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# Constructing the Welthauptstadt Germania: Spatialities of Biopower and Sovereign Violence in the Nazi Capital

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CONSTRUCTING THE WELTHAUPTSTADT GERMANIA:  
SPATIALITIES OF BIOPOWER AND SOVEREIGN VIOLENCE IN THE NAZI CAPITAL

by

SARA E KRUMMINGA

B.A., University of Vermont, 2009

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written by Sara Krumminga  
has been approved for the Department of Geography

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The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories, and we find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.

## **ABSTRACT**

Krumminga, Sara (M.A., Geography)

Constructing the Welthauptstadt Germania: Spatialities of Biopower and Sovereign Violence in  
the Nazi Capital

Thesis directed by Assistant Professor Najeeb Jan

This thesis explores the important role of Nazi spatialities in shaping the Third Reich by focusing on the planning and rebuilding of Berlin, the Reich capital. In particular, it analyzes the plans for the city as an apparatus of biopolitical sovereignty. These plans served to foster a biopolitics of the population, securing life for Aryan Germans, while at the same time excluding Jews and exposing them to sovereign violence. Ultimately, the spatial arrangements of the new city helped lead to the politicization of all German life. Drawing largely on Foucault and Agamben, this thesis seeks to uncover a spatialized expression of modern power. In particular, it demonstrates how Nazi urban space constitutes both a repressive and productive field of forces.

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## I. Introduction

On February 27, 1933 the *Reichstag*, the German parliament building, burned as a result of arson. The next day, the Decree for the Protection of the People and the State was approved, an emergency decree that allowed the Nazi party to immediately arrest and incarcerate political opponents. It was, effectively, the beginning of the Third Reich: a 12 year Nazi regime that eliminated constitutional rights and disintegrated parliamentary government. The burning of the building, which was blamed on communist opposition, provided the impetus to concentrate state power in the hands of one leader. But how did the destruction of one building contribute to the total collapse of a democratic system? Of course cultural, economic and political circumstances set the stage for such a shift to take place, but the destruction of the material space of democracy also played a facilitating role: it dramatically altered the spatialization of the German government. Parliamentary space was more than just a venue for democracy, it was a spatial arrangement that facilitated democratic, representative government. The violent demise of this central image was a critical provocation for a reorganization of the relationships between political parties and citizens and government, and facilitated the path toward a fascist regime.

The remnants of the *Reichstag* remained in ruins throughout the Third Reich functioning as a symbolic reminder of bygone democracy. Instead of repairing the old parliament, the Nazis undertook a massive project to construct new government buildings and fundamentally re-organize the German capital, Berlin. The rebuilding of the city was, essentially, an opportunity for the Nazi regime to construct its own fascist space that would be radically different from that of the democratic Weimer Germany, and particularly different from the once famously progressive and modernist Berlin.

The project to rebuild Berlin was one spearheaded by the Führer himself. Hitler hoped to transform the city into a *Welthauptstadt Germania* (World Capital Germania): a glorious political and cultural center to crown his fantasmic German Empire. The central area of the city would be an international symbol, full of monumental buildings constructed in the neoclassical style. The massive structures would line enormous boulevards creating an urban tableau more impressive than any other in the world. But Berlin would not only be impressive visually – a logical grid of streets emanating from the center and extending to a ring highway around the city would organize life and transportation in the capital. At the same time, theaters and parks would sustain an urban life characterized by culture and leisure. Many of these projects were realized through the work of Albert Speer, Hitler’s designated chief architect for the Reich, who personally oversaw the Germania project in Berlin. While Hitler’s vision for all of Berlin was never realized, many steps were taken towards the redesign; moreover, the plans for the city played an important role in Nazi propaganda which shaped national discourse.

Although the reconfiguration of public space under the new exceptionalist Nazi dispensation required the violent suppression of so-called enemies of the state, it was also one of consent and security for ordinary Germans. Nazi space was constructed through state-funded projects that sought to fundamentally reorganize the spatial relations between German citizens and the Nationalist regime. Nazi urban and regional planning included plans to rebuild cities throughout Germany and also to expand German territory in order to create a greater German *Reich*, an empire rooted in *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil)—a pure race and the territory it would occupy. Domestic planning projects, and specifically the plans for Berlin, helped produce a majority population of ‘Aryan’ Germans whose life was supported and secured through a national biopolitics. At the same time, these plans contributed to the articulation of excluded

populations who were subject instead to sovereign violence. Ultimately this urban model reflects a biopolitical sovereignty, in which any citizen—even those deemed part of the German ‘Aryan’ population—could be subject to sovereign violence.

### *Archival Research*

This thesis draws on research I conducted in Berlin in 2015 at the Bundesarchiv Berlin and the Jewish Museum Berlin Archive. In the Jewish Museum Archive, I found several Jewish community publications which were highly censored by the Nazi Party. Such publications illustrate the discourse targeted at Jews with respect to their existence in Berlin. In particular, these publications frequently described housing restrictions for Jews, announcements which ran alongside advertisements offering transport to foreign countries. Such periodicals therefore helped produce a Jewish discourse of both voluntary and involuntary exclusion: either one chose to emigrate or chose to stay, but in either case, Jewish life in Berlin would remain inherently separate from normal, ‘Aryan’ life in the city.

While the Jewish Museum Archive offered some insight into the Jewish experience in Berlin, materials at the Bundesarchiv offered a look into the State’s objectives in rebuilding the city. An entire series of documents, housed as R4606, come from the office of the General Building Inspector of the Reich Capital. This series includes letters and memos from Albert Speer and other key architects; it encompasses a range of artifacts concerning the plans for Berlin, including blue prints, maps and schematics, correspondences concerning land availability, and discussions about how the project should be portrayed in the media. From these materials, I gained an understanding of how some specific features of the new city were planned. In particular, drawings and sketches of the East-West Axis provided insight into the scale of the

boulevard. One notable sketch (Bundesarchiv Berlin, R4606/1215, p. 63) showed a man on the boulevard overshadowed by the massive monuments that would adorn the street. He is tall and muscular, and yet he barely reaches one third of the height of an eagle mounted on a wall. Such sketches indicated to me that the planners sought to overwhelm individuals through the magnitude and scale of their projects.

In addition to these sketches of people, the planning documents also revealed treatments of real individuals, particularly property owners. In several cases, the planners discussed the need to purchase buildings that were privately owned. These are pragmatic correspondences, which contain little concern for those being displaced. Instead, the planners tried to organize “hasty purchase[s]” of building sites in order to expedite the clearing of central areas (Bundesarchiv Berlin, R4606/75, p. 109). I was surprised that Jews and ‘Aryans’ seemed to be treated by the planners equally in these cases; ‘Aryans’ were equally subjected to forced sales of their property as Jews were. While I learned from secondary research that Jews were paid far less for such properties than ‘Aryans,’ it was interesting to see that the planners themselves regarded these sales largely in the same way: merely as a necessary step in carrying out their plans.

Finally, one of the most striking observations from my research at the Bundesarchiv was what I did *not* find: a clear indication of intentionality. I expected to find some hints or indications of what the planners hoped to achieve through their work. I thought I might find discussions about how the plans would impact citizens of the Reich and so-called enemies of the state. Perhaps Speer had an idea that Germans would feel overcome by the power of the state through the size, scale and magnitude of the new city, or that Jews would live in fear in the new landscape, one that was a material expression of an ideology that targeted them. I thought I might find these intentions expressed in the planning process, discussed between various planners and

architects, and ultimately reflecting the ideological goals of the regime. However, such ideological goals were not directly outlined in the collection. This lack of intentionality offered an important reminder of the complexity of modern power, which springs not from a single dictator, a single architect, or single urban plan. Instead, its capacity emerges through a diversity of actors and exists in various registers of materiality and immateriality.

### *Outline of the Present Work*

Using a genealogical approach, this thesis will attempt to explore Nazi deployments of power beyond the obviously violent sovereign modality of the state. In particular, I will critically examine the ambit of Foucault's concept of biopower, which takes as its object the population-as-species and works productively to support and secure life. Foucault's innovative concept of biopower reveals the exercise of modern power by reimagining its objects and scales. For Foucault the operations of power are no longer exercised predominantly through the repressive and deductive mechanisms of the juridico-political apparatus; instead power becomes a constitutive force, working productively to produce new subject-selves and to support and secure this new form of life. Foucault's discussion of biopower is an exploration of the "how" of modern power (Patton, 2007, p. 212), and helps reveal its strategies and technologies.

Many of these strategies and technologies are represented in the Nazi plans for Berlin. But investigating the biopolitical mechanisms embedded in these plans also reveals the concurrent deployments of sovereign power in the urban landscape. It is a common misreading of Foucault which suggests that biopower altogether supplants sovereign power. By contrast, in his lectures on governmentality, Foucault emphasizes that the problem of sovereignty becomes particularly acute under new biopolitical configurations and that in fact sovereign biopower

resides as the dark thanatopolitical underbelly of the productive life enhancing mode of biopolitics. For Foucault, this represents a paradox: how can a power that supports life justify killing? Foucault suggests that state racism provides a justification for such action. Racism justifies a caesura in the biological continuum of the population, and therefore legitimizes the right to ‘make die’ in a system that otherwise ‘makes live.’ In this sense, those included in the population (the originary target of biopolitics) are protected by biopower’s life-supporting objectives, while those excluded from the population are deemed biological threats, and are therefore subject to biopower’s innate inverse: sovereign violence.

Giorgio Agamben reiterates that sovereign power necessarily operates alongside biopower, and explicitly deploys the syntagm ‘biopolitical sovereignty,’ suggesting an essential link between the two. Agamben’s conception contains no similar paradox between sovereign power and biopower and therefore requires no racist justification; instead he suggests that as *life* itself is politicized (and this is the essential function of biopolitics), it is necessarily also exposed to death. This relationship exists as a zone of indistinction where citizens are marked by their inclusive exclusion, an unconditional subjection to the law and its suspension. For Agamben this is a state of exception, where sovereign power can determine inclusion or exclusion, bare life or qualified life, and therefore can act without limit.

To examine how Berlin epitomizes and prefigures an exceptional space first requires a critical examination of biopower and sovereign power, specifically with regard to their spatial registers. Chapter two will therefore examine such theoretical and spatial engagements. It will explore the evolution of biopower alongside sovereign power to reveal how both Foucault and Agamben envision these deployments of power working coincidentally. The expression of modern biopower is disclosed as an apparatus, a complex field of forces including discourse,

knowledge and space. This will offer a theoretical framing to understand how the city and its spatial ordering serves as a paradigm for the expression of modern biopower.

In turn, chapter three explores the originary object of biopolitics in Nazi Germany: the ‘Aryan’ race as population. In particular, it looks at how state plans to rebuild Berlin were a spatialized strategy to include individual (‘Aryan’) bodies into a national population. This is a critical step in the politicization of life, as it initiates a transformation from the biological (natural life) into the political (population). In Berlin, the formation of a holistically healthy urban life was part of an effort to support the biological health of that population. While Nazi biopolitical tactics were carried out through a variety of institutional policies—such as implementing welfare programs and health insurance—they were also explicitly pursued through spatial arrangement. In particular, spiritual health was tied to a specific urban-spatial layout, and was treated as part of greater biological health. The plans for Berlin offered both a material and imagined landscape to facilitate such spiritual wellbeing. In targeting the biological health (or natural life) of ‘Aryan’ Berliners, it will become evident how included or qualified life also became subject to sovereign violence.

Exploring the production of a national population also requires examining those who were excluded from it. Chapter four addresses how the redesign of Berlin constituted an exclusionary landscape which positioned Jews outside of normal German life. It was this positionality that allowed for the overt implementation of sovereign violence against targeted groups.<sup>1</sup> Jews, deemed racial threats to the pure ‘Aryan’ population, were subject to a combination of legislation and urban ordering which placed their quotidian existence outside the

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<sup>1</sup> A large variety of Germans were targeted as enemies of the state, including communists, homosexuals, asocials, the handicap, however this thesis will focus only on the treatment of Jews.

normal German order. These actions contributed to a discourse framing Jews as a racial threat, and justified an ongoing mobilization for war. Racial war, a condition of possibility that enabled biopolitics and sovereign power, was dependent on the dehumanization of Jews. In particular, by incrementally removing them from public space, Jews were increasingly abandoned to the sovereign's unlimited and extrajudicial exercise of violence. In this chapter, we therefore see how, in a biopolitical model, exclusion from the population justified state violence and murder. Such exclusion will be further complicated through Agamben's theory of inclusive exclusion.

