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East Germany

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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

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The Society

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East GERMANY

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The Society

A. Historical background

The German Democratic Republic (GDR) was established in 1949 out of the zone of defeated Germany that had been occupied by the U.S.S.R. after World War II. Its people are thus the inheritors of a Western European culture despite their government's close ties with the Soviet Union and the Communist-controlled Eastern European states. Before this development, the East Germans participated with their western brothers in shaping a culture comparable to those of the French and the Italians in terms of its significant and varied contributions to the development of Western civilization. Indeed, if the German Democratic Republic could be considered a historical entity by itself, then it would be correct to label it the homeland of Bach, Handel, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Wagner, Luther, Nietzsche, Bismarck, Cranach, Goethe, Schiller, Fichte, Ranke, Treitschke, Biuecher, Moltke, Clausewitz, Humboldt, Leibnitz, Pufendorf, Schliemann, Stresemann and a host of other German worthies. The German nation, during its brief era of political unity, however, also produced an aggressive leadership which was partly to blame for the devastation of World War I and which was directly responsible for the mass destruction of World War II and the deaths of some 20 million persons, more than half of whom were noncombatants. The Communist rulers of East Germany have sought to portray their regime as the direct heir of Germany's constructive traditions, and have only recently and reluctantly

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dropped their allegations that a revanchist West Germany is resuscitating the destructive drives that have terrorized Europe twice in the present century.

The geographic position of historic Germany, astride the North European Plain and between large and expansionist neighbors, was a significant factor influencing the formation of the German character. Defensive combat against constant French pressure in the west and offensive confrontations with various Slavic tribes in the east fostered an ancient warlike tradition, while the struggle for survival during the disastrous Thirty Years War (1618-48), and the rise of the Prussian kingdom in the eastern areas out of a patchwork of constantly warring states in the 17th and 18th centuries made military necessity into a civic virtue. Civil obedience and subordination of the individual to the state are acknowledged by the Germans as the traits most finely honed by the Prussians. These traits were reflected in a highly stratified class society which rested on the tightly knit family dominated by the father. The relatively poor quality of Prussia's soil in what was largely an agricultural economy into the latter half of the 19th century combined with the early acceptance of the Protestant work ethic is widely credited with molding those other so-called Prussian traits, perseverance and thoroughness.

Nationalism and the industrial revolution were important factors shaping the more recent development of the German character. The Germans were the last major European nation to achieve unified statehood. Once achieved, however, the augmentation of German power to a position unsurpassed on the

European continent was completed rapidly. The Prussian-led Empire's predominance in the 1870's contrasted sharply with Prussia's status in the 1860's as one of several middle-rangin powers. The speed of this development fostered the belief that Germany had a destiny, a role to play in the international political arena. The industrial revolution, for which Germany was well endowed in resources and which had proceeded quite far in the Ruhr and Saxony, gave backbone to pan-German nationalism and helped to erode regional particularism within the country. However, the industrial revolution also fostered a numerous industrial working class and a strong socialist movement. The German Social Democratic Labor Party, founded in 1875, was the first socialist political party in Europe, and by 1914 it was the strongest single party in the German parliament.

Socialism in Germany did not develop along revolutionary lines as it did in the neighboring countries to the south and east. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, believing that reform from above would cause the Social Democrats to "sound their birdcalls in vain," enacted during the 1880's Europe's first major health and social welfare programs. These became the model for neighboring countries during the 20th century. The early success of the state's health and social welfare measures prompted Social Democratic leaders in 1891 to turn away from the revolutionary aspect of socialism in favor of pursuing reform within the existing bourgeois state framework. Although there was to be occasional resort to violence between the two world wars by the movement's radical left wing, which had become the Communist Party of Germany, the mainstream of German socialism in the pre-Hitler period was evolutionary rather than revolutionary. On the eve of Adolf Hitler's accession to power, the Communists capitalized on the unsettled economic and political situation in Germany to win points at the expense of establishment-oriented German socialism. The Communist victory was short-lived, however, and both workers' movements were quickly and brutally subdued by the radical right National Socialists (Nazis).

Revived and installed in power by the Soviet occupation at the end of World War II, the Communist claimants to the German socialist heritage have carried out a controlled social and economic revolution through the mechanism of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED). The SED's claim, however, that it is the continuation of the indigenous German socialist movement is clearly specious. In the early postwar period the SED retained control only by virtue of the power of the Soviet Union. As the division

of Germany has solidified, and the regime has demonstrated its skill in political and economic management, most East Germans have gradually accommodated themselves to the status quo. They have developed some enthusiasm for specific institutions (the educational system is frequently mentioned among others) but this enthusiasm does not extend to the political system as a whole.

Having eradicated the old upper class and severely restricted the middle class, the Communists claim to act on behalf of the working class, which includes the farmers and "working intelligentsia." Nearly all agricultural and industrial production has been taken over by the state, and the few remaining private and semistate enterprises are under heavy pressure. The SED has eradicated the elitist tradition in German schools and created a free educational system which is compulsory through the secondary level. With its stress upon Communist indoctrination and technical and vocational training, the educational process is meant to provide East Germany with a skilled labor force loyal to communism. The SED has markedly expanded the health and social welfare programs it inherited from previous regimes, limiting at the same time the activities of private and religious organizations in this field. In its effort to achieve control of public life, the SED has effectively restricted most group associations to party-approved organizations and has even attempted to modify traditional family relationships. Starting from the belief that the arts and letters must also support socialist goals, the party has attempted to regiment cultural activity, and only recently has relaxed its controls. The only nongovernmental organizations still attempting to maintain independent contacts with West Germany are the Evangelical and Roman Catholic churches, and they have been under heavy pressure by the regime to sever the few remaining ties.

Although the SED has been able to carry through a profound social transformation by virtue of its monopoly of power, it has not been able to win general positive support from the majority of the people. The regime's early programs, which aimed at the rapid communization of East Germany, resulted in the flight of more than 2 million persons to West Germany between 1948 and the building of the Berlin wall in August 1961. This exodus included many whose skills were badly needed, and their loss seriously impeded progress toward realization of the SED's goals. The closing of the last gap in the border with West Germany in 1961 was a turning point in the GDR's history. With escape to the West much more dangerous, the people realized they had no alternative

to acceptance of the system, and the regime was thereby provided with a hitherto unknown degree of stability. While some East Germans still risk their lives to flee to West Germany, most have apparently made their adjustment to the regime and have focused their energies on improving their material well-being within the existing system.

The SED seems willing to encourage a spirit of compliance with regime demands, up to a point at least, by toning down its insistence on complete ideological commitment. In the years immediately preceding the 1968 Czechoslovak crisis, the regime seemed more concerned with the technical competence of the managerial personnel staffing the country's economic apparatus than with their ideological purity. In that period the East Germans began to develop a sense of pride in their own accomplishments despite recurrent setbacks and the dim prospect for matching West Germany's high rate of economic growth and development. Following the Czechoslovak crisis, however, the regime decided to reemphasize ideological loyalty and moved to check suspected trends toward liberalism and independent thinking within the society. The stress on formal ideological correctness continues and seems even to have sharpened under the Honecker regime, but this has been accompanied by a series of practical measures to improve the material welfare of the East German citizenry, and to encourage within limits greater variety in literary and artistic expression. Through these improvements the SED hopes that it can persuade a skeptical populace that genuine happiness is possible in a Communist society.

B. Structure and characteristics of the society.

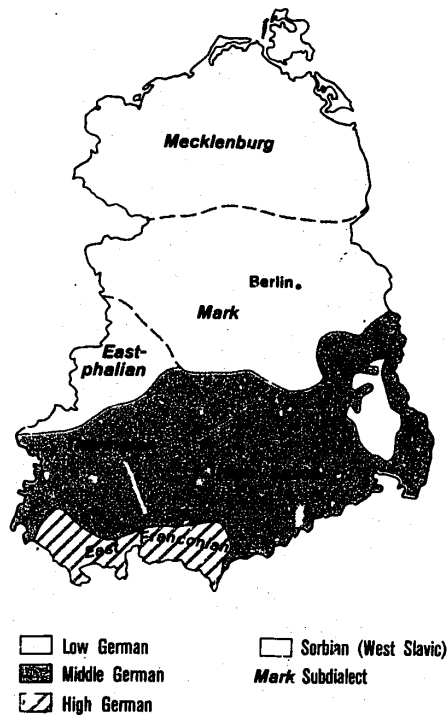
1. Ethnic and linguistic composition

Except for Thuringia (centering on the city of Weimar), which has been occupied by Germans since ancient times, the present territory of East Germany was colonized between A.D. 900 and 1200 by German settlers from the west. Over the next millenium the underlying West Slavic population was absorbed, the Polabians in the north eventually disappearing in the early 19th century, and the Sorbs, also known as the Wends, of whom there are 38,000 (West German estimate) to 100,000 (East German estimate), reduced to two separated areas in the eastern portions of Cottbus and Dresden districts. The physical characteristics of the population, therefore, reflect not only those of the north and central German

population, but also those of the neighboring Poles and Czechs. Despite the Hitler regime's adulation of the so-called Nordic type, Germans display a wide variety of physical characteristics, ranging from large numbers of tall, blond, blue-eyed individuals in the northwest to shorter, brunet, brown-eyed types in the southeast. In general, East Germans represent an intermediate stage between these two extremes.

After World War II, the four occupation zones of Germany absorbed about 12 million ethnic Germans from former German areas east of the Oder and Neisse rivers, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other Eastern European countries. At the peak, the number of these expellees sent to East Germany reached about 4.3 million, or roughly 25% of the total population, but many of them subsequently moved on to West Germany. The ethnic Germans, who had lived for generations amid the local Slavic and other populations, tended to intermarry within their own group so that the postwar immigration resulted in comparatively little influx of new ethnic strains. The authorities integrated these immigrants politically and economically into East German society, which remains basically homogeneous.

At the same time, however, the authorities have encouraged the indigenous Slav minority, the Sorbs, to preserve their identity, in contrast to the assimilative policies of previous German governments. For a number of years the regime paid lip service to the theory of a separate Sorbian identity, when in fact the Sorbs were well integrated into East German society. This in part responded to Soviet, Polish, and especially Czech concern for this West Slavic remnant. Special laws have been enacted to protect the Sorbian minority, encouraging their language and culture, and provision is made both within the Ministry for Cultural Affairs and in the national and district assemblies to assure Sorbian representation. In addition to their own "national" organization, the *Domowina*, the Sorbs have their own newspaper, publishing house, radio programs, museum, theater and schools. Despite these measures, the Sorbs still feel themselves incapable of resisting Germanizing trends, especially since the opening of the Schwarze Pumpe lignite combine in 1955 near Hoyerswerda, in Sorb territory. The only other minority of any significance is the growing group of East European, primarily Polish and Hungarian, workers employed on short-term contracts in numerous enterprises. These workers are not encouraged to bring their families with them, and no attempt has been made to encourage their integration into the German community. With the labor shortage more than likely to worsen in coming



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FIGURE 1. Distribution of dialects

years, the regime will have no choice but to expand its import of foreign labor and perhaps encourage their permanent settlement.

Standard High German is spoken by virtually all East Germans, but Low and Middle German dialects are extensively used for informal daily communication. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of German dialects. The Low German dialects are characterized by a lilting intonation, derided by other Germans as "singing Saxon," and provide a common cabaret device for evoking laughter. (Walter Ulbricht, former First Secretary of the SED, spoke with a Saxon intonation.) One contemporary phenomenon which has resulted from increased physical mobility and the universality of radio and television is the gradual replacement of Low German dialects in informal speech by standard High German. Another development is the appearance of new, peculiarly Communist, meanings for common words, and the

introduction of Russian or Russian-derived political, economic, and ideological terms. New dictionaries have been compiled by Western linguists in an effort to clarify these new meanings, sometimes called "party Chinese" by the man in the street.

2. Class structure

Since assuming power in 1945, the Communists have brought about a social revolution in East Germany. Prior to 1945 the area retained many feudal vestiges. About 30% of its agricultural land, for example, was included in large estates (more than 250 acres each) belonging to the landed gentry, or Junkers. This class, the backbone of the Prussian state, dominated the army and the bureaucracy and, after 1871, continued to furnish Germany most of its military and civil leaders. The middle class was far less influential than in western Germany. A large working class had grown up in the southern industrial cities and in Berlin. Before 1945 this society was highly stratified. Social mobility was limited as a result of the concentration of wealth in a small upper class and by severely restricted educational opportunities.

One of the first objectives of Soviet policy after the occupation began in 1945 was the elimination of the former ruling class and of influential elements of the middle class by abolishing independent income. The Soviet Military Administration froze all bank accounts, abolished civil service pensions, transferred many factories and other business activities from private to public ownership, and dissolved privately owned large estates, redistributing the land to politically reliable elements.

At the same time, Soviet and East German authorities purged the middle class of known Nazis and other elements they considered inimical to their philosophy. Although the socialization programs, under the guise of democratization, were initially directed at large enterprises, they were soon extended step by step to other elements of the economy, effectively eliminating the economically independent middle class. Members of the middle class and their children were subjected to widespread and severe discrimination to eliminate them from positions of power and to break their will to resist the Communists. Many died in concentration camps, and a large number fled to the West.

Socialization of East German life, however, progressed fitfully as harshness usually led to mass flights (prior to 1961) of those affected by the measures. The authorities, moreover, sought to create the image of a diverse society in which classes or

groups other than just the working class participated. For this reason, the Communists have permitted certain political parties to remain, ostensibly to represent the interests of farmers, middle class merchants, or veterans. Another unique feature of the East German scene until quite recently was the existence of private and semiprivate enterprise. Although the contribution of both to the gross national product (GNP) steadily declined, these sectors provided a relatively important share of the market with consumer goods, and they gave the regime some flexibility in carrying out economic reforms. With the change in regime leadership in 1971 and the abandonment of many of Ulbricht's economic experiments, the decision was made in early 1972 to eliminate the private sector wherever feasible. The argument given by the SED's ideologists in favor of this decision is that a "completed socialist society" cannot tolerate these bourgeois remnants.

The working class, which in theory dominates East German society, is not a privileged class, and by and large does not identify with the Communist regime, although it does take pride in many of the recent economic achievements. East Germany was one of the few countries with an organized industrialized working force before the Communist takeover, and from the beginning the workers were divided in their loyalties between the Communists and the Social Democrats. Through ill-advised policies, the Communists succeeded in alienating whatever support they may have had among the workers during the first 5 years of Communist rule. Regime efforts to build support among the workers through such programs as education and social insurance have not disguised the fact that workers are a controlled, not a controlling, segment of East German society. In an attempt to soften this disparity, the Honecker regime has frequently pontificated on the importance of breathing life back into the stultified labor organizations and paying closer heed to the workers' wishes.

The dominant class in East German society, although its existence is not officially recognized, consists of SED party members and the cultural and managerial elite, together comprising an estimated 3% to 4% of the population. Although many of these are former workers, some possess middle or even upper class family backgrounds. The system guarantees them the usual prerogatives of an upper class society—large salaries, sometimes luxurious living accommodations, prestige—so long as they continue in favor with the Communist regime. Aware of popular unhappiness with the numerous special privileges and relatively

luxurious life style enjoyed by this class, the Honecker regime has attempted to narrow the material difference between elite and mass by placing a ceiling on incomes, broadening the variety and raising the quality of consumer goods, and opening previously exclusive resorts, hotels, and stores to the public.

While membership in the SED remains a prime criterion for preferment, the SED leadership in recent years has been known to waive this requirement in its effort to obtain talent. The so-called technological elite that began emerging in 1964 with the introduction of Ulbricht's New Economic System is characterized as much by its apolitical attitude as by its ability. In the wake of the Czechoslovak crisis in 1968 the regime bore down on party members, teachers, journalists, and intellectuals, all of whom came in for more careful screening concerning their ideological reliability. No mass purge was conducted, but some lower and middle echelon party and government personnel were reshuffled because of their attitude or that of members of their families toward the Czechoslovak affair. Although within the SED itself the professional revolutionary has been replaced by the more pragmatic technocrat, the regime under the present leadership has placed renewed emphasis on party loyalty as a primary asset.

3. Family and communal ties

Although strong family units have been the tradition in Germany, the Communist regime has succeeded in weakening the ties, both by redefining the role of women in society and intervening in the relations between parents and children, in its drive to communize the country. Among the measures which have revolutionized the status of women and swept away the Germanic tradition that a woman's chief concerns should be "church, kitchen, and children," are the regime's repeated emphasis on equality of rights and responsibilities between men and women, the draft of nearly three-fourths of the women in the working-age bracket into the labor force, the sweeping away of restrictions on divorce and abortion, the opening of a vast number of child care centers to take care of preschool children around the clock, and the organization of women's committees to represent this sector's interests in industry, agriculture, forestry, public administration, education, and other fields. The dominant role of the father has been further challenged by Communist indoctrination of children from preschool to the college level.

