19-28.

Georgescu, Vlad. *The Romanians: a history*, I.B. Tauris&co Ltd Publishers, 1991.

Gerstenberger, Katharina, Braziel, Jana Evans, eds. *After the Berlin Wall. Germany and beyond*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Gfeller, Aurelie Elisa. "Negotiating the meaning of global heritage: 'cultural landscapes' in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 1972-92*", *Journal of Global History*, no.8, (2013): 483-503.

Gfeller, Aurelie Elisa. "Anthropologizing and indigenizing heritage: the origins of the UNESCO Global Strategy for a representative, balanced and credible World Heritage List", *Journal of Social Archaeology*, vol.15, no.3, (2015): 336-386.

Gfeller Aurelie Elisa, Eisenberg Jaci, "UNESCO and the shaping of global heritage", In *A history of UNESCO. Global actions and impacts,* edited by Duedahl, Poul, 279-300, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Giblin, John Daniel. "Post-conflict heritage: Symbolic healing and cultural renewal", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.20, no. 5., (2014): 500-518.

Gibson, Lisanne, Pendlebury, John, eds. *Valuing Historic Environments*. Ashgate, 2009.

Giurescu, Dinu C. *International Preservation Report. The raizing of the Romania's past*. A Project of the Kress Foundation European Preservation Program of the World Monuments Fund, US/ICOMOS Publishing, 1989.

de Greiff, Pablo, "Theorising Transitional Justice", In *Transitional Justice*, edited by Melissa S. Williams, Rosemary Nagy, John Elster, 31-78, New York University Press, 2009.

González, Pablo Alonso. "Museums in revolution: changing national narratives in revolutionary Cuba between 1959 and 1990", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2014.

González, Pablo Alonso. "Transforming ideology into heritage; A return of nation and identity in late socialist Cuba?", *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol.19, no.2, (2016a): 139-159.

González, Pablo Alonso, "Communism and cultural heritage: the quest for continuity", *International Journal of Cultural Heritage Studies*, 2016b.

González, Pablo Alonso. "The organisation of commemorative space in postcolonial Cuba: From civic square to Square of the Revolution", *Organisation*, vol.23, no.1, (2016c): 47-70.

Goralczyk Peter, Symposium "Nachdenken über Denkmalpflege" (Teil 4) [Reflections concerning monuments preservation], Vortrag, In kunsttetexte.de 2, (2005): 1-7.

Graffunder, Heinz, Beerbaum, Martin. *Der Palast der Republik* [The Palace of the Republic], VEB E.A. Seemann Verlag, 1977.

Graham, Brian. "Heritage as knowledge: Capital or culture?" *Urban Studies* vol.39, no. (5-6), (2002): 1003-1017.

Graham, Brian, Howard, Peter, eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Ashgate Publishing, 2008.

Groys, Boris. "The Struggle against the museum; or, the display of art in totalitarian space", In *Museum Culture. Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, edited by Sherman, D. J. & Rogoff, I., 144-162, London: Routledge, 1994.

Gross, Peter. "Spectacular alterations, few changes in Romania's media", In *Post-Communist Romania at Twenty-Five. Linking Past Present and Future*, edited by Lavinia Stan, Diane Vancea, 127-146, Lexington Books, 2015.

Goudin-Steinmann, Elisa, Hähnel-Mesnard, Carola, eds. "Ostdeutsche Erinnerungsdiskurse nach 1989. Narrative kulturelle Identität" [Eastern German memory discourses after 1989. Narrative cultural identity], In *DDR Diskurse -*

Interdisziplinäre Studien zu Sprache, Land und Gesellschaft, Band I. Frank&Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur, 2013.

Hafstein, Vladimar Tr. "Claiming Culture: Intangible Heritage Inc., Folklore©, Traditional Knowledge™," In *Prädikat "Heritage". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen,* edited by Bendix Regina, 75-100, LIT Verlag Berlin, 2007.

Hamel, Jacques, Dufour Stephane and Dominic Fortin, eds. *Case Study Methods*, (Newbury Park: SAGE Publications, 1993).

Hammer, Felix. *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Denkmalrechts* [Historical development of monuments protection legislation], Tübingen: J.C.B Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995.

Hampton, Mary N. Pfeifer, Douglas, C. "Reordering German identity: Memory sites and foreign policy", *German Studies Review*, vol.30, no.2, May, (2007): 371-390.

Hardesty D., Little B. J. *Assessing Site Significance. A Guide for Archaeologists and Historians* (Second Edition). Lanham, New York, Toronto, Plymouth UK, AltaMira Press. Rowman &Litlefield Publishers, Inc. 2009.

Harrison, Rodney. "What is heritage?", In *Understanding the politics of heritage*, edited by Rodney Harrison, 5-42. Manchester University Press, 2009.

Harrison, Rodney, Ferguson, Rebecca, Weinbren, Daniel. "Heritage and the recent and contemporary past", In *Understanding heritage and memory*, edited by Benton Tim, 277-315, Manchester University Press, 2010a.

Susie, West, ed. *Understanding heritage in practice,* Manchester University Press, 2010b.

Harrison, Rodney. *Heritage Critical Approaches,* Routledge, 2013a.

Harrison, Rodney. "Forgetting to remember, remembering to forget: late modern heritage practices, sustainability and the 'crisis' of accumulation of the past", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.19, no. 6, (2013b): 579-595.

Harrison Rodney. "World Heritage listing and the globalisation of the endangerment sensibility", In *Endangerment, Biodiversity and Culture*, edited by Vidal Fernando, Dias Nelia, 195-217, Routledge Environmental Humanities Series, 2015b.

Harrison Rodney, "Heritage and Globalisation", In *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research,* edited by Waterton Emma, Watson Sheila, 297-309, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015a.

Hartog, François. "An end and a beginning", *The UNESCO Courier*, *A New Look at the History of Communism*, (May 1994): 9-12.

Hartog, François. *Regimes of Historicity, Presentism and Experiences of Time*. [Translated by Saskia Brown], Columbia University Press, New York, 2015.

Harvey, David C. "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.7, no.4, (2001): 319–338.

Haspel Jörg. "Zwischen Erhaltung und Erneuerung: Die Karl-Marx-Allee in Berlin" [Between preservation and renewal: Karl-Marx-Allee in Berlin], In *Stalinistische Architektur unter Denkmalschutz?* ICOMOS XX, (1995): 18.

Haspel, Jörg. "Eine Zwischenbilanz" [An intermediary report], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, 8-9, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997.

Haspel, Jörg. "Im welchen Style sollen wir konservieren?" [In which style shall we preserve?], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, 82-88, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997.

Haspel, Jörg. *Denkmalschutzrecht in Berlin: Gesetz zum Schutz von Denkmalen in Berlin* [Monuments protection legislation in Berlin: The Law concerning the protection of monuments in Berlin], Berlin: Kulturbuch Verlag, 2008.

Haspel, Jörg, Szmygin, Bogusław eds. *Architecture of the second half of the 20th century-studies and protection*, ICOMOS Polska, ICOMOS Deutschland, Warszawa-Berlin, 2010.

Haspel, Jörg, Staroste, Hubert, eds. *Denkmalpflege in der DDR. Rückblicke, Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin* [Monuments protection in the GDR. Retrospective, contributions to monuments preservation in Berlin], Band 41, Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2014.

Haspel, Jörg. "Nach dem Fall des Eisernen Vorhangs - Das Architektonische Erbe des Sozialistischen Realismus in Berlin" [After the end of the Cold War – architectural heritage of Socialist Realism in Berlin], *Architecture of the second half of the 20th century. Studies and Protection*, edited by Szmygin Bogusław, Haspel Jörg, 77-91, ICOMOS Polska, ICOMOS Germany, Warsaw, Berlin, 2010.

Haspel, Jörg. "Denkmalpflegerische Aspekte der Sanierung und Revitalisierung der Karl-Marx-Allee" [Monuments protection issues concerning the conservation and renewal of Karl-Marx-Allee], In *Karl-Marx-Allee Magistrale in Berlin. Die Wandlung der sozialistischen Prachtstraße zur Haupstraße der Berliner Ostens*, edited by Engel, Helmut, Ribbe Wolfgang, 187-201, Akademie Verlag, 1996.

Haspel, Jörg. "Zwischen Hohenzollernschloß und Palast der Republik - Konservatorische Anmerkungen zur Behandlung eines Denkmalortes" [Between Hohenzollernschloß and Palace of the Republic – conservation measures for the treatement of a monument place], In *Städtebau und Staatsbau*

im 20. Jahrhundert, edited by Dolff-Bonekämpfer, Gabi, Kier, Hiltrud, 235-247, München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1996.

Hemme, Dorothee, Tauschek, Markus, Bendix, Regina, eds. *Prädikat "Heritage". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen* [Predicat "heritage". Value creation from cultural resources], Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007.

Heinrich, Christoph. *Strategie des Erinnerns. Der Veränderte Denkmalbegriff in der Kunst der achtziger Jahre* [Memory strategies. The transformation of the monument concept in the arts during the 1980s], Verlag Silke Schreiber, 1993.

Herbert, Nicolaus, Alexander Obeth, eds. *Die Stalinallee: Geschichte einer deutschen Strasse* [Stalin Allee - The history of a German street], Huss-Medien, 1997.

Hoffmann-Axthelm, Dieter. *Kann die Denkmalpflege entstaatlicht werden?* [Can monuments preservation be denationalised] Gutachten für die Bundestagfraktion von Bündnis 90/Die Grünen. Entwurf (März 2000).

Hoffmann, Volker, Autenrieth, Hans, Peter, eds. *Denkmalpflege heute. Akten des Berner Denkmalpflegekongresses Oktober 1993* [Monuments preservation today. Documentation of the Monuments Preservation Congress in Bern, Oct. 1993], Neue Berner Schriften zur Kunst, Band 1, Verlag Peter Lang, 1996.

Hogwood, Patricia. "After the GDR: Reconstructing identity in post – communist Germany", *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 2007.

Hogwood, Patricia. "Selective memory: Channelling the past in post-GDR society", In *Remembering and Rethinking the GDR. Multi Perspectives and Plural Authenticity*, edited by Saunders, Anna, Pinfold, Debbie, 34-51, The Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Hoisie Corbea Andrei, Jaworski Rudolf, Sommer Monika, eds. *Umbruch im östlichen Europa. Die nationale Wende und das kollektive Gedächtnis* [The break in Eastern Europe. The national Wende and collective memory], Studien Verlag Ges.m.b.H Innsbruck, 2004.

Holfelder, Moritz. *Palast der Republik. Aufstieg und Fall eines symbolischen Gebäudes* [The Palace of the Republic. Raise and fall of a symbolic construction], Berlin: Ch.Links Verlag, 2008.

Howard, Peter. *Heritage Management, Interpretation, Identity*, Continuum, New York, 2003.

Hungtington, Samuel P. "Democracy's third wave", *Journal of Democracy, Spring*, vol.2, no.2, (1991): 12- 34.

Huyssen, Andreas. *Present Pasts, Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Stanford University Press, 2003.

Huse, Norbert, ed. *Denkmalpflege. Deutsche Texte aus Drei Jahrhunderte* [Monuments preservation. German texts from three centuries], C.H. Beck, 2006.

Hütter, Elisabeth, Magirius, Heinrich. "Zum Verständnis der Denkmalpflege in der DDR" [Understanding monuments preservation in the GDR], *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 53. Bd., H. 3, Published by Deutscher Kunstverlag GmbH, München Berlin, (1990): 397-407.

Hyvärinen, Matti, Muszynski, Lisa eds. *Terror and the Arts. Artistic, Literary, and Political Interpretations of Violence from Dostoyevsky to Abu Ghraib*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Ilie, Cornel Constantin. *Regimul Comunist și Muzeele de Istorie din România* [The communist regime and history museums in Romania], Editura Dobrogea, 2013.

Ioan, Augustin. *Arhitectura și Puterea* [Architecture and Power]*,* București: Agerfilm, 1992.

Ioan, Augustin. "Urban policies and the politics of public space in Bucharest", In *The urban mosaic of post-socialist Europe. Space, Institutions and Policy*, edited by Tsenkova Sasha, Nedović-Budić Zorica, 337-349, Heidelberg, New York: Physica-Verlag, A Springer Company, 2006.

Iosa, Ioana. *L'heritage urban de Ceaușescu: Fardeau ou saut en avant*? [Urban heritage of Ceaușescu: Fake or a step forward], Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006.

Ivan, Ruxandra. "Der Stellenwert totalitärer Erfahrungen im aktuellen politischen Diskurs Rumäniens" [The role of totalitarian experience in current political discourse in Romania], In *Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart. Vom Umgang mit Dikaturerfahrungen in Ost- und Westeuropa*, edited by Großböltig Thomas, Hofmann Dirk, 75-82, Wallstein Verlag, 2008.

James, Jason. *Preservation and National Belonging in Eastern Germany. Heritage Fetishism and Redeeming Germanness*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Jansson, Fredrik, Lindenfors, Patrik, Sanberg, Mikael "Democratic Revolutions as Institutional Innovation Diffusion: Rapid Adoption and Survival of Democracy", *Technological Forecasting & Social Change*, 80, (2013): 1546-1556.

Jordan, Jennifer A. *Structures of Memory. Understanding Urban Change in Berlin and Beyond*, Stanford University Press, 2006.

Jugurică, Constantin. *Memoria carnetelor cu însemnari-Bucureștiul cutremurat 1977-1989* [The memory of the notebooks–Bucharest under tremour 1977-1989], București: Arhilibra, 2012.

Jokilehto, Jukka. *A History of architectural conservation*, Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 2002.

Jokilehto, Jukka. *ICCROM and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage. A History of the Organisation's first 50 years, 1959-2009*, ICCROM Conservation Studies 11, ICCROM, Rome, 2011.

Kaiser, Alexandra. "'We were heroes.' Local memories of autumn 1989: Revising the past", In *Remembering and Rethinking the GDR. Multi-Perspectives*

and Plural Authenticity, edited by Saunders, Anna, Pinfold, Debbie, 179-197, The Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Kelly Tobias, Dembour Marie-Benedicte. "Introduction: The social live of International Justice", In *Paths to Transitional Justice. Social and Legal Perspectives*, edited by Kelly Tobias, Dembour Marie-Benedicte, 1-29, Cambridge Studies in Law and Society, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Kieling, Uwe, Petersen, Helmut. "Datenspeicher Denkmalpflege - Kurzinformation für Nachnutzer" [Data preservation on monuments preservation - Brief information for user], In *Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege*, (October 1989): 47-53.

Kier, Hiltrud, "Pro und Contra Rekonstruktion Berliner Stadtschloss" [Pro and contra the reconstruction of the Berlin city palace], In *Städtebau und Staatsbau im 20.Jahrhundert*, edited by Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi, Kier Hiltrud, 213-235, München Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1996.

Kiesow, Gottfried. *Denkmalpflege in Deutschland. Eine Einführung* [Monuments preservation in Germany. An introduction], Darmstadt: Theiss, 2000.

Kirchner, Jörg. "Denkmalpflege und Stadtplanung in der DDR nach 1945" [Monuments preservation and city planning in the GDR after 945], In *Zeitschichten: Erkennen und Erhalten – Denkmalpflege in Deutschland; 100 Jahre Handbuch von Georg Dehio*; Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Residenzschloss, edited by Scheurmann Ingrid, 148-152, Deutscher Kunstverlag München, Berlin, 2005.

Kirschbaum, Julian. "Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit". *Das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975* [A future for our past. The European Heritage Year 1975], In *Zeitschichten: Erkennen und Erhalten – Denkmalpflege in Deutschland; 100 Jahre Handbuch von Georg Dehio*; Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Residenzschloss, edited by Scheurmann Ingrid, 166-169, München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Theorising Heritage", *Ethnomusicology*, Vol.39, No.3, (1995): 367-380.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *World Heritage and cultural economics*. In *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, edited by Ivan Karp, Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, with Gustavo Buntinx, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Ciraj Rassool, 161–202, Durham, NC; London: Duke University Press, 2006.

Klemstein, Franziska. "Der 'Klassifizierungsstreit' von 1956", In *BetonSalon. Neue Positionen zur Architektur der späten Moderne*, edited by Mager Tino, Trötschel-Daniels, Bianka, 113-127, Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2017.

Koshar, Rudy. *From monuments to traces. Artifacts of German memory 1870-1990*, Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.