Altogether, this thesis will examine the spatial arrangements of biopolitics and sovereign power. It will prove that while Jews were the obvious targets of sovereign violence, 'Aryans,' in their treatment as bio-political life, could also be subjected arbitrarily to the sovereign violence of the state and its violent reconfiguration of nationalist identity.

## II. Theoretical Framing: Biopolitics and Urban Spatialities of Power

In this chapter I would like to explore the spatialities of modern power. This will begin with a discussion of modern biopolitics a term which names both a fundamental historical transformation in the nature of modern power — from the sovereign territorial state to the state of population — as well as signaling a new way of theorizing and understanding the operations of power beyond the state. It will then turn to specific spatialities of power and explore how the city becomes a *dispositif* of biopolitics. Finally, the discussion will turn to National Socialism and its complex deployments of power, which include both sovereign violence and biopolitics.

### *From Sovereign Power to Biopolitics*

Michel Foucault describes modern power as being distinct from an antiquated version of power, which he calls sovereign power. Among classical critiques of the liberal state, Carl Schmitt famously defined the sovereign as “he who decides on the exception” (Schmitt, 1985, p. 5). It is the sovereign who has the right to suspend the law, and thus operates both inside and outside the law. This paradoxical spatiality of juridico-political sovereignty was later incorporated into Giorgio Agamben’s thesis in *Homo Sacer*, where sovereign power is linked to the space of exception: a material space of inclusive exclusion. Agamben’s discussion of sovereignty and the space of exception will be addressed later in this thesis.

Among contemporary theorists of power, the definition and significance of ‘sovereign power’ is both varied and contested. Krasner (1999) complicates the presumptions of state sovereignty, that it exists as a territorially bounded, self-governing and internationally recognized entity. By revealing the hypocrisies of sovereignty, he opens the term to a variety of theoretical approaches. Contemporary theorizations of sovereignty therefore work to expand its

applications. Ong (2006) for example reimagines sovereignty and suggests logics of neoliberalism are (at least) as powerful tools of sovereign subject formation. Likewise, Hansen and Stepputat detach sovereignty from territory and offer sovereignty as a “social construction” with “internal constitution...*within states* through the exercise of violence over bodies and populations” (Hansen & Stepputat, 2005, p. 2). Their volume suggests that sovereign power is carried through a variety of vectors, but is legitimized through violence. It is the performance of violence that supports sovereign power, as it acts as a threat, an indication of the sovereign’s capacity to enact violence on bodies.

Foucault’s formulation of sovereignty similarly centers it on a capacity for unmatched violence. In his historical conception of sovereignty, power was centralized and concentrated in a single monarch who ruled over his subjects and his territory. Foucault writes: “The sovereign exercised his right of life only by exercising his right to kill, or by refraining from killing; he evidenced his power over life only through the death he was capable of requiring” (Foucault, 1978, p. 136). Foucault describes the sovereign’s power as juridical, legitimized in the laws which are enforced through the threat of violence. The law and the sovereign were “absolutely united,” as the law offered a legitimatization for obedience (Foucault, 2009, p. 137). This schematic fits in to a larger logic of power based on deduction, a system which allows the sovereign to seize the wealth, labor, bodies or lives of her subjects. However, with the emergence of populations, this form of power was no longer economical; instead, power has transformed into a complex matrix of both deductive and productive forces. Foucault writes “‘Deduction’ has tended to be no longer the major form of power but merely one element among others, working to incite, reinforce, control, monitor, optimize, and organize the forces under it: a

power bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them, rather than one dedicated to impeding them, making them submit, or destroying them” (1978, p. 136).

The transformation of modern power is expressed by the state through the emergence of an art of government. This is a system concerned with tactics rather than laws, with population and not just territory; it serves to fundamentally rearrange the state, its people, institutions and economy, in order to facilitate political and economic ends (Foucault, 2009, p. 137). Distinct from the purely deductive force of a monarch, modern governance operates through a variety of deployments to normalize behavior in ways that are most productive for both the state and the new sovereign-subject. Included in this field of forces are a variety of techniques of power, including governmentality, sovereignty, biopolitics and discipline. No single formation of power operates alone, instead “we have a triangle: sovereignty, discipline, and governmental management, which has population as its main target and apparatuses of security as its essential mechanism” (Foucault, 2009, p. 143).

For Foucault, biopower effectively names the fundamental revolution and transformation of modern power, a power that concerns itself with the life and wellbeing of the population. “It consists,” Foucault writes, “in making live and letting die,” the opposite of the sovereign formation which consists of making die and letting live (Foucault, 1997, p. 247). This new form of power is targeted at the population, an entity which emerged alongside the formation of the modern state. This entity became the target of the state’s care for life; populations became the recipients of interventions of rational knowledge meant to manage people to their highest levels of productivity. In this way, modern states seek to manage populations by fostering life. The state carries out its power over life through two poles: discipline of the individual and regulations (a biopolitics) of the population (Foucault, 1978, p. 139).

To foster a biopolitics of the population, the state is concerned with both the biological and economic life of its citizens. State interventions in the biological lives of subjects are justified as acting in the interest of securing the state-as-species. For example, the implementation of a clean sewer system or traffic lights are done in the interest of protecting life. In the interest of preserving a healthy and productive population, processes of life (such as birth and death rates, population movements, the spread of disease) are politicized and become objects of knowledge for the state and sites of targeted interventions.

At the same time, regulatory practices are supported in order to discipline individual bodies. Foucault suggests that discipline is an important factor in managing the population; he writes, “managing the population does not mean just managing the collective mass of phenomena or managing them simply at the level of their overall results; managing the population means managing it in depth, in all its fine points and details” (2009, p. 143). By examining institutions, Foucault explores how bodies are disciplined not just through repressive or violent means, but also through normative practices. For example, bodies are organized on timetables so that groups of people become subject to a schedule. Their movements therefore become controlled not through repressive means but rather through normalization. As a result, individuals begin to self-regulate as they internalize normative institutions and practices.

Even after the apparent transition to biopower, sovereign violence still exists as a modality of power. However this sovereign power is no longer exercised by a single entity like a monarch, but rather is dispensed through various state actors, like police forces or institutions who are working in the service of the population. Sovereign violence, therefore, is no longer only held by the monarch (Hobbes, 1994) nor exists as a state monopoly (Weber, 2004), instead it is dispersed throughout the modern state and exists as the dark underside of biopower. Thus, a

paradox emerges in Foucault's conception of modern power: if the state is concerned with the health and wellbeing of the population, how can it conduct genocidal violence against its own citizens? Genocide occurs "not because of a recent return of the ancient right to kill; it is because power is situated and exercised at the level of life, the species, the race, and the large-scale phenomena of population" (Foucault, 1978, p. 137). In modernity, sovereign power (deduction) is a concealed function of power that only reveals itself through state racism.<sup>2</sup> "Racism is bound up with workings of a State that is obliged to use race, the elimination of races and the purification of the race, to exercise its sovereign power" (Foucault, 1997, p. 258). Foucault takes Nazism as the archetype of such power, because the Nazis treated Jews as a racial threat to the health of the 'Aryan' population. The biological strength of the population is threatened not only by external threats, but also internal ones that stifle the continued improvement of the population's health. Violence is justified because "the death of the bad race, of the inferior race (or the degenerate, or the abnormal) is something that will make life in general healthier: healthier and purer" (Foucault, 1997, p. 256). In the Nazi state, we see the expression of a productive biopower towards the 'Aryan' race alongside a deductive, thanatopolitical sovereign power towards the Jewish race.

Agamben however sees the need to offer a "correction" or a "completion" to Foucault's conceptions of sovereign power and biopower (1998, p. 9). He largely accepts biopower as a thesis, but not a hypothesis (Genel, 2006).<sup>3</sup> As an ontological undertaking, Agamben's work directly concerns life/existence and the very conditions of possibility of the political. Both agree

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<sup>2</sup> Mazower contends that state racism acts as a "governmental rationality" which radically reconfigures understandings of what (who) must live and what (who) must die (2008a, p. 26).

<sup>3</sup> Genel suggests that the hypothesis of biopower fundamentally distinguishes it from sovereign power, where a thesis of biopower redefines the structure of power, but does not inherently distinguish it from sovereign power.

that life has increasingly become bound up and subsumed by the political. As Agamben writes with reference to *The History of Sexuality*, “at the threshold of the modern era, natural life begins to be included in the mechanisms and calculations of State power, and politics turns into *biopolitics*. ...the entry of *zoē* into the sphere of the *polis*—the politicization of bare life as such—constitutes the decisive event of modernity and signals a radical transformation of the political-philosophical categories of classical thought. ...if politics today seems to be passing through a lasting eclipse, this is because politics has failed to reckon with this foundational event of modernity” (1998, pp. 3–4). But Foucault does see the need to separate sovereign violence from modern biopower, only to justify its re-inscription within biopolitics through forms of state racism, i.e. biological exclusion. Instead Agamben contends that the two necessarily work together: biopower does not foreclose sovereign power, but in fact requires it. At the “hidden point of intersection between the juridico-institutional [sovereign] and the biopolitical models of power,” he argues that “the two analyses cannot be separated.” Hence for Agamben biopolitics “is at least as old as the sovereign exception” (1998, p. 6).

Expanding on Foucault however, Agamben also takes Nazism (specifically the death camp) as the paradigmatic expression of modern power. In this way, both theorists emphasize how power works at this period of extremity toward the end of the Third Reich and after the outbreak of international conflict. However, if we examine this regime before the paroxysmal moments Agamben and Foucault describe,<sup>4</sup> we begin to see how sovereign power and biopower operate in the everyday, through bureaucratic and spatial deployments of power.

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<sup>4</sup> For Foucault, this archetypal moment is split between two historical events: the implementation of the Final Solution in 1942 and Hitler’s order in 1945 to destroy German’s living conditions (1997, p. 260). Agamben offers a spatial event as opposed to an historical one, and suggests that Auschwitz (opened piecemeal between 1940 and 1942) marks the defining episode of modern power (1999).

### *State Space, Social Space and the City*

In order to understand how the city becomes the nexus of Nazi state power, we must first understand the ways in which modern power is spatialized. This spatialization is critical to Foucault's understanding of power which, he suggests, is largely normalized in the spatial ordering of everyday life. Technologies of power are deployed spatially, and therefore spatiality is a useful tool of analysis of modern power (Crampton & Elden, 2007a).<sup>5</sup> In its simplest form, power exists in territorial formations, drawn along the lines of political boundaries, which make up state space. However, as Soja suggests, "the reassertion of a critical spatial perspective in contemporary social theory and analysis" is essential. Humans do not only create historical (temporal) records but also geographic (spatial) ones (1989, pp. 1, 11). As such, societies exist in both time and space; as spatial beings, humans produce landscapes, both material and abstract, that reflect and embody fields of relations. Thus state space must be defined by more than just its territorial composition.

States are, first and foremost, defined by the space that they occupy, by borders and territory which are never fixed. However, as Agnew suggests, defining state space only territorially neglects to address the spatial complexities of state power (1994, 2002). Instead, he argues that by looking at various scales of state space, the spatialized practices of political, economic and social structures become clear. In this multi-scalar approach, state space includes, among others, territory, political networks, public space, and spaces of everyday life. State space can also be national space—the space through which nationalism is created and sustained. While

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<sup>5</sup> The collection of essays, *Space, knowledge and power: Foucault and geography* (Crampton & Elden, 2007b) contains a comprehensive discussion of the spatialization of Foucauldian power.

some of these examples of space have a material expression, others occupy a non-material space. Cities, a key expression of state space in urbanized society, can be both “distinct spatial formations or imaginaries” (Thrift & Amin, 2009, p. 2). Therefore, state space, can be characterized by two different modalities: the objective and the subjective.

In this binary, the objective represents the structural formations of nationalism, nations and states. To view state space objectively is to define it based on how it exists institutionally: through borders, political systems, economic systems, etc. The subjective state space occupies a discursive realm; it is made up through the non-material, the imagined, and is manifested in forms of culture, like shared heritage, ideology, or language. However, differentiating these two dimensions of state space suggests that there is a self-evident state territory that is distinct from a purely representational, discursive state space (Goswami, 2004, p. 17). The first alone is too structural and the second too diffuse; moreover, neither exists alone, as both modalities of state space are co-constitutive.