After sealing the borders with West Germany in 1961, the regime felt confident enough to embark on an era of relaxation directed at allowing youth to

develop along less regimented lines. The youth communique of 1963 provided an opportunity for young people to form groups ostensibly free of overriding party control. While continuing to urge participation in regime-sponsored programs, the authorities permitted some politically independent groups to be formed. A number of newly founded hobby clubs matured into political discussion groups, and several theater schools produced works objectionable to the regime.

In the fall of 1965 it became apparent to the party that its relaxation of control was responsible for much of the intellectual resistance and youthful dissidence that culminated in rioting in Leipzig in October. At the 11th plenum of the SED Central Committee in December, a renewed crackdown on cultural and social activities was called for by party secretary Erich Honecker. The influence of "decadent Western" fads was blamed for the rash of antiregime attitudes displayed by many young people. Lack of parental guidance was cited as the reason for the neglect by many youth of the "opportunities" provided by state organizations such as the Ernst Thaelmann Pioneers and the Free German Youth (FDJ), and the Family Code introduced in 1966 confirmed the regime's renewed interest in tighter control of youth.

Basically, the code is a reaffirmation of marital and parental responsibilities found in any Western country, but it specifies certain "socialist duties." It precisely designates which partner, in varying conditions, is responsible for alimony and child support, and it charges parents to encourage their children to participate in state youth groups. An innovation in the code is provision for choice of either

the husband's or wife's name as the family name. So far this option has been largely ignored by the populace.

Some of the dissident youth who demonstrated against the attitude of the regime toward the occupation of Czechoslovakia were the children of prominent party members. The party held the parents responsible under the state's Family Code for failing to "exercise their rights and duties in the education of the children." As a result, a number of ranking party members were demoted. In addition, a legally binding ordinance for the "protection of children and youth" was promulgated in 1969, which includes explicit penalties for a number of minor juvenile offenses that were frowned upon in the past but allowed to go uncorrected in the legal code. The new ordinance is particularly harsh about enforcing stringent curfews on children and teenagers.

Pride in local organizations and traditions has been greatly eroded by massive internal and foreign migrations, the emasculation of local authority by the central government, and by the substitution of Communist-led "mass" organizations for traditional groups. Farm collectives in rural areas and workers' brigades in the factories now replace the small, cohesive social units formerly found in villages and in the union locals in the industrial centers. Although Germany had been the cradle of free trade unionism, hardly a trace of this tradition remains in East Germany, all the unions having been absorbed by the SED-controlled Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB). Few independent organizations remain; virtually all groups are either sponsored, controlled, directed, or infiltrated by the party (Figure 2).

FIGURE 2. Major mass organizations

NAME	CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP	PURPOSE
Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB)	7,200,000 (1972)	Official representative of all East German labor force.
Association of German Consumers Cooperatives (VDK)	4,112,400 (1970)	Retails consumer goods, particularly in rural areas.
Society for German-Soviet Friendship (GDSF)	3,500,000 (1970)	Publicizes and popularizes Soviet accomplishments.
Free German Youth (FDJ)	1,700,000 (1972)	Official youth group which runs extensive program of political indoctrination and sports for young adults between ages 14 and 26.
Ernst Thaelmann Pioneers	1,800,000 (1972)	Junior affiliate of FDJ, for youth between ages 6 and 14.
German Gymnastics and Sports Association (DTSB)	2,155,800 (1970)	Official channel for control and promotion of sporting activities.
Democratic Women's League of Germany (DFD)	1,300,000 (1972)	Promotes a wider role for women in national life.
German Cultural Association (DKB)	185,000 (1972)	Designed to cement ties between regime and intelligentsia.

4. Attitudes

East Germans still think of themselves as Germans, although their attitudes toward the German nation have been modified by more than 25 years of Communist rule. Some elements still cling to the hope of reunification, kept alive by improvements in travel, transport, and communications negotiated by the four powers holding residual rights in Germany as well as by the two German states. However, the trend toward international recognition of both German states is well under way. The average East German seems to have become resigned to the system imposed upon him; at the same time he has developed a certain sense of pride in the economic development of East Germany. Most members of the ruling elite, on the other hand, remain uneasy about the future, fearing that the Soviet Union is all too prone to sacrifice the interests of the East German regime in order to further purely Soviet interests in Europe, particularly to promote better relations with West Germany. Under Ulbricht, the regime was also uneasy about any signs of liberalization in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe because it feared that this could lead to criticisms and "suggestions" for easing the harshly repressive rule of the SED. Under Honecker, the regime is more relaxed, pursuing a formally correct line ideologically and constantly reiterating its loyalty to the U.S.S.R., but at the same time adopting practical economic and cultural measures designed to ease the people's lot and win public support.

The government's first efforts to consolidate its control by constructing the Berlin wall in August 1961 met with plummeting public morale and a feeling of hopelessness, isolation, and resentment toward the Western powers. During the brief period of relaxation of domestic pressures in 1963-64, many East Germans regained self-confidence and expressed their desire for improved living conditions and a reduction in travel restrictions. Intellectuals, churchmen, and young people resisted regimentation whenever possible. Writers and artists gave lip service to the regime but went their own way and hoped that some liberalization in the U.S.S.R. would force East Germany to follow suit. Evangelical and Roman Catholic church leaders reiterated their churches' stand against Marxist doctrine and certain types of political collaboration with the regime, although both churches tacitly accepted the regime as the duly constituted authority. Young people, unable to travel freely in the West, tried to incorporate bits and pieces of Western culture gleaned from radio and television into their own sterile surroundings. The results of the

11th SED plenum in December 1965, when the regime resorted to more stringent sanctions against freethinking intellectuals and dissident youth, served to notify the populace that freedom was still illusory. The subsequent trial and imprisonment of Soviet writers Yuliy Daniel and Andrey Sinyavskiy crushed whatever hopes remained among East German intellectuals that deliverance from the regime's sanctions would come via a wave of Soviet liberalism.

The East German citizenry perked up during the "Prague spring" of 1968 and, despite regime efforts to manage the news of the liberal Dubcek reforms, the populace closely followed developments by listening to *Radio Prague* and Western news services. News of the occupation of Czechoslovakia on 20-21 August triggered more than 4 weeks of sporadic demonstrations by East German youth as well as other acts of defiance against the regime's support of and participation in the invasion. Thousands of East German citizens visited the Czechoslovak Embassy to express their sympathy and sign the guest register. East German authorities finally placed a guard in front of the embassy to turn people away. A number of young people were arrested for expressing support for Dubcek in open demonstrations in cities throughout East Germany. Many of the demonstrators were children of ranking party members and leading intellectuals, such as the sons of the controversial Prof. Robert Havemann. The regime moved quickly to stifle the dissidence and launched a campaign to test party loyalty and increase ideological reliability within the party and among teachers, intellectuals, and other professional people. Many of the demonstrators were tried and given light sentences or remanded to the custody of their parents. If the parents held important positions in the regime they sometimes were demoted, probably in an effort to drive home the decrees on parental responsibility. Although these scattered popular protests never presented a serious threat to regime security, they led to a period of increased vigilance by the nervous East German authorities.

Realizing that constant tension did not produce the desired results, the new regime under Honecker introduced a panglossian approach to social problems, insisting that life in East Germany was the best of all possible worlds, in the example of the U.S.S.R., of course. At the same time Honecker called for more and better consumers' goods and housing, an end to the petty annoyances afflicting public services, greater opportunities to travel within the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, more interesting films, radio, and television, and greater efforts by artists, musicians, and writers to enrich the everyday life of the working class.

A sign of the times was the injection of some humor into the moribund satirical weekly, *Eulenspiegel*, and the addition of some bite into the skits at the East Berlin cabaret, *Die Distel*. East Germany is still leagues behind the other East European states in terms of rapport between leadership and masses, but for the first time the regime seems to be taking cautious steps to bring the extremes closer together.

Isolated incidents of active opposition to the regime continue to occur occasionally, but as in the past those opposed to the regime are more likely to resort to tactics of passive resistance such as a studied indifference to regime programs. Most East Germans, faced with the hard reality of their position—effectively isolated from other Germans in the Federal Republic and ruled by an authoritarian regime maintained in power by Soviet troops—cooperate with the regime only to the extent that they are obliged to do so and avoid political activity as much as possible.

C. Population

On 1 January 1973 the population was estimated to total 17,050,000 persons, including approximately 1,100,000 inhabitants of East Berlin, which technically is not a part of East Germany according to Four-Power agreements. This figure reflects a slow decline in population—about 0.19% or 32,000—since 1967 as a result of a top-heavy age profile and a continuing decline in specific fertility. The present situation, however, represents an improvement over that which existed in the years prior to 1961, when the flight of East Germans to the West reached major proportions and threatened to undermine the regime's economic and social policies. Despite the years of population decline, East Germany still has the fourth largest population in Eastern Europe, ranking behind Poland, Yugoslavia, and Romania.

East Germany is one of the more densely populated countries in Europe, extending over an area of about 41,800 square miles (slightly smaller than Tennessee) and having a population density of 408 persons per square mile in 1972. In this respect it is surpassed in Europe only by the Netherlands, Belgium, West Germany, the United Kingdom, and Italy. The northern two-thirds of the nation, which is predominantly agricultural, is the least densely settled (Figure 3). With the exception of areas in and around East Berlin and urban concentrations serving as transportation or administrative centers, the most thickly populated regions are to be found in the industrial south. The triangular area in the south comprising the districts of Halle, Leipzig, Dresden,

and Karl-Marx-Stadt constitutes only 24% of East Germany's total area, but these districts contained 43% of the total population in 1971. Four of the nation's six cities with populations exceeding 250,000 are located in this area.

Official figures at the beginning of 1971 showed that 12,569,000 persons, or 73.7% of the total population of 17,041,000, resided in communities of 2,000 or more inhabitants. The urban proportion was larger than in other Eastern European countries, approaching that in Sweden and the United Kingdom, where over 75% of the population lives in urban areas. However, when a uniform cutoff of 20,000 inhabitants is applied to the GDR's urban population distribution, it is apparent that the East German countryside is characterized by the existence of numerous small towns and not the concentration of urban communities typical of the coastal areas of the United States or the Rhine-Ruhr region of West Germany. Figure 4 shows the distribution of population by *Bezirk* (district) and the proportion of urban population.

Since the end of the war, slightly more than 20% of all East Germans have resided in major cities (100,000 or more inhabitants), and slightly more than 50% have lived in smaller urban centers (2,000 to 100,000 inhabitants). The 10 largest cities, according to population estimates of 1972, were:

East Berlin	1,100,000
Leipzig	583,000
Dresden	506,000
Karl-Marx-Stadt	300,000
Magdeburg	272,000
Halle	257,000
Rostock	201,300
Erfurt	197,000
Zwickau	128,000
Potsdam	111,000

The urban proportion is now slightly higher than it was in 1939 and well above the 1946 low when wartime destruction and dislocation had reduced the proportion of population living in communities larger than 2,000 to only 67.7%. The distribution of population in 1970 by size of locality and its comparison with selected previous years is shown in Figure 5.

Losses of population during the postwar period have been heaviest in the rural areas and small towns. Most occurred in communities of less than 10,000 inhabitants, where the percentage of total population declined from 55.5% in 1940 to 46.6% in 1970. A majority of the larger cities have also lost residents, although their proportionate loss was less than that for the nation as a whole. Thus East Berlin's population

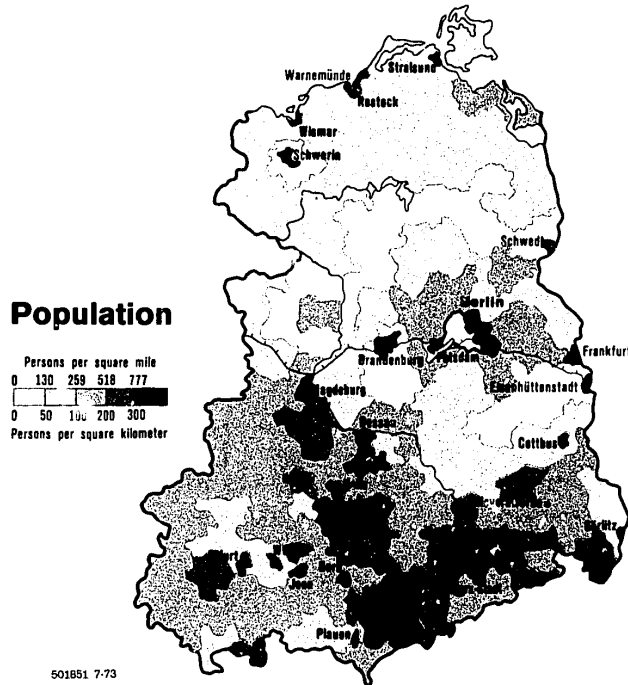


FIGURE 3. Population density

declined 7.7% between 1946 and the end of 1970 as compared to an 8.4% decline for all of East Germany. Only a few cities, such as Eisenhuettenstadt,¹ Hoyerswerda, and Schwedt, where major new industrial enterprises have been created, have gained significant numbers of residents.

From 1953, the first year for which data are available, until 1969, annual internal migration from one *Kreis* (county) to another ranged from a high of 4.8% of the total population in 1953 to 1.6% in 1969. During this period, 9,783,000 inter-*Kreis* migrations were counted. No cumulative data are available on migrations within counties for this period, but almost 395,000 East Germans moved from one community (*Gemeinde*) to another in 1969. In that year communities of less than 10,000 population showed a net loss of 34,100 inhabitants, of whom 32,900 had resided in communities of less than 2,000 people. The largest absolute increase (1,500) was registered by cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, and the largest proportional increase (0.7%) was registered by cities with between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. Some of the internal migration, particularly in the

¹For diacritics on place names, see the list of names at the end of the chapter.

earlier years, was decreed by the authorities in their efforts to depopulate the areas near interzonal frontiers. Although many of the rural and smalltown migrants fled to West Berlin and West Germany, others moved to the larger towns and cities seeking better paying jobs in industry. Internal migration also is affected by the government's efforts to regulate urban development to avoid crowding and congestion. The government hopes that by expanding old towns and building new ones it will be able to control population growth in areas of old cities now undergoing extensive urban renewal and thus avoid the problems plaguing many large Western urban centers (Figure 6).

The pattern of population growth and decline in the postwar period has been most markedly influenced by migrations to and from other countries. Of the 16.7 million persons living in the area in 1939, only 14.5 million remained in 1946. By that year, however, an additional 4 million Germans were settled in East Germany, having fled or been expelled from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and former German territories incorporated into Poland and the U.S.S.R. The continued influx of refugees and the return of former residents dispersed by the war resulted in a steady

FIGURE 4. Area, population, population density, and percentage of urban population by Bezirk, 1971

BEZIRK	AREA	POPULATION	POPULATION	PERCENT URBAN*
	<i>Sq. mi.</i>		<i>Per sq. mi.</i>	
Berlin (East).....	156	1,084,866	6,954	100.0
Cottbus.....	3,189	860,929	270	67.4
Dresden.....	2,601	1,871,463	720	76.3
Erfurt.....	2,836	1,255,186	443	65.3
Frankfurt.....	2,773	678,666	245	69.0
Gera.....	1,546	738,727	478	72.3
Halle.....	3,386	1,922,353	568	75.0
Karl-Marx-Stadt.....	2,319	2,044,762	882	82.2
Leipzig.....	1,917	1,489,594	777	79.4
Magdeburg.....	4,449	1,317,154	296	69.2
Neubrandenburg.....	4,166	636,930	153	55.3
Potsdam.....	4,853	1,131,023	233	68.1
Rostock.....	2,731	860,472	315	72.0
Schwerin.....	3,347	596,538	178	59.0
Suhl.....	1,488	552,263	371	51.9
Total.....	41,757	17,040,926	408	73.7

*Living in communities with more than 2,000 inhabitants.

population increase up to 1948. From that time until the construction of the Berlin wall in 1961, the flight of East German residents to West Berlin and West Germany was a major cause of the decline in the population of East Germany. During this period about 2.3 million East German inhabitants fled their country.² The flow of these refugees fluctuated according to the intensity of international and domestic tensions. The highest monthly refugee flow (58,605) was recorded in March 1953, when Stalin died. The next highest number (47,433) came across the borders during August 1961, capping a steady, high rate of flow during the previous 2 years occasioned by recurring Soviet efforts to force the Western Allies out of Berlin and by the agricultural collectivization campaign in 1960. The erection of the Berlin wall cut the refugee flow to a trickle. From August 1961 until the end of 1970, only an estimated 135,000 East Germans succeeded in fleeing to the West, 52,000 of them between August and December 1961.