Krauß, Matthias. *Wem nützt die "Aufarbeitung"? Die institutionalisierte Abrechnung* [Who benefits from coming to terms with the past? The institutionalised accountability]. Eine Streitschrift. Edition Ost, 2016.

Kritz, Neil J. "Coming to terms with atrocities: A review of accountability mechanisms for mass violations of human rights", *Law and Contemporary Problems*, vol.59, no.4: *Accountability for International Crimes and Serious Violations of Fundamental Human Rights,* (Autumn, 1996): 127-152.

Kruft, Hanno-Walter. "Rekonstruktion als Restauration?" [Reconstruction as restoration?], In *Der Architekt* 9/93, (https://www.akh.de/baukultur/architektur-macht-schule/gebaute-geschicht e/besondere-bauten-besondere-orte/stadtschloss-berlin/grundsaetzliches-zu-z erstoerung-und-wiederaufbau/)

Kohlenbach, Bernhard. "Die Berliner Denkmaliste" [Berlin Monuments List], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, 34-36, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997.

Kommers, Donald P. "Transitional Justice in Eastern Germany", *Law & Social Inquiry*, vol.22, no.3, (1997): 829-848.

Kostecki Wojciech, Zukrowska Katarzyna, Goralczyk Bogdan J. eds. *Transformations of post-communist states*, Macmillan Press, 2000.

Kriwoscheina Sergejewna, Olga. "Moderne Museen in alten historischen Gebäuden am Beispiel der Leninmuseen in der UdSSR" [Modern museums in historic buildings exemplified by the Lenin museums in the USSR], *Beiträge und Mitteilungen,* Museum für Deutsche Geschichte, 8, (1981): 41-48.

Kupferberg, Feiwel. *The Break-up of Communism in East Germany and Eastern Europe*, Macmillan Press, 1999.

Kuretsidis-Haidere, Claudia, Winfried R. Garscha, eds. *Gerechtigkeit nach Diktatur und Krieg. Transitional Justice 1945 bis heute: Strafverfahren und ihre Quellen* [Justice after dictatorship and war. Transitional Justice 1945 until today: criminal proceedings and their origin], Graz: Clio, 2010.

Kuhrmann, Anke. *Der Palast der Republik. Geschichte und Bedeutung des Ost-Berlin Parlaments-und Kulturhauses* [The Palace of the Republic. History and significance of the Eastern Berlin parliaments- and cultural house], Michael Imhof Verlag, 2006.

Kuutma, Kristin. "The politics of contested representation: UNESCO and the Masterpieces of Intangile Cultural Heritage", In *Prädikat "Heritage". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*, edited by Hemme Dorothee, Tauschek Markus, Bendix Regina, 177-197, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007.

Kuutma, Kristin. "Between arbitration and engineering concepts and

contingencies in the shaping of heritage regimes", In *Heritage regimes and the state*, edited by Bendix Regina, Eggert Aditya, Peselmann Arnika, 21-39, Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property, Universitätsverlag Göttingen, vol.6, 2012.

Kuutma, Kristin. "Concepts and contingencies in heritage politics", In *Anthropological perspectives on intangible heritage*, edited by Kuutma Kristin, Arizpe Lourdes, Amescua Cristina, 1-17, Springer Briefs in Environment, Security, Development and Peace, vol.6, 2013.

Labadi, Sophia. "Representations of the nation and cultural diversity in discourse on World Heritage", *Journal of Social Archaeology, Sage Publications,* 7:147, 2007.

Labadi, Sophia, Long Colin, eds. *Heritage and Globalisation. Key Issues in Cultural Heritage*, Routledge, 2010.

Labadi, Sophia. *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value. Value-based Analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions*, Altamira Press, 2013.

Ladd, Brian. *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*, University of Chicago Press (e-book), 1998.

Ladd, Brian. "Double restoration: Re-building Berlin after 1945", In *The resilient city. How modern cities recover from disaster*, edited by Vale, Lawrence J., Campanella Thomas J., 117-135, Oxford University Press, 2005.

Lazea, Andreea. *Pentru o Antropologie a Patrimoniului și Patrimonializării. Perspective asupra monumentelor în România* [An anthropology on the patrimony and patrimonialisation. Perspectives concerning monuments in Romania], Iași: Editura Lumen, 2012.

Leach, Neil, ed. *Architecture and Revolution. Contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, Routledge, London, New York, 1999.

Leach, Neil. "The dark side of domus", In *Architecture and Revolution. Contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Leach, Neil, 150-163, London, New York: Routledge, 1999.

Light, Duncan. "Gazing on Communism: Heritage tourism and post-communist identities in Germany, Hungary and Romania", *Tourism Geographies 2*, (2000a): 157–176.

Light, Duncan. "An unwanted past: Contemporary tourism and the heritage of Communism in Romania", *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 6, (2000b): 145–160.

Light, Duncan. "Tourism and Romania's communist past: Coming to terms with an unwanted heritage", In *Post-Communist Romania. Coming to Terms with Transition*, edited by Light Duncan, Phinnemore, David, 59-79, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

Light, Duncan. "Street Names in Bucharest 1990–1997: Exploring the modern historical geographies of postsocialist change", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30, (2004): 154–72.

Light, Duncan, Young, Craig. "Urban space, political identity and the unwanted legacies of state socialism: Bucharest's problematic Centru Civic in the post-socialist era", *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 41:4, (2013): 515-535.

Light, Duncan, Young, Craig. "Public Space and the material legacies of communism in Bucharest", In *Post-Communist Romania at Twenty-Five. Linking Past Present and Future,* edited by Lavinia Stan, Diane Vancea, 41-63, Lexington Books, 2015.

Linz, Juan J. "Transitions to democracy", *The Washington Quarterly*, 13:3, (1990): 143-164.

Lipp, Wilfried. *Denkmal-Werte-Gesellschaft. Zur Pluralität des Denkmalbegriffs* [Monument-Values-Society. On the plurality of the monuments concept], Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1993.

Lipp, Wilfried. *Kultur des Bewahrens. Schrägansichten zur Denkmalpflege* [The culture of preservation. Considerations on monuments preservation], Wien, Köln Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2008.

Lixinski, Lucas. "Cultural heritage law and Transitional Justice: Lessons from South Africa", *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 9, (2015): 278-296.

Logan, William S. "Cultural diversity, heritage and human rights", In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, edited by Graham, Brian, Howard Peter, 439-454, Ashgate Publishing, 2008.

Lorenz, Chris. "Blurred lines, history, memory and the experience of time", In *Erinnerungsorte: Chancen, Grenzen und Perspektiven eines Erfolgskonzeptes in den Kulturwissenschaften*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen. Schriftreihe A: Darstellunegen, edited by Berger Stefan, Joana Seiffert, 73-91, Band 59, Essen, Klartext, 2014.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press. 1985.

Lowenthal, David. *Possessed by the Past: Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, New York: The Free Press, 1996.

Lukas-Krohm, Viktoria. *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege von 1975 bis 2005 mit Schwerpunkt Bayern* [Monuments protection and preservation between 1975 and 2005 with a focus on Bavaria], University of Bamberg Press, 2014.

Macdonald, Sharon. *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nüremberg and Beyond*, London: Routledge, 2008.

Macdonald, Sharon. *Memorylands Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*, New York: Routledge, 2013.

Mahu, Adrian. "Expoziția București-starea orașului" [The exhibition Bucharest-the state of city], In *Revista Arhitectura. Revista de Critică, Teorie și Informație a Uniunii Arhitecților din România și a Ministerului Culturii*, no.1-6, (1990): 16-18.

Manchin, Anna. "Staging traumatic memory: Competing narratives of state violence in post-communist Hungarian museums", *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol.45, no.2-3, (2015): 236-251.

Manolescu, Ion. "Erasing the identity of the past. Effects of the 'Systematization' process in Nicolae Ceaușescu's communist Romania", In *Caietele Echinox*, 19, (2010): 338-342.

https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=15761

Mason, Randall. "Assessing values in conservation planning. Methodological issues and choices", In *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage, Research Report*, edited by de la Torre Marta, 5-31, The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles: The Getty Trust, 2002.

Marin, Manuela. "Communist nostalgia in Romania", *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Boylai-Historia*, 2, (2013): 58-73.

Marquart, Christian. *Denkmalpflege im vereinigten Deutschland* [Monuments preservation in reunited Germany], Wüstenrot Stiftung Deutscher Eigenheimverein e.V., Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1997.

McClelland A., Peel D.Lerm, Hayes Ch-M., Montgomery I. *A Value-based approach to heritage planning: Raising awareness of the dark side of destruction and conservation*, vol.84, no.5, (2013): 583-603.

Meier, Helmut, Schimdt, Walter. *Erbe und Tradition in der DDR. Die Diskussion der Historiker* [Heritage and tradition in the GDR. A conversation among historians], Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1988.

Meier Hans-Rudolf, Will Thomas. "Dehio 2000! Paradigmenwechsel in der modernen Denkmalpflege?" [Dehio 2000! Paradigme change in modern monuments preservation?], In *Zeitschichten: Erkennen und Erhalten – Denkmalpflege in Deutschland; 100 Jahre Handbuch von Georg Dehio*; Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Residenzschloss, edited by Scheurmann Ingrid, 321-329, München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005.

Menghin, Wilfried. "Vor- und frühgeschichtliche Sammlungen und die Bodendenkmalpflege in Berlin 1990-1995". [Prehistorical Collections and archaeological preservation in Berlin 1990-1995], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. A intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, 14-16, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10., Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997.

Meskell, Lynn. "The rush to inscribe: Reflections on the 35th Session of the World Heritage Committee, UNESCO Paris, 2011", *Journal of Field Archaeology,* vol.37, no.2, (2012): 145-151.

Meskell Lynn, Liuzza C. Bertacchini E., Saccone D. "Multilateralism and UNESCO World Heritage: decision-making, state parties and political processes", *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* vol.21, no.5, (2015): 423-440.

Meskell, Lynn, ed. *Global Heritage: A reader*, Willey Blackwell, 2015.

Merriman Nick, *Museum collections and sustainability*, Clore Leadership Fellow, (2004): 1-63.

Mink, Georges, Neumayer, Laure eds. *History, memory and politics in Central and Eastern Europe, Memory Games*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Monda, Jean. *Monumente de arhitectură modernă* [Monuments of modern architecture], București: Editura Albatros, 1982.

Morisset, Lucie K. "Patrimony, the concept, the object, the memory, and the palimpsest: a view from the history of architecture", *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 35, no. 2, (2010): 53–62.

Mörsch, Georg. "Zum Differenzierbarkeit des Denkmalbegriffs" [A diverse approach to the concept of monument], In *Denkmalpflege. Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderte*, edited by Huse Norbert, 2006, C.H. Beck, (1981): 241.

Mucenic, Cezara. "Constituirea CNMASI" [The foundation of CNMASI], In *Revista Arhitectura. Revista de Critică, Teorie și Informație a Uniunii Arhitecților din Romania și a Ministerului Culturii*, no.1-6, (1990): 14-15.

Mucenic, Cezara. "Activitatea CNMASI (octombrie-decembrie 1991)", In *BCNAMSI*, Anul III, no. 1-3-4/(1992): 87.

Munzer, Georg. "Erläuterungen zur Verordnung über die Pflege und den Schutz der Denkmale" [Explanation for the Decree on preservation and protection of monuments], In *Denkmalpflege in unserer Zeit*, edited by Deutscher Kulturbund mit dem Institut für Denkmalpflege, 196-?.

Muschter, Martin. "Denkmalpflege-die tägliche Herausforderung" [Monuments preservation–a daily challenge], *Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege*, Berlin, (1989): 6-9.

Müller, Jan-Werner. *Memory&Power in Post-War Europe. Studies in the presence of the past*, Cambridge Univeristy Press, 2004.

Nalepa, Monika. *Skeletons in the Closet. Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Nemțeanu Ruxandra, "The Scînteia House in Bucharest-a Proposal for Nomination to the World Heritage List", *ICOMOS Journals of the German National Committee,* LVIII, (2013): 101-105.

Nicolaus, Herbert, Obeth, Alexander. *Die Stalinallee. Geschichte einer deutschen Strasse* [Stalin Allee. The history of a German street], Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1997.

Niedermueller, Peter. "Der Mythos der Gemeinschaft: Geschichte, Gedächtnis und Politik im heutigen Osteuropa" [The mythos of a community: History, memory and politics in present Eastern Europe], In *Umbruch im östlichen Europa. Die nationale Wende und das kollektive Gedächtnis*, edited by Hoisie Corbea Andrei, Jaworski Rudolf, Sommer Monika, Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2004.

Nistor Sergiu. *Romania's urban architectural heritage: between neglect and revitalisation,* 2003, [http://www.arcchip.cz/w03/w03_nistor.pdf], accessed January 2017

Odendahl, Kerstin. *Kulturgüterschutz: Entwicklung, Struktur und Dogmatik eines ebenenübergreifenden Normensystem* [Cultural goods protection: development, structure and dogma of an all-comprehensive system of norms], Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

Offe, Claus. "Coming to terms with the past injustices an introduction to legal strategies available in post-communist societies", *European Journal of Sociology*, volume 33, no. 01, (June 1992): 195-201.

Offe, Claus. "Disqualification, retribution, restitution: Dilemmas of justice in post-communist transitions", *Journal of Political Philosophy*, vol.1, no. 1, (1993): 17-44.

Offe, Claus. *Varieties of Transition. The East European and East German Experience*, Polity Press, 1996.

Opriş, Ioan. *Despre Evaluarea Patrimoniului Cultural* [Concerning the evaluation of the cultural patrimony], (Ioan Opriş personal Archives, .n.d. pp.31-34)

Opriş, Ioan. In Ghiu Bogdan, "De ce nu avem inca o lege a patrimoniului?" Interview with: Radu Bogdan, Ruxandra Demetrescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, Ioan Gode, Anca Lazarescu, Ioan Opriş, In *Dilema*, Anul I, no.15, 23-29 (April 1993): 5.

Opriş, Ioan. *Comisiunea Monumentelor Istorice* [The Commission of Historic Monuments], Bucureşti: Editura Enciclopedică, 1994.

Oulebsir Nabila, Swenson Astrid. "Patrimoine: voyages des mots. Heritage, Erbe, Beni culturali, Turâth, Tigemmi", *Patrimoine et Architecture,* 21-22, (2015): 10-23.

Paige, Arthur. "How 'transitions' reshaped human rights: A conceptual history of Transitional Justice", *Human Rights Quarterly*, 31, John Hopkins University Press, (2009): 321-367.

Panaitescu, Alexandru. *De la Casa Scînteii la Casa Poporului. Patru decenii de arhitectură în București 1945-1989* [From the House of the Press to the House of the People. Four decades of architecture in Bucharest 1945-1989], Bucharest: Ed. Simetria, 2012.

Pascariu, Gabriel. "Prolog la un Prolog", In *Revista Arhitectura. Revista de Critică, Teorie și Informație a Uniunii Arhitecților din Romania și a Ministerului Culturii,* no.1-6, (1990): 19.

Paquette, Jonathan. "From decolonisation to postcolonial management: Challenging heritage administration and governance in New Zealand", *Public Organization Review*, vol.12, no. 2, (June 2012): 127-138.

Pearce, Susan. "The construction and analysis of the cultural heritage: Some thoughts", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.4, no.1, (1998): 1-9.

Petkova-Campbell, Gabriela. "Uses and exploitation of history: Official history, propaganda and mythmaking in Bulgarian museums", In *Great Narratives of the Past. Traditions and Revisions in National Museums*, edited by Poulot Dominique, Bodenstein Felicity, Lanzarote Guiral José María, 69-81. Conference Proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Paris 29 June – 1 July and 25-26 November 2011. (Linköping University Electronic Press: http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=078, 2011)

Petrescu, Doina. "The People's House, or the voluptous violence of an architectural paradox", In *Architecture and Revolution. Contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Leach, Neil, 188-196, London, New York: Routledge.

Petcu, Constantin. "Totalitarian city: Bucharest 1980-9, semio-clinical files", In *Architecture and Revolution. Contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Leach, Neil, 177- 188, London, New York: Routledge, 1999.

Petzet, Michael, Lipp, Wilfried, eds. *Vom modernen zum postmodernen Denkmalkultus? Denkmalpflege am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*. [From modern to postmodern Monuments' cult? Monuments preservation at the end of the 20th century], 7. Jahrestagung der Bayerischen Denkmalpflege, Passau, 14.–16. Oktober 1993. Arbeitsheft 69, Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, (1993): 6–12.

