Contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations xii		
1.	Introduction	1
2.	The Partitioning of Germany and Allied Policies THE DIVISION AND DISMEMBERMENT OF GERMANY Allied Plans for Postwar Germany Joint Military Government and Its Failure ALLIED POLICIES IN THE ZONES OF OCCUPATION Interaction with Germans Political Parties Territorial Organization Denazification and the Judiciary ALLIED POLICIES IN BERLIN The Failure of Allied Joint Governance and the Blockade The End of Joint Governance and the Status of the Two Berlins FROM FOUR ZONES TO TWO STATES The Founding of the FRG Limited Consolidation The Constitution and Government of the FRG The Founding of the GDR Early Soviet Expectations and Policies	7

viii Contents

	Soviet Control of East German Parties and Politics	
	People's Congresses and the First GDR Constitution	
	The Organization of Government	
	Formal Sovereignty	
	Constitutional Revisions	
3.	Beginnings and Governmental Structure	37
	THE IMPOSITION OF COMMUNIST RULE	
	The Socialist Unity Party	
	The Three Communist Organizing Groups	
	The Weimar Record	
	Soviet Merger Policies: From Opposition to Command	
	SPD Merger Policies: From Advocacy to Resistance	
	The Merger and Its Aftermath	
	The National Front	
	Nonsecret, Compulsory, and Collective Voting	
	THE STALINIST TRANSFORMATIONS	
	The Party of a "New Type"	
	The End of the "German Road"	
	The Party System: Monopoly and Subservience	
	Leninism-Stalinism in Party and State	
	Subordination of Party and State to Moscow	
	THE GDR'S LACK OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL LEGITIMACY	
		59
4.	Politics: Party, State, and Citizen	37
	THE STRUCTURE OF SED RULE	
	Soviet Dominance	
	The Party Is Always Right	
	Party Organization	
	Party and State	
	Intra-Party Conflicts	
	THE PARTICIPATORY SYSTEM	
	Lack of Legitimacy and Regime Insecurity	
	GDR Nationalism	
	The Pretense of Citizen Influence	

Contents ix

	The Mobilization Regime	
	Types of Participation	
	Elections	
	Reporting to Voters	
	Other Forms of Participation	
	Multiple Activities and Affiliations	
	The Special Case of Adjudicatory Participation	
	Magnitude and Meaning of Participation	
	THE STATE	
	The State That Did Not Wither Away	
	The State of All the People?	
	Civil Liberties and Information Flow	
	The Special Case of Antifascism	
	THE POLICE STATE	
	Citizen Surveillance	
	The People's Police and "Voluntary" Submission	
	The Stasi	
5.	Economics: Reforms, Rigidity, and Failure	107
٠.	THE PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS	107
	GDR FICTIONS AND WESTERN CREDULITY	
	THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM	
	Early Economic Policies	
	Exploitation, Work Ethics, and Productivity	
	Workers and the GDR Labor Union	
	NES and ESS: The Failure of Early Reforms	
	Job and Other Securities	
	The Planned Economy	
	REFORMS IN COMMUNIST SYSTEMS	
	USSR and GDR Reform Policies	
	The New Economic System	
	ASSESSMENTS	
	The Subsidized Economic System	
	The Failed Economic System	

6.	Persuasion and Nonpersuasion: Public Opinion and Public Discourse	159
	PUBLIC OPINION	
	General Conditions	
	Control and Manipulation	
	The Dishonest Style of GDR Communications	
	Involuntary Enthusiasm	
	THE SPECIAL CASE OF LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	
	Topics, Targets, Attention, and Replies	
	The Up and Down Functions of the Fakes	
	Permissible Inferences	
	Predictive Values and the Berlin Wall	
	Party Control and Retribution	
	PERSONALITY CULTS AND PUBLIC ADORATION	
	Adoring the Leaders: GDR	
	Stalin and Brezhnev: Soviet Examples	
	Mao Tse-tung and Kim Il-Sung: The Cult in the Far East	
	The Fame Is Fleeting	
	Was the Adoration Genuine?	
	A Strange Aspect of Socialism?	
	Personalities and Correct Understanding	
7.	Life in East Germany: Some Vignettes	185
	LIFE AND LIES IN SOCIALISM	
	What Is Truth?	
	Security versus Freedom	
	CULTURAL LIFE	
	Education	
	Intellectuals	
	Censorship	
	Youth	
	Religion	
	The Jugendweihe	
	Swords to Plowshares	
	Sports	
	Self-Criticism and Other Indignities	
	The New Socialist Personality	

Contents xi

	Restaurants	
	Shops	
	Bureaucracy	
	Dependent and Timid	
	RÉSUMÉ	
8.	The End of the GDR: Exodus, Revolution, and Reunification	219
	INCARCERATION AND ESCAPE	
	Before the Wall	
	After the Wall	
	Tunnels, Boats, Balloons	
	Ausbürgerung	
	THE BLOODLESS REVOLUTION	
	Expectations	
	The Third-Country Route	
	Demonstrations in the GDR	
	REUNIFICATION AND THE END OF THE SOCIALIST EXPERIMENT	
	AFTERMATH	
	Bibliography	239
	Index	291

THE CUSTOMER IS ALWAYS WRONG