Some legal and semiofficial emigration has been permitted by the East German authorities. Legal emigration has been confined largely to retired individuals or people in ill health who are no longer

²East German and West German estimates vary by about 1 million people. The East Germans admit that about 2.1 million inhabitants fled, whereas West German claims place the figure at 3.1 million. The estimate of 2.3 million people is based on the total population registered in the East German census of 1964, which was the first census in 14 years and totaled some 200,000 below previous official estimates.

economically productive. The authorities in effect encouraged such emigration when, in November 1964, they began allowing men over age 65 and women over age 60 to visit relatives in West Berlin and West Germany for a specified period each year. Only a small fraction of those who have availed themselves of this privilege have opted to remain in the West. The reunion of families has also been a contributing factor to East German emigration, and hundreds of children have crossed the border under semilegal agreements to be reunited with parents in West Germany or West Berlin.

Over the years West Germany has conducted secret negotiations for the ransom of several thousand political prisoners held in East German prisons. The first prisoner release agreement was concluded in 1964, and subsequent agreements have been concluded each year. The ransom is usually in the form of hard-to-obtain trade items, although sometimes lump-sum cash payments are made and the transactions are kept out of normal trade channels. On occasion, East Germany has included regular criminals among those ransomed in order to increase the payment. Most of those freed have chosen to remain in East Germany, but many have elected to resettle in West Germany, an option included in the agreement. According to West German figures, approximately 146,000 East Germans have resettled legally in the Federal Republic from 1962 through 1970.

Migration to other Eastern European countries is discouraged because of the limited East German labor

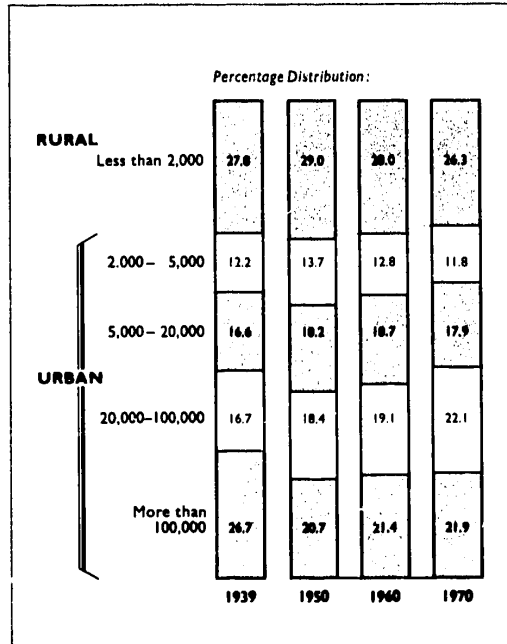


FIGURE 5. Urban-rural distribution of population

supply. Only a small number of citizens of other Eastern European countries, all of which have migration restrictions, have taken up permanent residence in East Germany. Most of these have been Eastern Europeans who married East Germans, but increasing numbers of foreign workers and professional people from Eastern European countries work in East Germany on a contractual basis. Medical doctors, for example, were imported from Bulgaria after 1958 when many East German doctors fled to the West because of regime efforts to eliminate private practice. Since 1965, Poland, with a labor surplus, has sent tens of thousands of workers on short-term contracts to labor-short East German mines and factories. Some Poles also have been employed as day laborers in towns, such as Wilhelm-Pieck-Stadt Guben, on the border with Poland. Since 1967 provision has also been made to import up to 4,000 Hungarian workers annually to ease the East German labor shortage.

There has also been a reverse migration from West Germany to East Germany. This movement occurs for a variety of reasons, including reunification of families, flight from justice, disillusionment with West German life, and employment opportunities. Exact figures are not available, because West German authorities do not require emigrants to East Germany to register. Estimates vary from 19,000 to 46,000

annually for the years 1950-61 and between 2,000 and 7,000 annually since 1961.

The overall decline in the population of East Germany—largely due to the refugee flow prior to 1962—is abetted by a continuing low rate of natural population increase. The migration to West Berlin and West Germany contributed to this low rate because more than one-fourth of the 2.3 million emigrants who left before the wall was constructed were in the 20- to 29-year age bracket, the most fertile age group. The birth rate had recovered considerably in the early postwar period, reaching a high of 16.9 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1951 (Figure 7). After a slow decline to 15.6 in 1958, it rose quickly to 17.6 in 1961. Since 1963 another decline has set in, the rate falling to 13.9 per 1,000 in 1970, one of the lowest in the world. Despite government efforts to encourage large families, the birth rate is expected to continue to decline, reflecting the decrease in persons of childbearing age resulting from the fewer births during and immediately after the war, the increasing availability of birth control devices, the easing of restrictions on abortion, and the high proportion of women in the labor force. Because of the inordinately high percentage of old people in the East German population and the consequent high death rate, East Germany for some years has had the lowest rate of natural increase of any European country, falling at times (in 1969 and 1970) into a net decrease (Figure 7). In the first decade of the GDR's existence, the rate of natural increase fluctuated between 5.5 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1951 and 2.7 per 1,000 in 1957; after the closing of the borders with West Germany, the rate of natural increase spurted to 4.7 per 1,000 in 1963, but it has since dropped sharply. In 1969 there was a natural decrease of 0.3 per 1,000 persons. The following tabulation compares rates of natural increase per 1,000 population in selected countries for 1970:

U.S.S.R.	9.3
United States	8.8
Poland	8.6
Switzerland	6.9
France	6.1
Czechoslovakia	4.4
United Kingdom	4.4
Sweden	3.7
Hungary	3.1
Austria	1.9
West Germany	1.7
East Germany	-0.2

Deaths in the first year of life declined from a high of 131.4 per 1,000 live births in 1946 to 18.8 per 1,000 live births in 1970, besting the rate in West Germany, the United States, and all of Eastern Europe. The overall death rate also declined sharply from 22.9 per



FIGURE 6. Urban renewal in Halle. The top view shows the superspeedway slicing through the heart of the old city to the new residential suburb of Halle-Neustadt. The bottom view shows the new Thaelmann Square complex of office buildings, apartments, and shops, completed in 1971.

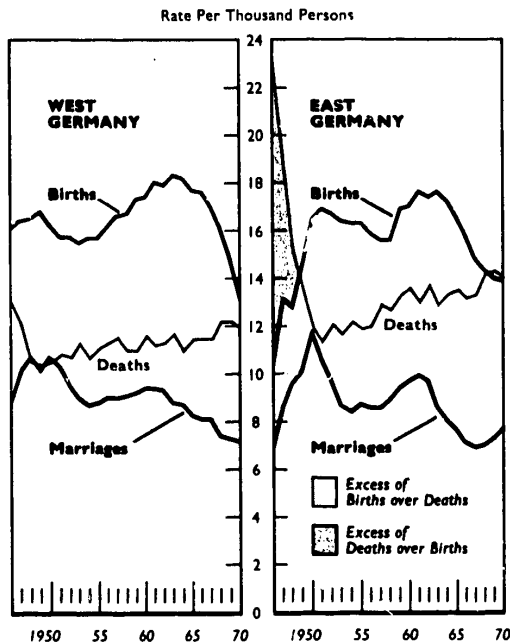


FIGURE 7. Births, deaths, and marriages per 1,000 population, East and West Germany

1,000 inhabitants in 1946 to 11.4 in 1951, but as the population has aged, this rate has zigzagged upward to 14.1 in 1970, one of the highest in Europe. The very high infant mortality and death rates in the first years after World War II contrasted with the much lower rates in West Germany (9.1 and 13.0 per 1,000, respectively) and was due primarily to the poorer quality of medical services available to the civilian population during the Soviet occupation.

As in many other countries, East Germany's marriage and divorce rates rose after World War II:

these rates reached their highest levels of 11.7 and 2.7 per 1,000 population, respectively, in 1950, and then dipped sharply until 1954, after which time the marriage rate fluctuated between 9.9 and 6.9 per 1,000 inhabitants, and the divorce rate between 1.7 and 1.3 per 1,000 people. With its relatively older and sexually unbalanced population, the marriage rate lags behind that in the rest of Eastern Europe, but at the same time the available pool of unattached women and weakening of taboos against divorce has led to a relatively high rate of divorce. Figure 8 shows the development of vital rates in the past decade.

The age-sex structure of the population has been profoundly altered by the cumulative effects of the manpower losses in two world wars, a major economic depression, and emigration. Combined with the prolonged period of low fertility, these events have given East Germany a comparatively old population. Comparisons of the age-sex structure with those of the United States and West Germany are illustrated in Figures 9 and 10, respectively. Although the median age of the East German population had declined to 34.2 years in 1967, it remained considerably higher than that of the United States (27.8 in 1966). The median age of East German females in 1967 (38.4) was particularly high. At the same time life expectancy at birth is higher than in the Eastern Europe states, West Germany, and the United States, fluctuating between 67 and 68 for men and 72 and 73 for women over the 1961-70 decade.

The high casualty rates in the two World Wars, together with low birth rates during the war and depression years, resulted in abnormally small numbers of persons below the age of 60 in 1970, particularly in age groups 45-55 and 20-30. Females outnumbered males by 1,342,000—making a ratio of 85 males per 100 females at the end of 1970. This ratio represents a marked increase from the postwar low set in 1946 of 71 males per 100 females but only a slight improvement over the 1950 level of 80 males per 100

FIGURE 8. Vital rates per 1,000 population, 1961-70

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Births	17.6	17.4	17.6	17.2	16.5	15.7	14.8	14.3	14.0	13.9
Deaths	13.0	13.7	12.9	13.3	13.5	13.2	13.3	14.2	14.3	14.1
Infant mortality*	33.7	31.6	31.2	29.6	24.8	22.9	21.4	20.2	20.3	18.8
Marriages	9.9	9.7	8.6	8.0	7.9	7.1	6.9	7.0	7.3	7.7
Divorces	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6
Life expectancy (m)**	67.1	67.2	67.8	67.7	68.0	68.2	68.4	68.0	67.8	na
Life expectancy (f)**	72.0	72.0	72.6	72.7	73.0	73.2	73.4	73.1	73.1	na

na Data not available

*Deaths of infants under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births

**In years

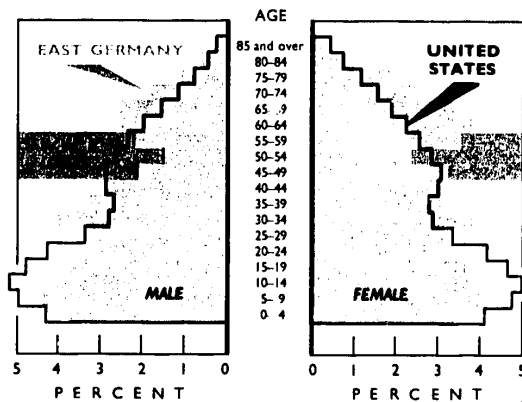


FIGURE 9. Age-sex distribution, East Germany and the United States, 1970

whole and lower in rural areas. Thus, the population of the Berlin (East) *Bezirk* is 55.3% female, while that of rural Neubrandenburg is 52.6%. Although the shortage of males is greater in the over-40 age group than among the younger population group, the number of males between the ages 20 and 30 is strikingly low.

The proportion of the East German population in the working-age bracket declined from 67.5% in 1939 to 57.8% in 1967 and has stabilized at that figure since then (Figure 11). Of those in the nonworking ages, 22.6% were children under 15 years of age and 19.5% were pensioners. In 1970 about 9,866,000 belonged to the working-age group, of which 8,218,000 were employed in the labor force. Because of the severe labor shortage, women comprised 48% of the labor force in 1970. The continuing serious labor shortage and the high participation of women in the work force places East Germany significantly ahead of other industrialized countries in terms of economically active population.

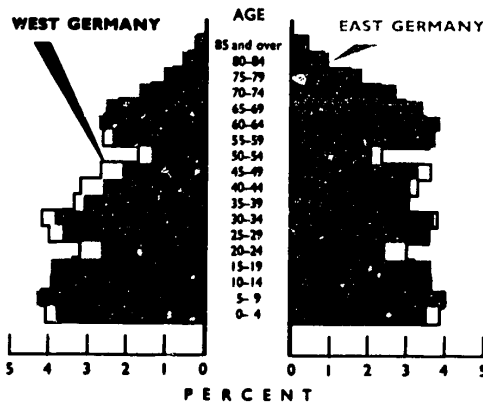
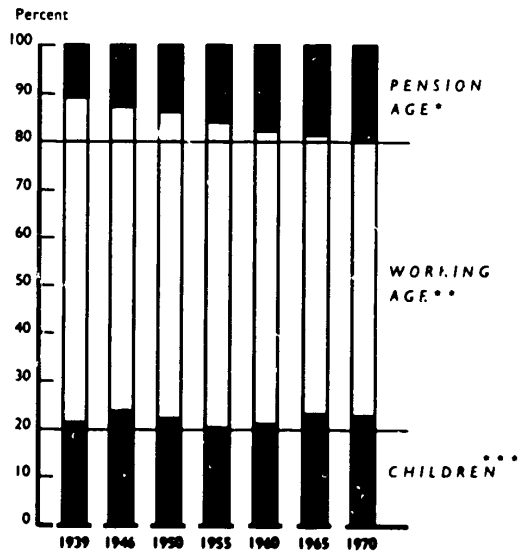


FIGURE 10. Age-sex distribution, East and West Germany, 1969

females. The percentage of males and females in the East German population has developed as follows since 1939:

	MALES	FEMALES
1939	48.9	51.1
1946	42.5	57.5
1950	44.4	55.6
1960	45.1	54.9
1970	46.1	53.9

As is the case elsewhere in the world, the proportion of females is higher in urban areas than in the nation as a



*Men age 65 and older, women age 60 and older
 **Persons over age 15 and under 65 (men) or 60 (women) and 5/12 of persons age 14
 ***Persons under age 14 and 7/12 of persons age 14

FIGURE 11. Working-age population relative to total population, selected years, 1939-70

D. Societal aspects of labor

1. Manpower resources

The labor force totaled 8,218,000 persons in 1970 and accounted for 48.2% of the total population and 83.3% of the population of working age.³ The labor force figure does not include approximately 225,000 to 250,000 persons in "confidential" categories of employment (armed forces, internal security forces, workers in uranium mines and defense plants, and persons abroad on diplomatic and economic missions), a group which is omitted altogether in the government's annual estimates.

The labor force in 1970 was considerably smaller than in 1946, when over 8.7 million persons were counted as economically active. The massive East-to-West population movements of the first postwar decade reduced the 1946 figure to less than 8.2 million in 1955. Despite the regime's efforts to increase labor force participation, the ebbside of emigration could not be overcome, and the labor force continued to decline, dropping to a postwar low of 7.9 million persons in 1963. From 1963 to 1967 the size of the labor force crept up to 8.2 million persons, and it has stabilized at this figure since then.

These trends in labor force growth reflect the highly unfavorable age and sex structure of the East German population attributable to low birth rates during and immediately after the First and Second World Wars and heavy wartime casualties. The share of the pension-age population (men 65 and over and women 60 and over) rose from 11% in 1939 to over 19% in 1970, one of the highest, if not the highest, in the world. The aging population creates particularly serious problems in agriculture, where more than one-third of the full-time workers are 50 and over. As for the share of the population under 15 years of age, a slow decline has been underway since 1966, and future labor force growth is thereby impossible from this source. By 1970 the working-age group accounted for only 57.8% of the total population, compared with 64.1% in 1950 (Figure 11). Only in terms of the restoration of parity between the sexes in the working-age population (in 1970 males comprised 49% of the working-age group and only 46% of the general population) as postwar age classes have entered the labor force have the effects of the two world wars been overcome. The diminishing rate of replacement of new workers for old has forced the regime to resort to a wide variety of techniques to sustain economic growth, including constant harangues for greater productivity, a stress on rationalization and labor-saving techniques, and increasing imports of short-term contract workers from East European labor surplus areas.

³The East German definition of working age is 15-64 years for males, 15-59 years for females, plus 42% of both males and females who are 14 years of age.