Petzet, Michael. "Denkmäler im Umbruch? Einführung in die Tagung 'Bildersturm in Osteuropa'," [Monuments in upheaval? Introduction to the workshop 'Iconoclasm in Eastern Europe'], In *Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistische Ära im Umbruch*, edited by ICOMOS - Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees vol.13, (1994): 9-13.

Pîrvulescu, Gheorghe. "Einige Aspekte des Erkenntiniswertes der Museumsexponate für die Geschichtswissenschaft" [Few issues concerning the epistemic value of museum objects for historical studies], In *Beiträge und Mitteilungen, Museum für Deutsche Geschichte*, 4, (1977): 74-78.

Placzek Adolf K., Senkevitch Anatole, Jr., Knapas Rainer, Kalinowski Wojciech, Sekulič-Gvozadnovič Sena, Entz Geza, Deiters Ludiwg, Shvidkosky Oleg A., Greceanu Eugenia, Marinescu Constantine, Hruška Emanuel, Bliznakov Milka T., eds. "Proceedings of the Seminar on Architecture and Historic Preservation in Central and Eastern Europe, New York, 28-30 November 1975", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol.38, no.2 (May 1979):123-175.

Pohl, Karl Wilhelm. "The German Foundation for the Protection of Monuments", In *Legal structure of private sponsorship*, edited by ICOMOS Hefte des Deutschen National Komitees, vol.26, (1997): 47-49.

Pop-Eleches, Grigore. "Historical legacies and post-communist regime change", *The Journal of Politics,* vol.69, no.4, (2007): 908-926.

Popa, Maria Raluca. "Understanding the urban past: the transformation of Bucharest in the late Socialist period", In *Testimonies of the city. Identity, community and change in a contemporary urban world,* edited by Rodger Richard, Herbert Joanna, Historical Urban Studies, 159-187, Ashgate Publishing, 2007.

Popescu, Carmen. "Looking West: emulation and limitation in Romanian architectural discourse", *The Journal of Architecture*, vol.14, no.1, (2009): 109-128.

Popescu, Carmen. "Introductory argument: architecture of the communist bloc in the mirror", *The Journal of Architecture*, vol.14, no.1, (2009): 1-6.

Poria Yaniv, Ivanov Stanislav, Webster, Craig. "Attitudes and willingness to donate towards heritage restoration: an exploratory study about Bulgarian socialist monuments", *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, vol.9, no.1, (2014): 68-74.

Poulios, Ioannis. "Moving beyond a values-based approach to heritage conservation", *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites,* vol.12, no.2, (2010): 170-185.

Preda Caterina. "Dictators and dictatorship. Art and politics in Romania and Chile (1974-1989)", In *Terror and the Arts. Artistic, Literary, and Political Interpretations of Violence from Dostoyevsky to Abu Ghraib*, edited by Hyvärinen, Matti, Muszynski, Lisa, 147-165, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Preda, Caterina. "Art and politics in modern dictatorships", In *Șantiere de cercetare în științe politice*, edited by Ghebrea Georgeta, 163-188, București: Editura Universității, 2010.

Preda, Caterina. "Artistic critiques of modern dictatorships". *The European legacy: Toward new paradigms*, Routledge, (2012a):1-19.

Preda, Caterina. "Art and politics in postcommunist Romania: Changes and continuities", *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, vol.42, no.3,(2012b*)*:116-127.

Prott Lyndel V., O'Keefe Patrick J. "Cultural heritage or cultural property?" *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 1, (1992): 307-320.

Purchla Jacek, "Dilemma of Post Totalitarian Heritage (Polish experiences)", In *Values and criteria in heritage conservation,* edited by Tomaszewski, Andrzej, *Proceedings of the International Conference of ICOMOS, ICCROM and Fondazione Romualdo del Bianco March 2007*, 363-371, Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2008.

Pușcă, Anca. "Re-thinking (Post) Communism after the aesthetic turn: Art and politics in the Romanian context", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, (2017): 1-8.

Rackwitz, Werner. "Aus dem Referat" [From the report], In *Drei Jahrzehnte Denkmalpflege in der DDR.* Überarbeitetes Protokoll einer Konferenz des Präsidiums des Kulturbundes der DDR, des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege im Kulturbund der DDR und des Rates für Denkmalpflege beim Ministerium für Kultur am 8.11.1979, (1980): 8-18.

Rao, Kishore. "A new paradigm for the identification, nomination and inscription of properties on the World Heritage list", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.16, no.3, (2010): 161-172.

Rampley, Matthew, ed. "Heritage, Ideology, and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe. Contested Pasts, Contested Presents", *The International Centre for Cultural & Heritage Studies,* Newcastle University, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012.

Răuță, Alex. *Negocierea Centrului Civic. Arhitecți și politicieni în România secolului XX* [Negotiating the civic centre: Architects and politicians in Romania 20th century], București: Editura Universitară "Ion Mincu", 2013.

Rehberg, Karl-Siegbert, Kaiser Paul, eds. *Bilderstreit und Gesellschaftsumbruch. Die Debatte um die Kunst aus der DDR im Prozess der deutschen Wiedervereinigung* [Conflicting arts and society change. Debates concerning arts from the GDR in the process of reunification of Germany], Berlin: Siebenhaar Verlag, 2013.

Riegl, Alois. *Der Moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und Seine Entstehung* [The modern monuments cult. Its origin]*,* Wien u. Leipzig, 1903.

Rodger, Richard, Herbert, Joanna, eds. *Testimonies of the city. Identity, community and change in a contemporary urban world*, Historical Urban Studies, Ashgate Publishing, 2007.

Roguski, Camil, Chivu, Florentina. *Ceaușescu: Adevăruri interzise* [Ceaușescu. Prohibited truth], Editura Lucman, 2004.

Sandomirskaia Irina "Catastrophe, restoration, and Kunstwollen: Igor Grabar, cultural heritage, and Soviet reuses of the past", *Ab Imperio*, (2015): 1- 23.

Sauerländer, Willibald. "Erweiterung des Denkmalbegriffs?" [Enlarging the concept of monument], Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalpflege, 33, (1975): 117-130.

Sauerländer, Willibald. "Erweiterung des Denkmalbegriffs?" [Enlarging the concept of monument], In *Denkmal - Werte - Gesellschaft. Zur Pluralität des Denkmalbegriffs*, edited by Lipp Wilfried, 120-150, Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1993.

Saunders, Anna, Pinfold, Debbie, eds. *Remembering and Rethinking the GDR. Multi Perspectives and Plural Authenticity*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Schade Günter, "Ostdeutschland und DDR. Die Museen nach 45" [Eastern Germany and GDR. Museums after 45], In *45 und die Folgen. Kunstgeschichte eines Wiederbeginns*; (die Vorträge wurden in den Jahren 1989-1991 im Rahmen der Vorlesungsreihe der Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, Köln, im Vortragssal des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums), edited by Borger Hugo, Mai Ekkehard, Waetzoldt Stephan, 199-214, Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1991.

Sergejewna Kriwoscheina Olga, "Moderne Museen in alten historischen Gebäude am Beispiel der Leninmuseen in der UdSSR" [Modern museums in old historical buildings exemplified by the Lenin museums in the USSR], In *Beiträge und Mitteilungen, Museum für Deutsche Geschichte*, 8, (1981): 41-48.

Schlenker, Wolfram. *Das "Kulturelle Erbe" in der DDR. Gesellschaftliche Entwicklung und Kulturpolitik 1945-1965* [Cultural heritage in the GDR. Social development and cultural politics 1945-1965], Stuttgart: J.B Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1977.

Schmidt, Leo. *Einführung in die Denkmalpflege* [Introduction to monuments preservation], Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008.

Schmitt Thomas M. "Global cultural governance. Decision-making concerning World Heritage between politics and science", *Erkunde*, vol.63, no.2, (2009): 103-121.

Schnedler, Henrik. "Bilanz im Bereich de Inventarisation von Baudenkmalen in Berlin 1990-1995", [Balance concerning the inventorisation of built monuments in Berlin 1990-1995], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, 23-27, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997.

Schnedler, Henrik. "Wie bedeutend ist der Palast der Republik?" [How significant is the Palace of the Republic], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, 132-136, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997.

Schofield, John, Cocroft, Wayne, eds. *A Fearsome Heritage. Diverse legacies of the Cold War*, California: Left Coast Press, 2007.

Schorban, Jekaterina. "Die Grundsätze für die Auswahl von Denkmalen der modernen Architektur" [Priniciples concerning the selection of monuments of

modern architecture], In *Denkmale und kulturelle Identität*. Internationales Symposium der VII. Generalversammlung des ICOMOS 1984, edited by ICOMOS National Komitee der DDR, 102-104, Berlin: VEB Verlag für Bauwesen, 1984.

Scott, Carol A. "Exploring the evidence base for museum value", *Museum Management and Curatorship*, vol.24, no.3, (2009): 195-212.

Selmeczi, Laszlo. "Museums and national identity", *ICOM Museum: Museology in Hungary*, no.140, (1983): 204-208.

Shafir, Michael. "The new Romanian government", *Report on Eastern Europe: Romania*, (21. January 1990): 35-38.

Silverman, Helaine, Fairchild, Ruggles D. eds. *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*, Springer, 2007.

Silverman, Helaine. *Contested Cultural Heritage,* Springer Science+Media Verlag, 2011.

Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*, London, New York: Routledge, 2006.

Smith, Laurajane. "Empty gestures? Heritage and the politics of recognition", In *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*, edited by Silverman, Helaine, Fairchild, Ruggles, 159-171, D. Springer, 2007.

Sonntag, Ingrid, Lütke, Daldrup, Engelbert, Wolf, Andreas, eds. *Labor der Moderne. Nachkriegsarchitektur in Europa. Laboratory of Modernism: Post-war Architecture in Europe*, Säschische Akademie der Künste, 2014.

Speitkamp, Winfried. "Werte verwalten: Geschichstpolitik, Denkmalpflege und Identitätpflege nach 1989" [Managing values: Political history, monuments preservation and identity preservation after 1989], In *Konversionen Denkmal-Werte-Wandel*. Jahrestagung der Vereinigung des Landesdenkmalpfleger in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Arbeitshefte zur Denkmalpflege in Hamburg, no.28, (2012): 214-219.

Staiger, Uta, Steiner, Henriette, Webber, Andrew, eds. *Memory culture and the contemporary city. Building sites*, Palgrave Macmillan 2009.

Stan, Lavinia. "The roof over our heads: property restitution in Romania", *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics,* vol.22, no.2, (June, 2006): 180-205.

Stan, Lavinia, ed. *Transitional Justice in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union: Reckoning with the Communist Past*, BASEES Routledge Series, 2009.

Stan, Lavinia. "Romania: in the shadow of the past", In *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*, edited by Sabrina P. Ramet, 379-400, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Stan, Lavinia. "Reckoning with the Communist Past in Romania: A Scorecard", *Euro-Asia Studies*, vol.65, no.1, (2013a): 127-146.

Stan, Lavinia. *Transitional Justice in Post-communist Romania. The Politics of Memory*, Cambridge University Press, 2013b.

Stan, Lavinia, Nedelsky, Nadya, eds. *Encyclopedia of Transitional Justice*, vol.1, Cambridge University Press, 2013c.

Stan, Lavinia, Turcescu, Lucian eds. *Justice, memory and redress in Romania. New insights*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.

Stan, Marius, Tismăneanu, Vladimir "Coming to Terms with the Communist Past. Democracy and Memory in Romania", In *Post-Communist Romania at Twenty Five. Linking Past Present and Future*, edited by Lavinia Stan, Diane Vancea, 23-41, Lexington Books, 2015.

Staroste, Hubert. "Politische Denkmäler in Ost-Berlin im Spannungsfeld von Kulturpolitik und Denkmalpflege. Ein Bericht zur Arbeit der Kommission zum Umgang mit den politischen Denkmälern der Nachkriegszeit im ehemaligen Ost-Berlin" [Political monuments in East Berlin between cultural politics and monuments preservation. A report of the 'Commission dealing with political monuments post 1945 in former East-Berlin'], In *Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistische Ära im Umbruch*, edited by ICOMOS - Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomites, vol.13, (1994): 84-86.

Steinkamp, Maike. *Das Unerwünschte Erbe. Die Rezeption "entarteter" Kunst in Kunstkritik, Ausstellungen und Museen der SBZ und frühen DDR* [Contested heritage. The perception of 'degenerated' art in art critique, exhibitions and museums of SBZ and early GDR], Oldenburg Akademie Verlag, 2008.

Stig Sørensen, Marie, Louise, Carman, John, eds. *Heritage Studies Methods and Approaches*, London, New York, Routledge, 2009.

Stig Sørensen, Marie, Louise, Viejo-Rose Dacia, eds. *War and Cultural Heritage. Biographies of Place*, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Stig Sørensen, Marie, Louise, Viejo-Rose, Dacia. "Cultural heritage and armed conflict: New questions for an old relationship", In *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, edited by Waterton Emma, Watson Sheila, 281-294, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Stölzl, Christoph. "Wie die Idee eines Deutschen Historischen Museums Gestalt annahm, 1985-1999" [How the idea of a German Historical Museum emerged, 1985-1999], In *DHM Magazin, Zwanzig Jahre Deutsches Historisches Museum 1987-2007*, Berlin, (2007): 33-47.

Stradiotto, Gary A., Guo, Sujian. "Transitional modes of democratisation and democratic outcomes", *International Journal on World Peace*, vol.XXVII no.4, (December 2010): 5-40.

Stürmer, Michael. "Vorwort" [Preamble], In *Schriftenreihe 19. Historisches Erbe und Administrative Herausforderungen bei der Gestaltung der Deutschen Einheit, Schriftreihe der Fachhochschule des Bundes für Öffentliche Verwaltung*, edited by E.H.M.Lange, M.Möllers, N.Pokorni, 9-24, Köln, 1994.

Szikossy, Ferenc. "Museography and historiography of the recent past", *ICOM Museum: Museology in Hungary*, no.140, (1983): 249-254.

Szmygin, Bogusław. "Classification of historical monuments", In *Values and Criteria in Heritage Conservation*. Proceedings of the International Conference of ICOMOS, ICCROM and Fondazione Romualdo del Bianco March, edited by Tomaszewski, Andrzej, (2008):153-159.

Swenson, Astrid. "Heritage", "Patrimoine" und "Kulturebe": Eine vergleichende historische Semantik" [Heritage, patrimoine and Kulturerbe: a comparative historical semantic], In *Prädikat "Heritage". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*, edited by Hemme Dorothee, Tauschek Markus, Bendix Regina, 53-74, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007.

Swenson, Astrid. *The Rise of Heritage. Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England 1789-1914*, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Tauschek, Markus. "Reflections on the Metacultural Nature of Intangible Cultural Heritage", *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, vol. 5, no.2, (2011): 49-64.

Tauschek, Markus. "The bureaucratic texture of national patrimonial policies", In *Heritage regimes and the state*, edited by Bendix Regina, Eggert Aditya, Peselmann Arnika, 195-212, Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property, Universitätsverlag Göttingen, vol.6, 2012.

Tauschek, Markus. *Kulturerbe, eine Einführung* [Cultural heritage. An introduction], Berlin: Reimer, Kulturwissenschaften, 2013.

Tismăneanu, Vladimir. *Diavolul in istorie. Comunism, Fascism și câteva Lecții ale Secolului XX* [The devil in history. Communism, fascism and some lessons from the twentieth century], (Translation from English by Marius Stan), București: Humanitas, 2013.

Thiele, Gerhard. "Denkmale der Geschichte der DDR" [Monuments of the GDR's history], *Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege*, (Oktober 1989): 10-15.

Thorsby, David. *The Economics of the Cultural Policy*, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Tomaszewski, Andrzej. "Zwischen Ideologie, Politik und Kunst: Denkmäler der Kommunistischen Ära" [Between ideology, politics and arts: monuments from the communist era], In *Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistische Ära im Umbruch*, edited by ICOMOS - Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomittees, vol.13, (1994): 29-33.

Tomaszewski, Andrzej, ed. "Values and criteria in heritage conservation". *Proceedings of the International Conference of ICOMOS, ICCROM and Fondazione Romualdo del Bianco March 2007*, Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2008.