Thus, to examine the two together requires an examination of how space exists as a social product, the outcome of political and social processes. To overcome the oppositional forces of objective/subjective, institutional/discursive approaches to space, Henri Lefebvre instead posits a spatial triad.<sup>6</sup> Critical of the Hegelian dialectic, Lefebvre seeks to add a third element (beyond just physical and mental) to conceptions of space, and create a dialectical triad. According to Schmid, “A third term emerges thereby that both negates and embodies the other two” (2009, p. 32). Within this triad, the gap between physical (material) and mental (representation) is bridged through social space, which Lefebvre suggests all space is. Without acknowledging the social

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<sup>6</sup> Goswami (2004) and Tonkiss (2005) suggest that Lefebvre’s triad is the best tool to overcome the objective/subjective binary.

relations that actually produce space, we conform to a misconception that space simply exists, that it is equally available and “free of traps” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 28). Lefebvre offers the analogy of language, whose limits, we have come to understand, contribute to the formation of knowledges. Previously, there has been no similar understanding of space enacting the same powers and limits. By enlisting the triad to interpret space, Lefebvre reveals how space is produced for and by economic, social, and political means.

Lefebvre’s theory of space expands on his triadic conception of language (Schmid, 2009). In both efforts, he transforms a two-dimensional understanding into a three-dimensional one. Through this dynamic approach, language and then space start to be able to be decoded. His triad of space is comprised of spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces. Lefebvre also describes these dimensions of space phenomenologically as (correspondingly) perceived, conceived and lived. By deciphering these three codes, we begin to see that space is not only produced, but *reproduced*. Lefebvre suggests:

production is not merely the making of products: the term signifies on the one hand ‘spiritual’ production, that is to say creations (including social time and space), and on the other material production or the making of things; it also signifies the self-production of a ‘human being’ in the process of historical self-development, which involves the production of social relations. Finally, taken in its fullest sense, the term embraces *re-production*...the material reproduction of the tools of production, of technical instruments and of social relations. (1984, pp. 30–31)

The power of (state) space is therefore amplified in its ability to reproduce itself through everyday use. This is when space becomes a powerful tool for political power: when spaces produced to encourage specific behaviors are adopted and reproduced through everyday life. It is through everyday life that we can see how time and space work together to produce social beings. Everyday life is organized in and through space and also rhythms, which are both natural

and produced. Lefebvre suggests the management of time and space are a “kind of programming, a sort of total organization” that reveals itself in everyday life (1984, p. 58) . To analyze such programming requires a spatial analysis that appreciates *both* time and space. In particular, rhythm offers a conduit to understand the relationship between the human body and/in space. Thus Lefebvre offers an analysis of rhythms, or rhythmanalysis, as “an idea that may be expected to put the finishing touches to the exposition of the production of space” (1991, p. 405).

Lefebvre distinguishes different types of rhythms: natural rhythms (of the body, of the cosmos) and mechanized rhythms (programmed acts). The repetitions of everyday life are made through these latter mechanized rhythms and impose a linear form of time onto the cyclical rhythms of time (e.g. days, seasons, etc.). Different types of rhythms coincide with different types of space: wilderness embodies the cyclical rhythms of nature, while built spaces (especially urban spaces) embody the rationalization of nature which coincides with the rationalization of time. Linear time represents the transformation of cyclical time as it begins to be measured by technologies like the clock. While rhythms are naturally occurring, the clock serves as a technology that forces changes upon those daily rhythms; thus he distinguishes between abstract rhythms and ‘natural’ rhythms. The body is the meeting point of social (external) and biological (internal) rhythms which takes place in urban spaces. Hence Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis is an analytical tool to uncover how everyday life embodies the intersection of both corporeal and temporal treatments of space, which ultimately shape social relations.

To understand how time is produced, Lefebvre offers several examples of social versus biological rhythms. He distinguishes the cyclical rhythms of nature from the linear rhythms of social life, particularly the repetitions of work. He offers the festival as an example of a manipulation of rhythms; while originally the festival emerged organically from a society that

sought an interruption to both the linear and the cyclical, modern festivals represent a manipulation of time. These are planned events that parody a break in linear time and offer a break from the repetition of labor without an authentic opportunity to change those everyday patterns. Thus Lefebvre demonstrates how both time and space can be manipulated to achieve certain ends through individual bodies and their experiences; everyday life is therefore an important vector of power (Lefebvre, 1984, p. 35). Lefebvre asks: “Why do [the ‘users’ of abstract space] allow themselves to be manipulated in ways so damaging to their spaces and their daily life without embarking on massive revolts?” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 51). Here we can return again to Foucault, whose discussions of power demonstrate the subtle deployments of power spatially.

Like Lefebvre, Foucault characterizes space as a field of forces beyond just the material and the abstract. Through his discussion of *dispositifs* (apparatus), Foucault suggests that power is exercised through a diversity of forces including institutional, physical, administrative and knowledge structures. It is the “nature of the connections that can exist between heterogeneous elements” (Foucault quoted in Gordon, 1980, p. 195). A *dispositif* is, therefore, a relationship, between power, knowledge and space. Deleuze, further clarifying Foucault’s *dispositif*, explains how it operates in the everyday. He writes: “our present-day reality takes on the form of dispositions of overt and continuous *control* in a way which is very different from recent closed disciplines” (1991, p. 164). The *dispositif* does not have a disciplining deployment but rather a *normalizing* one. It is where heterogeneous elements are merged, where discourse meets matter and is *lived* through the corporeal experience. As such, the *dispositif* functions not as an imperative, but rather perpetuates meaning (e.g. norms and discourses) through praxis and lived experience.

Agamben expands on Foucault's *dispositif* in his essay "What is an apparatus?" (2009). He contends that Foucault's *dispositif* is characterized by three features: it is heterogeneous, it has a strategic function, and it is imbricated with power/knowledge relations (p. 3). The apparatus is therefore a mode of power that aims to produce a specific effect. Foucault's apparatus is institutional: it allows pure governance to act on subjects. Agamben expands on the apparatus' theological genealogy and ultimately suggests that an apparatus is ontological: it captures and orients the behaviors of human beings. Between the living being and the apparatus emerges the subject. This relationship discloses the power of the *dispositif*, which produces docile subjects who are (or at least consider themselves) free. In both Agamben and Foucault's definitions of the *dispositif*, subject formation occurs through the normalizing functions of the apparatus. For Foucault, an apparatus is couched in institutional practices and acts on political-social life (e.g. a school) or biological life (e.g. a hospital). For Agamben, who interprets the apparatus theologically, the apparatus can only act on natural life. The remainder of this thesis will complicate on whom an apparatus acts—bio-political life or natural life—by demonstrating how the planning of Berlin (a *dispositif*) manages behaviors of included populations and excluded ones. The *dispositif* treats these groups differently practically—it espouses different experiences for different groups—but fundamentally it treats them the same: as natural life.

The *dispositif* helps illustrate how material forms are intimately linked to practice, conduct and norms. While there is no single meaning in space, space is interpreted through a system of meanings and relations. The *dispositif* alone is anti-functionalist because it cannot initiate a specific outcome. However, when the *dispositif* is linked with a specific knowledge, controlling its outcome becomes feasible. As Pløger writes: "It is when it [a *dispositif*] is turned into knowledge-based practices that an apparatus can be turned into a social technology" (2008,

p. 56). Spatial arrangements that exist in designated fields of knowledge can therefore serve specific socio-political ends.

Foucault describes such instances by examining the spatial arrangements of institutional forms (which carry with them their own norms and knowledge), like mental institutions and prisons. In particular, Foucault highlights the panopticon as a material expression of the spatialized character of disciplinary power. The panopticon allows for a constant gaze to be directed on prisoners: whether or not a person sits in the surveillance tower, the prisoners must assume that they are being watched. In this way, the prisoner inscribes the power of the guard upon himself, and becomes responsible for his own subjugation. Power, therefore, is no longer held by an individual in a tower, but rather by the organizational system itself. This is due to the physical arrangement of the cells but also the logics of the prison, that guards are monitoring the behavior of prisoners. Or as Foucault writes: “Power has its principal not so much in a person as in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up” (1995, p. 202). This is a system that has now been extended to the social body and exists beyond institutions alone. Observation as practice is disseminated throughout society, not only by intrinsically disciplinary institutions like the police, but also social ones like schools and religious organizations. This creates a spatialized conception of power not just in material expressions, but also immaterial ones. People understand relationships spatially as well, not just in terms of the unending gaze of others but also in creating their own hierarchies. Even without the structure of the panopticon, individuals internalize a universal gaze upon them and thus regulate their own behavior to abide by the normative rules set for them.

Foucault reiterates the connection between knowledge and power; by rationalizing space through data, maps and borders it becomes disciplined. These spatial conceptions are further

expressed socially as individuals frame their subject positions through relational spaces. By dividing space, areas become manageable to a governing body. Divided spaces can be classified and placed into hierarchies. These spatial relations translate to social hierarchies but also can have darker outcomes. For example boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are understood spatially. People who are included in the body politic are welcomed into spaces of inclusion. Those who are excluded, often as a result of racism, are left at the margins, often physically removed from the rest of the population. These borders are drawn both materially and mentally, but exist in a spatialized framework in either scenario.

Cities exist in many ways as material expressions of these relationships. Disciplinary tactics are especially evident in the urban landscape: surveillance is often embedded in the physical makeup of the city, through cameras, street lights, wide boulevards, towering buildings and open spaces. Foucault describes how urban planning works as a technology of discipline. He writes: “The layout, the fact that individuals were made visible, and the normalization of behavior meant that a sort of spontaneous policing or control was carried out by the spatial layout of the town itself” (1997, p. 251). Even without advanced technologies like video surveillance, the urban landscape facilitates a panopticon-like gaze upon the people who move through it. This takes shape in many ways, including the position of security guards and police in public spaces to the endless apartment windows that look down on the street. Moreover, the city is divided into neighborhoods or districts—whether officially or unofficially—that convert them into knowable spaces. Such divisions not only allow for official distinctions between urban areas and their attendant populations (we could think of a contemporary example being school districts and the tax bases that supports them), but also shape informal understandings of hierarchies and social relationships.

In addition to demonstrating disciplined spaces, cities are also sites of state intervention in the health of the population. Some of the earliest material examples of biopower, expressed as state interest in public health, came in the form of public works projects to improve the general health of the public (Gandy, 2006, p. 503). Such interventions included infrastructure improvements to minimize health risks to urban populations.<sup>7</sup> These systematic enhancements contributed to efforts to improve the health of individuals and the overall population. In doing so, the city helped create docile bodies and also a healthy population who could efficiently and productively work in support of the state.

While the state's concern for the health of its populations in terms of basic infrastructure constitutes a technology of power—a material intervention in how the city operates—the material city also embodies more discursive vectors of modern power. Discourse both constitutes and is constituted by regimes of truth: normative regularities that fashion subjectivities and contribute to the proliferation of docile bodies. In *The History of Sexuality* (1978), Foucault famously describes the emergence of a discourse on sexuality as an example of how modern power acts directly on bodies. In his case study, discourse determines normative expectations for how the body should experience pleasure and sensations, as well as determining expectations for sex and reproduction. For example, discourse around sex creates categories of normal and abnormal sexual behavior which, Foucault argues, exist only within the confines of a discursive formation—they are not objectively real. Through this example, Foucault demonstrates how discourse infiltrates individual behaviors, even relating to individual bodies, sex and health.

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<sup>7</sup> Scholars have examined a variety of case studies examining biopolitical interventions in urban landscapes. These studies have explored state interventions into congestion in India (Legg, 2007), sewage in Paris (Gandy, 2014), housing in China (Bray, 2005), and mapping and organization in Paris (Scott, 1998).

The city exists at the intersection of the objective, the subjective and the lived; as such, it collectively constitutes a discourse. Michel de Certeau even compares the city to a language, and the act of walking in the city to an act of speech (1988, pp. 97–102). The pedestrian uses space in the same way a speaker uses language, and, in both cases, she is limited by the objects available to her; the user can only appropriate tools (language or space) that have been provided to her. Certeau suggests that these objects have social outcomes, and their use “implies *relations* among differentiated positions,” which establish “contracts” between parties (de Certeau, 1988, p. 98). While resistances can occur in space—for example by taking a short cut as opposed to a principal route—the normative practices in space make up the organizing discourse of relations in a society.

Thus the city is not just a *reflection* of discourse, but rather an actor in its composition. Soja (2010) supports this claim by describing the generative forces of cities; he emphasizes urban spatial causality, which has real effects on social and political systems. Likewise Wallenstein suggests that urban material space, and specifically architecture, is a “node in a network of knowledges and practices” (2009, p. 15). Thus, the city is not only a space through which discourse appears, but instead contributes to its characterization, to its very definition. The city-as-apparatus is thus both discursive and material and actively (re)produces its own logics.