Although demographic factors alone would have been sufficient to bring about a shortage of labor, East Germany's unfavorable manpower situation was exacerbated by the loss of population through the mass flight to West Germany—a loss that was halted only by the closing of the Berlin border in 1961. It is estimated that 2.3 million people fled to the West between 1948 and 1961. Of the total leaving East Germany, about 75% were of working age, and an estimated 19,000 were engineers, technicians, and highly skilled workers.

The regime has been highly successful in encouraging a high rate of labor force participation. The share of the working-age population actually in the labor force rose from 72% in 1955 to 83% in 1967, at which point the proportion stabilized through 1970. This increase is attributable chiefly to greater participation by East German women. From 1955 to 1970 the proportion of economically active working-age women rose from 58% to 79%. The proportion of all women in the labor force, 43% in 1970, is comparable to that in the rest of Eastern Europe (U.S.S.R., 46%; Czechoslovakia, 43%), but is high when compared to Western industrialized countries (30% in both West Germany and the United States).

The proportion of working-age men who are economically active has held steady from 1955 to 1970 at 88%. However, the proportion of all East German males who were economically active has dropped slightly over the same period from 58% to 54% as male deficits caused by war losses are made up with the passage of time. The 1970 rate for East German men equaled that in Czechoslovakia and the United States but was surpassed in a number of countries, including West Germany (59%) and the U.S.S.R. (56%).

In the early postwar years, unemployment was a matter of some concern. Since 1955, however, the decline in the labor force, the recovery of the economy, and the resulting full utilization of almost all available manpower have resulted in the virtual disappearance of this problem. Abrupt changes of planning sometimes result in temporary periods of unemployment for some workers, but the regime usually acts quickly to move such workers into high-priority projects.

Similarly, there is no real underemployment. However, periods of worker idleness, ranging from a few hours to several days, occur from time to time in many industrial plants because of an uneven flow of supplies, production bottlenecks, and frequent machinery breakdowns. In agriculture there has been little underemployment since the mid-1950's, largely because of the steady shift of workers into industrial employment.

The labor reserve—economically inactive persons of working age who would enter the labor force in case of

national emergency—has declined since the early 1950's as labor force participation has increased. Most of the employable working-age population is now working, and the portion which remains outside the labor force (approximately 1.6 million persons in 1970, of whom nearly 65% were female) is employable to only a limited degree. Most of the working-age women outside the labor force are housewives—many of them 50 years of age or more—who lack industrial skills or experience. Most men capable of working, including pensioners and the partially disabled, are already in the labor force. The main source of additional manpower during a crisis situation, therefore, would be full-time students.

2. Characteristics of the labor force

Nearly 88% of the total labor force was engaged in nonagricultural activities in 1970, a proportion surpassed in only a few other European countries. Industry (including industrial handicrafts) is the leading branch of economic activity in terms of employment and in 1970 accounted for approximately 48% of the nonagricultural and 42% of the total labor force. Industrial employment is concentrated in the south, and the former states of Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt (present-day *Bezirke* of Karl-Marx-Stadt, Leipzig, Dresden, Halle, Magdeburg, and Erfurt) have remained the industrial heart of the country, with a secondary center in East Berlin. A substantial shipbuilding industry has developed along the Baltic Sea coast since World War II.

Agricultural employment predominates in the sparsely populated northern third of the country. The agricultural labor force was inflated after the war by an influx of workers from the cities, where food was scarce and unemployment high. By the end of the first postwar decade most of these people had returned to their prewar activities, as was reflected in the decline of the share of agriculture in the total labor force from 27% in 1946 to approximately 20% in 1955.

According to official data, the occupational distribution of the labor force during 1955-70 changed in two important respects. Approximately 700,000 persons left agriculture after 1955; in 1970 the agricultural labor force was estimated to number 1,023,000 persons (Figure 12). This substantial decline in agriculture was paralleled by a rapid growth in services. By 1964 services had displaced agriculture as the second largest employer of East German labor, and in 1970 percentages for services and agriculture were 17% and 12% respectively.

Remarkably little change, however, occurred in other branches of economic activity. Employment in most nonagricultural branches rose rapidly in the early

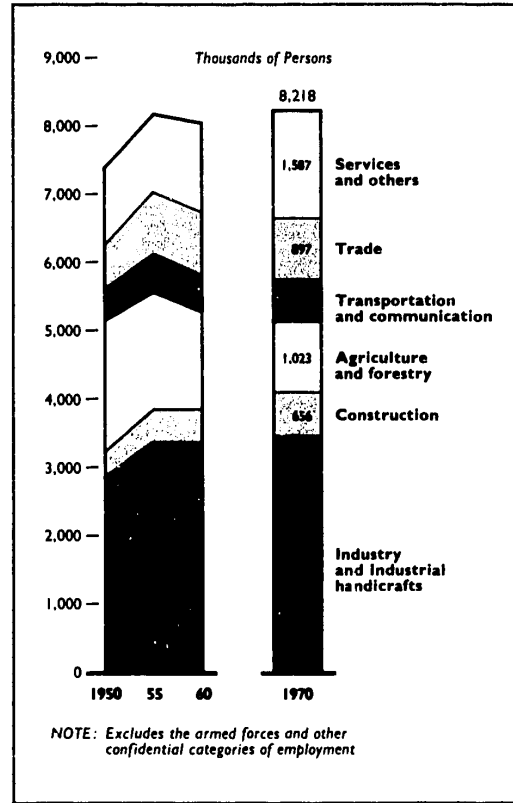


FIGURE 12. Distribution of labor by branch of economic activity

1950's as a result of the postwar recovery effort and the regime's industrialization drive. Reconstruction and expansion of the economy between 1950 and 1955 brought about increases in employment of as much as 20% to 40% in industry, construction, and trade. The levels reached by 1955 increased very little subsequently, however, and—with the exception of agriculture and services—the relative share of each branch in the labor force remained constant throughout the 1955-70 period.

Official East German statistics show that employment in industry (manufacturing, mining and quarrying, and public utilities) and industrial handicrafts remained slightly below the 1955 level through 1966, and by 1970 industrial employment exceeded the 1955 figure by less than 100,000 persons. Industrial handicrafts, which are classified as a separate branch of economic activity in East Germany, include privately owned producing and repair organizations employing fewer than 10 persons, excluding the owner and his wife, together with

cooperative organizations formed by licensed craftsmen. As a result of official pressure against independent craftsmen, the share of industrial handicrafts in total employment fell from about 9% in 1950 to 5% in 1961. After the closing of the Berlin wall, regime pressure slackened and the share of handicrafts remained steady at that figure in 1970. A decline will no doubt take place in response to renewed pressure against the private sector by the Honecker regime. Females accounted for 42% of the 1970 total of 3,460,400 persons in industry and industrial handicrafts. They were much more numerous, however, in industry than in industrial handicrafts (Figure 13).

Employment trends within industry clearly reflect the priorities of the regime, which has consistently encouraged transfer of workers from consumer-oriented production to heavy industry, particularly to the so-called leading branches—chemicals, machine building, electrical engineering, and electronics. In 1970, approximately 915,500 wage and salary earners (not including apprentices), some 12% fewer than in 1955, were employed in light industry (ranging from textiles and wearing apparel to printing and reproduction) and in food, beverages, and tobacco. The number of wage and salary earners in the basic materials sector—power and utilities, mining and quarrying, metallurgy, chemicals, and building

materials—rose only 5% in the 1955-70 period to 729,200. The greatest gain was registered in the metalworking sector, which includes machine building, electrical engineering, and precision equipment. These branches employed 1,173,100 wage and salary earners in 1970, some 23% more than in 1955 and nearly 42% of the 1970 total for all branches of industry excluding industrial handicrafts (2,817,800).

Socialization of the economy has greatly influenced the distribution of the labor force by class of worker. Measures taken by the regime to restrict private enterprise caused the proportion of the labor force classed as employers, self-employed, and unpaid family workers to drop from nearly 26% in 1950 to about 3% in 1970, and was pushed below 1% in 1972 with the elimination of the remaining private firms. The proportion of wage and salary earners, already substantial in 1950 at 74% of the labor force, has risen since then to 85% in 1970. Cooperative members, a category not in existence until 1952, comprised 12% of the labor force in 1970. Most cooperative members work on collective farms. They do not receive set wages or salaries but share in the income of the farm (or other producer cooperative) which, in theory, they jointly own and manage. In fact, however, the cooperatives are virtually run by the state.

Wage and salary earners predominate in every branch of economic activity except for agriculture and handicrafts; their share of the work force is 93% or more in most branches, and in industry it is over 99%. The regime's introduction of producer cooperatives in agriculture, handicrafts, and—to a more limited extent—in construction has effected drastic changes in the class-of-workers distribution of these branches.

The most sweeping changes have occurred in agriculture, where the number of self-employed and unpaid family workers plummeted during the sudden and forcible completion of the collectivization drive in the spring of 1960. There was a corresponding rise in cooperative membership, as shown in the following tabulation (in percent of agricultural labor force):

	1952	1960	1970
Wage and salary earners	23.9	27.0	23.3
Cooperative members	2.4	70.3	75.8
Self-employed and unpaid family workers	73.7	2.7	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In handicrafts, wage and salary earners and self-employed workers have declined sharply as the number of regime-favored cooperatives has increased. The private sector continues to play a significant, if declining, role in handicraft production, and in 1970 some 30% of all craft workers were employers, self-employed, or unpaid family workers. Nearly 38% of

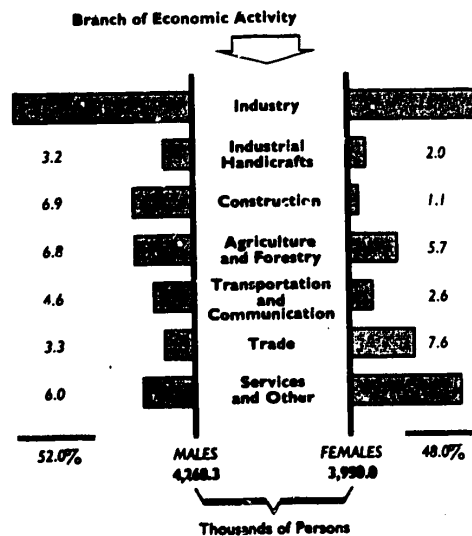


FIGURE 13. Composition of labor force by sex and branch of economic activity

the total were wage or salary earners, and 32% cooperative members. In construction, too, wage-earning employment has fallen (to 80% of the construction work force in 1970) as cooperative membership (17%) has risen; the self-employed and unpaid family workers accounted for only 3% of the 1970 total.

Little current information is available on the occupational structure of the East German labor force; official statistics are fragmentary, often out of date, and difficult to evaluate. Data for industry show that the number of production workers is declining, particularly in the more highly mechanized industries. About 66% of the wage and salary earners (excluding apprentices) in industry were classified as production workers in 1970, compared with 71% in 1960. The ratio of production workers to total work force in 1970 was lowest in the electrical engineering and precision tool branches (59%) and highest in light industry excluding textiles (77%). Conversely, the number of technical, managerial, and administrative personnel is gradually increasing in all branches of industry. These trends are expected to continue as increased investment and imports of advanced machinery continue to raise the level of mechanization.

Available data on the skills of the labor force show the same trends. The proportion of unskilled workers in socialist state-owned industry fell from 12.0% in 1964 to 9.6% in 1970, while that of semiskilled workers fell from 43.0% to 37.9%. The skilled category rose steadily over the same period from 45.0% to 52.5%. Characteristic differences remain in the distribution of skills by industrial branch. In 1970, only 36% of the work force in foodstuffs was skilled, compared with 62% in fuels and power and in heavy machine building. The relatively low skill level in the light industry branches is linked with the high proportion of untrained women employed in these branches. Efforts to increase the number of skilled female workers have thus far met with little success, and only 20% of employed women are classified as skilled. Given the large proportion of women in the labor force, their disinclination to acquire additional occupational skills or undertake further professional training creates a serious obstacle for the regime in its efforts to upgrade overall skill levels.

Improving the qualifications of the labor force is a matter of serious concern despite the fact that East Germany is favored with a productive labor force which has considerable technological experience and a long tradition of excellence in industrial arts and crafts. Skill shortages have appeared because of the continued expansion of industry, and have been aggravated by the loss of trained manpower through war casualties, emigration, and retirement. The level

of training for young people entering the labor force, moreover, has not increased as the regime had planned, for many students leave school before their education is complete in order to take jobs in industry.

Vocational training begins at an early age, for the educational system has, since 1958, been based on the Soviet concept of polytechnical education, which combines academic instruction and actual work experience. In grades 1 to 6, work experience is in the form of an introduction to tools and simple machines, work in school gardens, and trips to farms and factories; from grade 7 on, students work for short periods on farms and in factories, where they seem generally to be regarded as a nuisance. After grade 9 they are required to work full time for several weeks a year. Apprenticeship training begins after completion of 8 or 10 years of the polytechnical schools. Fluctuations in the number of apprentices clearly reflect the earlier exodus of young East Germans to the West and the subsequent effect of the construction of the Berlin wall. The total fell steadily through 1963, from 507,700 in 1952 to 264,600 in 1963, and then began to rise, reaching 448,800 in 1970. In addition to full-time apprenticeship training on the job, vocational training is offered to secondary school graduates in *Berufsschulen* (full-time or part-time vocational schools located within the plant's facilities) and in *Fachschulen* (full-time trade schools). The great majority of workers receive training only in the *Berufsschulen* in their places of employment.

3. Labor productivity and working conditions

Industrial labor productivity has risen at an impressive rate compared with that of other European countries. Official statistics show an average increase of slightly more than 6% per year in output per worker in industry for the 1955-70 period. Although the current rate of increase of 6% per year is respectable by East European standards, it fell short of the 7% annual increase called for in the government's economic plan for 1966-70, and there is little likelihood that the 7% target reiterated in the 1971-75 plan will be met either.

In the drive for increased productivity, primary reliance is placed on wage incentives. Wage increases are linked to increases in output through the system of norms (standards of quantity or quality of work which are established for every enterprise). Work norms were tightened in 1962 and again in 1964, and provision was made for regular revision of norms as production techniques improved. The current norms exceed in most cases what the average worker can achieve, and the system is highly unpopular.

The regime uses a number of other methods to increase productivity. The unpopular Stakhanovite system is known in East Germany as the Hennecke

system, after a miner who fulfilled his norm by 380%. Activists, specially trained and permitted to work under favorable conditions, establish a norm which is subsequently made binding on all workers. Individuals or teams of workers are encouraged to increase their norms voluntarily. "Socialist labor brigades" and "socialist competition" are also employed to inculcate an approved attitude toward work and labor discipline, and to develop a group spirit that will spur the individual to greater effort.

A continued rise in the level of labor productivity is essential in view of the regime's decision, implemented in 1966-67, to further reduce normal hours of work. The 5-day workweek was extended to all industrial workers in late 1967, and weekly working hours of 43½ hours for work in one- and two-shift enterprises, and 42 hours for continuous work, were introduced. Labor authorities are expected to continue to manipulate job assignments, to be less attentive to safety standards, and to use greater numbers of women and children to reduce wages and increase the labor force. Although regulations are explicit on the subject of hours of work and compensation of overtime, there is much unpaid labor in the form of extra "voluntary" shifts, foregoing of rest periods, machinery maintenance outside working hours, and the Seifert method, under which time lost during work is not counted as working time. Because of the need for labor, protective legislation for women, though seemingly adequate, is generally vague and is commonly bypassed. Regulations prohibiting the employment of women in labor injurious to health often are ignored. Such conditions are reflected in a high incidence of sickness among women and in an unusually high number of miscarriages. A high sickness rate among workers, stemming from actual physical illness and from malingering, results in a rate of absenteeism comparable to that caused in other countries by strikes and production shutdowns.

Although the regime has instituted an elaborate system of inspection, plant managers, who are officially responsible for maintaining safety standards, frequently fail to observe precautions that might jeopardize plan fulfillment. The same pressures operate on the workers and tend to make them careless in their attempt to meet their norms. As a result, the incidence of industrial accidents is high, over 334,600 in 1970. Modern concepts of worker environment such as ventilation and lighting have, however, been given considerable emphasis in industrial installations built since 1945.

4. Income

Average monthly family income in the households of wage and salary earners stood at DME1031

(US\$245.48)⁴ in 1970, approximately 75%—in money terms—of the level in West Germany. Prior to 1961, industrial earnings rose almost as rapidly as in West Germany as a result of the East German regime's use of wage incentives to discourage the flight of qualified workers to the West. Although wage gains slackened with the imposition of new work norms in 1962 and 1964, the large number of working women contributing to family income cushioned the drop in that figure by a substantial amount. Over 80% of the wives of East German wage and salary earners were employed in 1970, and most of them worked full time.