Tönnesmann, Andreas. "Bundesrepublik und DDR: Ihre Staatsbauten in der Konkurrenz der Systeme" [Federal Republic and the GDR: state buildings in

competitive systems], In *Städtebau und Staatsbau im 20.Jahrhundert*, edited by Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi, Kier Hiltrud, 193-213, München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1996.

Trappe, Julie. *Rumäniens Untergang mit der kommunistischen Vergangenheit. Eine Untersuchung aus strafrechtlicher Perspektive* [Romania's dealing with the communist past. An analysis from criminal law perspective], Band 3. Diktaturen und ihre Überwindung im 20. Und 21. Jahrhundert, edited by Carola Sachse, Edgar Wolfrum, Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2009.

Trimborn, Jürgen. *Denkmale als Inszenierung im öffentlichen Raum. Ein Blick auf die gegenwärtige Denkmalproblematik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland aus denkmalpflegerischer und medienwissenschaflticher Sicht* [Monuments as orchestration in public space. A view on current monuments problematic in Federal Germany from monuments preservation and media perspective], Köln: Verlag Ralf Leppin, 1997.

Trinidad, Rico. "Negative Heritage: The place of conflict in World Heritage", *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, vol.10, no.4, (November, 2008): 344-352.

Trötschel-Daniels, Bianka. "Kann den Beton Denkmal sein? Zum Denkmalbegriff im Denkmalpflegegesetz der DDR von 1975" [Can concrete become heritage? Concerning the concept of Denkmal in the monuments preservation law of GDR 1975], In *BetonSalon. Neue Positionen zur Architektur der späten Moderne*, edited by Mager Tino, Trötschel-Daniels, Bianka, 127-139, Berlin: Neofelis Verlag.

Trost, Heinrich, ed. *Die Bau-und Kunstdenkmale in der DDR. Hauptstadt Berlin II* [Built- and artistic monuments in the GDR. Berlin, capital city II], Institut für Denkmalpflege, Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1987.

Tsenkova, Sasha, Nedović-Budić Zorica eds. *The urban mosaic of post-socialist Europe. Space, institutions and policy*, Heidelberg, New York: Physica-Verlag, A Springer Company, 2006.

Tucek, K., Neustupny, *Evidența colecțiilor de muzeu. Manual practic pentru muzeografi, material pentru uz intern* [The evidence of museums collections. Practical guide for museologists, material for internal use], București, 1956.

Tulbure, Irina. "From Casa Scînteii to Casa Poporului and back. Architecture as icon of a totalitarian regime", In *Printed in Red. Architectural writings during Communism, Studies in History & Theory of Architecture*, vol.1, (2013): 78-89.

Tunbridge J.E., Ashworth Gregory J. *Dissonant Heritage. The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, John Wiley & Sons,1996.

Ursprung, Daniel. "Rumänien-Modernisierung und Reform im Spannungsfeld evolutionärer und revolutionärer Konzepte" [Modernisation of Romania and reform in the field of contested evolutionary and revolutionary concepts], In *Transformation und historisches Erbe in den Staaten des europäischen Osten*, edited

by C. Goehrke, S. Gilly, 403-441, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Wien: Lang, 2000.

Vais Dana, "The productive role of margins. Architectural discourse in the late 1960s Romania", *Studies in History & Theory of Architecture*, (2016):202-215.

Veen, Hans-Joachim, Knigge, Volkhard, eds. *Denkmäler demokratischer Umbrüche nach 1945* [Monuments of democratic upheaval after 1945], Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014.

Verdery, Katherine. *National Ideology under Socialism. Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceaușescu's Romania*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Verdery, Katherine. *What was Socialism, and what comes Next?* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Vos, Claske. "Debating the reconciliatory use of heritage. European post-monumentalism versus regional national-monumentalism", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.21, no.7, (2015): 716-733.

Young, Craig, Light, Duncan. "Place, national identity and post-socialist transformations: an introduction", *Political Geography*, 20, (2001): 941-955.

Zahariade, Ana Maria. *Architecture in the communist Project. Romania 1944-1989*, Bucharest: Ed. Simetria, 2011.

Zerilli, Filippo M., Dembour, Marie-Benedicte, "The house of the Ghosts: post-socialist property restitution and the European Court's rendition of human rights in Brumărescu vs. Romania", In *Paths to Transitional Justice. Social and Legal Perspectives*, edited by Kelly, Tobias, Dembour, Marie-Benedicte, 189-216, Cambridge Studies in Law and Society, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Zittlau, Reiner. "Im Wettlauf mit der Zeit – Überlegungen zur Denkmaltopographie Berlin" [Running out of time – Thoughts concerning monuments documentation in Berlin], In *Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz.* [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, 28-32, edited by Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10, Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997.

Wagner Peter F. "Sonderweg Romania", In *Romania since 1989. Politics, Economics and Society,* edited by Carey Henry F., 49-66, Lexington Books, 2004.

Waterton, Emma, Smith, Laurajane, Campbell, Gary. "The Utillity of discourse analysis to heritage studies: The Burra Charter and social inclusion", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.12, no.4, (July 2006): 339-355.

Waterton, Emma, Watson, Sheila. "Framing theory: towards a critical imagination in heritage studies", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.19, no.6, (2013): 546-561.

Waterton Emma, Watson Sheila. *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Watson Steve, González-Rodriguez Rosario M., "Heritage economies: The past meets the future in the mall", In *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, edited by Waterton Emma, Watson Sheila, 458-478, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Weigelt, Frank Andre. "Von ,Cultural Property' zu ,Cultural Heritage'. Die UNESCO – Konzeption im Wandel der Zeit" [From cultural property to cultural heritage. UNESCO's concepts transformation in time], In *Prädikat "Heritage". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*, edited by Bendix Regina, 129-146, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007.

Winter, Tim. *Post-Conflict Heritage, Postcolonial Tourism, Culture, Politics and Development at Angkor*, Routledge, 2007.

Winter, Tim. "Heritage Studies and the Privileging of Theory", *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* vol.20, no.5, (2014): 556-572.

Winter, Tim. "Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies", *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* vol. 19, no.6, (2013): 532-545.

Winter, Tim. "Beyond Eurocentrism? Heritage conservation and the politics of difference", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.20, no.2, (2014): 123-137.

Winter, Tim. "Heritage diplomacy", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol.21, no.19, (2015): 997-1015.

Wipprecht, Ernst. "Von der Arbeitsstelle Berlin des Instituts für Denkmalpflege zum Brandenburgischen Landesamt für Denkmalpflege – Wandel in Zeiten des Umbruchs" [From the working office Berlin of the Institute for monuments preservation to State Office for Monuments Preservation in Brandenburg], In *Denkmalpflege in der DDR. Rückblicke, Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin*, edited Haspel, Jörg, Staroste, Hubert, 104-118 Band 41, Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2014.

Worthing, D., Bond S. *The Role of Cultural Significance*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.

Young, Craig, Kaczmarek, Sylvia. "The Socialist past and postsocialist urban identity in Central and Eastern Europe: the case of Lodz, Poland", *European Urban and Regional Studies*, (2008): 15-53.

Publications

Auf dem Weg ins 21. Jahrhundert – Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege in Deutschland [On the way to Twentyfirst century- monuments protection and preservation in Germany], edited by Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz, Bonn, Band 61, 1. Auflage 1999.

Berliner Denkmalliste, Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin [Berlin monuments list. Contributions concerning monuments preservation in Berlin], Heft 5., edited by Landesdenkmalamt Berlin: Kulturbuch-Verlag GmbH.

Baudenkmale in Berlin, Bezirk Friedrichshain, Denkmaltopographie Bundesrepublik Deutschland [Built monuments in Berlin, Friedrichshain. Monuments'topographie in Federal Germany], edited by Landesdenkmalamt Berlin, Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung Beuermann GmbH, 1996.

Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall, Eine Zwischenbilanz. [Monuments preservation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. An intermediary report], Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin, a Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie, Heft.10., Berlin: Schelzky&Jeep, 1997.

Der Palast der Republik und seine Erbauer, 1973-1976 [The Palace of the Republic and its architects], edited by Aufbauleitung Sondervorhaben Berlin, Bauakademie der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Berlin: Bauinformation DDR, 1976.

Denkmalkultur zwischen Erinnerung und Zukunft, Deutschland [Monuments' culture between memory and future, Germany], Dokumentation der Tagung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz am 20./21. Oktober 2003 in Brandenburg an der Havel, edited by Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz, Bonn, Band 70, 1. 2003.

Empfehlung des Deutschen Nationalkommitees für Denkmalschutz [Suggestions from the German National Committee for Monuments protection], Magdeburg November 1995, In *"Fort mit den Trümmern und was Neues hingebaut". Berliner Bau-und Gartendenkmale der Nachkriegszeit*, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin (Ed.) 1999/2000.

Inventarisation in Deutschland. Berichte zu Forschung und Praxis der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland 1 [Inventories in Germany. Reports concerning research and parctice in monuments preservation in Germany]. Kolloquium im Rahmen des Kulturabkommens zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der DDR. Hannover, 30. Januar - 3. Februar 1989, edited by Hans-Herbert Möller, Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der Bundesrepublik Deutschlad, Hannover 1990.

Stalinistische Architektur unter Denkmalschutz? [Stalinist architecture under protection], Eine Tagung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees von ICOMOS und der Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz in der Architektekammer Berlin, 6-9.09.1995, ICOMOS Journals of the German National Committee XX, 1995.

Socialism Realism and Socialist Modernism. World Heritage Proposals from Central and Eastern Europe. Documentation of the European expert meeting of ICOMOS on the feasibility of an international serial nomination of 20th century monuments and sites in post-socialist countries for the UNESCO World Heritage List, Warsaw 14th-15th of April, 2013. ICOMOS Journals of the German National Committee LVIII.

Verfallen und vergessen oder aufgehoben und geschützt? Architektur und Städtebau der DDR – Geschichte, Bedeutung, Umgang, Erhaltung-[Decayed and forgotten or repealed and protected? Architecture and city building in the GDR – History, significance, dealing with, protecting], edited by Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz, Bonn, Band 51, 2. Auflage, 1997.

Haspel Jörg, Petzet Michael, Zalivako Anke, Ziesemer John, eds. *The Soviet Heritage and European Modernism*, Heritage at Risk Special Edition edited by ICOMOS Publication, Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2006.

Thiele, Gerhard. "Die Denkmale des sozialistischen Aufbaus in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik – ihre Erhaltung, Erschließung, Pflege und Propagierung" [Monuments of socialist reconstruction in the GDR – preservation, documentation, protection and dissemination], In *Drei Jahrzehnte Denkmalpflege in der DDR*. Überarbeitetes Protokoll einer Konferenz des Präsidiums des Kulturbundes der DDR, des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege im Kulturbund der DDR und des Rates für Denkmalpflege beim Ministerium für Kultur am 8.11.1979, (1980): 39-43.

Wokalek, *Denkmalpflege in der DDR* [Monuments preservation in the GDR], Institut Bundesanstalt für Gesamtdeutsche Aufgaben, Bonn, 1984.

Bilciurescu, Virgil. "Unele probleme în legătură cu valorificarea zonelor istorice" [Few issues concerning the valorisation of historic areas], In *Architectura*, Anul XXI. Nr.4 (143), (1973).

Cioroiu, Nicolae. "Die Darstellung der internationalen Solidarität in den Geschichstmuseen Rumäniens" [The representation of the national solidarity in history museums in Romania], In *Beiträge und Mitteilungen, Museum für Deutsche Geschichte*, 8, (1974): 49-57.

Norme de Evaluare a Bunurilor din Patrimoniul Cultural Național [Norms for the evaluation of goods from the national cultural patrimony], București: Consiliul Culturii și Educației Socialiste, 1980.

Derer Peter, Botez Aurel, eds. "Organizarea Comisei Naționale și a Direcției Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice" [The organisation of the national commission for the Directorate of Monuments, Ensembles and Historic Sites], In *Buletinul Comisei Monumentelor Istorice*, no.1-2, 1990. (http://patrimoniu.gov.ro/images/BCMI/BCMI_1990_nr.1-2.pdf, accessed last 10.08.2016)

Derer Peter, Ionescu Grigore. "Comisia Națională a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice: Instrucțiuni" [National Commission for Monuments, Ensembles and Historic Sites: Instructions], In *Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice*, an.1 no.3-4, București, (1990): 88.

Buletinul Comisiei Naționale a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice (BCNMASI) [Bulletin of the National Commission for Monuments, Ensembles and Historic Sites], issued by Comisia Națională a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice, Anul I, no. 1-4/1990.

Buletinul Comisiei Naționale a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice, issued by Comisia Națională a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice, Anul III, no. 1-4/1992.

Buletinul Comisiei Naționale a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice, issued by Comisia Națională a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice, Anul VI, no.1-2/1995.

Buletinul Comisiei Naționale a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice, issued by Comisia Națională a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice, Anul VII, no.3-4/1996.

Buletinul Comisiei Naționale a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice, issued by Comisia Națională a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice, Anul VIII, no.1-4/1997.

English Heritage Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future. London: English Heritage, 1997.

Architectura, Anul XXI. no.4 (143), 1973.

Architektur der DDR, Jahrgang XXV, Berlin, September, 1976

Laws and Norms

"The USSR's 1948 Instructions for the identification, registration, maintenance, and restoration of architectural monuments under state protection", translated by Richard Anderson, *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, vol.5, no.1, Special Issue on the preservation of Soviet heritage, (Summer 2008): 64-72.

"1973 Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: On the protection and use of historic and cultural monuments", *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, vol.5, no.1, Special Issue on the Preservation of Soviet Heritage, (Summer 2008): 74-80.

Verordnung zur Erhaltung und Pflege der nationalen Kulturdenkmale vom 26. Juni 1952 [Decree concerning the preservation and protection of national cultural monuments]. In *Gesetzblatt der DDR*, nr. 84/1952, GBL. S.514.

Verordnung über die Pflege und den Schutz der Denkmale [Decree concerning the preservation and protection of monuments], Gbl. II, 23. October 1961, Nr.72, S.475.

Gesetz zur Erhaltung der Denkmale in der DDR - Denkmalpflegegesetz [Law concerning the preservation of monuments in the GDR – Monuments preservation law], GBL. Nr. 26, 27 June 1975, S.457.

Gesetz zum Schutz von Denkmalen in Berlin (Denkmalschutzgesetz Berlin – DSchG Bln) [Law concerning the protection of monuments in Berlin – Monuments protection law], 33 Jahrgang, No.93, 22. December 1977,S.2540.

Gesetz zum Schutz des Kulturgutes der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik vom 3. Juli 1980, [Law concerning the protection of cultural goods of the GDR] GBL.I Nr.20.

Verordnung über den staatlichen Museumsfonds der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik [Decree concerning the museums fund in the GDR], GBL.I Nr.14 1978.

Beschlußvorlage Rat des Stadtbezirks Berlin Mitte, 367/1977, [Proposed resolution the Council of the urban district Berlin Mitte] Stand der Verwirklichung des Denkmalpflegegesetzes, Beschluss Nr.176/76, 7.12.1977 (Senatverwaltung, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin Archiv, File Beschlussvorlagen Denkmalerklärungen)

Beschlußvorlage Magistrat von Berlin, Hauptstadt der DDR, Bezirkdenkmalliste der Haupstadt der DDR, Berlin, 85/76: 5 (Landesdenkmalamt Berlin Archiv)

GBL from 5th October 1979, Sonderdruck Nr.1017

Reunification of the Berlin federal law. (28.9.1990, GVBL, S.2119, §1 (1) and Anlage 2 Abschnitt X, 1.

Verordnung zur Sicherung einer geordneten städtebaulichen Entwicklung und der Investitionen in den Gemeinden (Bauplanungs- und Zulassungsverordnung – BauZVO) vom 20. Juni 1990 (GBl. der DDR I Nr. 45 S. 739), active since 31. Juli 1990

Gesetz zum Schutz von Denkmalen in Berlin (Denkmalschutzgesetz Berlin – DSchG Bln) [Monuments Protection Law in Berlin], 51. Jahrgang, No.22, 24. April 1995, S.274

D013367/1: Legea Ocrotirii Patrimoniului Național de Bunuri Culturale, (1974): 4 [The Law concerning protection of national cultural patrimony].

Law 803/1946, published in Monitorul Oficial, nr.288/1946, p.11046

Law of 63/1974, published in BOF nr.137, Nov. 1974.

Decree 442/1977published in BOF nr 127-28.11.1977.