### *National Socialism, Sovereign Power and Biopower*

Well before the outbreak of war in 1939 or the implementation of the Final Solution in 1942, sovereign violence was a regular feature of the Nazi party. Theirs was a party characterized by repression and violence and largely depended on such tactics to eliminate opposition and garner support. Repression, or sovereign deduction, was carried out through the

*Sturmabteilung* (SA), the paramilitary wing of the Nazi party which used violent tactics to remove opposition. The SA played an important role in supporting Hitler's rise to power, however, after 1933, the overtly violent tactics of the SA were increasingly discouraged.<sup>8</sup> Instead, after Hitler's ascension in 1933, the party's power was disclosed through a much broader diversity of mechanisms. This included both sovereign violence and biopower.

Sovereign violence was rarely directed towards the majority of the population (Pine, 2007, p. 40). Instead, for the majority of the German population, governance operated biopolitically: as an art of government working to support and enhance life. Crucial to the biopolitical state was *Volksgemeinschaft*, or national community. This national community represented the ideal society that Hitler imagined and was largely supported by Germans who sought racial purity and the elimination of common enemies. The creation of this community constituted a productive force (to make live those who included in the national population) but also facilitated a deductive one (to make die those excluded from it). In this way, a condition of war was established: a war against internal threats to the "Aryan" race. As Reid suggests, "war can be understood to anchor the power relations that pervade modern societies" (2008, p. 29). It was this condition of war that justified legal actions that intervened in the private lives of citizens. One notable example of such legislation was the 1935 Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor. This law made not only marriage but also sexual relations between Jews and Germans illegal. While demonstrating a clear governmental intervention into the private lives of citizens, this decree was legitimized because it acted in the best interest of the German *Volk* or population overall.

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<sup>8</sup> This is evidenced by Hitler's decision to execute SA leaders whose tactics he deemed too destructive (Fest, 1999, p. 148).

Later on, as war broke out externally, this condition of possibility was already internalized in the German state (Marks, 2008, p. 98). Foreign conflict was legitimized in defense of the *Volk*, and merely expanded on an existing war to protect the race. Foreign expansion was, after all, sought not on behalf of the sovereign but on behalf of the people, to increase *Lebensraum* (living space) for the German *Volk*, a necessity for their continued healthy and prosperous existence. Well before 1939, the state was mobilized for war, and it was because of this condition that many ordinary Germans were willing to accept more overt disciplinary and sovereign tactics of the state. As Pine suggests, Germans “accepted a ‘surveillance society’ in exchange for crime-free streets, economic recovery and law and order” (2007, p. 33). All of these positive outcomes (security and economic success) were understood to be possible through the elimination of biological threats. Similarly violence, which was regularly carried out in public, was widely accepted. This was because “Nazi terror was selective terror,” and most Germans believed that it was only carried out against so-called enemies of the state (Johnson, 1999, p. 483).

Internal war was a condition of possibility that allowed for the ever-increasing discrimination of Jews and other “racial threats.” This supports a structuralist approach to the Holocaust, which suggests that the Holocaust was the inevitable outcome of years of bureaucratic, social and political systems that discriminated Jews. Unlike intentionalists,<sup>9</sup> who suggest that the Holocaust was a direct outcome of Hitler’s genocidal desires, structuralists argue that the social, political and even economic structure of the Third Reich set the stage for such violence to take place. Mommsen suggests that it was the “cumulative radicalization” of the *Volk* over many years that enabled the Holocaust to take place (1978, p. 179). Aly and Heim (2015)

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<sup>9</sup> Some notable intentionalists include Goldhagen (1996) and Fleming (1984).

go even further to suggest that it was technocrats who, in their effort to economically modernize the Reich, created an economic and social landscape that depended on the elimination of Jews.<sup>10</sup> Altogether, the structuralists call for an approach to the Holocaust that considers more than just Nazi leadership but rather the greater structures of society that helped lay the path to genocide.

It is therefore crucial to examine the Nazi state *before* it reaches its extremity in World War II and the Holocaust. This includes examining bureaucratic processes and the quotidian experience of normal Germans, which are demonstrated in the rebuilding of Berlin. Domestic urban and regional planning projects<sup>11</sup> contributed to the socio-political regimes that ultimately set the stage for the Holocaust. Through many of these planning projects, Nazi logics became embedded in the everyday lives of all citizens where they were reproduced by ordinary Germans ('Aryans' and Jews alike), creating a productive field of Nazi power.

### *Significance*

This thesis will offer a unique understanding of Nazi urban planning and architecture. While a number of scholars have described the history of urban planning in Nazi Berlin,<sup>12</sup> few have revealed its connection to political power and social control. In a few cases, scholars have addressed the political economy of rebuilding Berlin, which demonstrate how the economic

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<sup>10</sup> It is, however, important to note that Aly and Heim's work focuses on policies enacted mostly in Poland after 1939.

<sup>11</sup> Other scholars have examined Nazi urban and regional planning, also after 1939. They have largely focused on foreign settlements in Eastern Europe; see Barnes & Minca (2013), Horowitz (2010) and Mazower (2008b).

<sup>12</sup> Some histories of the rebuilding of Berlin include *Architecture, politics, and identity in divided Berlin* (Pugh, 2014) and *Hitler's Berlin: The Speer plans for reshaping the central city* (Helmer, 1985). In addition, books concerning Albert Speer offer an extensive overview of the rebuilding project, including *Albert Speer: Conversations with Hitler's architect* (Fest, 2005) and *Albert Speer: The end of a myth* (Schmidt, 1984).

exigencies of the plan contributed to creating a Nazi infrastructure for racism and war.<sup>13</sup> Most works treat this project as the outcome of Hitler's megalomaniacal desires to create a symbolic landscape of power.<sup>14</sup> In contrast to these works, this thesis will explore the rebuilding of Berlin as complex technology of power. As Wallenstein writes, in modernity, architecture has "started to withdraw from the model in the sense of a *representation* of order, so as to itself become a *tool* for the ordering, regimentation, and administering of space in its totality" (2009, p. 20). By examining Nazi urban planning as a tool of social control, the complexities of a fascist regime become clearer and are complicated to include power beyond the more overt and grotesque forms of sovereign violence.

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<sup>13</sup> Jaskot (2000) describes how practical exigencies of rebuilding Berlin stimulated Nazi systems like forced labor camps; he describes how a growing demand for building materials led to an increase in forced labor. Similarly, Zilbert (1981) describes how economic requirements for rebuilding the capital served as an impetus to reorganizing economic administrations and industrial production to not only serve the city, but also support a war effort.

<sup>14</sup> Some of these works include *Hitler's Berlin: Abused city* (Friedrich, 2012) and *Hitler's state architecture: The impact of classical antiquity* (Scobie, 1990).

### III. Inclusion: Landscapes of Community and Spiritual Health

In 1937, Adolf Hitler announced in a speech that one of the goals of the National Socialists' was to "make life healthier and pleasanter for the German *Volk*" (Quoted in Taylor, 1974, p. 255) For the Nazis, health was defined by a variety of features beyond just the biological health of the population. While biological health was a driving force behind Nazi efforts to purify the race eugenically—to cleanse it of physical disabilities and so-called racial impurities—optimizing the spiritual health of those deemed biologically worthy (in other words, healthy, 'Aryan' Germans) was equally important. The spiritual health of the population, what Taylor describes as "political-mental hygiene" (Taylor, 1974, p. 235), was largely addressed through urban and regional planning. In particular, several features of the rebuilding of Berlin, which was intended to serve as an example for all cities, contributed to fostering the spiritual health of the population.

Spiritual health encompassed a variety characteristics and was considered to directly influence bodily health (Taylor, 1974, p. 219). Rooted in the home, spiritual health was the foundation of life and would serve as a model of good hygiene and familial order. If the home was organized in this way, similar healthy practices would follow in public life as well. Along with good urban planning, the spatialization of everyday life would support an ordered, hygienic and therefore happy society.

At the same time, beauty was an important feature in both public and private spaces. This mandate belonged to a Nazi ideology that valued the cultural happiness of the public. One example, the *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy)<sup>15</sup> program, demonstrates the emphasis

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<sup>15</sup> The name alone reiterates the Nazis' belief that spiritual health (*joy*) would contribute to the physical health (*strength*) of the population. The organization sought to make middle class

placed on improving the general happiness of all Germans. Beautiful homes, villages and cities would contribute to this contentment. In Berlin in particular, the grand buildings and monuments of the new capital would offer a beautiful visible landscape. This was a landscape that the public would stand in awe of, but would also fill them with pride. Thus the great urban spectacles in Berlin and other cities demanded a politicization of the visual aesthetic landscape, as central to the formation of a series of technologies that crafted the spiritual health of the public.

### *Nazi Spatial Policies and their Expression in Berlin*

The desire to create the “best” space for the fashioning of an ‘Aryan’ German public was an important part of the Nazi apparatus. On a large scale, this discursive regime was expressed through *Lebensraum*, a plan to expand territorially in order to create more living space for the German people. When war broke out in 1939, it was largely driven by this philosophy of expanding German living space. Carl Schmitt even referred to the war as a *Raumordnungskrieg*, a war for spatial ordering (referenced in Barnes & Minca, 2013, p. 677). This spatial ordering was the outcome of a complex ideology linking *Blut und Boden*, blood and soil. This ideology called for a strong relationship between the German race (blood) and the territory (soil) that would support it. More broadly, though, this link was tied to a belief that an agrarian lifestyle was the healthiest lifestyle, and that cities were sites of bad health, hotbeds of biological and political-ideological threats.

Before the war for spatial ordering drew Germany into international conflict, urban planning projects were already contributing to domestic efforts to achieve Nazi spatial

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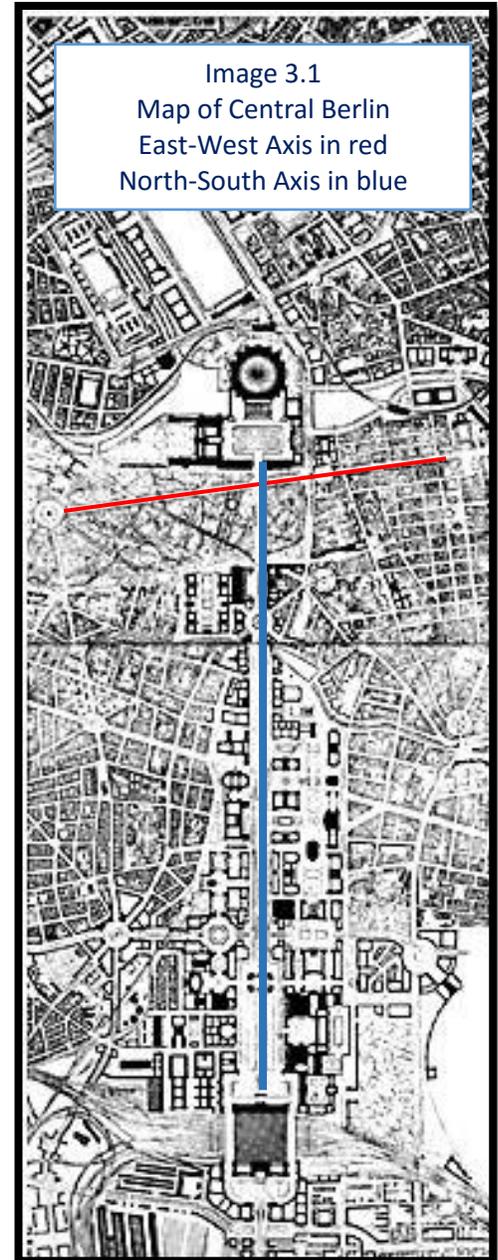
luxuries, like travel, sports and theater available to all Germans, especially to those in the working class.

arrangements. In particular, re-planning and rebuilding cities was part of an effort to improve daily life and the health of the population within the existing Reich. In the 1930s, relocating urban populations into rural areas was already unrealistic—Berlin, for example, had a population of 4 million by 1937 (Warner, 1983, p. 75)—but improving cities to replicate some of the beneficial features of rural life was possible. In particular, this could be done by eliminating many of the cultural threats found in the city, including degenerate art, architecture and theater that were said to weaken German society (Warner, 1983, p. 74). These cultural menaces had, according to the Nazis, contributed to a period of *Entgeistung*, a period of de-spiritualization or deprivation of the spirit (Herf, 1984, p. 163). Degenerate art and culture were replaced by Nazi-approved culture and aesthetics. In Berlin, for example, Nazi architecture in the neoclassical style was an important aesthetic addition to and reflection of a greater Nazi culture.

In addition to altering the aesthetic landscape of Berlin, the logics of the urban design were re-imagined in an effort to improve the spiritual health of Berliners. In particular, the notion of a village center became a hallmark of all Nazi urban schemes; such a center was considered the spiritual epicenter of the community. Because of Berlin's high population, such a space needed to be constructed on a massive scale. The city center would offer a logical orienting point, with the rest of the city unfolding logically around it. Berlin, which was designed to serve as an example for all cities in the Reich, would therefore demonstrate the ideal city structure and organization. In particular, an outdoor assembly area would be accompanied by an indoor

meeting hall. This would be located on a central axis around which all other streets would be logically ordered.