In real terms, the comparison of average incomes of the families of wage and salary earners in East and West Germany is even more unfavorable to the East. The difference is substantially greater if all families are included, principally because East Germany has no class comparable to West German property owners. The purchasing power of the East German mark is substantially less than that of West Germany, and the cost to the East German consumer of better quality goods and services is exorbitant, relative to the West. The disparity in real income levels between East and West Germany is greater for the upper income group, which is most prone to buy luxury goods; real incomes of the best paid East German households of wage and salary earners were estimated in 1967 to be only half those of their West German counterparts. Among low-income groups, however, real income levels in each country were about the same.

Information on earnings in agriculture is scanty, and family income figures are not available. No data are published on the earnings of collective farm members, who make up the bulk of the agricultural population. Their earnings appear to be lower, on the average, than those of agricultural workers who receive wages or salaries, but individual earnings vary widely. The earnings of a collective farmer depend not only on the prosperity of the entire farm but on the system (of which there are several) the farm uses for remunerating its members. Depending on the type of collective, from 20% to 40% of the collective's income is divided among the members in proportion to the amount of land each contributed upon joining the collective; the remainder is distributed according to the amount of work performed. Agricultural workers employed on state farms averaged DME710 (US\$169.05) monthly in 1970.

Average monthly earnings of full-time wage and salary earners in the state-controlled or "socialist" sector (excluding services) stood at DME762

⁴The East German currency is the Mark of the German Bank of Issue or East German mark-DME. The DME was valued at 4.2 to US\$1.00 prior to February 1972, when the value was set at DME 3.15=US\$1.00. Parity is now set at DME2.8=US\$1.00.

(US\$181.43) in 1967. Earnings levels vary considerably according to the branch of economic activity, because of differences in the skills required, in wage rates and supplemental payments which reflect the regime's priorities with respect to economic growth, and in the number of regular and overtime hours worked. In 1970, average monthly earnings (in DME) were as follows:

Construction	833
Transportation	806
Industry	770
Agriculture and forestry	710
Trade	668
Communications	653

Within industry, average earnings are highest (DME873 per month in 1970) in metallurgy. All branches of light industry paid less than the industrywide average, with textile and apparel manufacture ranking lowest (DME618 per month).

Annual wage gains were modest in the early 1960's, when the regime responded to serious inflationary pressures by holding down wage increases and raising some consumer prices in order to reduce the excess of purchasing power over available goods. Average industrial earnings had risen 25% during 1955-60, when the border was open and East German firms were competing for labor with the West. This led to serious distortions in the economy which the regime sought to correct by limiting wage increases to only 18% in the 1960-67 period. With the introduction of new work norms in 1962, the annual increase in average industrial earnings dropped sharply compared with earlier years; throughout most of the 1962-67 period the yearly gain in earnings was less than 2%. With the stabilization of the economy in that year, the clampdown on wage increases was eased, and between 1967 and 1970 average industrial earnings rose 13%.

In addition to base pay and bonuses—a widely used form of incentive payment, based usually on attainment of enterprise production goals or other standards of efficiency—workers receive a number of supplementary payments and nonmonetary fringe benefits. If actual full-time earnings are less than DME300 monthly, the employer makes a payment (for which he is reimbursed by the government) to raise them to the minimum, DME300 level. Workers whose spouses are not working receive an extra DME5 a month. Heads of household also receive DME40 monthly for each of the first three children; DME60 monthly for a fourth child; and DME70 for each additional child. There are also special payments for those working in mines, in tuberculosis sanitariums, or other places where there is danger of infection, and in the restricted zone near the West German border. Finally, each worker receives a Christmas bonus of

DME25 if single or DME35 if married. Most of these payments were designed to benefit the lowest paid workers.

Most enterprises provide nonmonetary benefits, such as meals at subsidized prices. Industrial enterprises furnish work clothing and special protective garb, and provide for its cleaning and repair. Large enterprises generally provide child-care facilities and insure that housing is available for their workers. In the large enterprises the labor union sponsors health and recreation facilities, reading rooms, and various social and cultural activities.

E. Living conditions and social problems

In East Germany, as in other Communist countries, the welfare of the individual is subordinated to the purposes of the state and to the state's concept of social welfare. Economic plans prescribe, among other things, consumer goods supply, retail prices, wages and hours, sick benefits, and pensions. The state has full control of the welfare services, which it uses to support the economic plans and Communist political and social objectives. The system, however, provides the individual with a certain level of economic security; nearly everyone is entitled to free medical care and hospitalization, and workers are assured of at least subsistence pensions.

After dropping below subsistence levels in the immediate postwar period, East German levels of consumption had reached their prewar position by 1955. Under the influence of the regime's policy of trying to equal West German levels of consumption, East German consumption between 1955 and 1960 rose another 30%; the level remained about the same through 1964, and then resumed its upward trend. The rise in consumption has tended to ameliorate some of the earlier popular discontent, but the people, prone to comparisons with West Germany, still are not satisfied with the availability of goods. Figure 14 details the improvement in consumer goods availability since 1955 and the continuing lag behind West German levels.

In an effort to match West German increases in nominal per capita income, the regime in the late 1950's allowed wages to rise at a greater rate than the supplies of consumer goods. As a result, in 1958, after food rationing was abolished, the demand for meat and butter exceeded the supply. After construction of the Berlin wall cut off the people's normal method of avoiding unpopular measures, the regime was able to stabilize wages and raise prices in order to stem inflation. Rationing, albeit this time informal, was reintroduced for butter in 1960, and for meat in 1962, and was continued in many areas until 1966. Under

FIGURE 14. Ownership of selected consumer goods per 100 households, 1955-70

	1955	1960	1965	1970	WEST GERMANY 1969
Automobiles.....	0.2	3.2	8.2	15.6	47
Radios.....	77.1	89.9	86.5	91.9	91
Television sets.....	1.2	16.7	48.5	69.1	73
Refrigerators.....	0.4	6.1	25.9	56.4	84
Washing machines.....	0.5	6.2	27.7	53.6	61

the New Economic System inaugurated in 1964, the regime sought with varying degrees of success to bring the supply of consumer goods more into accord with demand, and to improve quality. By the early 1970's, although shortages continued to plague some parts of the economy, the East German population enjoyed the highest standard of living in Eastern Europe.

1. Diet, clothing, housing, and consumer goods

The East German diet is generally adequate, but the food available is inferior in quality and variety to that in West Germany. There is relatively high consumption of fats and carbohydrates, together with beverages and luxury food items which have become more plentiful in recent years. Except for staple foods, which are very cheap in East Germany, the cost of food is about the same in both Germanies, but such items as butter, chocolate, and citrus fruit still remain quite expensive in East Germany. As a rule, the supply of animal protein-rich foods does not meet demand. The average caloric intake, however, compares favorably with that in West Germany and other Central European countries (Figure 15).

FIGURE 15. Daily food consumption in calories and protein, selected countries

	CALORIES	PERCENT OF ANIMAL ORIGIN*	PROTEIN
			<i>Grams</i>
Sweden.....	2,950	42	82
United States.....	3,140	41	93
United Kingdom.....	3,280	39	89
France.....	3,100	37	98
West Germany.....	2,950	37	80
EAST GERMANY.....	3,040	37	76
Switzerland.....	3,150	35	89
Austria.....	2,960	34	86
Hungary.....	3,050	32	94
Poland.....	3,140	30	93
Czechoslovakia.....	3,030	27	83
U.S.S.R.....	3,180	21	92

*Meat, poultry, eggs, fish, milk, butter, cheese, slaughter fats, marine oils.

East Germans dress warmly and comfortably; clothing selection is becoming more stylish and the assortment more plentiful. The quality of clothing has improved, but nylon and other wash-and-wear fabrics cost more than comparable items in the West. Shortages of a number of items recur periodically, and the regime attempts to ameliorate these as they occur. For example, the regime moved promptly to deal with the shortage of women's and children's clothing that developed in the mid-1960's, and by 1968 there was a marked increase in availability of these items. Unfortunately such solutions tend to be short term and do not tackle the fundamental problem of accommodating socialist planning to the vagaries of consumer demand. The production of shoes continues to plague East German manufacturers who seem unable to provide a good supply of low-cost, quality footwear. The main complaint stems from the manufacturers' practice of displaying stylish shoes at fairs and exhibitions but failing to make them available to consumers. Durable kitchen appliances such as refrigerators and washing machines are scarce, but the supply of TV sets has occasionally exceeded demand since 1967. An automobile, on the other hand, remains a luxury out of reach to most East Germans. The waiting list is long and the price high for either a domestically produced automobile or one of the relatively few cars imported from abroad. In the year 1970 there were only 61 passenger cars for every 1,000 persons, far behind West Germany which had 228 passenger cars for a similar number of persons. A comparison of the worktime required to obtain various consumer goods and services in East and West Germany in 1970 is shown in Figure 16. Figure 17 illustrates the relative levels of living in East Germany and selected other countries. It is clear that while East Germany still lags considerably behind West Germany in providing its citizenry with an assortment of high-quality consumer goods, the East Germans are far better off than their neighbors to the east.

Adequate housing is still a problem as per capita living space remains below prewar levels. Older dwellings, many still privately owned, are not well maintained because of shortages of materials and

FIGURE 16. Worktime required to obtain selected consumer goods and services, 1970

	WEST GER- MANY	EAST GERMANY
	Hours and minutes	
Automobile (40-50 hp.)	879: 28	4220: 11
Portable television (black/white, 24 in.)	78: 53	419: 13
Washing machine (tumble action), 18 lb.	112: 55	285: 43
Refrigerator (5 cu. ft. with freezer)	41: 15	261: 54
Electric range (3 burners)	41: 7	152: 51
Vacuum cleaner (portable with accessories)	24: 27	46: 36
Man's wristwatch (17 jewels, refined steel)	11: 32	37: 10
Portable typewriter	31: 40	100: 43
Weekly train ticket (2d class, 9 mi., without surcharge)	1: 15	36: 30
Electricity (household rate) 10 kw.-hr.	: 08	: 11
Radio and TV tax	1: 11	2: 23
Man's haircut	: 32	: 13
Woman's permanent wave	2: 59	2: 17
Man's shoe resoling	1: 10	1: 22
Lignite coal briquets—110 lb.	1: 00	: 50

workmen. Newer units, usually prefabricated apartments, are of lower quality, smaller, and have long waiting lists for occupancy. To obviate the persistent housing shortage the regime has quietly encouraged individual construction of one-family houses. Rents are strictly regulated and are considerably below those in West Germany, with the result that a smaller part of family income is spent on housing. Utilities have been improved and expanded steadily following years of neglect. The population is generally well provided with water and electricity; supplies of fuel for heating are generally adequate, although there are sporadic shortages.

The demand for domestic, repair, and personal services, such as barbers and seamstresses, is high but their availability has declined. Perhaps the most interesting development in recent years has been the increase in income available for leisure time activities. To satisfy the demand created by this increase, the regime has opened numerous vacation resorts and negotiated with the other Eastern European states to achieve freer movement of tourist traffic (Figure 18)

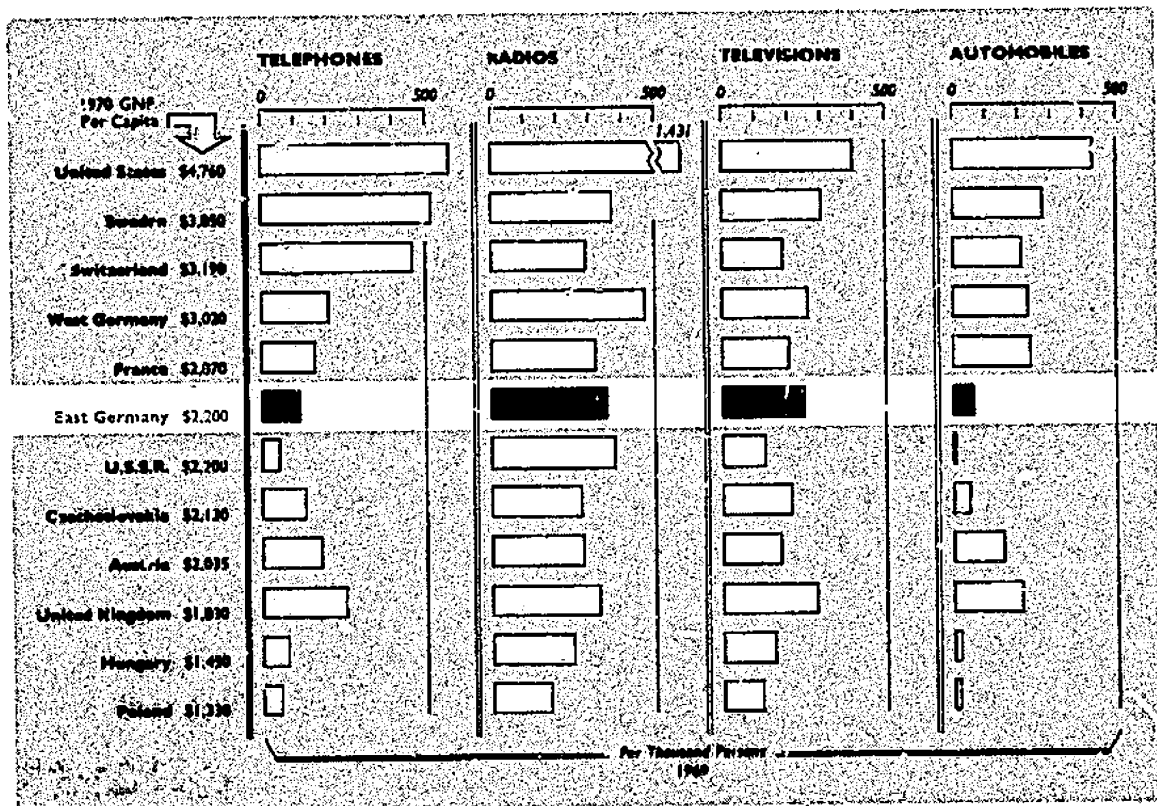


FIGURE 17. Level of living in selected countries



FIGURE 18. East Germany is far ahead of the rest of Eastern Europe in the provision of leisure-time facilities. Shown here is one of more than 1,000 open-air swimming pools which dot the countryside. Some 1.6 million persons also visited Baltic resorts in 1970.

2. Social insurance

Beginning in the 1880's, Germany developed broad social and health insurance programs, the first European country to do so. The system as it existed before World War II was taken over by the Communist government after the war and expanded, providing improved medical and hospitalization services, sickness and disability benefits, maternity benefits, and old age and survivors' pensions.

The Ministry of Health oversees the nationwide socialized health service. The basic element in the system is the district hospital; below them are numerous smaller county hospitals which average between 200 and 250 beds each. In addition to these hospitals, there are several special hospitals for specific diseases, a network of clinics for outpatient treatment, industrial dispensaries, and TB and cancer detection centers.

Social security is administered by two organizations. One is the Communist-controlled Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB), which operates the social insurance system (*Sozialversicherung*). It covers wage earners and salaried employees. Self-employed persons (except doctors) and members of agricultural and handicraft cooperatives are covered by the State Insurance System (until 1969 the German Insurance Agency). Special social insurance systems exist separately for railway and postal employees, customs officials, and members of the police and army.

The social insurance organization administered by the FDGB is financed primarily through payroll deductions from wages and salaries, together with

contributions from employers. (In other Eastern European countries, employee contributions have been virtually eliminated.) The payroll deduction is calculated at 10% of the gross taxable wage or salary, with a maximum payment of DM160 per month. The contribution of the employers matches that for all employees except miners, for whom it is double the payroll deduction. Self-employed persons pay 14% to 17% of their gross incomes up to DM17,200 a year. These deductions and contributions must be supplemented by subsidies from the state.

Payments to the State Insurance System are computed on various bases. For members of agricultural cooperatives, the payment is 9% of cash income and wages in kind; for handicraft cooperative members, the rate is the same as that for wage earners in the social insurance system, and the cooperative as a unit makes a matching contribution. Independent artisans pay at varying rates, generally low, while most self-employed professionals pay 14% to 17% of their gross taxable earnings. Large state subsidies are required to offset the relatively low rate applying to cooperative farmers.

The East German social insurance system provides the comprehensive coverage typical of an advanced society. It pays for medical, dental, hospitalization, and maternity costs. It also provides for various types of pensions, of which old age, accident and disability, and survivor pensions are leading examples. In 1970 the social insurance system took in nearly DM18 billion and paid out more than DM12 billion, the state making up the difference. All figures—income, the state's contribution, and payments—have grown

substantially more than the relative growth in Population, even taking into account such other factors as inflation.