Museum catalogues

Museum of the Romanian Peasant Library: *Muzeul de Istorie a Partiului, București*, 1960.

Lupescu, Ioan. *Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Comunist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romania* [Museum of Communist Party History, Revolutionary and Democratc Movements in Romania], București: Editura Politică, 1969.

Lupescu, Ioan. Catalogue: *Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Comunist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romania*, [Museum of the Communist Party, Revolutionary and Democratic Movement in Romania], București: Editura

pentru Turism, 1974.

DHM Library Berlin: Georgescu Florian, *Muzeul de Istorie al Republicii Socialiste Romînia* [History Museum of the Socialist Republic Romania], București, 1975.

DHM Library Berlin: Cioroiu, Nicolae, Ardeleanu Ion, Rață, Vasile. *Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Comunist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romania, București* [Museum of Communist Party History, Revolutionary and Democratic Movements in Romania], 1967.

DHM Library Berlin: Lupescu, Ioan. *Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Comunist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romania* [Museum of Communist Party History, Revolutionary and Democratic Movements in Romania], București: Editura pentru Turism, 1974.

DHM Library: Muzeul Național, sectia istorie contemporană [National Museum, section contemporary history], Brochure (to be dated during the 1980s as exhibition is covering the period 1965-1080)

Coroama Radu, Neguțu Mariana, Ilie Oana (Ed.), *Comunismul în România 1945-1989*. Catalog editat de Muzeul Național de Istorie a Romaniei, Târgoviște: Editura Cetatatea de Scaun, 2007.

DHM Library: Lupescu, Ioan, Dimos, Cornel, eds. "Metode și sisteme de expunere în Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Comunist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romania" [Methods and display strategies in the Museum of Communist Party History, Revolutionary and Democratic Movements in Romania], In *Revista Muzeelor*, Număr Special, edited by Cioroiu, Nicolae, Ardeleanu Ion, Rață, Vasile, (1967): 105-110.

DHM Library: Ștefănescu M., Sarafolean G., Georgescu E., eds. "Obiecte originale expuse în Muzeul de Istorie a Partidului Comunist, a Mișcării Revoluționare și Democratice din Romania" [Original artifacts exhibited in the Museum of Communist Party History, Revolutionary and Democratc Movements in Romania], In *Revista Muzeelor*, Număr Special, edited by Cioroiu, Nicolae, Ardeleanu Ion, Rață, Vasile, (1967): 111-126.

Dähn Fritz, (Schabtechnik), In *10 Jahre Malerei der DDR*, edited by Joachim Uhlitzsch, Veb. E.A. Seeman Buch und Kunstverlag, Leipzig

Ludwig, Andreas. "Die Musealisierung der DDR" [The musealisation of the GDR], In *Die Deutsche Demokratische Republik 1949-1990, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin*. Begleitmaterial zu den Ausstellungen, Berlin, (2007): 36-38.

Ottomeyer Hans, Czech Hans-Jörg. *Deutsche Geschichte in Bildern und Zeugnissen, Deutsches Historisches Museum* [German memory in images and testimonies, German Historical Museum], Edition Minerva, 2007.

MA and PHD Theses (unpublished)

Andrews, Mary-Elizabeth. *"Memory of the Nation": Making and re-making German history in the Berlin Zeughaus,* Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Social

Sciences University of Sydney, September, 2014.

Grama, Emanuela. *Searching for heritage, building politics: Architecture, archaeology, and imageries of social order in Romania (1947-2007)*, A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Anthropology and History) in the University of Michigan, 2010.

Iuga, Liliana. *Nationalising the city: monuments of Romanianness and public space in interwar Cluj (1919-1933)*, Submitted to the Central European University, Department of History, In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, 2010.

Iuga, Liliana. *Reshaping the historic city under Socialism: State preservation, urban planning and the politics of scarcity in Romania (1945-1977)*. A Dissertation in History presented to the Faculties of the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 2016.

Keltsch, Sandra. *Stadterneuerung und städtebauliche Denkmalpflege in der DDR zwischen 1970 und 1990. Dargestellt an der Entwicklung von Denkmalstädten in Sachsen-Anhalt* [City renewal and built preservation in the GDR between 1970-1990. Exemplified by developments in cities in Sachsen-Anhalt], Diss. Von der Fakultät für Geschichte, Kunst- und Orientwissenschaften der Universität Leipzig angenommene Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Doctor Philosophiae, Leipzig, Universität Leipzig, 2012.

Lößnitz, Harriet. *Zum Schutz von beweglichem Kulturgut in der DDR zwischen Anspruch und Realität. Kritische Betrachtungen des Normensystems und seiner Umsetzung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Umgangs mit privatem Kulturgut*. [The protection of movable assets in the GDR between reality and expectations]. Masterarbeit Europa-Universität Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder), Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät, Studiengang "European Cultural Heritage", 2007.

Panagiota, P. *UNESCO's World Heritage Sites as landmarks of identity in the Balkans. Global perceptions-national/local reflections*. Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. University of Southampton, Faculty of Law, Arts and Social Sciences, School of Humanities, 2000.

Pfundt, Karin. *Die Gründung des Museums für Deutsche Geschichte 1952 in der DDR* [The foundation of the Museum for German History 1952 in the GDR]. Diplomarbeit am Fachbereich für politische Wissenschaft der Freie Universität Berlin, Wintersemsester 1993/1994.

Rodehn, Cecilia. *Lost in Transformation: a critical study of two South African museums* (PhD diss. University of KwaZulu-Natal), 2008.

Ronnas, Per. *Urbanisation in Romania, A geography of social and economic change since Independence*, A Dissertation for Doctoral Degree in Economic Geography Stockholm School of Economics, The Economics Research Institute, 1984.

Schumacher-Lange, Silke. *Denkmalpflege und Repräsentationskultur in der DDR. Der Wiederaufbau der Straße Unter den Linden 1945–1989* [Monuments preservation and culture of representation in the GDR. The reconstruction of the avenue Unter den Linden 1945-1989], Dissertation zur Vorlage im Fachbereich II (Kulturwissenschaften und Ästhetische Kommunikation), Universität Hildesheim, 2012.

Wüllner Katja, *Hinter der Fassade – Das institutionelle System der Denkmalpflege in der DDR untersucht am Beispiel der thüringischen Städte Erfurt, Weimar und Eisenach* [Beyond the façade - institutional system of preservation in the GDR exemplified by Thuringian cities of Erfurt, Weimar and Eisenach], Von der Fakultät Architektur, Bauingenieurwesen und Stadtplanung der BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Doktors der Philosophie, 2015.

Archival Documentation

Archives Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Bucharest

Direcția Economică 1992-2002, Transfer bunuri, VI A 10. Data începerii 19.02.1992. Data încheierii 20.03.2002.

Referat de disponibilizare, 2001.

Hotarare privind desfiintarea Institutului de Studii Istorice si Social-Politice, Nr.136, 12 February 1990, Art.1.

Doc. Nr.615/30.Mai 1994, Horia Bernea Director.

Brief from the Peasant Museum to the National Bank, section Treasury.

Amintiri de la MȚR – III, June 16.2016.

National Archives Bucharest (ANIC)

Fond CC al PCR Gospodaria de Partid, File 10/1977, 13/1978; 3/1985; 5/1987.

Fond Ministerul Artelor si Informatiilor, Dos.141/1948.

Fond Ministerul Artelor și Informațiilor. Dir. Administrativă, Dn: 419/1948.

Fond CC al PCR- Propaganda și Agitație, 70/1989 see also Anuarul Statistic al RSR, (1973): 525-541; 5/1957; 29/1977; 71/1987; 2/1989, 70/1989, 21/1989, 128/1989; 100/1987.

Fond Min.Cultelor și Artelor, Nr.205/1969-1977.

Fond Min. Cultelor și Artelor, DN.205/1969-1977.

Fond CC al PCR Cancelarie HCM, 576/1971.

National Council for Studying Securitatea Archives Holdings Bucharest (A.C.N.S.A.S.)

D 012258, Vol.2: Documente privind unele bunuri 'Îmbogățirea' pe anii 1952-1965, 1-135.

D 003574. Vol. 1-10, Patrimoniul, 1969-1974.

D012383 Vol.3-4, 'Îmbogățirea'.

D 016335 Condiția monumentului sub regimul comunist, Radu Ciuceanu, Daniel Barbu, Octavian Roske, (n.d): 1-72.

D 000120, Vol.2: Nota privind studiul muncii info-operative în rîndul oamenilor de artă și cultură profesioniști și amatori, îndeosebi a scriitorilor și cineaștilor (A.C.N.S.A.S., Ministerul de Înterne, 25 Iulie 1986, Ex. Nr.1).

D 000120 Vol.6: Raport, Nr.0047502, 25.05.1983, 20-21.

D 003576: Instructiuni Nr. 4: Privind măsurile urgente ce trebuiesc luate pentru păstrarea monumentelor istorice de arhitectură, 13.11.1952, 1-7.

D 016294: Nota, Nr.0069.385 din 7 dec. 1977, Comandamentul Acțiunii '7977'.

D 016294, Nota Nr.0067313 din 20.02.1979.

D 013433/vol.1: Traducere din Limba Engleza, Subiectul: Reactivarea Comitetului Național, 19.

D 013433/vol.1: Traducere din Limba Engleza, Subiectul: Amenințarea moștenirii morale romîne și acțiuni întreprinse de ICOMOS, Author: Roberto di Stefana, President ICOMOS, 20.

D 013433/vol.1, Catre U.M. 0610 tovarășului șef al unității, 26.11.1987.

D 013433/vol.1: Nota, 5 august 1981, 397-398.

D 013367/vol.1: Legea Ocrotirii Patrimoniului Național de Bunuri Culturale, 1974, 7-43.

D 013367/Vol.1: Documentar, cuprinzînd elemente din țară și din străinătate semnalate în cadrul acțiunii 'Patrimoniul', 16.nov.1982, 161-171.

D 013367/Vol.1: Plan de măsuri pentru creșterea eficienței activității de apărare a patrimoniului cultural național, prevenirea și contracarea faptelor de scoatere ilegală din țară a bunurilor ce intră sub incidența Legii nr.63/1974, Oct. 1989,182-188.

D 013367/1: Nota, privește comentarii referitoare la Legea ocrotirii patrimoniului cultural național al R.S.R., 21 Ianuarie 1975, 220-22.

D 013367/1: Law of 63/1974 (30.10.1974) published in 'Buletinul Oficial' nr.137 (2.11.1974)

D 013367/1: Report concerning the activity of identification, taking in custody and inventarisaton of some cultural goods, 286-294.

D 013367/1: Instructaj pentru comisiile județene de inventariere a bunurilor culturale-artistice de interes național, 328-329.

D 013367/1, Note concerning the restoration plan for 1981.

D 007929/88: Decree 53/1975

Archives of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation, Bucharest (INP)

DMI III: Procese Verbale de Avizare (1955): Proces Verbal 31, 17 Mai 1955, p.128-129

DMI III: CSAC, Comisia de Avizare, Proces Verbal nr.33, 24. Mai 1955, p.135

Academia R.P.R.: Comisia Științifică a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice. Rapoarte de Activitate. Acte de Corespondență II, Febr.1955-1959:

- ➢ Dare de Seamă a activității Comisei Științifice a Muzeelor, Monumentelor Istorice și Artistice, 1955, 59-61
- ➢ Importante Realizări ale Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice în decursul celor 15 ani de la eliberarea patriei noastre, June 1959, p.18-21
- ➢ Organizarea Vechii Comisii, 1955, p.22-23
- ➢ Prezidiul Academiei R.P.R., Oct.1955, p.36
- ➢ Referat: privind grija sfaturilor populare conform HCM 661/1955 art.7 de monumente de arhitectură, 1955, p.64-66
- ➢ George Salle, ICOM Pres., 1957, Programme de Participation UNESCO pour les annees 1957 et 1958 p.102
- ➢ CSMMIA,150-151
- ➢ Academia R.P.R. Secretariat, 1957, p.166
- ➢ Academia R.P.R., 1957, 172

File DMASI, I, Expoziția 'Monumentele României', 1977-1989, Catalog Tema Program, 1992

Open Society Archives Collection, Budapest (OSA)

File: HU OSA 205/2/20/86: Monuments: Gen. 1993-1996

Derer, Peter. "Nu exista decît două lucruri care înving uitarea oamenilor: poezia și arhitectura' (John Ruskin) Monumentele istorice. Încotro?", *Dilema*, I/15, (April 1993): 8.

Ghiu, Bogdan. "De ce nu avem înca o lege a patrimoniului?" Interview with: Radu Bogdan, Ruxandra Demetrescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, Ioan Godea. Anca Lăzărescu, Ioan Opriș, In: *Dilema*, Anul I, no.15, 23-29 (April 1993): 4-5.

Ionescu Petre. Interview with Cezara Mucenic: "Culmea Perversității este de a pune legile în slujba nedreptății' (Voltaire) DMASI nu are Director! Are, în

schimb, un inspector la trei județe și un referent la șase", in *Dilema*, I/15, (April 1993): 9.

Ionescu, Petre. "Care este situația Legii?" – Răspund membrii ai Comisiei pentru cultură, artă, patrimoniu-, In: *Dilema*, I/15, (April 1993): 10.

Nitulescu, Virgil. "Patrimoniul între Rațiune și Pasiune", In: *Dilema*, I/15, (1993): 9.

HU OSA300-60-1, Box 101, File 800: Culture/Ideological Proposals of N. Ceaușescu, 1972-1975: Radio Bucharest, Domestic, April 8.1975, 17.00-19.00.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 147, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium, 1985: Ionescu, Destruction of Old Bucharest Continues, at Radio Free Europe, Munich, 25 June 1985.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 147, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium, 1986-1988: Dan Ionescu, Domestic Bloc, 1986, Monuments demolished in Bucharest, 1986.21.0, p.1-5.

HU OSA 300 60 1, Box 98, File: 800 Culture/General 1948-1961: Romania has joined UNESCO following a modification of the Ministerial Decree nr.1926 of 1956. (Romania Liberă Press, Febr.13/1958, Componența biroului și comisei naționale a R.P.R. pentru UNESCO.

HU OSA 300-60-1 Box 99, File: Culture/General 1988-1989, UN UNESCO urges 33 member states to justify unpaid arrears, 02.10.1989.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 5 File 101 Administration/People's Council: Towns, 1985-1989, Agerpres, Bucharest, 8.1.1985.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Museums 1963-1976 ITEM No. 813/68: Management of the Historical Monuments Department, Dec.1967, p.1-4.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Museums, Conferința generală a Comitetului internațional al muzeelor, In: Romania Liberă, 1oct. 1965.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Museums: Dezvoltarea Activității Muzeelor, Scînteia, 1964,

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Museums: The Commission of Museums and Collections in Action, Rompres, 9/5/90.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Museums: Janet Heller commentary in New York Times on : Ceaușescu, Cultural Vandal, Dec.1988.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Manuela Hoelterhoff, Romania's restructuring: no perestroika, May 1988, in Wall Street Journal.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Irina Bossy-Ghica, French intellectuals ask Ceaușescu to halt Romanian Demolitions, 16 Febr.1988.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: French Protest Bucharest Destruction, 15 Febr 1988.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Charles Knevitt (Architecture Correspondent) Duke 'shocked' at the destruction of old churches in Bucharest, Munich, 9 Febr. 1988, - following report appeared in The London Times.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Paul Pivcevic (BBC): Bucharest: Heritage threatened again, 08 Jan. 1988.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Care for the conservation and restoration of places of worship and historical monuments, Agerpress, Bucharest, 1/1988.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: The Domestic scene, More protests against demolition in Bucharest, 1986, 33-36.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Andrew Borowiec, Ceaușescu Rips Bucharest's Heart from its body, in Washington Times, 23 June 1986.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Anca Dumitrescu, Une violation de la Charte de Venice, in: Annes Colas, Destruction d'une capital, In: L'Alternative. Pour les droits et les libertes democratiques en Europe de l'état, No.31, Jan-Fevr.1985.

HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 146, File: 812 Culture/Patrimonium 1984-1990: Paul Gafton: Ceaușescu lays foundation stone for grand Bucharest project, Romania Situation Report, Radio Free Europe Research, 16 July 1984.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Files of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Klingman Gail (1990) Reclaiming the Public: a reflection on recreating civil society in Romania, In: Eastern European Politics and Society, vol.4 no.3, University California Press, 393-427.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Files of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Pîrvulescu Cristina: Communist leaders bodies removed from Mausoleum, 25.Oct.1991.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Files of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Dascalu Adrian, Romania transfers remains of ex-leaders from communist shrine, 25.Oct.1991.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Files of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Agerpress, Radio București, Radiojurnal, 10 Sept.1991.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Files of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Ioan D. Goia, Clasici din Beci, Flacăra No.45, 7.11.90,3.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Files of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Concurs organizat de Ministerul Culturii pentru realizarea de monumente dedicate Revoluției din 16-22 Decembrie 1989, in Adevărul 19.08.1990.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Files of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Press Release from the Ministry of Culture. Romanian Monitoring Radio Bucharest, 3.05.1990.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Files of Dan Ionescu State Symbols General (1989-1995), Oprescu, Plecat-am, dragi tovarasi și prieteni…', In: "22", No.8., 9.03.1990, 24.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Files of Dan Ionescu Box 86 Monuments General (1975-1996), Romania marks 40 years of freedom, In: Agerpress, 31 March 1984.

HU OSA 205-4-70 BOX 269 Files Administration/ National Committees/ Plans (1979-1989) Auchincloss Kenneth, 'We don't have empty shelves'. Ceaușescu on rural villages, human rights, his son's future and the 'cult of personality',21 August 1989, Newsweek International.

HU OSA 205-4-70 BOX 269 Files Administration/ National Committees/ Plans (1979-1989) Ceaușescu Cuvîntare, In: Scînteia, 9 Nov.1979.

HU OSA 205-4-70 BOX 269 Files Administration/ National Committees/ Plans (1979-1989): Tovarasul Nicoale Ceaușescu împreuna cu Tovarașa Elena Ceaușescu, au efectuat o vizită de lucru în Capitală, An 17 Nr.13928, 18 August 1989.

HU OSA 205-4-70 BOX 269 Files Administration/People's Councils. Criticism: West (1988) John Bulloch, diplomatic editor: Britain criticises Romania on rights, In: The Independent, 21 September, 1988.

HU OSA 205-4-70 BOX 269 Files Administration/ People'c Councils. Criticism: West (1988) REUTERS: US Senate condemns Romania's Village plans, 12.08. 1988.

HU OSA 300/1206/632 Files: Romania: Museums and Monuments (1984-1990) Romanian SR/15, 1982, 14-15.

HU OSA 300/60/1 Box 146 Culture/Museums, Scînteia, 11 July 1959.

HU OSA 300/60/1 Box 146 Files: 812 Culture/Museums (1951-1960), Atanasiu Eugen, Pentru tot mai mulți vizitatori.

HU OSA 300/60/1 Box 146 Files: 812 Culture/Museums (1951-1960), Monitoring Radio Bucharest, 4th of May 1951

HU OSA 300/60/1 Box 146 Files: 812 Culture/Museums (1969-1976) Monitoring Radio Bucharest, December 1972.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Box 9 Files: Democracy: Law/Justice (1990) Dascălu Roxana, Romanian Minister says communist criminals must be punished, 24. Dec.1990.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Box 94 Files State Symbols Statues (1990-1993): Bucharest Rompres, Political Life, 31.08.1991.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Box 94 Files State Symbols Statues (1990-1993): Expresiv Monitoring, Actualităţi TV, 31.08.1991.

HU OSA 205-2-20 Box 94 Files State Symbols Statues (1990-1993): Goia Ion D. Clasicii din Beci, In: Flacăra, no.45, 7.11.1990,3.

HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Administration People's Council. Criticism/West (1988), Council of Europe deplores Romanian rural policy, 20.09.1988.

HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Administration People's Council. Criticism/West (1988), Warren Zimmermann, US Speech about the recent repression in Eastern Europe, 28.06.1988, 1-2.

HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Administration People's Council. Criticism/East (1988), Radio Free Europe: Early morning agencies on Hungarian Demonstration, 28.06.1988.

HU OSA 318/0/5 Box 106 File: Romania Council of Europe (1989-1993), Noerens, Rapport sur la situation en Roumanie, Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, 21.Sept.1990, 1-18.

HU OSA 300/120/13 Human Rights Eastern European Romania: 1977-1988, Helskini Report Excerpts concerning Romania from President Ronald Reagan's latest semi-annual Helsinki Agreement implementation report concerning Romania, 5 Dec.1987.

HU OSA 300/120/13 Human Rights Eastern European Romania (1989-1993) Romania's UN Ambassador Petre Tănasie Rejects Criticism of Human Rights Violations.

HU OSA 300/120/13 Human Rights Eastern European Romania (1989-1993) International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights Press Release, Romania: Enemy of its own people, June 1989.

HU OSA 300/120/13 Box 141 Files Housing General (1968-1991) Express Monitoring,Radio Bucharest 28 June 1991.

HU OSA 300/120/13 Box 141 Files Housing General (1968-1991) Bucharest Rompres Anniversaries, 1.03.1991.

HU OSA 300/120/13 Box 141 Files Housing General (1968-1991) Reuters General Feature: Bucharest planners inherit chaos and palaces, 21. Febr. 1990.

HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Administration People's Council: Towns (1985-1989) Romanian Monitoring Agerpres, 9.2.1987.

HU OSA 300/120/6/632 File Romania Museums and Monuments: 1984-1990, Henry Kamm, Romania Leader Puts its imprint on Capital, The New York Times, 6 October 1985.

HU OSA 300/120/6/632 File Romania Museums and Monuments: 1984-1990, Battiata Mary, The Romanian Museum's Off-the-wall Ceaușescu Policy, In: Washington Post Foreign Service.

HU OSA 300/120/6/632 File Romania Museums and Monuments: 1984-1990, Kamm Henry, Romania's monuments make strange bedfellows, In: The New York Times International, 15.12.1992.

HU OSA 300/120/6/632 File Romania Museums and Monuments: 1984-1990, Ionescu Dan: An underground essay on urban and rural development, Romanian Monitoring, Free Radio Europe Station, 3 Febr.1986.

HU OSA 300/120/6/632 File Romania Museums and Monuments: 1984-1990, Destruction of old Bucharest continues, Romanian SR/12, 13.08.1985

HU OSA 300/1206/632 Files: Romania: Museums and Monuments (1984-1990) Romanian SR/15, 1982, Romania's cultural patrimony: propaganda and practice, 1982.

HU OSA 300/60/1 File: Urban Romania (1974-1975), Enger Virgil Ioanid: Social consequences of urbanisation, In: Era Socialistă, No.6, March 1975, here, 46-54.

Bundesarchiv, Berlin (BArch)

DA/1/4032: Beschluß der Volkskammer der DDR über Staatliche Pflichten zum Schutz und zur Förderung von Kultur und Kunst, 7. March 1990 (22.07.2015).

DY27/8361 Kulturbund der DDR, Bundessekretariat, Jahresbericht 1980 über die Durchführung der internationalen Arbeit.

DY27/8362 ICOMOS National Committee, 1982, Beschlußprotokoll zum ersten Sitzung des Nationalen Vorbereitungskomitees am 24.6.1982 zur Vorbereitung und Durchführung der VII. Generalkonferenz des ICOMOS im Mai 1984 in der DDR, 2-9.

DY 30/18562 Dr. Bartke Eberhard (Juli 1967) Information zu Problem der Konzentration der Mittel und Kräfte in der Denkmalpflege, Abt. Bildende Kunst und Museen, Sektor Museen, Denkmalpflege.

DY 30/18562 Hans Joachim Hoffmann, (1976) Entwurf der Zentralen Denkmalliste for Prof. Kurt Hager.

DY 30/18562 Hans Joachim Hoffmann (1983) Information über Ergebnisse, Aufgaben und Probleme der Denkmalpflege in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik.

DY 30/18839 Konzeption für die Vorbereitung und Durchführung der VII. Generalkonferenz des ICOMOS in Verbindung mit internationalen Kolloquium 'Denkmale und kulturelle Identität' von 11.05-18.5.1984 in der DDR (1983).

DY 30/18839 Hans Joachim Hoffmann (1984) Bericht über die Durchführung der VII. Generalversammlung des Internationalen Rates für Denkmale und Denkmalbereiche (ICOMOS) vom 12 bis 17. Mai 1984 in Rostock und Dresden.

DM1/12925 Brasch, Horst, Zur Neuordnung der Denkmalpflege (Vorlage), März, 1968.

DH2/21205 Deiters, Ludwig (1967) Probleme und Lösungsvorschläge für die Denkmalpflege in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik.

DH2/21205 Dr. Gerhard Strauss (1950) Vorschlag zur Einrichtung eines zentralen Fachapparates für Museum-, Denkmal- und Heimatpflege.

DH2/21205 Verordnung zur Erhaltung und Pflege der nationalen Kulturdenkmale (Denkmalschutz). Staatliche Kommission für Kunstangelegenheiten, Berlin, June 1952.

DH2/21188 Müther Hans Denkmalschutz in der DDR und Verbesserung der Pflege von Baudenkmalen, Deutsche Bauakademie, Forschungsinstitut für Theorie und Geschichte der Baukunst, 1953.

DY 27/4422: Anleitung zur Erfassung, Erhaltung und Erschließung von Denkmalen zur Geschichte der DDR

DY 27/8353 Die Bilanz und die Aufgaben der Denkmalpflege in der DDR bis 1990, Institut für Denkmalpflege.

DY 27/7575 Haines, Gerhard (1973) Präambel zur Vorlage "Erbe" an dem Ministerrat, 1-7.

DY 27/4439 Information zur Entwicklung der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege im Kulturbund der DDR, (Mai 1984).

DY 27/4439 Information zu den kulturpolitisch bedeutenden Restaurierungs- und Konservierungsmaßnahmen nach Rang und Reihenfolge für den Zeitraum 1986-1990 mit dem Schwerpunkt der Denkmalobjekte der Hauptstadt der DDR.

DY 27/4439: Institut für Denkmalpflege,- Entwurf von Thesen zur Erfassung, Erhaltung und Erschließung von Denkmalen zur Geschichte der DDR, (Berlin 1984): 157.

DY 27 /4443 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege e.V, Satzung, Sept.1990.

DY 27/4306 Begründung für die Ordnung der Denkmalpflege im entwickelten gesellschaftlichen System des Sozialismus.

DY 27/4306 Statut des Nationalkomitees der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik im ICOMOS, Beschluß der Mitgliederversammlung vom 17 März 1970.

DY 27/4306, Denkmalschutzverordnung, 1971,1979-80.

DY 27/4436 Vereinbarung zwischen dem Ministerium für Kultur Abteilung Museen und Denkmalpflege, und dem Präsidialrat des Kulturbundes Sept. 1975

DY 27/8942 Beschluß des Präsidiums vom 18.März 1976, Kulturbund der DDR, Sekretariat des Präsidiums, Information 5/76, Kulturbund und kulturelles Erbe. Bedeutung-Ziel-Aufgabe.

DY 27/6799 Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege, Protokoll der Sitzung der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege am 15.11.1985 in Berlin.

DY 27/8361 Kulturbund der DDR (Bundessekretariat). Internationale Beziehungen der Abteilung Denkmalpflege und des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege: Dr. Wagnebreth, Bergakademie Freiberg, 14.9.1987.

DR 1/5944: Stellungnahme zum Schreiben des Herrn Minister Wandel v. 22.08. 51 bezügl. der verantwortlichen Leitung der Museen, (30.98.51).

DR 1/5944: Auszug aus der ersten Durchführungsbestimmungen zur Verordnung über die Neuorganisation des Hochschulwesens vom 3.März 1951, Gesetzblatt der DDR vom 26. Feburar 1951 Seite 175, no.23, S.1634.

DR 1/5944: Dr. Rudolff-Hille, Direktion der Staatliche Kunstsammlungen: Museumspflege in der DDR (später in ganz Deutschland) Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 28.10.1952; S.1853-1855.

DR 1/5944: Mansfeld (Direktor des Landesmuseums) Grundsätze der Museumsarbeit, III Neugestaltung der Ausstellungen unter dem Gesichstpunkt der klassichen Traditionen des Realismus, S.1791.

DY 27/8361 Kulturbund der DDR (Bundessekretariat). Internationale Beziehungen der Abteilung Denkmalpflege und des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege: Konzeption für die Auslandsarbeit des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege 1981-1985; Auszüge aus den zwischen der DDR und den sozialistischen Ländern abgeschloßenen Kulturarbeitsplänen 1986-1990.

DY 27/8361 Kulturbund der DDR (Bundessekretariat). Internationale Beziehungen der Abteilung Denkmalpflege und des Zentralvorstandes der Gesellschaft für Denkmalpflege: Jahresbericht, Kulturbund der DDR, Bundessekretariat, 1980; Rüegg Peter, Abteilungsleiter Kulturbund der DDR, Abt. Denkmalpflege,Nov.1980.

DR 1/5944 Bericht über die Besprechung am 8.7.1952 über die Reorganisation des Museumswesens der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik: Dr. Rudloff-Hille, Museumspflege in der DDR (später in ganz Deutschland), 28.10.1952.

DC 207/148: Bericht über den Studienbesuch im Kremlpalast in Moskau und im Kulturpalast "Ukraina" in Kiew vom 20-25.11.1974, Berlin 3.12.1974

DC 207/165 Grundkonzeption für den Palast der Republik, Berlin Mai 1990.

DR 1/10459 Konzeption zur bildkünstlerischen Gestaltung Palast der Republik/Marx Engels Platz.

DH 2/20018 Kulturelle Objekte im Nationalen Aufbauprogramm, Berlin, 29.Febr.1952.

DH 2/20082: Aktenvermerk, Betrifft: Berliner Schloß und Zeughaus, Berlin 4.September 1950.

DY 30/J IV/2/3/2267 Beschluß über Maßnahmen zur Nutzung des Palastes der Republik, von 30. Januar 1975.

DY 27/4306, Kulturerbe Liste.

DY 27/4422 Anleitung zur Erfassung, Erhaltung und Erschließung von Denkmalen zur Geschichte der DDR.

DY 27/4439, Institut für Denkmalpflege, 1984, S.157.

DY 27/4421 Hans Nadler, Okt. 1976, S.145.

Landesdenkmalamt Archive, Berlin

Bericht, Kommission zum Umgang mit den politischen Denkmälern der Nachkriegszeit im ehemeligen Ost-Berlin, Berlin 15. Febr.1993.

Auflistung und farbig gekennzeichnete Grundrisse der denkmalwerten Raumbereiche, Bauteile und Ausstatung mit Angaben für den denkmalgerechten Umgang im Rahmen der geplanten Asbestsanierung des Gebäudes 'Palast der Republik, Teil A und Teil B. Im Auftrag des Bundesbauamtes III 30.9.1997, Bauhistorische Planungsberatung Hübner+Oehmig.

Grünzig Matthias, Rehabilitierung der Moderne. Ein "Konsensplan" für die Karl-Marx-Allee II.Bauabschnitt, Bauwelt, 19/ 2012, Wochenschau, S.8,

Landesdenkmalamt Berlin (Ed.) 1999/2000 "Fort mit den Trümmern und was Neues hingebaut". Berliner Bau-und Gartendenkmale der Nachkriegszeit.

Landesdenkmalamt Berlin im Auftrag der Senatverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Umweltschutz und Technologie (ed.) (1997) Denkmalpflege nach dem Mauerfall. Eine Zwischenbilanz. 1 Auflage Verlag Schelzky &Jeep.

Begründung zum Palast der Republik, Anlage 1, 24.01.1992, File Schloßplatz.

Gutachten. Überarbeitete Begründung im Rahmen der Denkmaltopographie Mitte. Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, 1993, last update 2014, Berlin.

Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, Karl-Marx-Allee, zweiter Bauabschnitt. Gutachten zum Denkmalwert, S.4.

Denkmalverdachtliste 1990.

Denkmalerklärung, 2.10.1990, Magistratverwaltung für Kultur Abt. V-Denkmalpflege.

Berlin Mitte 5.3.1993.

Baudenkmale in Berlin, Bezirk Friedrichshain, Denkmaltopographie Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1996, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin (Ed.), Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung Beuermann GmbH, Berlin.

Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz, Abt.III-Gartendenkmalpflege- IIIB41. Liste der Denkmale des Bezirks Mitte von Berlin, 21.01.1992. File Beschlussvorlagen Denkmalerklärungen.

Zentralliste, published in GBL from 5th October 1979, Sonderdruck Nr.1017.

Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz, Abt.III-Gartendenkmalpflege- IIIB41. Liste der Denkmale des Bezirks Mitte von Berlin, 21.01.1992. File Beschlussvorlagen Denkmalerklärungen.

Begründung zum Palast der Republik, Anlage 1, 24.01.1992, File Schloßplatz.

Landesarchiv Berlin

Beschlußvorlage Magistrat von Groß-Berlin 85/76, Nr.432/77, Bezirkdenkmalliste der Hauptstadt der DDR, Berlin.

C Rep 131-15: Beschlußvorlage Rat des Stadtbezirks Berlin-Mitte, Nr.176/77, Vorlage Nr. 367/77.

For more information concerning the demolition of the Schloss, costs, and survey report see the file C 120 Rep 2070, C 120 Rep 306-305.

C Rep.121 Nr 190: Krause, Brief an dem Sekretär des Magistrats, Betr.Bildung eines Amtes für Denlkmalpflege beim Magistrat von Groß-Berlin, 20.2.1956.

C Rep 121: Bentzien Hans, Jan. 1962, Brief an das Magistrat von Groß-Berlin.

C Rep 121 Nr.1038: Roggenbrodt, Brief an den Stellvertreter des Oberbürgermeisters Frau Johanna Blecha Berliner Rathhaus, Betr. Denkmalpflege, 3.09.1956.

Deutsches Historisches Museum Archives, Berlin (DHM-HA)

DHM-HA: MfDG/16: Thesen. Die Aufgaben der fortschritlichen deutschen Historiker und der Aufbau des Museums für Deutsche Geschichte, 16.01.1952.

DHM-HA: MfDG/132 1967-1970, Entwurf des Rahmenpresepktivprogramms der Museen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Rat für Museumswesen beim Ministerium für Kultur der DDR,

DHM-HA: MfDG/218, 1964, Erwin Gülzow, Zu Fragen der Darstellung gesetzmäßiger historischer Prozesse und Erscheinungen mit musealen Mitteln. In: Diskussionsbeiträge zur Museumswissenschaft, Neue Museumskunde, Jahrgang 7, no.3, Beilage, S.30-38.

DHM-HA: MfDG/218, Entwurf von Thesen zur Museumswissenschaft, In: Diskussionsbeiträge zur Museumswissenschaft, Neue Museumskunde, Jahrgang 7, no.3, Beilage, 1964, S.18-29.

DHM-HA: MfDG/208, Sammlungstätigkeit im MfDG, Abt.1917-1945, Schreiben 20.04.1972, S.15.

DHM-HA: MfDG/208, 28.10.1969, Bestandeinschätzung der Sammlung historischer Uniformen (einschl. Ausrüstungsstücke), Orden und Auszeichnungen, Fahnen, und Standarten sowie Militariagraphiken und Zinnfiguren, S.56.

DHM-HA: MfDG/208, Einschätzung der Bestände, Plastik, Abt.1789-1900, 29.1.1969.

DHM-HA: MfDG/208: Vorläufige Bestandsübersicht, über museale Exponate des ehemaligen Museums für Meereskunde Berlin, die 1963/64 vom Museum für Deutsche Geschichte übernommen wurden, S.123-156.

DHM-HA: MfDG/208: Einteilung des Inventarbuches, S.158.

DHM-HA: MfDG/208: Bericht über den Stand der Bearbeitung der Plakatsammlung, 28.11.1968, S.172-175.

DHM-HA: MfDG/208: Graphik. Komplex: Werke großer Künstler des 16., 17., 18., 19., 20. Jahrhunderts, S.182.

DHM-HA: MfDG/208: Analyse der bisherigen Prinzipien und Methoden bei der Bestandbildung zur Geschichte der neuesten Zeit und grundsätze und Perspektiven zu deren weiterer Entwicklung, Arbeitgruppe Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung, Mai 1968, S.215-332.

DHM-HA: MfDG, 20.11.1989,S.90.

DHM-HA: MfDG 208, S.79.

DHM-HA: DHM/1.45, Rahmenvereinbarung, 1990, S.5.

DHM-HA: DHM/1.45: Beschluß zur künftigen Entwicklung des bisherigen Museums für Deutsche Geschichte, 24.08.1990, S.1.

DHM-HA: DHM/2.159: Kassationlisten,1993, 1995, 1996, 1998.

DHM-HA: DHM/2.159, Abgabe von Sammlungsbestände, Dr. Boos, 28.Juni.1993, S.997.

DHM-HA: MfDG/236, Entwurf, 14.06.1990, S.1-4.

DHM-HA: MfDG/236, Entwurf (Diskussionsgrundlage) Die nächste Aufgaben und die Zukunft des MfDG, 13.Juni, 1990,S.5-13.

DHM-HA: MfDG/236: Anhang, Schritte zur Vereinigung von MfDG und DHM, 13.06.1990, S.6.

DHM-HA: MfDG/236: Entwurf, 17.04.1990, S.15.

DHM-HA: MfDG/171: 1973 Exhibition '40 Jahrestag der Kämpfe der Eisenbahnarbeiter und der Erdölarbeiter Rumäniens im Febr.1933' opened in MfDG March 9. (Fotoausstellung); 1973 Mai international collaboration for the temporary exhibition 'Sturmjahr 1848/49': Poland, Hungary, Romania, USSR.

DHM-HA: MfDG/171: Presseartikel zu Ausstellungen im In-und Auslad unter Mitwirkung des MfDG: Ausstellungen in Rumänien.

Interviews

Simina Bădică, Archives Museum of Romanian Peasant Bucharest, December 2013;
Ion Blajan, Museum of Romanian Peasant, July 2015;
Beyer de Hahn, Curator DHM Berlin, August 2014;
Hubertus Staroste, Jan 2015, State Office for Monuments Preservation Berlin;
Peter Derer, Architect July 2015, Bucharest;
Ruxandra Nemțeanu, Architect July 2015, Bucharest.

Online sources

Report. Presidential Commission on the built monuments, historic and natural sites in Romania in post-communism, September 2009.

[http://old.presidency.ro/static/rapoarte/Raport%20CPPCSINR.pdf], accessed January 2017

Comisia Prezidențială pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din Romania. Raport Final. București 2006.

https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/RAPORT%20FINAL_%20 CADCR.pdf [accessed January 2017]

Access to cultural heritage as a human right: Consultation organized by the Independent Expert in the field of cultural rights, Ms. Farida Shaheed/Questionnaire on access to cultural heritage

http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/CulturalRights/Pages/CulturalHeritage.a spx [accessed 28.09.2016]

Farida Shaheed (25 March 2014) Integrating cultural rights in transitional justice strategies in post-conflict societies

http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/Integratingculturalrightsinpost-conflictsocieties.aspx#sthash.99gdOAnc.dpuf [accessed 28.09.2016)

Farida Shaheed (2014) Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, Memorialization processes. Human Rights Council Twenty-fifth session Agenda item 3 Promotion and protection of all human rights, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development A/HRC/25/49

The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies. Report of the Secretary-General. 23 August 2004/616

https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/2004%20report.pdf [accessed last 14.02.2017]

Vertrag zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik über die Herstellung der Einheit Deutschlands

(Einigungsvertrag)- Art.13 [accessed last 14.02.2017]

https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/einigvtr/EinigVtr.pdf

Bericht der Enquette-Kommission 'Aufarbeitung von Geshichte und Folgen der SED-Diktatur in Deutschland, gemäß Beschluß des Deutschen Bundestages vom 12. März 1992 und vom 20 Mai 1992- Drucksachen 12/2330, 12/2597

(http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/12/078/1207820.pdf#page=4&zoom=auto,-135,192 [accessed last 23.01.2017)

http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/13/110/1311000.pdf [accessed last 23.01.2017]

Bericht der Enquette-Kommission 'Überwindung der Folgen der SED-Diktatur im Prozeß der deutschen Einheit', eingesetzt durch Beschluß des Deutschen Bundestages vom 22. Juni 1995, Drucksachen 13/1535, 13/1762)- 10.06.1998

2000 - Internationale Expertenkommission "Historische Mitte Berlin"

http://www.bmub.bund.de/themen/bauen/bundesbauten/bundeshauptstadt-berlin/schloss-humboldt-forum/2000-internationale-expertenkommission/ (last-12-02-2017)

Law of 28.09.1990, Anlage 2, Abschnitt X, Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz, (1)

http://gesetze.berlin.de/jportal/portal/t/14cb/page/bsbeprod.psml/action/portlets.jw.MainAction?p1=v&eventSubmit_doNavigate=searchInSubtreeTOC

. The annex to the present report is circulated in the language of submission only.

&showdoccase=1&doc.hl=0&doc.id=jlr-RVereinhGBEV28Anlage2-G21&doc.part=G&toc.poskey=#focuspoint

Gesetz zum Schutz von Denkmalen in Berlin (Denkmalschutzgesetz Berlin, DSchG BLN 1995) DschG BLN 2130-12 vom 24. April 1995*

Verwertung Archiv, Wandgestaltung aus Meißner Porzellan, Palast der Republik, 2008, BADV, Landesdenkmalamt Berlin

http://www.badv.bund.de/DE/ZentraleDienste/Kunstverwaltung/Verwertung/Archiv/palast_der_republik_02.html [last accessed 19.02.2017]

http://ddr-planungsgeschichte.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/muenzer-32-liste-1962.pdf [last accessed 19.02.2017]

AMINTIRI DE LA MȚR – III, June 16.2016

https://mtrleaks.wordpress.com/2016/06/ [accessed last 04.03.2017]

Romanian Constitution 1991 http://www.cdep.ro/pls/dic/act_show?ida=1 [accessed last 23.03.2017]

http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/romania/rom_lege_182_romorof.pdf

Romania World Heritage Sites http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/ro [last accessed 23.03.2017]

Nara Conference on Authenticity (1994) The Nara document on authenticity, November 1994. Available at: http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf

Parent M (1979) Examen comparatif des propositions d'inscription et des criteres du patrimoine culturel mondial, CC-79/CONF.003/11 Annexe, 20 September 1979. Available at: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11f.pdf

Identification and Documentation of Modern Heritage', World Heritage Papers,5, June, 2003 available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/series/5/, [accessed last 16.05.2017]

ICOMOS, 1984, The Seventh General Assembly, Rostock http://www.icomos.org/publications/JS5_7.pdf [accessed last 08.07.2017]

http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/environment/ecological-sciences/biosphere-reserves/europe-north-america/romania/retezat/ [accessed last 09.07.2017]

World Population Plan of Action, UN Conference of 1974, Bucharest (Art. 44-50) http://www.un.org/popin/icpd/conference/bkg/wppa.html [accessed last 09.07.2017]

Mission in Romania Protection of the Cultural Heritage, UNESCO August-September 1989

http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000876/087699eb.pdf [last accessed 12.07.2017]

Foto Documentation Demolition of the Enei church, by Radu Stefanescu http://www.ziaristonline.ro/2016/05/17/demolarea-bisericii-enei-in-1977-foto-documente-extraordinare-aparute-dupa-39-de-ani-impreuna-cu-marturia-autorului-radu-stefanescu/ [last accessed 28.08.2017]

UNESCO World Heritage Sites, Germany [accessed last September 2017]

http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/de

http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/what-we-do/supporting-museums/cultural-property/export-controls/reviewing-committee/[accessed last September 2017]

http://arts.gov.au/sites/default/File/resources-publications/significance-2.0/pdfs/significance-2.0.pdf [accessed last September 2017]

http://www.collectionsaustralia.net/sector_info_item/5 [accessed last September 2017]

http://www.unesco.org/archives/multimedia/?pg=33&s=films_details&id=2819 [accessed last September 2017]

UNESCO Convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illict import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property (1970)http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/1970-convention/ [accessed last 27 June 2017]

http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/environment/ecological-sciences/biosphere-reserves/europe-north-america/romania/retezat/ [accessed last 09.07.2017]

http://ghidulmuzeelor.cimec.ro/id.asp?k=699 [accessed last September 2017]

Appendices
Appendix A: Built heritage in Bucharest and Berlin. Press Files, Documents and Images

Figure 1. Inauguration of the construction works at the Civic Centre, Romania Liberă, June 1984, source HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 3, Files: 101 Administration/People's Councils' Committees, 1973-1985
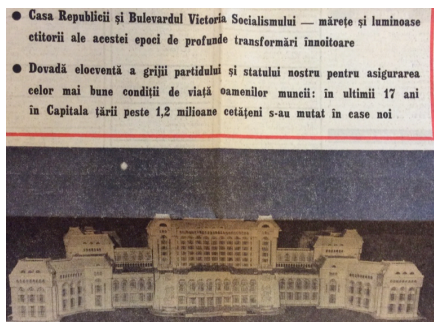
Figure 2. Model the House of the People, Romania Libera, June 1984, source HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 3, Files: 101 Administration/People's Councils' Committees, 1973-1985
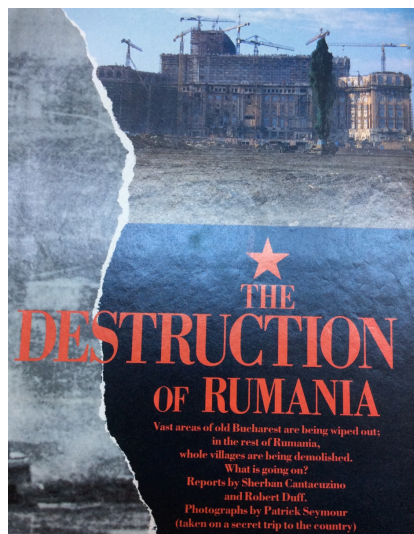
Figure 3. The Sunday Times, November 1988, source INP, File 'Romania's Monuments' 1977-1985, Exhibition, Foreign Press Articles
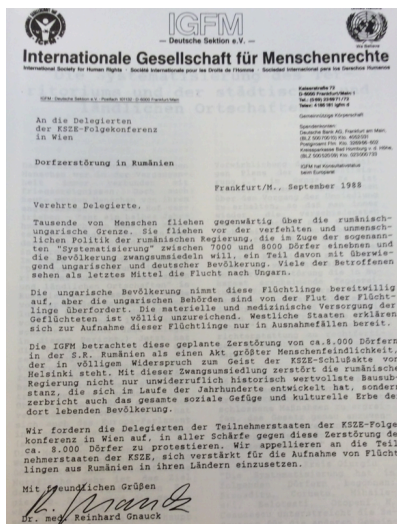
Figure 4. Romania: rural resettlement plan, 1988-1989, International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, source HU OSA 318-0-5 Box 110, International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights
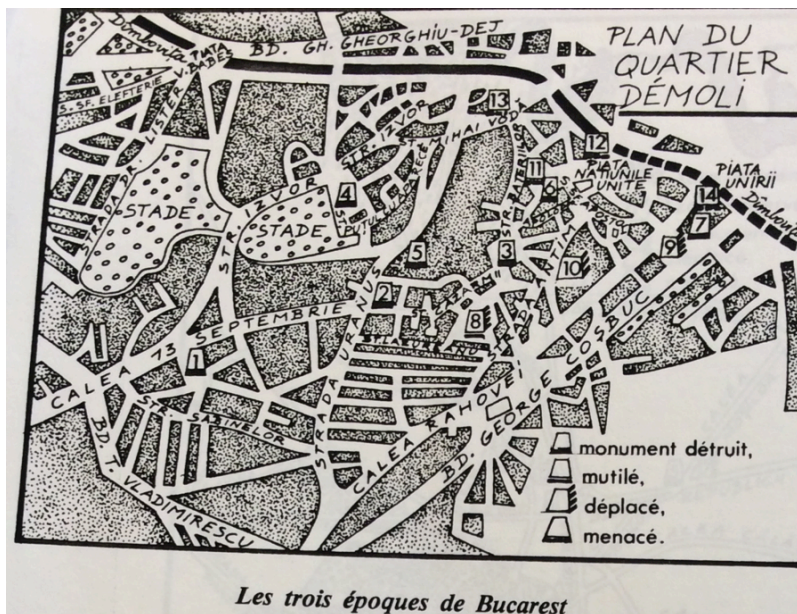
Figure 5. Plan of Bucharest destroyed neighbourhoods, source OSA 205/2/20/86-94, File 812 Culture/Patrimonium, 1984-1990
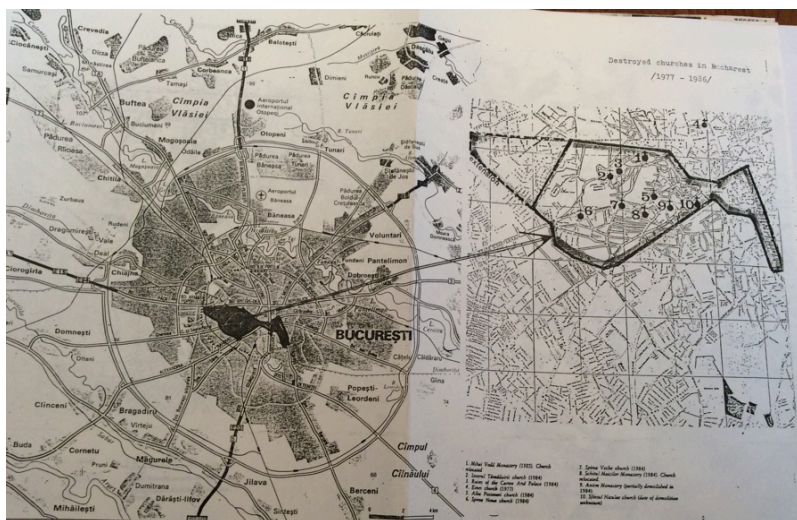
Figure 6. Destroyed churches in Bucharest, sources HU OSA 318-0-5 Box 115, International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Files: Romania Delegation 1990