The plans for Berlin included the addition of two central axes, one that ran North-South and another that intersected it running East-West (see image 3.1). The North-South axis would serve as the central axis of the city, extending seven kilometers through the heart of Berlin. The axis would terminate at new railroad stations at both ends which would connect the city to a national rail system as well as a local transit system. At the southern end, the boulevard would pass through a triumphal arch designed to be almost three times the size of the Arc de Triomphe in Paris (Speer, 1970, p. 134). The southern part of the axis would be lined by private industry and shops, showcasing the economic success of Germany. The northern half would be reserved for governmental buildings which would line the route as it approached the massive Volkshalle, a domed building that would be unprecedented in its size. In front of the hall would be an enormous square, buttressed to the East by the Reichstag and a new Reich Chancellery to the West, creating a huge gathering place surrounded by monumental buildings. The East-West axis would be slightly less impressive than the North-South axis, but it would nonetheless be made wider than any existing streets. The East-West axis, unlike the North-South one, was actually finished, and officially opened in 1939. Bordered on both sides by a park, the



street was lined with monuments and statues as opposed to buildings. Both of the axes extended to a transportation ring, a perimeter around the city that facilitated both car and rail travel around Berlin.

Altogether, the city was supposed to be both architecturally impressive and technologically advanced, goals that were to be mimicked in all cities in the Reich. Such designs were made official in two Nazi decrees. The first, from 1936, demanded architectural beauty and cleanliness as outlined by the Party (Taylor, 1974, p. 255). The second, from 1937, further outlined regulations for cities, specifically delineating how they should be organized (Janssen, 1968, p. 349). These decrees were specifically aimed at making cities more pleasant, and therefore improving the cultural-spiritual health of city-dwellers. One feature, the need for a city's architecture to be stylistically uniform (Spotts, 2009, p. 352), was critical in Berlin, where Hitler himself designed many of the buildings.

#### *Gleichschaltung: Cultural and Aesthetic Uniformity*

Beautiful buildings were considered an important part of making everyday life more pleasant. Moreover, characteristics of Nazi style and architecture, like order and cleanliness, would not only communicate but also reinforce good German values. The order and beauty of the home were to be reflected in the city and vice versa. These were, after all, important sites of both mental and physical health, and good hygiene was considered a significant contributor to both. At the same time, both the city and the home's outward appearance reflected the state's inward political-cultural greatness (Spotts, 2009, p. 315). This was one reason that Hitler was drawn to the neoclassical style: he admired the simple and austere look of Greek and Roman architecture. Made of imposing stone and carrying little ornamentation, this aesthetic reflected

power, cleanliness, purity and order. Moreover, it was explicitly anti-modern and drew a parallel to great empires comprised of racially similar people: the Greeks and Romans (Scobie, 1990; Spotts, 2009). Hitler, an architecture enthusiast, drew many of the sketches for the buildings that would occupy Berlin and, of the ones that were built, they were largely done in this style.

The management of architectural aesthetics was part of a greater project of *Gleichschaltung*. *Gleichschaltung*'s spatial metaphors are apt here – literally “bringing into line.” This was an effort to coordinate, normalize and standardize all aspects of German life. The term was first applied to the concentration of power away from the German federal states into the central government in Berlin. This coincided with the state becoming synonymous with the Nazi Party; *Gleichschaltung* quickly exceeded a purely political unification and instead came to encompass all Nazi ideology. According to a 1934 *New York Times* article, *Gleichschaltung* would “serve as an instrument of the government” and would help “teach the German people [what] to believe” (Callender, 1934), a veritable biopolitics of knowledge. This included eliminating political dissent, first and foremost, which was often done through violence, exile or incarceration. But it continued on to shape a national culture by dictating what kinds of art, theater, music or literature were appropriate for the German nation. *Gleichschaltung* even sought to regulate science and math, to standardize mathematical research according to a distinctively German logic (Callender, 1934).

At the helm of this standardization project was Joseph Goebbels, head of the newly established Reich Propaganda Ministry. He established a Reich Chamber of Culture which oversaw and monitored the arts and the press. Jewish and dissident artists were unable to register with the chamber, therefore barring them from working in the arts at all. The Ministry also controlled the press, and not only controlled what could be published, but also shut down

hundreds of papers that were opposed to Nazi ideology, for example those run by the communists and the social democrats (Epstein, 2015, p. 51). For many whose art, music or writing were banned through *Gleichschaltung*, the best option was simply to flee the country, as many artists did in 1933. However, for the majority of the German population, this process of political, cultural and social unification went largely un-resisted (Callender, 1934; Epstein, 2015, p. 52). One particular effort of *Gleichschaltung* was to counteract the cultural diversity that had taken hold in Germany in the interwar period.

Prior to the Nazi rise to power, Weimar Germany was characterized by a cultural-intellectual revolution. Intellectual movements like the Frankfurt School challenged existing political-economic paradigms, like capitalism and communism. Artistic movements like the Bauhaus radically challenged the distinction between form and function, and trained visual artists who embraced expressionism and surrealism. Altogether, the Bauhaus shaped a wholly modernist aesthetic. In 1932, the Bauhaus school relocated to Berlin after it was ousted from the city of Dessau when the Nazi Party gained control of the city council. Until then, Berlin had remained a progressive bastion which served as the capital of Weimar culture. The Nazis considered the Weimar period to be the cause of both racial and cultural decline; it had been radical art, architecture and intellectualism that had caused the country's political and economic deterioration, according to the Nazis (Miller, 1968, p. 148). When the Nazis came to national power in 1933, part of their vision for the new Germany was to cleanse it of its "unhealthy" past. Here again the biopolitical registers of these projects come to the fore. Such efforts would take place throughout the Reich through a variety of programs. Berlin, in particular, was an important symbol that needed to be refashioned to best foster Nazi interpretations of healthy living.

Critical of cities in general, Hitler was especially disparaging of Berlin. For starters, it was not nearly as impressive as other European capitals. He compared the city to Paris and Vienna and lamented the fact that there were no similar grand boulevards or large monuments in Berlin (Taylor, 1974, pp. 48–49). At the same time, by 1933 Berlin’s landscape was dotted with modern buildings in experimental styles. The Bauhaus was flourishing in the 1920s, and buildings designed by modernists like Walter Gropius, Erich Mendelsohn and Mies van der Rohe stood in both central and suburban areas of the city. Hitler was critical of these designs because of their use of glass and steel and also their flat roofs, a feature considered un-German (Taylor, 1974, p. 248). One of the first steps in the rebuilding of Berlin therefore was an effort to eliminate both the spaces and symbols of a “degenerate” past.

One example of where this took place was the area surrounding Potsdamer Platz, a centrally-located square that was the seat of cultural diversity in Weimar Berlin. A bustling intersection of five streets, the square was a symbol of the modern metropolis. Its department stores, cafes, lights and noise attracted artists who further contributed to its renown. One building, the Haus Vaterland, contained a variety of theme restaurants that replicated scenes found in Turkey, Spain and the Wild West, a demonstration of the square’s willingness to embrace foreign cultures. The square was surrounded by a mixture of architecture and was particularly attractive to modern architects, who were inspired by its frenetic energy and disorder (Ladd, 1997, pp. 116–123). Its architectural *mélange* of styles, its invitation of different cultures and its prominence of Jewish businesses made it unappealing to Nazi planners.

When the plans to rebuild Berlin finally started to be executed in 1936, it is not surprising that Potsdamer Platz and its environs were largely targeted for ‘reconstruction’. Much of the area surrounding the square was excavated in order to make room for the North-South Axis. Though

the monumental boulevard did not intersect Potsdamer Platz itself, the proposed size of the North-South Axis meant that much of the area surrounding it needed to be cleared. In particular, Hitler's request for a new Chancellery led to the immediate razing of houses on Voßstraße to the North of the square (Speer, 1970, p. 103). To the West, buildings were demolished on Potsdammer Strasse to make room for the House of Tourism (Balfour, 1990, p. 85). These two buildings, some of the few from the plans that were actually built, were stone behemoths built in the neoclassical styles.

These buildings stood in stark contrast to those on Potsdamer Platz, and were an even greater contrast earlier plans for the square, which had once been slated to undergo a wholly modernist overhaul. While many of the buildings planned in the 1920s were never realized due to the economic crash of 1929 (Dempsey, 2005, p. 3), one enormous modernist building, designed by Erich Mendelsohn, loomed large on the Northeast corner: the Columbus Haus, a sleek 10-story office building. Spared from the indiscriminant demolition on nearby streets, the Columbus Haus was allowed to remain standing. This demonstrates one contradiction in Nazi urban planning: when modernist buildings were useful to the Nazi Party, they were not demolished by rather repurposed to satisfy Nazi needs. In the case of the Columbus Haus, the towering building and central location provided an opportune space for administrative offices. The Nazis took over the building and even put a Gestapo prison on its upper floors (Dempsey, 2005, p. 3; Dülmen, Kühnelt, & Weigel, 2013, p. 250). The exterior of the glass and steel building, though, was largely covered up by Nazi banners and neon signs.

The treatment of Potsdamer Platz in the 1930s is emblematic of how urban planning in Berlin took shape: the goal of the plans largely destroyed cultural diversity and instead homogenized the aesthetic and cultural landscape of the city along the lines of Nazi ideology.

This is demonstrated by the destruction of nearby buildings and the erection of several Nazi-style buildings. At the same time, though, there were moments of pragmatism. When this was the case (as seen in the buildings on Potsdamer Platz), the party sought instead to re-orient existing structures to serve their needs. The effective destruction of aesthetic and cultural diversity on Potsdamer Platz was, therefore, a successful act of Nazi *Gleichschaltung*.

### *Building the Volksgemeinschaft*

The synchronization of German culture and society was part of an effort to form one single national community, a German population, or *Volksgemeinschaft*. This community would be both biologically (racially), ideologically and aesthetically homogenous. The national community would eliminate all other divisions: one of its greatest goals was to eliminate class differences and to place the community above the individual (Pine, 2007). Class loyalties were seen as undermining loyalties to the greater national community. To combat these class divisions, the Nazis attempted to make middle class luxuries available to the working classes. This included programs that subsidized diversions like travel, sports, and theater tickets for the working class. This was part of an effort to use “spiritual and cultural means to achieve the integration of the workers into the national community” (Evans, 2005, p. 466). One program that is emblematic of this effort was a push to make cars affordable to all citizens (Pine, 2007, p. 20). Confident that a dream of universal car ownership would be realized, the Berlin planners made the city most conducive to car travel. Boulevards were planned to be wide enough to accommodate both local and express driving lanes but made little space for pedestrians; in many cases, the wide streets would have been impossible to cross on foot (Helmer, 1985, p. 31). The city instead was “designed to cope with traffic not of 1938 or 1940 but 2400 and 2500 when

millions of new ‘volksautos’ will have multiplied the present number of automobiles in Germany many-fold” (Tolischus, 1938). This is a signal not only to the imagined eternity of the city, but also to the goal of universal economic prosperity for all Germans.

This is one example of how the rebuilding of Berlin was a spatial expression of *Gleichschaltung*; its plans were organized around a logic of a synchronized national community and culture. The role of cities and towns in fostering community was especially important, as Nazi ideology posited that a physical village center served as the spiritual center of the community (Taylor, 1974, p. 228). Central meeting areas were therefore essential to all social order, and Hitler considered such areas to be largely missing from cities after industrialization (Hitler, 1966, pp. 172–174). The city center served several roles but primarily offered a place for the community to gather. As Helmer suggests, there was “a vague hope that if one properly organizes the physical center of public life, all other problems will fall into place” (Helmer, 1985, p. 43). Being able to congregate in one place was essential for supporting national morale and also allowed for large-scale propaganda events to take place. In addition, it contributed to an essential Nazi ideal: that the community came before the individual.

A major expression of this notion in the plans for Berlin was the size and scale of the buildings planned. In particular, the *Volkshalle* (People’s Hall) is an example of how much importance was placed on the community. The *Volkshalle* (see image 3.2) was a domed monumental building imagined by Hitler and designed by Albert Speer. The building would be large enough to fit over 150,000 people inside of it (Speer, 1970, p. 134). Although large areas of land were excavated for the building, the plans were never realized because of the war (and

likely because it would have been a technological and engineering feat to actually construct the building). While part of the impetus for building the hall were Hitler's megalomaniacal desires as others have claimed (see: Dülmen et al., n.d.; Moorehouse, 2010), it was also an essential part of building a community. In particular, creating a space for the Berlin community was an important allegory for creating a space for the national community.