In line with the Honecker regime's efforts to upgrade the standard of living of the East German citizenry, a decision was made in 1972 to raise the minimum pension to DME200 per month, an increase of DME40. All other pension plans, such as those for widows, orphans, the disabled, miners, and war veterans, were raised accordingly. At the same time stipulations setting maximum pensions at a level to 85% of earnings were revoked. In order to encourage pension-age workers to remain in the work force, supplementary pension schemes were made more generous for those who did not take the option to retire.

In addition to incomes and services provided by social insurance, East Germans also receive aid from other state sources. The largest expenditure is for family aid—cash allowances when children are born and a small monthly subsidy for each child. The state also provides minimal relief (*Sozialfuersorge*) for people unable to work when other sources of income do not provide the basic necessities.

The Honecker regime has also increased family allowances, expanded assistance to working mothers, and upped social welfare payments. Thus birth grants have been doubled to DME1,000 for the first child; interest-free housing and home furnishing loans up to DME5,000 each are available to newlyweds and up to 26 years allowed for repayment with substantial reductions occurring at the birth of each child; travel discounts are offered to families with three or more children; working mothers of such families have a shorter workweek (40 hours) without reduction in pay and a longer vacation (21 days); and basic social welfare payments have been increased from DME120 to DME175 per month.

Despite these comprehensive benefits, the East German programs are not as effective as those in West Germany in meeting the needs of the people. In part this is because of the low level of benefits for unproductive persons. Cash benefits, pensions, and other allowances from all public sources were estimated in 1962 to provide only about 70% as much nominal income per capita as in West Germany, or less than 60% as much real income in terms of comparable purchasing power. Maternity benefits, sick pay, and accident insurance are relatively adequate because these are more closely related to incentives for and the morale of the economically active population. Many East Germans believe that they are better off than their counterparts in West Germany in certain programs such as health care.

3. Social problems

The major social problems in East Germany arise from the imposition of communism on part of an advanced industrial nation with strongly entrenched native social and cultural traditions. The widespread indifference to communism among the East German people has given the people a sense of a community of interest, a "we" versus "they" attitude toward the authorities. Despite years of propaganda most East Germans probably would still prefer to live under conditions resembling those in West Germany. They are, however, becoming more critical toward certain features of the West German social system, and it can no longer be assumed that there would be wholesale defections if travel restrictions were removed. Most East Germans still blame the Communist regime for the continued separation of families and for the many obstacles placed in their way when applying to visit relatives in West Berlin and West Germany.

These attitudes—social problems from the regime's point of view—probably are beginning to weaken somewhat with the passage of time and as a result of measures taken by the regime. Since the erection of the Berlin wall, increasing numbers of East Germans have become resigned to living under the Communist system for the indefinite future. A growing number have come to feel a commitment to the system which has opened doors to them through educational or professional opportunity—doors that were not open in the pre-Communist era.

The Communist regime takes great pride in its claim that all types of crime have decreased during the years that it has been in power and in the elimination, or virtual elimination, of certain categories of crimes which it claims are characteristic of capitalist society. Prostitution, bank robbery, fraudulent bankruptcy, and counterfeiting are alleged to have been eradicated, and official statistics do not report these crimes.

In 1970 there were 109,100 confirmed punishable offenses committed, or 640 offenses per 100,000 of the population. This is about 18% of the West German crime rate, although comparability is not exact because of differing definitions of criminal offenses and the failure of the East Germans to publish data on crimes they claim to have eradicated. East German police and courts have unusually high rates of convictions, as attested by data released in 1966 which revealed that 94% of those detained were found guilty. The most common crimes are theft and fraud, of which there were 50,200 cases in 1970. The next most common are traffic offenses, of which there were 16,100 cases including 2,600 involving serious injury.

Other crimes in descending order are assault, various sexual offenses, aiding and abetting, and forgery.

There are no data on drug addiction, but fragmentary reports indicate that it is not a significant problem in East Germany. The rate of newly reported cases of syphilis is acceptably low (in 1970, 0.2 new cases per 10,000 of the population), but gonorrhea (13.8 new cases per 10,000 of the population) not only persists but seems to be rising as traditional methods of contraception are abandoned in favor of the pill. Alcoholism appears to be a problem. Per capita consumption of wine, beer, and hard liquor is less than in West Germany, but total consumption of alcohol is rising with hard liquor on the verge of replacing beer as the chief source of alcohol consumption.

An increasing problem for the East German authorities is juvenile delinquency, but their concept of the term is much broader than in the West. The growth of juvenile delinquency contrasts with the decline of adult criminality, and the share of juvenile crime in total crime far exceeds the juvenile age group's share in the total population. About half of all crimes committed in recent years have been committed by persons under 25; the age groups with the highest incidence of criminality are 18 to 21 and 15 to 18.

The increase of juvenile delinquency in a society which has devoted great effort to bringing up a new generation dedicated to socialist ideals has been a subject of great pain to the regime. Unable to admit failures on their part, the East German leaders attribute the spread of youth crime to negative influences from the West, especially from western radio and television. Furthermore, East German parents have been charged with a poor job in bringing up their children, and alcohol misuse has been cited as a cause for juvenile crime. To fight against this

problem the Free German Youth (FDJ) organization has been given a mandate to assist the police in maintaining public order and to undertake propaganda programs pointing out the consequences of antisocial behavior.

F. Health

Health and sanitary standards are among the best in Eastern Europe and are comparable in most respects to those in Western Europe. This is borne out by comparisons of infant mortality rates and life expectancy at birth, two generally accepted indices of the state of public health (Figure 19). East Germany has benefited from a long tradition of good medical services, but the regime's early efforts to eliminate private practice by physicians and dentists induced many medical practitioners to flee to West Germany, thereby reducing medical care to levels that for many years were barely adequate. Encouragement of medical education, cutting off the escape route to West Berlin in 1961, and continued toleration of private practice has brought some improvement and prospects for further gains.

1. Medical facilities

Communist regimentation of the medical services—especially moves in 1958 to eliminate private practice—was a major factor in the emigration of many physicians. Nearly 5,000 physicians and dentists fled before August 1961; in 1958 alone, approximately 10% of the total number of physicians left the country. Between 1961 and 1970, however, with escape cut off and the regime making a major effort to train physicians, the number increased from 14,600 to 27,300. In 1970 there was 1 physician for every 630 inhabitants, a considerable improvement over the

FIGURE 19. Infant mortality rates and life expectancy at birth, selected countries

	INFANT MORTALITY*	LIFE EXPECTANCY**		
		Male	Female	Year
Sweden.....	13.1 (1968)	71.9	76.5	1967
France.....	15.1	68.0	73.5	1968
United Kingdom.....	18.6 (1969)	68.5	74.7	1967/69
EAST GERMANY.....	18.8	67.8	73.1	1969
United States.....	19.8	66.6	74.0	1968
Czechoslovakia.....	22.1	67.3	73.6	1966
West Germany.....	22.5	67.8	73.6	1966/68
U.S.S.R.....	24.4	65.0	74.0	1967/68
Austria.....	25.9	66.5	73.3	1969
Poland.....	33.1	66.9	72.9	1965/68
Hungary.....	35.7	67.0	71.8	1964

*Deaths of infants under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births. Data are for 1970 except as indicated.

**In years.

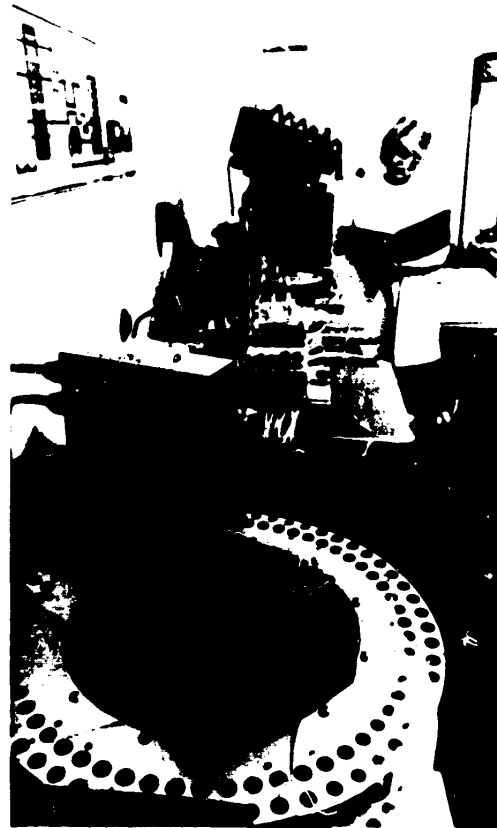


FIGURE 20. East Germany maintains a level of medical and hospital care comparable to that in the West. (Above) Interior of operating theater in hospital in Rostock. (Right) Laboratory of Berlin Center for Diabetes and Metabolic Diseases.

1946-61 average ratio of 1 per 1,280 and slightly less than the 1970 West German ratio of 1 physician per 580 population.

To deal with the critical shortages of the 1950's and early 1960's, the East German regime imported physicians from several Eastern European countries, notably Bulgaria, on 2- and 3-year contracts. At the same time, they increased the enrollment of medical students and reorganized the medical curriculum more along the lines of U.S. medical schools, eliminating the classical courses traditionally required in German education. The authorities also required medical students to help out in the various medical institutions during off hours and vacations, which probably contributed to reports during that period of a decline in the quality of medical care.

There has been a gradual consolidation of hospital facilities, the total number of hospitals having declined steadily from 1,063 in 1950 to 626 in 1970.

The majority (523) are state or communal institutions, while 82 are church-affiliated and 21 are private. The number of beds available in all hospitals increased from 157,200 in 1950 to a high of 207,100 in 1972. In 1970 there were 190,000 beds, or a ratio of 1 bed per 90 persons. Thus, hospital facilities (Figure 20) appear to be more adequate than those available in most West European countries, and in the number of physicians, East Germany compares reasonably well with other European countries (Figure 21).

2. Incidence of disease

The continued rise in the total number of consultations conducted by physicians probably reflects the aging of the population and a growing incidence of chronic disorders, and possibly some malingering and hypochondria. East Germany's medical personnel reported 106.6 million consultations in 1969, compared with 67.1 million in 1961, a

FIGURE 21. Ratio of population to hospital beds and physicians, selected countries

	POPULATION/ HOSPITAL BED	POPULATION/ PHYSICIAN
Sweden (1968).....	70	800
EAST GERMANY (1969)...	80	620
Austria (1968).....	90	560
West Germany (1968).....	90	580
Switzerland (1968).....	90	**650
Czechoslovakia (1969).....	100	480
United Kingdom (1968).....	100	*860
U.S.S.R. (1969).....	107	433
United States (1968).....	120	*650
Hungary (1969).....	120	520
Poland (1969).....	130	690
France (1968).....	150	**770

*1967.

**1969.

rise of 59% while the population declined by about 0.2%. Among the most prevalent diseases are scarlet fever (16.0 cases per 10,000 inhabitants in 1970), infectious hepatitis (10.9 cases per 10,000 in 1970), active respiratory tuberculosis (5.1 cases per 10,000 in 1969), salmonella food poisoning (3.2 cases per 10,000 in 1970), and dysentery (3.0 cases per 10,000 in 1970). In addition, the number of newly reported cases of all types of cancer has risen steadily from 39,700 in 1955 to 60,100 (or 35.2 cases per 10,000 inhabitants) in 1970. The leading causes of death in 1969 were circulatory ailments (64.7 deaths per 10,000 inhabitants), malignant neoplasms (22.0 deaths per 10,000 inhabitants), and cerebrovascular ailments (9.6 deaths per 10,000 inhabitants).

Hygiene and epidemic control is exercised by the Ministry for Health's State Hygiene Inspectorate, with subordinate inspectorates in each of the 15 districts (*Bezirke*) which control lower level inspectorates in the 218 counties (*Kreise*). In the last 15 years the medical service has virtually eliminated or drastically reduced the incidence of typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, diphtheria, poliomyelitis, active tuberculosis, and syphilis. At the same time, however, it has been unable to do much with other diseases, such as amebiasis, shigellosis, scarlet fever, salmonellosis, viral encephalitis, influenza, infectious hepatitis, and gonorrhea. In 1962 and 1964 there were serious epidemics of amebiasis and shigellosis. There have also been serious outbreaks of influenza, scarlet fever, and hepatitis.

3. Pharmaceuticals

There are recurrent shortages of pharmaceuticals. Although many drugs are manufactured locally and

are up to world standards, the population generally suspects the quality and effectiveness of some East German-produced pharmaceuticals, and prefers Western-produced products when available. Importation of Western pharmaceuticals has long been discouraged, although some continue to be received. For example, West German church organizations have sent pharmaceuticals in exchange for the release of prisoners in East Germany, and some have been sent through private mailings.

4. Environment, diet, and sanitation

There are few environmental factors adversely affecting health in East Germany. The temperate climate and usually adequate rainfall favor healthful living. Toxic plants include mushrooms and other fungi. The two poisonous reptiles of note in East Germany are the European Asp (*Vipera aspis*), found in the southern part of the country, and the Common European Viper or Common Cross Adder (*V. berus berus*), commonly known as the *Kreuzotter*, found countrywide. Troublesome insects include types of mosquitoes, flies, lice, fleas, ticks, and mites.

The level of nutrition is generally satisfactory. Cereals and potatoes provide the major part of daily caloric intake; consumption of meat and dairy products is low by Western European standards but high by Eastern European standards. Inadequate food supplies during the unusually difficult winter of 1962-63 reportedly resulted in cases of malnutrition in some urban areas, but this exceptional situation has not been repeated. Diets are presumed to be adequate on the basis of the generally satisfactory level of health of the population.

Water supplies, though quantitatively adequate, are for the most part qualitatively poor except in important urban areas. Treatment of urban water supplies was begun in the 1950's, and several cities fluoridate drinking water. Because nearly all ground water in the northern plain contains iron and frequently manganese and hydrogen sulfide, water from individual wells is often unpalatable. Also, the construction and location of wells frequently subjects the water to contamination. Food sanitation is poor by West German standards and has been the primary cause of the high incidence of amebiasis, shigellosis, salmonellosis, and other forms of food poisoning. Deficient sewerage systems and poor sanitation practices exist in some areas, even in the vicinity of large cities. Waste is seldom treated. Night soil is used as fertilizer in rural areas.

The government maintains a network of health offices, veterinary clinics, and service stations to combat livestock diseases. Although the authorities are

reticent about providing data, the seriousness of animal disease is indicated by the imposition of strict controls over the movement of animals and humans and the virtual quarantine of many rural areas each year. The leading diseases are foot-and-mouth disease and hog cholera. Other common livestock diseases are fever, erysipelas, and hog salmonellosis, and pest, plague, and pip in poultry. A serious outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in 1967 caused the East Germans to initiate stringent controls over animals and animal products entering or leaving the country. Persons crossing the border during the epidemic were required to step into trays of disinfectant before being allowed to proceed across the border. These and other measures, which lasted several months, eventually succeeded in controlling the disease.

G. Religion

Since the Reformation the area comprising East Germany has been predominantly Protestant in its religious convictions. According to the 1964 census 59.3% of the population claimed affiliation with the Protestant Evangelical churches of Germany (Figure 22). The Roman Catholics, despite postwar immigration from heavily Catholic areas in Silesia, now under Polish administration, constituted only about 8% of the population. Nearly one-third of the population in 1964 professed no religious affiliation. Regime efforts to suppress religion have resulted in a sharp drop in church membership and an even greater decline in active participation by those claiming affiliation. Only about 25% of the Catholics and an estimated 5% of the Protestants actually attend church on a regular basis.

The predominance of Protestantism in East Germany dates back to the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the Peace of Westphalia (1648), under which local German princes were allowed to determine whether the Catholic or Lutheran confession would be the established church in their respective domains. This settlement was modified slightly by the Prussian state's union in 1817 of Lutheran and Calvinist churches within its borders into a single established church. On

FIGURE 22. Census data on religious affiliation, 1939-64, in percent

	1939	1946	1950	1964
Evangelical.....	85.2	80.9	80.5	59.3
Roman Catholic.....	6.6	12.1	11.0	8.1
Other.....	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.7
Not stated.....	*	0.2	0.2	0.3
Not affiliated.....	7.3	5.8	7.6	31.6

*Less than .05 percent.

the eve of World War II there were eight established territorial churches (*Landeskirchen*) in what was to become East Germany. Three of the *Landeskirchen* (Saxony, Thuringia, and Mecklenburg) subscribe to an undiluted Lutheran doctrine. The other five *Landeskirchen*—Brandenburg, Anhalt Province of Saxony, Pomerania (Greifswald), and Silesia (Goerlitz) are the heirs to the Prussian-sponsored Evangelical Church of the Union, which includes Lutheran as well as Reformed traditions. Each *Landeskirche* enjoys a wide degree of autonomy in dogma and liturgy. The eight *Landeskirchen* are subdivided into a total of about 7,500 parishes. Pastors are paid by funds granted to the churches by the state. Approximately 6,000 clergymen and 15,000 other church officials work in the parishes. The Evangelical churches maintain hospitals, homes for the elderly, children's homes, and infirmaries. In addition the churches have their own newspapers and publishing houses, but the content of the output is carefully screened by the state.