Figure 7. Weltspiegel, source HU OSA 300-60-1, Box 651, Files: Description of the country. Villages: village destruction (1988, 1 of 2)

Figure 8. The Times, October 1989, source INP, File 'Romania's Monuments' 1977-1985, Exhibition, Foreign Press Articles

Figure 9. Le Monde, June 1985, source INP, File 'Romania's Monuments' 1977-1985, Exhibition, Foreign Press Articles

Figure 10. Aerial view Uranus Area: including the House of the People, Academy, the construction site of the Orthodox Patriarchy, (August 2017 © Laurenţiu Garofeanu)
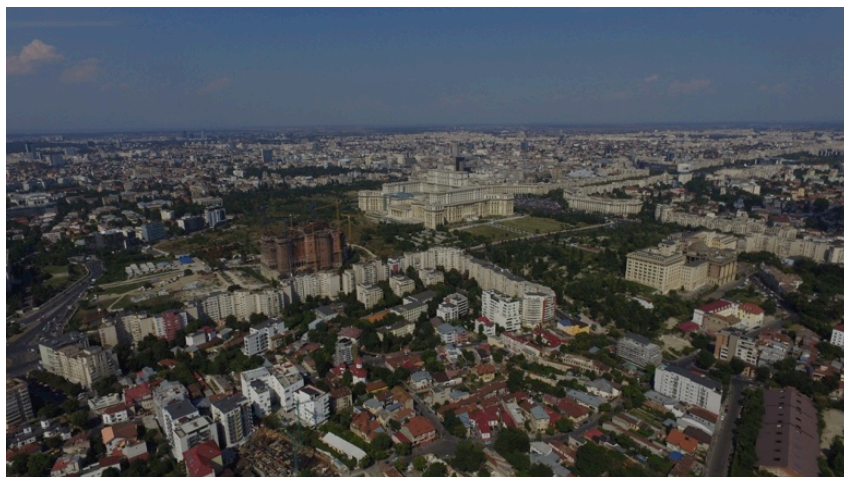
Figure 11. Aerial view Uranus Area: including the House of the People, the Academy, the construction site of the Orthodox Patriarchy, (August 2017 © Laurenţiu Garofeanu)

Figure 12. Aerial view including the House of the People, Academy, the construction site of the Orthodox Patriarchy (to the left), (August 2017 © Laurenţiu Garofeanu)

Figure 13. Aerial view including the House of the People, Academy, the construction site of the Orthodox Patriarchy, (August 2017 © Laurenţiu Garofeanu)
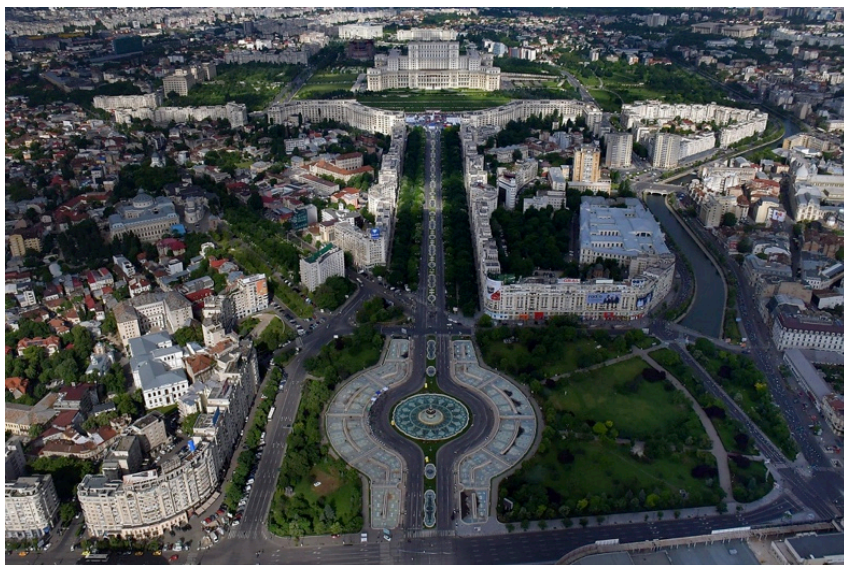
Figure 14. Aerial view including the House of the People, Victory of Socialism Boulevard, (online source, 2016)

Figure 15. Aerial view including the House of the People, and construction site Orthodox Patriarchy (in red) (online source, 2016)

Figure 16. House of the People Main Façade (south), (August 2017 © the author)

Figure 17. House of the People Façade and Gate, (August 2017 © the author)

Figure 18. East side, Main entrance of the Senate Chamber, (August 2017 © the author)

Figure 19. West wing, Main entrance of the Deputy Chamber, (August 2017 © the author)

Figure 20. Beginning of Victory Socialism Boulevard, (August 2017 © the author)

Figure 21. Academy view from the west wing of the House of the People, (August 2017 © the author)

Figure 22. Back side (north) Entrance Museum of Contemporary Art, (August 2017 © the author)

Figure 23. Construction site Orthodox Patriarchy, (2014 online source)

Figure 24. Construction site Orthodox Patriarchy, (2016 © Getty images)

Figure 25. Construction site Orthodox Patriarchy view from the courtyard of the House of the People (north), (August 2017 © the author)

Figure 26. Construction site Orthodox Patriarchy, (August 2017 © the author)
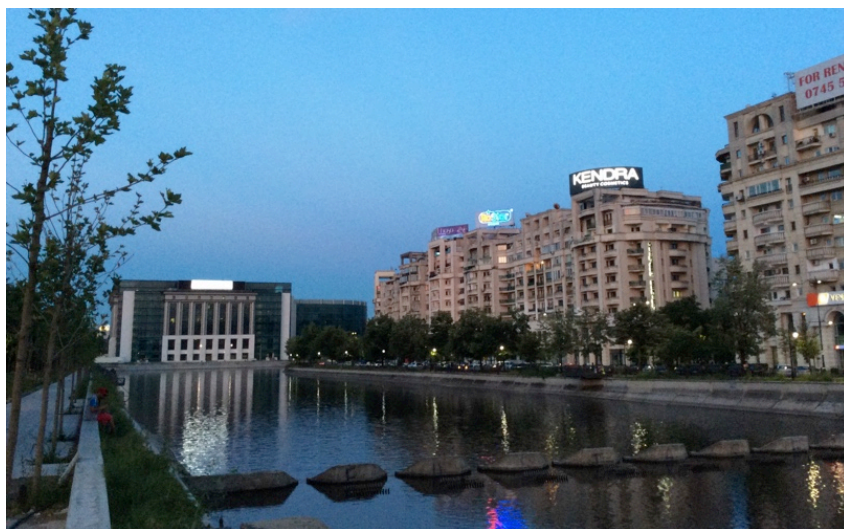
Figure 27. Continuation of the Civic Centre post 1990, (June 2015, © the author)

Figure 28. Continuation of the Civic Centre post 1990, (June 2015 © the author)

Figure 29. Unfinished Museum of National History, (December 2014 © the author)

Figure 30. Unfinished Museum of National History, (December 2014 © the author)
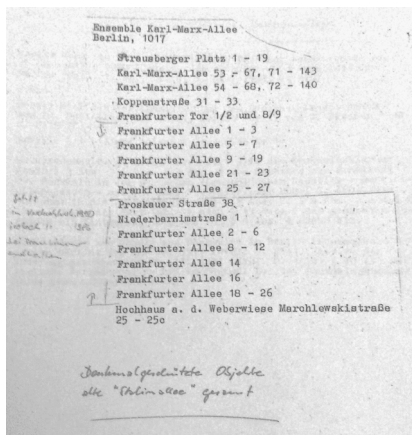
Figure 31. Provisory Monuments List 2nd. of Oct.1990, Karl-Marx-Allee, source Database MIT/Schloßplatz Archives Office for Monuments Preservation Berlin

Figure 32. Monuments Statement, Palace of the Republic, source Database MIT/Schloßplatz Archives Office for Monuments Preservation

Figure 34. Perspective over the Marx Engels Place, 1974, In Architektur der DDR, Jahrgang XXV, Berlin, May, 1976.

Figure 33. 'Blick auf die Stalinallee', Fritz Dähn, (Schabtechnik), In *10 Jahre Malerei der DDR*, edited by Joachim Uhlitzsch, Veb. E.A. Seeman Buch und Kunstverlag, Leipzig

Figure 35. Palace of the Republic, In Architektur der DDR, Jahrgang XXV, Berlin, September, 1976

Figure 36. Palace of the Republic, In Architektur der DDR, Jahrgang XXV, Berlin, September, 1976

Figure 37. Palace of the Republic, In Architektur der DDR, Jahrgang XXV, Berlin, September, 1976.

Figure 38. Humboldt forum construction site, Dom in the background, (August 2016, © the author)

Figure 39. Humboldt Forum construction site, Staatsratsgebäude in the background, (August 2016, © the author)

Figure 40. Humboldt Forum construction site, Staatsratsgebäude (September 2017 background, © author)

Figure 41. Marx Engels statue looking towards West, Ludwig Engelhardt, 1986 (2017© author)

Figure 42. Marx Engels statue looking towards West, Ludwig Engelhardt, 1986, (2017 © author)

Appendix B: Movable Heritage in Berlin and Bucharest. Museum Catalogues, Collections, Images

Figure 43. Permanent Collection Catalogue, MfDG, section 'Sozialistische Vaterland DDR', source Humboldt University Library Berlin
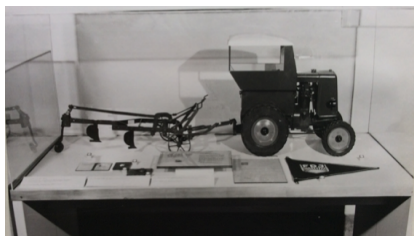
Figure 44. Modell Tractor 'Aktivist' first produced after 1945, Permanent Collection, MfDG, section 'Sozialistische Vaterland DDR' Section A (1945-1949), 1980.

Figure 45. The GDR Constitution 1949, Permanent Collection, MfDG, section 'Sozialistische Vaterland DDR' Section A (1945-1949), 1980

Figure 46. Coffee pot and Milk pot from a former Gas mask filter, Bike produced after 1945, Permanent Collection, MfDG, section 'Sozialistische Vaterland DDR' Section A (1945-1949), 1980, source DHM Archives: MfDG Illustrierte Drehbücher A80/43 A-D, opening 1974

Figure 47. Revolutionary scenes, Permanent Collection, MfDG, section 'Sozialistische Vaterland DDR' Section A (1945-1949), 1980

Figure 48. Junger Bauarbeiter, Walter Howards, Bronze 1964, Permanent Collection, MfDG, section 'Sozialistische Vaterland DDR' Section B (1949-1961/1962), 1980.

Figure 49. Young construction worker, Walter Howard, GDR 1964, DHM permanent exhibition, section 1949-1989, (2014, © author)

Figure 50. Fritz Cremer, Buchenwaldgruppe - Der Stürmende, Exhibition section 1933-1945, 1961, source DHM Archives: HA 59(2)

Figure 51. Fritz Cremer, Buchenwaldgruppe - Der Stürmende, Exhibition section 1933-1945, 1961, source DHM Archives: HA 59(2)

Figure 52. Der Stürzende, Modell für die Buchenwald Gruppe, Fritz Cremer, DHM permanent exhibition, section 1949-1989, Berlin (2014 © the author)
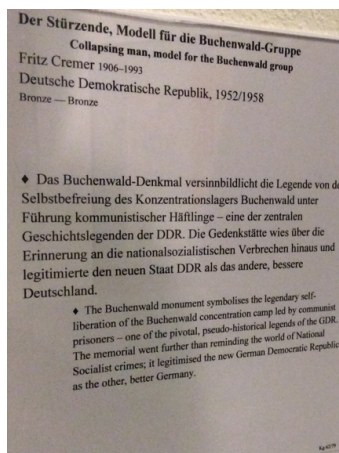

Figure 53. Label for der Stürzende Modell für die Buchenwald Gruppe, Fritz Cremer, DHM permanent exhibition, section 1949-1989, Berlin (2014 © the author)

Figure 54. Lenin Monument in Eisleben, Main Entrance DHM, (2015© the author)

Figure 55. Aldo Rossi model for the museum's building extension. DHM permanent exhibition, section (2015© the author)

Figure 56. The Party Museum Bucharest, source DHM Berlin Archives, File MfDG 290

Figure 57. Lobby, at the Party Museum Bucharest, source DHM Berlin Archives File MfDG 290

Figure 58. Permanent Exhibition, 1974, the Party Museum Bucharest, source DHM Berlin Archives File MfDG 290

Figure 59. Permanent Exhibition, 1974, the Party Museum Bucharest, source DHM Berlin Archives File MfDG 290

Figure 60. Permanent Exhibition, 1974, the Party Museum Bucharest, source DHM Berlin Archives File MfDG 290

Figure 61. Permanent Exhibition, 1974, the Party Museum Bucharest, source DHM Berlin Archives File MfDG 290

Figure 62. Mural, Extension Museum of the Party, photo (2014 © the author).
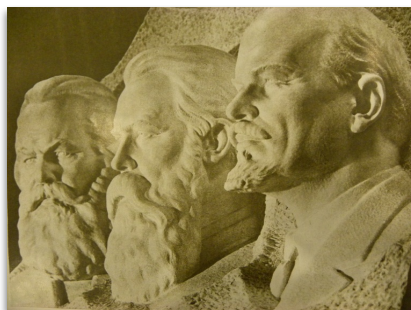
Figure 63. Marx, Engels, Lenin, catalogue of the Museum of the Communist Party, 1974

Figure 64. Marx, Engels, Lenin, courtyard of the Romanian Peasant Museum, (2011 June, © the author)

Figure 65. Marx, Engels, Lenin, courtyard of the Romanian Peasant Museum, (2011 June, © the author)
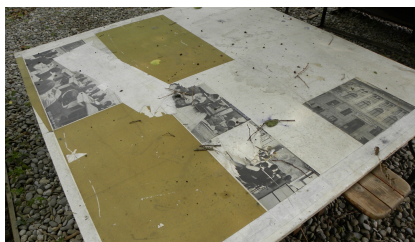

Figure 66. Exhibition panels from the Party Museum in the courtyard of the Romanian Peasant Museum, (2011 June, © the author)

Figure 67. Exhibition panels from the Party Museum in the courtyard of the Romanian Peasant Museum, (2011 June, © the author)

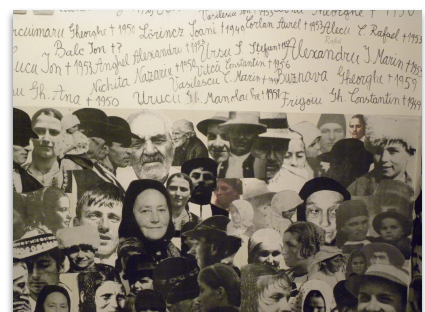**Figure 68.** Section, Permanent Exhibition the Plague, Romanian Peasant Museum, (2011 June, © the author)

Figure 69. Section, Permanent Exhibition the Plague, Romanian Peasant Museum, (2011 June, © the author)