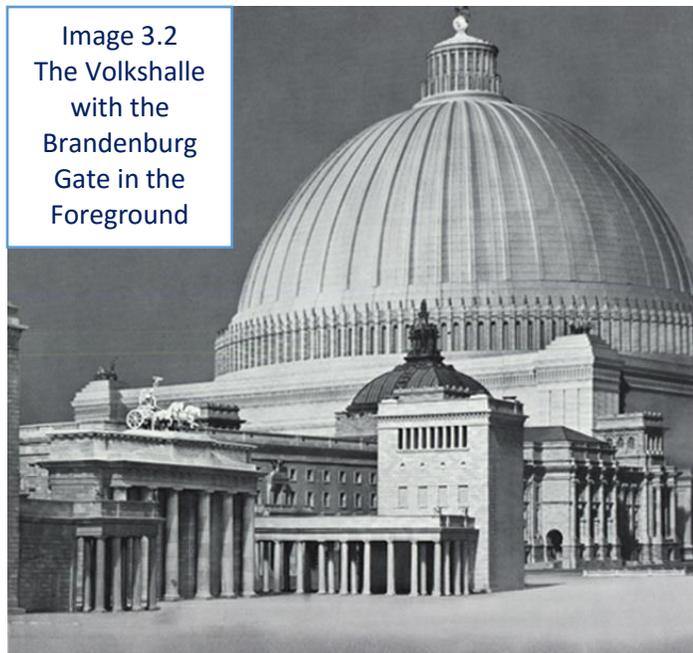


Image 3.2  
The Volkshalle  
with the  
Brandenburg  
Gate in the  
Foreground

Providing such a clearing where all the people of the German capital could congregate was an important part of unifying the *Volk*. The People's Hall, would thus serve as a perfect technology within the *Gleichschaltung* apparatus. The experience of individual people was largely ignored in the plans for Berlin, however the experience of the *Volk*, of the people en masse, was essential. Umberto Eco described this phenomenon in an article for *Die Zeit* as follows: "individuals as individuals have no rights, the *Volk* on the other hand is seen as a quality, a monolithic unit, which expresses the will of all" (Eco, 1995). Hitler imagined the experience of an individual alone in the People's Hall as one that would be shattering and disorienting (as described by Speer in 1985, p. 214). However, a collection of people inside the massive building would be suitable, an appropriate ornament to match the building's columns and blocks that recalled masses of people lining up for war (Scheer, Kleihues, & Kahlfeldt, 2000, pp. 197, 193). The importance of providing gathering places where enormous numbers of the

German community could fit together was considered an important tool to fostering that community. In a 1937 speech, Hitler said the following about national building projects:

For it is precisely these buildings which will co-operate to unify our people politically more closely than ever and to strengthen it: for the Germans as a society these buildings will inspire a proud consciousness that each and all belong together; they will prove how ridiculous in our social life are all earthly differences when faced with these mighty, gigantic witnesses to the life which we share as a community; they will by their effect upon the minds of men fill the citizens of our people with a limitless self-confidence as they remember that they are Germans. (Hitler, 1969, p. 594)

This sense of pride in the community was an important part of the spiritual health of the population. In fact, the spectacles that took place throughout Berlin and around the country (the largest mass rallies took place at the official Rally Grounds in Nuremberg) often mimicked religious rituals. Masses of frenzied spectators would gather and await the entrance of Hitler as a priest-like figure, whose entrance symbolized hope and glory for the congregating masses (Warner, 1983, p. 78). Many of these events were recorded by the famous Nazi filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl, whose films layered montages of crowds and monuments with inspiring speeches and powerful music.<sup>16</sup> These spectacles, and representations of them in film, photographs and articles, were specifically designed to “invoke wonder and reverence in the watching public” similar to a religious experience (Moorehouse, 2010, p. 262). In this pseudo-religion, Germans were reminded that there existed something greater than the individual human – this was not a god or Hitler but rather the German *Volk* itself, the community whose spiritual guide and Führer was Hitler. The *Volkshalle* like a vast hearth, was effectively a German *agora* on a vast scale, its massive dome securing, ordering and sacralizing the Aryan body/nation assembled under its

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<sup>16</sup> Riefenstahl’s most famous work, *Triumph of the Will* (1935), depicts the 1934 party rally in Nuremberg; her other internationally renowned work, *Olympia* (1938), depicts the 1936 Berlin Olympics, displaying Nazi pageantry while also focusing on the idealized physique of the German athlete.

benevolent spatial embrace. Here the peoples “voice” would serve as an ode to the sovereignty of the nation.

*Vitae Necisque Potestas: Hitler as Sovereign Father*

The role of Hitler as leader of the German *Volk* represents a duality: Crombez characterizes these two roles as the “governmental Führer” and the “sovereign Führer” (Crombez, 2006, p. 7). Hitler was, on the one hand, the embodiment of the body politic, whose governance worked to support and improve the life of the population to which he belonged. On the other, he was also the sovereign who concentrated executive and judicial powers into his body-office. This duality recalls Agamben’s image of the father, a leader of the domicile who takes care of the life of his family but also maintains sovereign authority over them (1998, p. 88). Agamben summons the ancient Roman formula *vitae necisque potestas* to designate the original moment when the formula power over both life and death appeared within the corpus of law. Where formerly the classical Greek distinction between *zoē* and *bios* separated natural life from political life, the Roman formulation combines the two into a single arrangement: *vita*. In Roman law, this life exists only as a counterpart to power over death. Such power thus exists over life and death equally, and is demonstrated through the father-son relationship—in raising his son, the father acquires power over both his life and death. While the father nurtures life and health he also has the unmitigated power to kill. Agamben claims that this power now extends beyond the *domus* (house). “The *vitae necisque potestas* attaches itself to every free male citizen from birth and thus seems to define the very model of political power in general. *Not simple natural life, but life exposed to death (bare life or sacred life) is the originary political element*” (Agamben,

1998, p. 88). Thus Agamben describes how bare life is included into the juridico-political order through the extension of power over not only death but also life.

Returning to Hitler's role as spiritual leader of the community, we see how the Führer comes to embody the position of father of the people. At the limit of the house and the city, the public and private, exists political life, which demands the "unconditional subjection to a power of death, as if life were able to enter the city only in the double exception of being capable of being killed and yet not sacrificed" (Agamben, 1998, p. 90). To participate in public life, to belong to the vital community that defined the nation-state, required that 'Aryans' subject themselves to the right to be killed.

This is demonstrated in the plans for the Soldier's Hall, a monumental entrance to the army headquarters which was set to be built on the North-South Axis. The purpose of the Soldier's Hall was to serve as a shrine to German soldiers who had not yet died. The memorial demonstrated to the public the price of German biopolitical wellbeing (of spiritual health, joy, order, hygiene, etc.): it was the equal ability to be killed. Foucault describes the exposure of the entire population to death in exchange for the individual's continued existence as the underside of biopower (1978, p. 137). In this way, the memorial was a warning to 'Aryans,' that they too existed as "life exposed to death" (Agamben, 1998, p. 88).

In practice, 'Aryans' subjected to death or sovereign violence were a minority of the population. State violence was mostly enacted on so-called enemies of the states, like ethnic minorities, social outcasts and political dissidents. However, at any moment, any citizen could be deemed an enemy of the state and be subject to the same sovereign violence. This is what happened during Hitler's purge of the SA, for example; though these Nazis were loyal, they

threatened Hitler's power, and thus were deemed threats to the security of the state.<sup>17</sup> But while 'Aryans' lived in a state of exception, where at any moment they could be deemed enemies of the state, and transformed into bare life subject to sovereign violence, most of them still consented to the Nazi regime.

William Shirer, an American journalist living in Berlin described this complicated psychology as follows: "the majority of Germans, despite their dislike of much in Nazism, are behind Hitler and believe in him. It is not easy to put in words the *dynamics* of this movement, the hidden springs that are driving the Germans on" (1943, p. 68). The "hidden springs" can certainly not be summed up in a single explanation, but one contribution was likely the Nazi biopolitical project as expressed in the plans for Berlin. These plans were more than the simple expression of Hitler's megalomania, and his desire to leave a legacy in stone (Hitler, 1969, p. 575). They were instead gifts to the whole 'Aryan' population, which would improve spiritual and therefore biological health by restoring order, joy and pride in the everyday experience of Germans. The price of this gift, however, was the convergence of *zoē*, and *bios*, transforming life in the city into *vita*, life that could be killed.

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<sup>17</sup> This 1934 purge, known as the Night of the Long Knives, targeted the leaders of the SA who supported and carried out overt displays of violence throughout the country. This violence threatened Hitler's position not only because it jeopardized national support for the Nazi regime, but also because President Hindenberg threatened to impose martial law to stop the violence, which would have deposed the Nazi regime. As a result, several leaders of the SA were executed; public announcements claimed that the leaders had been conspiring to overthrow the government (Evans, 2005, pp. 21–36).

#### **IV. Exclusion: Jewish Experiences as Inclusive Exclusion**

In his seminal work, *The destruction of the European Jews*, Raul Hilberg describes three phases of anti-Jewish policies: the first is conversion, the second expulsion, the third annihilation, with each one serving as a replacement to the last (1985, p. 8). In this way, Hilberg summarizes the path to Jewish extermination as a simple progression, with each step leading directly to the next. The second phase of this process, expulsion, is inherently spatial: Jews were removed from the shared spaces of normal society, from public life. In the rebuilding of Berlin, this constituted more than just simple expulsion, and instead constituted a threshold of inclusive exclusion. In the city, Jews were reduced to bare life: included in the juridical order but simultaneously removed from its protections, and therefore exposed to state violence. In relation to German biopolitical-sovereignty, Jewish life became bare life.

This chapter will examine how the rebuilding of Berlin actually worked to move Jews into the realm of bare life. It will begin by examining how Nazi racial ideology guided a state biopolitical project, which transformed life into a political task. It will then discuss how Jewish life was treated juridically, subjected to the legislative functions of the state and yet abandoned by the law. In particular, I will examine legislation that came as a direct outcome of Berlin's rebuilding plans and also laws that shaped everyday Jewish life in the changing city. Finally, I will employ Lefebvrian rhythmanalysis (2004) to examine how the urban landscape was experienced and interpreted by individuals. By investigating spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33), I hope to reveal how the urban threshold of inclusive exclusion was constituted and reproduced through everyday life.

*Rassenhygiene and State Biopolitics*

To understand how this project constitutes a Nazi biopolitics, we must first explore Nazi interpretations of racial health and purity. *Rassenhygiene*, or racial hygiene, was already a popular theory in Germany by the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It stated that the hereditary fitness of the population was directly related to the political and economic success of the state (Weiss, 1986). While genetic research was prevalent in Germany before 1933, eugenic programs did not gain wide support until after the Nazis came to power (Bachrach, 2004, p. 417). The Nazis' push for racial hygiene was tied to its nationalistic ideology but also to what they considered economic exigencies: to produce an able-bodied labor force. Building up this healthy work force was especially important after the deaths of almost two million German men in World War I (Bachrach, 2004, p. 417). While there were a variety of targets of German eugenic programs, including the physically and mentally disabled, this chapter will address policies aimed exclusively at Jews.

Nazi anti-Semitic policies defined Jews not as a religious community but rather as a racial one. Anti-Semitism was rooted in a history of myths and legends.<sup>18</sup> As outlined in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler feared that Jews would try to elevate their own status by mixing with 'Aryan' blood, which would in turn bastardize the racially pure Germans (Hitler, 2009, p. 216). Hitler suggested that the biggest threat to the success of the state was its biological demise; he wrote, "the bottom line is that the source of our problems is a neglect of our own people's racial concerns and a failure to see an approaching alien racial threat" (Hitler, 2009, p. 218). While

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<sup>18</sup> Some of the modern justifications for anti-Semitism were based on ancient legends, such as the blood-libel legend, a legend that Jews killed Christian children in ritual killings. Other roots of anti-Semitism were deicide (that the Jews had killed Christ), supersession (that Christianity had superseded Judaism), and economic resentment (that Jews in financial professions had caused economic problems).

Hitler was a champion of this racist rhetoric, he was not alone in his belief that racial purity was a critical component in ensuring the cultural, economic and political success of the nation.<sup>19</sup>

The adoption of *Rassenhygiene* as a defining piece of Nazi ideology is critical to understanding state biopolitics. It demonstrates a shift from considering the health of the individual first, to instead prioritizing that of the population in total. Foucault suggests that state racism (clearly embodied in *Rassenhygiene*) is what justified sovereign violence toward Jews in the biopolitical state. However, by engaging with Agamben's thesis in *Homo Sacer*, it becomes clear that not only racism but also the new spatial arrangement of Jewish life in Berlin legitimized the use of sovereign violence.