Until 1969, all eight were associated with similar *Landeskirchen* in West Germany in the Evangelical Church of Germany (EKD). Formed in 1945, the EKD was organized to represent the member churches in their dealings with their respective governments and international church organizations, and to coordinate missionary and welfare work, theological training, ecclesiastical law, church music, and general administration. The regime opposed the all-German aspect of the organization for years as part of its advocacy of a separate East German state. The regime in 1958 refused to deal officially with any EKD official who was not an East German citizen, and since 1961 it has refused to allow representatives to attend the annual EKD synod in West Germany. On the other hand, the regime permitted the EKD in West Germany to funnel financial aid to the East German churches and also used the EKD channel to negotiate secretly with the Bonn government on such sensitive matters as the ransoming of prisoners from East German jails. In 1969, all eight *Landeskirchen* yielded to pressure by the regime and agreed to establish a separate organization called the League of Evangelical Churches (BEX) in East Germany. Parallel steps were taken in 1968 against the three Evangelical Lutheran *Landeskirchen*, forcing them to sever their ties with the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Germany (VELKD) and form a separate East German organization. In 1972 the five union *Landeskirchen* followed suit, severing their ties with the Evangelical Church of the Union and forming a strictly East German body, the East Synod, under the leadership of Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr.

Although the majority of Protestant clergymen in East Germany are believed to have had reservations

about the formation of the BEK, several high-ranking church leaders, including the powerful bishop Schoenherr, then administrator of Brandenburg, and the proregime Bishop Moritz Mitzenheim of Thuringia, expressed support for the idea. The only remaining link with the West German churches is the statement in the BEK's constitution which stresses the all-German aspect of the Evangelical church. Even this slender thread between the two parts of the church is irritating to the regime, and it probably will provide no tangible benefits for the Protestant faithful in East Germany.

The Roman Catholic Church in Germany has maintained its prewar *de jure* structure despite the political division of Germany at the end of World War II. It staffed those dioceses and portions of dioceses east of the Oder-Neisse line with Polish capitular vicars subordinate to the Polish episcopate. It is uncertain whether the Papal recognition of full Polish control of the areas east of the Oder-Neisse will lead to reorganization of the German-controlled dioceses. East and West Germany are divided into 23 dioceses and archdioceses, and eight of these have jurisdiction over areas of East Germany. Of these eight, only one—Meissen—is wholly within East Germany; the Diocese of Berlin lies mainly in East Germany but includes both East and West Berlin; and the other six are portions of dioceses whose sees are located in West Germany or Poland. The East German portions of the five West German dioceses (Osnabrueck, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Fulda, and Wuerzburg) are organized into commissariats or vicariates-general with seats in Schwerin, Magdeburg, Erfurt, and Meiningen and are led by episcopal commissioners with the rank of auxiliary bishop. The one diocesan fragment formally responsible to a Polish see (Wroclaw) is organized under the Archiepiscopal Office of Goerlitz. All of these major jurisdictions are divided into deaneries, which in turn are subdivided into 930 parishes. Led by Cardinal Bengsch of Berlin (resident in East Berlin), the prelates meet periodically in the Berlin Conference of Ordinaries to deal with East German church problems. Except for three small areas, the Roman Catholics are dispersed throughout East Germany. Like the Protestants, the Catholics maintain their own charitable institutions, newspapers, and publishing houses. Over 1,400 priests and 2,700 nuns serve the church in East Germany.

In addition to the Lutheran, the United Evangelical, and the Roman Catholic churches, there are 27 other religious denominations, including Methodists, Baptists, Mennonites, Quakers, Old Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and some Evangelical churches not represented in the BEK. There are also small, militant sects such as the Jehovah's Witnesses

who have been persecuted and outlawed because of their refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the state. The situation of the Jews is good when compared to the tormented communities of Poland and Czechoslovakia. Even so there are only about 1,500 Jews left in East Germany, down from the postwar high of 46,000 in 1946, reflecting losses resulting from emigration and intermarriage; this is of course only a minuscule fraction of the 175,000 living there in 1933. Although the regime does not encourage the practice of the Jewish religion any more than others, there is no evidence of systematic economic or political harassment of Jews. The plight of the dwindling Jewish community in attempting to preserve its identity was revealed in 1965 when the last remaining rabbi in East Berlin died, and there was no qualified successor. A rabbi from Hungary was eventually called to Berlin to lead the small congregation, but he returned home in 1969. The Jews are now forced to rely on lay leadership, with occasional visits by clergy from Hungary, West Berlin, and Czechoslovakia. There are seven congregations struggling to exist besides the one in East Berlin; they are all members of the Federation of Jewish Congregations in the German Democratic Republic, currently headquartered in Dresden.

Although both the old and the new East German constitutions guarantee freedom of religion, the regime has from time to time imposed restrictions on the churches. The basic aim of the government has been to sever ties between the churches in East Germany and those in the Federal Republic and to force the East German churches to support the political, social, and economic policies of the regime (Figure 23).

In its drive to weaken the influence of the churches, the government has sought to supplant various traditional religious ceremonies with secular rites glorifying the state. In addition to the antireligious *Jugendweihe* ceremony—a kind of secular confirmation—the state has also established rituals to take the place of Christian baptisms, weddings, and funerals. The ceremony comparable to baptism, called *Namenweihe*, is very simple and consists of declaring the child's name and a pledge by the parents to rear the child in a "socialist tradition." The state wedding ceremony is showy and elaborate, however, and often includes officials and members of state-sanctioned organizations to which the couple is affiliated, such as the FDJ, FDGB, or the SED, if the bride or groom belongs to the party. In the case of funerals, cremation is offered by the state at a price lower than the price for a coffin and grave together.

Perhaps the regime's greatest effort has been directed toward alienating youth from religion. The



FIGURE 23. Exploitation of the church by the regime. During a heavily publicized visit in late 1971 by American clergyman and civil rights leader Ralph Abernathy as a guest of the GDR Peace Council, East Berlin's largest Protestant edifice was made a forum for attacks on U.S. foreign and domestic policy. Left to right: Rev. Abernathy, Berlin Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr, Mrs. Abernathy, GDR Peace Council President Prof. Guenter Drefahl.

chief weapon, aside from discrimination in educational and employment opportunities, has been the secular dedication of youth (*Jugendweihe*). In 1954 the Communists revived this ritual, which had originally been instituted in the 19th century by freethinkers as an alternative to confirmation. The preparation for the *Jugendweihe* consists of 10 hours of "catechism," which constitutes indoctrination in atheistic and socialist doctrine, some of which is openly anti-Christian. The *Jugendweihe* itself is a ceremony in which the youth take a solemn vow to serve the state. East Germany is the only Communist state to have a secular dedication. Church and state have competed for years to extend their influence with youth, with mixed results. The regime claimed that in 1 year some 87% of all children reaching the age of 14 had registered for the dedication. At the same time, however, church authorities have been able to keep religious confirmation alive.

Both Protestant and Catholic churches suffer from shortages of clergymen as there is little incentive to choose a clerical career; many Evangelical pastorates are filled by laymen. All clergymen are required to take an oath of allegiance to the state. The regime has prohibited clergymen trained abroad, mainly in West

Germany, from assuming pastorates or serving parishes in East Germany. Four East German universities maintain Protestant theological sections, and the church operates three seminaries in Leipzig, Naumburg, and East Berlin. The theological sections claimed an enrollment of 501 students in 1970, and the three seminaries reportedly had 347 students in 1967. A Roman Catholic seminary with an enrollment of 800 is maintained at Erfurt without state support. In addition to the seminary at Erfurt, three very small theological centers in East Germany also are engaged in training Roman Catholic clergymen.

Control of church finances by the regime has been the primary means of harassing the churches. Although entitled to state subsidies under the old East German constitution as public law corporations, churches never received enough state assistance to maintain property and carry on church affairs. The new constitution adopted in 1968 refers to religious freedom in very general terms subject to various interpretations and does not mention the status of churches or whether they qualify for state assistance. The churches are restricted and closely supervised in soliciting funds from the faithful, and the regime limits donations and gifts from outside East Germany.

Only in cases where church buildings have been designated as national monuments does the state readily provide for renovation and maintenance. Thus, in 1967 during the 450th anniversary of the Protestant Reformation, the state refurbished several religious landmarks closely associated with Luther, whom the regime claims was an early German progressive thinker.

Church-state relations were relaxed somewhat in 1964 and 1965. The regime permitted eight leading East German Catholic prelates to attend the Second Vatican Council in Rome, and it praised the "realism" of some of the council's results. The regime also instituted special labor service battalions for conscientious objectors—the only Communist government to allow this concession to religious conscience. In an obvious gesture to the Protestants, the regime in 1964 instituted a program under which East Germans of pensionable age could visit relatives in West Germany and West Berlin once a year. This was presented publicly as the result of a meeting between proregime Bishop Mitzenheim of the Thuringian *Landeskirche* and SED chief Ulbricht.

The election in November 1972 of Albrecht Schoenherr to head the Evangelical Church in East Germany, and his elevation to bishop, places a progressive Protestant churchman in one of the most important church positions in East Germany. Schoenherr is a disciple of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the Evangelical theologian martyred by Hitler, and some observers maintain that Schoenherr believes that if the church is to be effective it must first demonstrate that it is not a threat to the regime. The formation of the separate East German Evangelical church organization in 1969, as well as the separate GDR Lutheran and Union Churches in 1968 and 1972, however, has not elicited from the regime more freedom for the clergy in the conduct of domestic church activities. In March 1971 the regime stated that churches must report all "non-religious" functions to the police, and has since levied new requirements for university admissions which discriminate against those students who acknowledge Christian affiliation.

H. Education

The school system which the East German Communists inherited in 1945 was primarily the product of educational reforms carried out in Prussia during the 19th century. The system consisted of three types of schools: 1) primary schools which were free to all the population (most Germans did not continue further); 2) intermediate schools which charged a small fee and were utilized mainly by the middle class; and 3) secondary schools (*Gymnasien*)—whose

classical curriculum was a prerequisite for university training—which commanded a higher fee and were attended mostly by upper class children. The academic standing of such institutions as the University of Berlin ranked with the world's highest. The educational system provided such a good basic education that after 1914 literacy was dropped as a subject of statistical inquiry. Elements of the German educational system were adopted elsewhere in Europe, and the German university influenced the development of U.S. graduate education in the late 19th century. Teachers traditionally held a respected place in German society, and holders of university degrees belonged to the social elite.

The East German Communists swept away much of the traditional educational system. All education is under state control, and is free up to and including the university level for all who can obtain admittance. Education officials make much of the fact that class distinctions have been eliminated from the school system and that the possibility of university-level education is within reach for everyone. In practice they have favored those elements which they thought could most readily be molded into loyal supporters of the Communist system. Indoctrination in Communist dogma begins in kindergarten and continues through all the higher levels. Students from politically reliable families and, where practical, children of workers and farmers are given preferred treatment in applying to institutions of higher learning.

Since 1958 the educational system has been altered further by three important innovations. In that year, responding to developments in Soviet educational theory, the East German regime introduced polytechnical training throughout the educational system. Important decrees in 1959 and 1965 further refined the system. Curriculums have been extensively overhauled so as to emphasize vocational and technical training to meet the demands of an expanding industrialized economy. The marked technological orientation of the schools is evident at all levels, starting with courses in the manual arts in the early elementary classes. Even higher education has become increasingly devoted to advanced technical or specialized training. The second major decision was to extend compulsory education to 10 years, which meant converting the nation's combined elementary and secondary schools from 8-year to 10-year institutions. The conversion was completed in 1962 in East Berlin, but not until 1965 throughout all of East Germany. In 1967, East Germany launched a university reform intended to bring the system more closely into line with the needs of the economy. Another boost to this program was the opening of 10 new engineering colleges in 1969. The result of this

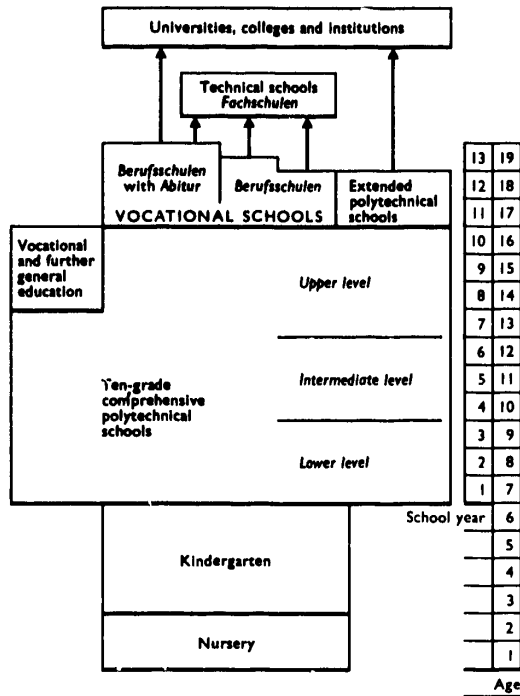


FIGURE 24. Structure of the educational system

third innovation has been the training of numbers of scientists and technicians and a neglect of the liberal arts.

The Honecker regime does not subscribe to Ulbricht's faith in the efficacy of higher education for several reasons. The continuing labor shortage makes it difficult to justify large contingents of young people being held off the labor market in schools. Also, the regime has begun to experience surpluses in academically trained personnel, and is appalled at the waste of resources involved in placing these persons in positions inappropriate to their training. Finally, Honecker has taken to extolling the dignity of labor

and the virtue of the working class in an effort to slow down the growth and influence of the white-collar technical-bureaucratic elite.

1. Organization

At the lowest level in the system (Figure 24) are the nurseries maintained by schools, enterprises, and cooperatives under the supervision of the Ministry for Health. Children whose mothers are working or studying are placed in day nurseries from the time they are a few weeks old until their third birthday. Parents may elect to send their children to kindergarten from the third through the sixth year. There are kindergartens sponsored by enterprises, cooperatives, and churches as well as public kindergartens operated by local governments. All kindergartens, however, must be licensed by the state and are under the general supervision of the Ministry for Education. In 1970 about 50% of all children between 3 and 7 years of age attended kindergartens (Figure 25); those who did not attend received special preparation during afternoons in their sixth year, before entering the compulsory public school system.

The core of the educational system is the 10-year comprehensive polytechnical school (*allgemeinbildende polytechnische Oberschule*), which is controlled by the Ministry for Education and the local governments. Classes are coeducational throughout and are nondepartmental for the first three grades, referred to as the basic group. The curriculum for the basic group centers on German language, arithmetic, manual training, gardening, drawing, music, and sports. The variety of subjects studied is sharply increased in grades 4 through 6, referred to as the middle group, with the introduction of Russian, physics, biology, geography, and history, with an optional class in needlework. Parents and teachers at this stage must start to determine the occupations for which the children are best fitted. The upper group (grades 7 through 10) continues study on previous subjects with instruction at more advanced levels and is introduced to astronomy, chemistry, and civics, with an option to

FIGURE 25. Number of schools, teachers and students, 1970

TYPE	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS	STUDENTS
Nurseries.....	4,482	na	174,219
Kindergartens.....	11,087	41,874	620,158
Comprehensive polytechnical schools.....	6,035	137,963	2,534,077
Extended polytechnical schools.....	306		
Special schools.....	337		
Vocational schools.....	1,108	14,765	430,934
Technical schools.....	189	na	164,571
Universities and colleges.....	54	na	138,666

na Data not available.

FIGURE 26. Class hours per week by subject and grade at a comprehensive polytechnical school, 1971-72

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
German.....	11	12	14	14	7	6	5	5	3	4
Russian.....	...	...	...	...	6	5	3	3	3	3
Mathematics.....	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	4	5	4
Physics.....	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	2	3	3
Astronomy.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Chemistry.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	4	2	2
Biology.....	...	...	...	...	2	2	1	2	2	2
Geography.....	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	2	1	2
Manual training.....	1	1	1	2	2	2	...	...	...	...
School garden.....	...	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Polytechnical instruction.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	5	5
History.....	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	2	2	2
Civics.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	2
Drawing.....	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	...
Music.....	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sports.....	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Hours per week.....	21	24	27	29	32	33	32	33	31	33
Optional:										
Needlework.....	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
2d foreign language*.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	3	2
Total hours.....	21	24	27	30	33	33	35	36	34	35

... Not pertinent.

