

AFTER THE BERLIN WALL

The history and meaning of the Berlin Wall remain controversial, even three decades after its fall. Drawing on an extensive range of archival sources and interviews, this book profiles key memory activists who have fought to commemorate the history of the Berlin Wall and examines their role in the creation of a new German national narrative. With victims, perpetrators, and heroes, the Berlin Wall has joined the Holocaust as an essential part of German collective memory. Key Wall anniversaries have become signposts marking German views of the past, its relevance to the present, and the complicated project of defining German national identity. Considering multiple German approaches to remembering the Wall via memorials, trials, public ceremonies, films, and music, this revelatory work also traces how global memory of the Wall has impacted German memory policy. It depicts the power and fragility of state-backed memory projects, and the potential of such projects to reconcile or divide.

Affairs at the George Washington University. The recipient of fellowships from Fulbright, the Wilson Center, and the American Academy in Berlin, she is the author of *Driving the Soviets up the Wall* (2003), which was awarded the 2004 Marshall Shulman Book Prize by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, and was also published to wide acclaim in German translation. She has served on the National Security Council staff, currently serves on the board of three institutions in Berlin connected to the Cold War and the Berlin Wall, and has appeared on CNN, the History Channel, the BBC, and Deutschlandradio.





AFTER THE BERLIN WALL

Memory and the Making of the New Germany, 1989 to the Present

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In Memory of Manfred Fischer, whose work to preserve the memory of the Berlin Wall remains an inspiration and
For Mary G. Leferovich, whose love, generosity, and support as my aunt are unsurpassed





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ABBREVIATIONS AND GERMAN TERMS

Alltagsleben, everyday life

Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), Alternative for Germany

ARD, First German Television

Aufarbeitung der Geschichte, grappling with history

Beirat, Advisory Board or Council

Berliner Mauer, Berlin Wall

Brandenburger Tor, Brandenburg Gate

Bundesbeauftragte für Kultur und Medien (BKM), Federal Commission/er on Culture and Media (refers to both the institution and the person running it)

Bundesbeauftragte für Stasi Unterlagen (BStU), Federal Commission/er for Stasi Records (refers to both the institution and the person running it)

Bundesgerichtshof (BGH), Federal Court of Justice

Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur (Stiftung Aufarbeitung), Federal Foundation for Reappraising the SED Dictatorship

Bundestag, Federal German Parliament

Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (BpB), Federal Agency for Political (or Civic) Education

Bündnis 90, Alliance 90

Bürgerbüro, Citizens' Office

Central Investigation Office for Governmental and Organized Criminality (ZERV)

Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Christian Social Union (CSU)

Demokratische Aufbruch, Democratic Awakening

Deutsches Historisches Museum (DHM), German Historical Museum

Dominostein, domino

Erinnerungskultur, memory culture

Erinnerungspolitik, memory policy

Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), West Germany, 1949–1990, or united Germany, 1990–present

Fenster des Gedenkens, Window of Commemoration

Fest der Freiheit, Festival of Freedom

Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Freie Deutsche Jugend (FDJ), Free German Youth (GDR communist youth group)



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Freiheitsmahnmal, Freedom Memorial

Freiheits- und Einheitsdenkmal, Freedom and Unity Monument

Gedenkkonzept, commemorative plan

Gedenkpolitik, commemoration policy

Gedenkstätte, memorial (generally refers to a site and the organization administering it)

Gedenkstätte Berliner Mauer (GBM), Berlin Wall Memorial

Gedenkstättenkonzeption, plan for memorials

German Democratic Republic (GDR), East Germany

Gesamtkonzept, master plan

Geschichtspolitik, history policy

Grenzer, border soldier(s)

Grundgesetz, Basic Law/constitution of FRG

Grüne, the Green Party

Hinterlandmauer, the rear part of the Berlin Wall, the first obstacle an East German would come to, as opposed to the forward Wall, the external part facing West Berlin

Kampfgruppe gegen Unmenschlichkeit (KgU), Action Group against Inhumanity

Konzept, plan

Kristallnacht, Night of Broken Glass, November 9, 1938

Lernort, site of learning

Lichtgrenze, border of light

Die Linke, the Left Party (successor to the SED and PDS)

Mahnmal, memorial or monument (in the sense of warning or admonishing, not celebrating)

Mauer, Wall

Mauergrundstücksgesetz, law on property at the (former) Wall

Mauerweg, Wall trail

National Defense Council of the GDR (NVR)

Nationale Volksarmee (NVA), National People's Army of the GDR

Neue Bundesländer, new federal states (the former GDR)

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

Ostalgie, nostalgia for the East (the GDR)

Ostpolitik, policy toward the East initiated by FRG Chancellor Willy Brandt

Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), successor to SED and predecessor to the Left Party (*die Linke*)

Platz, square

Politische Bildung, Political (or Civic) Education

Radweg, bicycle trail

Republikflucht, flight from the Republic (trying to escape from the GDR)

Schiessbefehl, order to shoot

Schreibtischtäter, perpetrators who sit at desks issuing orders

SM-70, splinter mine, mounted on external fence along GDR border with FRG

Social Democratic Party (SPD)



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND GERMAN TERMS

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Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland (SED), Socialist Unity Party of (East) Germany

Staatskapelle, Berlin State Orchestra

Stasi, Staatssicherheitsdienst, the GDR's secret police

Stiftung Berliner Mauer (SBM), Berlin Wall Foundation

Union der Opferverbände kommunistischer Gewaltherrschaft (UOKG), Union of Victims' Associations of Communist Tyranny

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

Unrechtsstaat, unjust state or state without rule of law

Verein, association

Vergangenheitsbewältigung, coming to terms with the past

Verharmlosung, belittling or downplaying

Versöhnungsgemeinde, Reconciliation Church Community

Versöhnungskapelle, Chapel of Reconciliation

Versöhnungskirche, Church of Reconciliation

Vertriebene, expellees

Volkskammer, East German Parliament

Volkspolizei, VoPos (People's Police of GDR)

Warsaw Pact, Soviet bloc counterpart to NATO

ZDF, Second German Television