#### *Anti-Jewish Legislation: Inclusive Exclusion*

In *Homo Sacer: Sovereign power and bare life* (1998), Agamben outlines how biopolitics and sovereign power converge to produce bare life, life that can be killed with impunity. Bare life exists as a paradox between inclusion and exclusion. To explore the foundation of this paradox, Agamben summons the ancient Greek distinction between *zoē* (natural life) and *bios* (political life). With the emergence of modern biopower, political power acts directly on biological life. Thus, in this era of modernity, *zoē* and *bios* have entered a zone of indistinction, where public and private converge, and where the biological body is conflated with the body politic. This zone of indistinction is the result of the politicization of life: “the inclusion of bare life in the political constitutes the original—if concealed—nucleus of sovereign power. *It can even*

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<sup>19</sup> See, for example, the work of Otmar Verschuer titled *Racial hygiene as science and state function* (1936). He was the director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics in Berlin.

*be said that the production of a biopolitical body is the original activity of sovereign power”*  
(Agamben, 1998, p. 6 italics in original).

Agamben refers to life in this zone of indistinction as inclusive exclusion; natural life is included in the political and, paradoxically, excluded from its protection through the exception. The subject of this relationship is bare life, life abandoned to sovereign power, which can be killed without it being murder. Agamben writes:

He who has been banned is not, in fact, simply set outside the law and made indifferent to it but is rather *abandoned* by it, that is, exposed and threatened on the threshold in which life and the law, outside and inside, become indistinguishable. It is literally not possible to say whether the one who has been banned is outside or inside the juridical order.  
(Agamben, 1998, p. 29)

In examining anti-Jewish legislation during the Third Reich we clearly see this abandonment taking place. Jews were included in the juridical order precisely through legislative acts of deracination. These laws did not simply exclude them from society but rather brought them under the full ambit of the law’s unregulated force. Designated as *homo sacer*, Jewish life increasingly coincided with bare life, a necessary condition for the sovereign to exercise its potential as the law above the law. The banning of Jewish life created the space for the exercise of the exception, and the unleashing of shock and awe worthy of a powerful state.

Prior to the emergence of the camps, many of these laws worked to remove Jews from normal life. They included decrees that barred Jews from civil service, universities and schools, legal and medical professions, and stage or screen performances. The Law for the Reestablishment of a Professional Civil Service, passed on 7 April 1933 allowed for the immediate dismissal of Jewish civil servants (excluding war veterans); on the same date, the Law on Admission to Legal Practice revoked Jews’ right to practice law. The infamous Nuremberg Laws, passed in 1935, included two significant decrees. The first was the Law for the Protection

of German Blood and German Honor, which banned Jews and Germans from marrying or having sexual relations. The second was the Reich Citizenship Law which limited citizenship to those classified as ‘Aryans,’ thus stripping Jews of their citizenship. This was especially crucial to producing the Jew as *homo sacer*, and thus exposing him to unrestricted sovereign violence. This (inclusive) exclusion would be further solidified through an expansion of the law which revoked Jewish voting rights. In addition to such political exclusion, the growing list of professional restrictions also led to economic exclusion. Even Jews who were self-employed were forced to sell their businesses at a fraction of their value, a process known as ‘Aryanization.’ By 1938, Jews were effectively excluded from all normal public life (cultural, economic, and political).

These laws coincided with a re-spatialization of the Jewish population of Berlin, who were systematically removed from the material landscape of Germany. ‘Aryanizing’ Jewish businesses, for example, not only worked to destroy Jewish financial well-being, but it also contributed to the physical removal of Jews from everyday life. Jewish shop owners who had once interacted with ‘Aryans’ on an everyday basis were suddenly removed from such quotidian contact. Moreover, restrictions on housing initiated the relocation and concentration of Jews in increasingly isolated areas.

### *Jewish Housing and Transportation Restrictions*

In Berlin, housing restrictions were the direct outcome of the rebuilding project. Already before the plans were underway there was a severe housing shortage in the city. While the plans for Berlin called for the construction of 15,000 to 20,000 additional homes in the city per year (“Preparations are completed, but summons is held up on Chancellor’s orders: Plans for rebuilding Berlin are completed,” 1938), public housing construction was largely neglected to

prioritize monumental buildings. In order to make space for such buildings, more housing was destroyed than ever built. In order to demolish housing, new legislation was passed to grant the city of Berlin the right to purchase any property. While there were efforts made to help ‘Aryan’ Germans find new housing after they were evicted from their homes, similar courtesies were not extended to Jews. This is evidenced by documents held in the archive of General Building Inspector’s Office. Several letters demonstrate concern for replacing ‘Aryan’ housing. For example, in a collection of letters to Albert Speer, an architect working on the Berlin project repeatedly seeks replacement locations for a property owner whose buildings had been destroyed on Voßstraße. In contrast, Jewish property owners are only referred to in order to make “hasty sales” and do not appear to be the subject of relocation efforts.<sup>20</sup> Jewish housing was destroyed without replacement, which was justified through the enactment of increasingly harsh housing restrictions.

In 1938, it was the office responsible for the rebuilding of Berlin that first enacted anti-Jewish housing laws. While the Party was formulating a large-scale Jewish tenant law, Albert Speer had already established his own right to evict Jews whose houses stood in the way of the rebuilding plans (Jaskot, 1996, p. 628). By the time an official anti-Jewish housing policy was passed in 1939, it had been largely shaped by Speer’s demands to evict Jews in order to carry out the plans for Berlin. The tenant laws removed all protections for Jewish tenants, and allowed the authorities from the city of Berlin to employ a variety of coercive tactics to remove Jewish tenants. Paul Jaskot suggests that about 9 percent of Berlin’s Jewish population was directly

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<sup>20</sup> These documents are part of the collection R4606 in the Bundesarchiv Berlin, which contains documents from the Office of the General Building Inspector, Albert Speer. While I found multiple examples of documents seeking replacement housing or property for ‘Aryans,’ I found no similar attempts to relocate Jews.

impacted by the plans to build monumental axes and buildings in the center of the city (1996, p. 625). These restrictions forced Jews to relocate to smaller and more crowded spaces and prevented them from living alongside ‘Aryans.’

Housing restrictions were announced in the Jewish newspaper *Das Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* regularly. The newspaper, which was tightly censored by the Nazi party, suggested that the Jewish community’s cooperation in accommodating the tenant laws would be better than resistance (“Der Vorstand der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin teilt mit,” 1939). Of course, because of the housing crunch and the lack of any planned resolution, obtaining decent housing that satisfied the rules was increasingly difficult. It is not surprising then that much of the rest of the newspaper was devoted to stories and advertisements encouraging emigration. Thus, the plans for Berlin contributed to Jewish exclusion in two ways: first by removing Jewish communities from central areas of the city, and second by encouraging emigration from Germany completely.

In addition to housing restrictions which limited where Jews could live, there were also a number of transportation restrictions passed that limited how Jews could move around outside of their homes. One significant decree came on December 3, 1938 and revoked the driver’s licenses of all Jews. Given that the city was being re-designed to benefit car travel, this signaled an even more complete exclusion for Jews in the transforming city. And while Jews were still allowed to use public transportation in the 1930s, more and more restrictions were made on its use. This included special compartments on trains for Jews separate from ‘Aryans.’ By 1942, Jews were completely barred from driving, using public transportation unless it was to go to work, and from using taxi cabs (Klemperer, 1998, p. 65). Removing Jewish access to public transportation was

an especially detrimental action against middle class Jews, for whom access to railroads had once represented mobility and urbanization (Miron, 2013, p. 122).

Altogether, these restrictions were part of an effort to exclude Jews from normal life and effectively remove them from sight. In fact, many of these restrictions were implemented by Berlin's Regional Party Leader Joseph Goebbels after a group of visiting leaders of other German regions complained that there were too many Jews visible on the streets (Evans, 2005, p. 576). The significance of such actions to remove Jews from public space was intensified given the rebuilding of Berlin, a city whose defining characteristic would be its communal spaces.

### *Symbolic Landscapes: Signals of Exclusion*

The removal of Jews from public space took place in a number of ways, including formal state legislation but also the sanctioning of forms of intimidation and violence. As *homo sacer* any citizen could exercise violence against Jewish bodies, and in particular the life of Jews was increasingly dependent on the discretion of men in uniform. But it was largely the visible aesthetics of the city that worked to exclude Jews from urban life; the signs and symbols covering the new city were meant to signal to Jews that they were unwelcome. One Berlin Jew, Hertha Nathorff, noted this sentiment in describing her reaction to Nazi flags in Berlin. In 1939 she wrote in her diary "How beautiful would this country be if only the Swastika flags didn't wave all over. Flags that hurt and offend with their sneering flutter as a farewell greeting" (Nathorff, 1987, p. 56). Creating a universal Nazi aesthetic was an integral part of the plans for Berlin and it actively contributed to the continued exclusion of Jews from the landscape. This included Nazi symbology, such as the Eagle and the Swastika, which were inscribed on flags and

structures throughout the city. Moreover, the neoclassical style which Hitler demanded of all new Nazi buildings were equally representative of Nazi authority.

One particular area that embodied this Nazi aesthetic was the East-West Axis, which officially opened in April 1939. The main structural change made to the street was that it was widened but otherwise the street was transformed mostly aesthetically, by adding monuments, pylons and flags to it. The changes to the street described in the following two paragraphs were outlined in plans from the Office of the General Building Inspector; they were found in a folder titled “Decoration for the East-West Axis.”<sup>21</sup> In the middle of the boulevard was a plaza called the *Großer Stern* (Great Star). This plaza was expanded and became the new home to a national monument, the Victory Column. This column was once located at a square near the *Reichstag*, but was relocated to the axis where it was made even taller. Originally built in 1864, the column commemorated Prussian victories throughout Europe in the 19th Century. By adding a number of new Nazi monuments to the street, the street suggested a likeness between the contemporary regime and the great Prussian Empire of the past. New monuments included walls, adorned with swastikas, lined the length of the boulevard. Between these walls, towering pylons soared high into the air, also carrying the swastika and an eagle, another symbol of the party. These structures were significantly taller than the people who walked in their shadows. The embrace of this historical monument and the past it represented certainly further excluded assimilated German Jews, many of whom considered themselves as belonging equally to that Prussian past.

The street was also updated in practical ways, including the additions of electric lighting and loudspeakers. Streetlights lined the boulevard and allowed for greater views in general, but

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<sup>21</sup> This folder’s catalog number is R4606/1215 at the Bundesarchiv Berlin. It includes drawings, blueprints, brochures and letters concerning changes made to the East-West Axis between 1938 and 1939, specifically leading to its opening on 20 April 1939.

especially highlighted the new Nazi shrines. Moreover, there were ongoing discussions about maintaining enough lighting on the street. There were several letters written to Speer in 1939 expressing concern about inadequate lighting on the monumental column. In one letter, an architect suggested adding sixty lights to the plaza in order to fully illuminate the whole length and base of the column (Leschin, 1939). In addition to these lights, another technological update was the installment of loudspeakers all along the street. These were to be placed between the lights and amongst monuments. The speakers allowed for speeches to be made on the boulevard that could be heard by thousands of attendees. Thus through lighting and loudspeakers, Nazi rhetoric (both verbal and visual) was not only embedded in but also augmented on the street.

#### *Rhythmanalysis: Interpreting Everyday Jewish Life*

By employing Henri Lefebvre's theory of rhythmanalysis (2004), we can start to explore how state-produced spaces were interpreted through lived experiences. Lefebvre suggests that rhythms are essential to understanding space as they provide an analytical tool to understanding everyday life, the intersection of human bodies and the space/time in which they exist. Lefebvre distinguishes between cyclical and linear rhythms, the former existing naturally and the latter emerging as a social product, a necessity of capitalist society. Linear rhythms exist in produced spaces, where time is organized according to clocks to accommodate work and leisure. While Lefebvre criticizes isotopies (1996, p. 28), where societies are homogenized around labor and production and, primarily, linear rhythms, he neglects the privileged inclusion into those patterns of everyday life. While he celebrates heterotopies, in which people are able to actively reject linear rhythms or organically revert to cyclical rhythms, he offers little analysis of those who are

left basically rhythm-less: excluded from the monotony of quotidian work and denied the relief of cyclical rhythms.

Through several excerpts<sup>22</sup> from memoirs of Berlin Jews, we can begin to explore how Jewish experiences in Nazi spaces in Berlin actually contributed to a denial of both cyclical and linear rhythms, and how this led to an even more profound exclusion from normal ‘Aryan’ life.. Lotte Farbrook, a Berlin Jew, describes her sense of loss in being excluded from normal, everyday life. She writes in her memoir “It was as though I were hanging in mid-air, as one thread after another of the fabric tore, the fabric that held and protected me in my surroundings” (Fairbrook, 1995, p. 57). Lefebvre suggests that modern life is supported by an urban fabric—an uneven mesh that supports urban society, its economic demands, but also social and cultural life (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 72). Jews were increasingly barred from this fabric through their exclusion from work (linear rhythms) and also their exclusion from shared spaces, usually spaces of leisure (cyclical rhythms).

Leisure and spaces of leisure are important sites of rhythmanalysis because they offer “a temporary break with everyday life” (Lefebvre, 1984, p. 54). Throughout Germany, Jews were increasingly shut out of spaces of leisure; in the 1930s signs proliferated at restaurants, cafes, bathhouses, and on benches that said “Jews not welcome” (Limberg & Rübsaat, 2006, p. 55). This led to intense feelings of isolation and exclusion. As Hans Winterfeldt wrote about his youth in 1930s Germany: “As early as 1935 it was impossible for us to spend time in any public places. It didn’t matter if it was the restaurant in Eichwald, the public swimming pool, the station

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<sup>22</sup> To borrow a phrase from Moorehouse, this analysis is necessarily pointillist (2010, p. 99), drawing from accounts and memoirs of only some Berlin Jews. While these accounts cannot offer a comprehensive picture of how all Jews lived in Berlin, the similarities of these individual experiences suggest a normalized experience for most Jews.

restaurant, or the parks—not to mention ‘Hitler Square,’ which no Jew dared enter just because of its name” (2006, p. 100). This contributed to the removal of Jews from normal everyday life and its attendant rhythms.

In Stephan Frankel’s memoir the rhythm of everyday life for Jews in Nazi Berlin are viscerally documented: “from the moment you woke up in the morning until you went to sleep at night, there was only one subject on your mind: how to survive, both economically and physically.” Removed from the normal urban rhythms of work and leisure, Jews were left isolated and afraid. He further explains that by 1936, “the separation of the Jewish community from normal cultural life (if such could be said to exist in Nazi Germany) was complete” (Fraenkel, 1990, pp. 18, 19). Such a “normal” life included the rhythms of both work and leisure, which Jews were denied.

In particular, we can look at the festival as an example of state-organized urban rhythms carried out in space that further removed Jews. Lefebvre suggests that the modern festival is an organized disruption of the everyday rhythms of work and production. Unlike festivals of the past, which organically sprung up to interrupt daily life, modern festivals are “an increasingly specialized activity that parodies the Festival, an ornament adorning everyday life but failing to transform it” (Lefebvre, 1984, p. 36). By examining varied experiences on Hitler’s 50<sup>th</sup> birthday, which took place on the East-West Axis in 1939, we can see how festival rhythms were different for ‘Aryans’ than for Jews.

On the day of the celebration, ‘Aryans’ throughout the Reich were encouraged to celebrate and take pride in the state’s achievements – the date was declared a national holiday. In a song written for the occasion, the lyrics declared: “Today the partying begins/let the glasses quickly cheers/pride and happiness enliven us/and let’s only sing happy songs” (“Zum

Mitsingen,” 1938). Millions of ‘Aryans’ flooded to Berlin from all over the Reich to celebrate the occasion. They were encouraged to abandon work and travel to the capital; official directions for how to reach the event were even printed in every German newspaper (Moorehouse, 2010, p. 1). The celebration was therefore one that affected the daily practices, or *rhythms*, of all ‘Aryans’ in the Reich.

However, those that were not invited to join the festivities were given no such distraction to their everyday lives. While all were aware of the festivities taking place, those excluded from the celebration were left continuing their everyday lives. Speaking of the festival, Nathorff describes a scene where “The Volk must celebrate! The streets are decorated and lit up in festive gloss! – and us – bleeding to death from the wounds that they beat into us” (Nathorff, 1987, p. 56). The festival offered a diversion and distraction from everyday rhythms only to those who are invited to participate. This example demonstrates one instance of how Jewish rhythms became increasingly isolated from ‘Aryan’ ones.

Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis is additionally helpful in understanding how state-sponsored discursive and institutional practices, and, in particular, the urban landscape were mediated by people. The production of a material Nazi space carried with it a logic that supported Nazi ideology for racial homogeneity. Through the rebuilding of Berlin, that logic became embedded in the everyday lives and rhythms of Jews and ‘Aryans’ (many of whom also stopped speaking to Jews with whom they had once been friendly (Limberg & Rübsaat, 2006, p. 56)), and therefore contributed to the *reproduction* of Nazi logics on the level of individual social intimacy.

The exclusion of Jews from ‘Aryan’ life was carried out in a variety of ways, but it is essential to examine the spatialization of this separation. This was an exclusion that took place in lived space; in Berlin, the plans for the city directly contributed to the spatial isolation of so-

called racial threats. At the same time, it is important to recognize that such isolation was not just an institutional goal, existing only discursively on the level of the state, but rather an experiential one. By looking at everyday rhythms in Berlin, it becomes clear that the placement of Jews into the realm of bare life was not only a rhetorical state process; instead, this process was effective on the individual level, as Jews and ‘Aryans’ alike understood Jews as not belonging to normal society.

This chapter has demonstrated how the designs for Germania placed Jews in an inclusive exclusion, a condition expressed in Jewish social-political-economic experiences, and one that exposed them to sovereign violence. As such, the city already bore the principles of violent exclusion that would ultimately lead to the emergence of the camp.

## V. Conclusion

### *Conditions of Modernity*

The unspoken terror permeating our collective memory of the Holocaust...is the gnawing suspicion that the Holocaust could be more than an aberration from an otherwise straight path of progress, more than a cancerous growth on the otherwise healthy body of the civilized society; that, in short, the Holocaust was not an antithesis of modern civilization and everything (or so we like to think) it stands for. (Bauman, 1989, p. 7).

In *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Zygmunt Bauman goes beyond rationalizing the Holocaust and instead offers a philosophical critique of this event as a condition of modernity. The Holocaust does not occur in spite of modernity, but rather because of it. Bauman echoes Adorno and Horkheimer's thesis in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (2002), that modernity marks a period of human rationality and knowledge which provokes the abandonment of morality.

Once the Third Reich reaches its moment of extremity (the Holocaust), it becomes difficult to read it as anything *but* an aberration. In examining the Nazi state *before* this paroxysmal event, we can begin to uncover what conditions of modernity—which exist in normal, urban life—precede this horrific event. Agamben in particular suggests that the mechanisms that enabled the Holocaust are, in fact, still present today.

Here I would like to briefly revisit Foucault and Agamben and their differing views on racism. Both theorists agree that biopolitical sovereignty requires a caesura in the population. Drawing from Schmitt (Schmitt, 1996), Foucault and Agamben both suggest that the modern state constructs a division between those who are included and excluded, those who are deemed friends or enemies. For Foucault, this division is the basis for the use of sovereign violence in an otherwise biopolitical society; to carry out such violence domestically requires the existence of state racism.

Agamben's treatment of racism is less straightforward and less extensive than Foucault's, although he offers some discussion of race in a short essay titled "Movement" (2005). In this paper, Agamben attempts to define a movement, especially in relation to Schmitt's use of the term in his essay, "State, Movement, People" (1933). Agamben criticizes Schmitt for treating a movement as a-political; in fact, Agamben suggests, a movement is necessarily political because it depends on the formation of a people (or, to use Foucault's term, a population). A movement therefore always becomes political when it causes a caesura, a distinction between who is included in the people, and who is excluded and becomes an enemy. Agamben suggests that this caesura "can be racial but it can also be a management of government of populations" (2005).

Whereas Foucault depends on racism to justify the use of sovereign violence in an otherwise biopolitical paradigm, Agamben requires no justification since the two are already coextensive. Instead, for Agamben, a caesura in the population is what originally causes the politicization of a previously un-political body of the people. Agamben's suggestion therefore is that race is merely one of many ways to create a caesura in the population; whatever the cause, this division, this creation of friend/enemy, inclusion/exclusion contributes to the total politicization of life, exposing people to both biopower and sovereign power.

Foucault's dependence on racism as a justification for sovereign violence is therefore somewhat of an oversimplification. Agamben seeks to expand the role of racism in order to demonstrate the vulnerabilities of all people, not just those who are excluded through racism. In suggesting that caesuras can originate from racism but also other means (e.g. management), Agamben reminds us that sovereign violence is not just enacted against those who are excluded. Rather the mere process of division legitimizes the general use of sovereign violence alongside biopower.

It is in this way the Agamben seeks to offer a broad understanding of modern power outside of exceptionalist or overtly racist regimes, like Nazi Germany. While the Third Reich demonstrates a discrete biopolitical and sovereign deployment of power, similar technologies of power exist today. Even as contemporary liberal democracy acts as the counterpart to totalitarianism, both are marked by a convergence of biological and political life, by the permanent installation of the state of exception.

Scholars, for example, have suggested a number of contemporary arrangements which constitute exceptional spaces. Guantánamo Bay, for example, is often summoned to demonstrate a contemporary space in which governance acts on bare life. Minca describes the prison as “the archetype of the spaces of exception produced by contemporary geopolitics” (2005, p. 406). Likewise Gregory (2006) and Neal (2006) treat Guantánamo as the model empirical site of present-day exception. All of these authors refute suggestions that the prison exists beyond juridical rule. Instead, the prison belongs to the normal juridico-political order, which embraces sovereign violence. Moreover, they argue that the condition of the prison is not limited to within the spatial confines of its material space; rather its ability to operate both inside and outside the law is emblematic of all sovereign power. The prison then is a spatialized extreme of the contemporary state of exception in which performances of violence against enemies of the state act as a threat to all life outside of the prison.

Such arguments echo Agamben’s thesis that the Nazi camp is the paradigmatic political structure. He suggests we “regard the camp not as a historical fact and an anomaly belonging to the past (even if still verifiable) but in a way as the hidden matrix and *nomos* of the political space in which we are still living” (1998, p. 166). The camp is the material expression of the state of exception: a place that exists through its paradoxical inclusive exclusion from the

juridical order. Here law is both suspended and active; the camp's existence depends on the suspension of the law, and is therefore dependent on the law. In the camp, power acts directly on bare life and thus serves as an illustration of modern political life: "the camp is the very paradigm of political space at the point at which politics becomes biopolitics and *homo sacer* is virtually confused with the citizen" (Agamben, 1998, p. 171). Today, the logics of the camp exist normally; they define the *nomos* of the city and of the planet. The birth of the camp "signals the political space of modernity itself" (1998, p. 176), a spatial arrangement which extends beyond the camp and is normalized in the *polis*.

### *The City as Nomos*

In the opening pages of his book, Gregory describes his "privileged immunity" to confronting political violence before 9/11 and the ensuing wars in the Middle East (2004, p. xiii). For some, these events and their aftermath were an alarming demonstration of how the sovereign exception has become normalized. Efforts by journalists, such as Glenn Greenwald and Jeremy Scahill, and whistle-blowers, including Edward Snowden and Chelsea Manning, to reveal American treatments of life have begun to reveal the normalization of American sovereign violence. However, examples of sovereign violence continue to take place at the apparent extremity of normal life (e.g. indistinct warzones where drones operate, or so-called extrajudicial sites like Abu Ghraib or Guantánamo Bay), and therefore remain, for many, too removed to reflect any normal conditions of political life. Similarly, the camp as paradigm of modernity remains too acute of an example of the risks of biopolitical sovereignty.

Therefore, it would be useful to read the city, Berlin, and not the camp as *nomos* of the modern. In fact, this space of exception characterizes a spatial arrangement that first appeared in

the city itself, not in the extrajudicial camp. In Nazi Berlin, it was the arrangement of the new city which constituted a space of exception: where performative violence was enacted on an excluded group to serve as a threat of violence which could also be carried out on an included one. While the camp represents the most remarkable example of the space of exception, it is certainly not its first incarnation. Through the discursive and spatial arrangement of the city, everyday life (encompassing biological and political-social life) was politicized as the target of political intervention. It was this normalized, quotidian arrangement that later progressed to and enabled Nazi genocide. Such conditions of modernity did not *lead* to the Holocaust, as Bauman reminds us, but rather failed to prevent it (1989, pp. 17–18). Our ability today to recognize the reach of modern biopower, which takes hold of and politicizes all life through the banalities of everyday life, might not change the conditions of modernity but could allow for the *prevention* of future horrors.

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