*Generally English or French.

take a second foreign language. Beginning in grade 7 (age 13) students must work a short period each week in factories and on farms; after grade 9 this period is increased. Figure 26 details the curriculum of a typical comprehensive polytechnical school.

There are also special schools at the primary and secondary level for the mentally or physically handicapped. These schools are organized according to the nature of the handicap but are so structured that when appropriate a child may be transferred to the corresponding grade in a comprehensive polytechnical school.

The extended polytechnical school provides education most closely approximating that formerly provided by the classical German *Gymnasium*. With stricter entrance requirements and a more highly qualified teaching staff, these schools prepare academically oriented students for university study. Students who plan to pursue higher education take special classes in grades 9 and 10 of the comprehensive schools and then transfer to a 2-year extended polytechnical school. Successful work there leads to the *Abitur*, the end-of-school examination which is necessary for entrance into institutions of higher learning. Although specific data are lacking, probably about 80% of the students at East German universities graduated from the extended polytechnical schools.

Most youths, however, do not prepare for university-level studies. After completing the comprehensive polytechnical school, the majority take specialized training at one of several types of vocational schools (*Berufsschulen*) which are compulsory for 2 years or until the students reach age 18. Some of the schools are attached to government-owned enterprises or, where there are no large enterprises in the locality, are operated directly by the local government. These 2- or 2 1/2-year schools offer a combination of academic studies and an apprenticeship in a trade, craft, or industry. Normally, these schools are terminal but graduates are eligible for admission to a technical school after 1 year of practical work experience. Growing in importance are the vocational schools which offer the *Abitur* as well as a skilled worker's certificate. These schools provide a 3-year full-time academic and vocational course which qualifies students upon the successful completion of their work for entrance into technical schools or institutions of higher learning or for employment as skilled workers. The vocational school system produces the bulk of East Germany's skilled manpower.

Some young people who have completed the 2 or 3 years of vocational training, as well as experienced workers who wish to improve their abilities, may opt to attend a technical school (*Fachschule*). These schools

FIGURE 27. Leading universities

NAME	LOCATION	FOUNDED	STAFF	ENROLLMENT
				----- 1969-70 -----
Humboldt University*	East Berlin	1809	3,020	17,560
Karl Marx University**	Leipzig	1409	9,560	12,200
Martin Luther University***	Halle/Wittenberg	1817	240	6,000
Friedrich Schiller University	Jena	1557	1,320	4,720
University of Rostock	Rostock	1419	1,280	5,800
Ernst Moritz Arndt University	Greifswald	1456	130	3,000
Technical University	Dresden	1961	2,200	18,500

*Until 1949 Friedrich Wilhelm University.

**Until 1953 University of Leipzig.

***University of Halle (founded 1694) merged with University of Wittenberg (founded 1502) in 1817. Received present name in 1933.

offer full-time, evening, and correspondence courses, and have curriculums ranging from 1 to 4 years' duration. Each *Fachschule* teaches one basic subject, ranging from technical fields such as machine construction to social subjects such as finance.

At the apex of the educational system stand the 54 universities and institutions of higher education. The latter include technical, agricultural, art, and pedagogical colleges. There are several channels leading to enrollment in these institutions. In addition to accepting candidates from the extended polytechnical schools, universities are open to persons who pass special entrance examinations offered by the *Berufsschulen* and *Fachschulen*. Workers may also attend special part-time or evening courses, or take correspondence courses, which permit them to take special entrance examinations. Figure 27 describes in summary form the leading universities.

2. University reform

In 1967, after 2 years of research and discussion, the State Secretary for Higher Education unveiled a plan for educational reform of the universities and technical colleges. Unlike West Germany and other Western countries where the clamor for reform has come largely from the students, in East Germany change has been directed from above and spearheaded by the state's leading educators and economists. Some student comment was permitted, however, during the discussion period prior to inauguration of the reforms.

The reform was intended to bring up the enrollment of East German universities, which by comparison with other developed countries was remarkably low, as illustrated by the following tabulation comparing the number of students per 100,000 inhabitants in 1968:

United States	3,737
U.S.S.R.	1,880
Sweden	1,460
France	1,247
Czechoslovakia	958
Poland	946

West Germany	716
United Kingdom	716
Austria	715
Switzerland	621
Hungary	508
East Germany	458

The new program also put East Germany ahead of West Germany and other developed countries of Western Europe in tying higher education more closely to the needs of an advanced, highly technological society. Primary emphasis has been placed on technical and scientific fields at the expense of the liberal arts which have been deemphasized. In recent years, however, this emphasis has come under some criticism. The Honecker regime has shown considerable distrust of the scientific community, and there are indications that he would like to cut back enrollments in scientific subjects in the higher schools.

Both curriculum and faculty administration have undergone drastic changes as a result of the university reform. College study has been trimmed to 4 years in contrast to the former 5 or 6, and is now broken up into four phases called *Studien*. The first phase, *Grundstudium*, includes basic concepts in natural science, Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and instruction in the use of foreign language texts. It is during this period that students perform compulsory military training (not active service). The *Fachstudium*, or second phase, exposes the student to theoretical bases in mathematics, natural science, sociology, engineering, and economics in his area of specialization. In the third phase, called the *Specialstudium*, the student concentrates entirely on his particular field. To complete the *Specialstudium* the student must prepare a satisfactory dissertation and pass both an oral and written examination before he can graduate and receive a diploma.

A postgraduate fourth phase, called the *Forschungsstudium*, is similar to U.S. postgraduate schools.

Contrary to past East German educational practice, research is concentrated to a very large extent on actual problems of industry and agriculture. Stress is placed on the close relationship between theoretical and applied research, and the regime is relying upon *Forschungsstudium* graduates to become the real experts and leaders in the economy and society.

University organization and faculty administration have also undergone drastic changes. The traditional units of faculty—institute and division—have been discarded in favor of a single administrative unit called the section. All subdivisions of a major field are grouped together in one section; for example, biochemistry and organic chemistry are now in the chemistry section rather than having separate, administratively independent institutes of their own. About 900 institutes have been merged into some 170 sections. Under the section, related teaching and research facilities have been combined in an effort to end the fragmentation, jurisdictional disputes, and petty jealousies of the old system.

Each university is headed by a rector who is advised by a council of representatives composed of members of the faculty, economic managers, and leading citizens of the region. Each section is headed by a chairman directly responsible to the rector. The chairman is advised by a council composed of students, workers, teachers, and university employees. As part of the reform, the much maligned traditional German professorial system has been abolished. The standard five grades of teaching personnel have been replaced by two categories of full-time professors and instructors called *Dozenten*. Supplementing this is a subsidiary system of "honorary" instructors and professors that allows outstanding individuals from science and industry to serve as guest lecturers in their areas of specialization.

3. Language study

Along with technical and vocational training the East German educational systems, like the Soviet and other European systems, stresses the study of foreign languages. Russian is introduced at grade 5 (age 11), and a second language, usually English, is optional beginning at grade 7 (age 13). Those students who have enrolled in *Berufsschulen* and *Fachschulen* also study Russian and may elect another foreign language. Students in the extended polytechnical schools pursuing a modern language or classics curriculum must study two foreign languages in addition to Russian.

4. Communist indoctrination

The regime makes no effort to disguise the fact that it regards the Marxist content of the school curriculum

as an important means for indoctrinating youth. *Deutsche Lehrer Zeitung*, a teacher's journal, has said for example, that the entire school system is responsible "for making socialist military training an educational principle." The paper suggested that this can be achieved by stressing military traditions in history classes, by comparing Warsaw Pact forces in mathematics classes, and by pointing out the "evils of U.S. chemical warfare" in chemistry classes.

In addition, much of the students' social activity outside school is centered on the Communist-sponsored Free German Youth (FDJ) organization for young people aged 14 to 26, and the Ernst Thaelmann Pioneers, named after one of the leaders of the prewar German Communist Party, for younger children aged 6 to 14. Although membership in these organizations is theoretically voluntary, it is in fact difficult for young people to avoid joining.

Despite the pervasiveness of indoctrination, it is apparent that the Communist authorities have had only mixed success in developing a uniform, disciplined, ideologically motivated youth. Although the regime's statistics do not report crimes perpetrated by youth, public complaints and various reports indicate that juvenile delinquency is a significant problem in East Germany. The attraction that Western fads such as rock music and long hair have had for East German youth, while not always classifiable as a crime by the authorities, is usually considered evidence of failure in indoctrination. There are also reports that views politically divergent from the official line have appeared at institutions of higher learning. The regime placed the cumulative blame for such manifestations in 1965 at the feet of the FDJ, and it ordered the FDJ to deemphasize the social aspects of its meetings in favor of more lectures. These strictures went unheeded to some extent, and it was only after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 led to restlessness among the students that the regime instituted stringent controls over their activities. The regime's campaign in behalf of university reform in 1967 and its continued participation in popular issues are probably intended to deflect student discussions into a relatively safe channel (Figure 28). With the exception of scattered antiregime demonstrations by students and young people during the crisis in Czechoslovakia, East German students have not posed a serious threat to the regime.

5. Teachers

A key educational problem for the Communist authorities has been the teaching force. In 1945 Soviet authorities allowed only about 20% of the former teaching staff to resume their positions. To increase the staff, a large number of people considered



FIGURE 28. Regime exploitation of higher education. Officially approved demonstrations and meetings, such as this in behalf of Angela Davis in late 1971, jointly sponsored by the FDJ and Humboldt University in East Berlin, are an accepted part of the student's life.

politically reliable but with questionable educational qualifications were assigned to teach under the supervision of the few professional teachers. Crash teacher-training programs producing teachers of dubious quality, distaste among many teachers for teaching Marxism, the lure of higher salaries in industry, and the ease of defection to West Germany resulted in a continuing teacher crisis until the Berlin wall was built in 1961. It is estimated that until 1961 the rate of teacher loss from all causes was 12% per year.

Denied the opportunity to flee to the West, the teaching force, stabilized after 1961, and teacher-training requirements, long ignored, became more strictly enforced. Nursery school and kindergarten teachers are now required to qualify at pedagogic schools (*Paedagogische Schulen*) in 2-year courses. Teachers for the first four grades of the comprehensive polytechnical school must complete a 3-year course at a teacher training institute (*Institut fuer Lehrerbildung*). Teachers in the 5th to the 10th grades must pass 4-year courses at one of the universities, at the Potsdam Pedagogic College, at the German College of Physical Culture, at the Weimar Music College, or at one of several pedagogic institutes. In order to attract workers into teaching the technical courses, the pedagogic institutes also offer a 1-year preliminary course and a 2-year degree course, followed by a 3-year correspondence course for well-qualified workers. Teachers in the extended comprehensive polytechnical school must pass 4-year courses at Potsdam Pedagogic College, at the Physical Culture College, or at a university.

I. Artistic and cultural expression

East German cultural and artistic life, although modified by Communist influences, remains rooted in the German tradition. The molding of the German intellectual and artistic heritage was influenced by the nation's late development of political cohesiveness and by important foreign influences, particularly Italian, French, and English. Since 1945 West Germany has claimed the role of sole trustee of these traditions. For its part East Germany claims that it is the only legitimate continuator of German cultural heritage. Contemporary East German cultural expression reflects with only slight modifications and some delay the trends set in the West in architectural design (Figure 29), city planning, and dress, and to a lesser extent music, art, and literature. However, the continuing insistence by the regime that artistic and intellectual activities conform to ideological guidelines set by the party has limited creative innovation.

The reverse side of the coin is that the East German regime has striven to preserve the artistic and cultural heritage handed down from pre-Communist times. Thus the great museums in Berlin—among them the Pergamon Museum and the National Gallery—founded under Prussian royal and German imperial auspices, and in Dresden—notably the Saxon kings' jewellike Zwinger—as well as the various royal and ducal palaces (e.g., Potsdam, Weimar), numerous late medieval cathedrals, and homes of great men (e.g., Goethe, Schiller) have been faithfully restored and maintained for the stream of visitors passing through their halls. The preservationist instinct extends to the



FIGURE 29. Examples of postwar architecture. (Top) The newly rebuilt center of Karl-Marx-Stadt (formerly Chemnitz) on the occasion of the unveiling of a heroic bust of Karl Marx, 1971. (Bottom) New resort hotel in Warnemuende. The great bulk of postwar architecture is in the international style, with little or no local adaptation.

great symphony orchestras of Berlin, Dresden, and Leipzig, embalmed in their 19th century repertoires, the 18th century boys choirs of Leipzig and Dresden, and the world renowned festivals honoring Bach (Leipzig), Handel (Halle) and Schumann (Zwickau). Even the theater, whose world impact is much more recent in time, has become a living museum, with Felsenstein's Comic Opera, the State Opera, and Brecht's Berliner Ensemble rating high with students of the art visiting East Berlin, and the theaters in Leipzig, Dresden, Rostock, Halle and Weimar faithfully reproducing to full houses the classics of the pre-Communist era.

The Communist authorities consider the content of all cultural activity a "transmission belt" for indoctrinating the people. The primary restriction the authorities place on the creative artist is organizational. All creative artists are organized according to their disciplines into officially sponsored unions or groups which in turn are associated with the *Deutscher Kulturbund* (German Cultural Union), which work hand in hand with the Ministry for Cultural Affairs and the Cultural Department of the Central Committee of the SED. Control within these groups is exercised where possible by a proregime majority; where this is not possible, control is given over to the group's officers or special emissaries from the SED Central Committee. If persuasion by the majority or the orders of the authorities do not suffice to bring an errant artist around to the regime's point of view, the organization's controls over disseminating creative works—publication, performance, and exhibition—are effectively used. The creative artist is not permitted to work independently because this is considered antisocial.

Many German intellectuals of the prewar and war periods who were Communists or had leftwing sympathies naturally gravitated toward East Germany after the war. The playwright Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) returned from the United States; the poet Johannes Becher (1891-1958) and novelists Theodor Plievier (1892-1955) and Willi Bredel (1901-64) came back from the U.S.S.R.; novelists Anna Seghers (1900-) and Ludwig Renn (1889-) returned from Mexico, and Arnold Zweig (1887-1968) from Palestine. Many of their better works, which the East German regime claims to its credit, were actually written during the 1920's or their period of subsequent exile. The regime encouraged the return of such intellectuals by soft-pedaling Communist principles in favor of the broader "anti-Fascist" front in which democrats and socialists, the middle and left of the political spectrum, could participate in good conscience.

By 1950, however, the regime adjusted its approach toward the intellectuals closer to the narrow Zhdanovist principles then constraining artistic and intellectual expression in the Soviet Union. Many of the intellectual collaborators of the early postwar period fell silent or fled to West Germany. As the dull uniformity of "socialist realism" settled over East German arts and letters, vitality waned and the public became more and more uninterested. The artistic merit of new works by the recognized writers, for example, proved markedly inferior to their earlier works. Communist officials, taking their cue from the doctrines announced at the 1959 Bitterfeld Conference ("Bitterfeld Way"), urged creative artists to draw inspiration from the working masses while they condemned "formalism" and "schematism," defined as excessive attention to style at the expense of clarity in content.

By the early 1960's East Germany was out of step with the Soviet Union and several of the Eastern European countries in which varying degrees of innovation had been permitted. East German delegates to Communist conferences in the various creative disciplines found themselves criticized and ridiculed for the old-fashioned, Stalinist approaches to the arts which continued to be enforced in East Germany. Under pressure from its Communist colleagues, the regime in 1963 permitted a certain degree of "thaw" on the East German scene. A few plays, novels, and paintings appeared which were daring by East German standards, and they quickly led to controversy for exceeding the implicit limits of regime permissiveness. Perhaps the most controversial works of the early 1960's were the play *Die Sorgen und die Macht* (Problems and Power), written in 1958 by Peter Hack (1928-) and first performed in 1960; the 1963 novel *Der geteilte Himmel* (Divided Heaven) by Christa Wolf (1929-); a motion picture based on the novel *Das Kaninchen bin Ich* (I am the Rabbit) of Manfred Bieler (1934-) produced in 1966 by Kurt Maetzig (1911-) but never shown publicly; and the 1966 film version of a 1964 novel *Die Spur der Steine* (The Trail of Stones) by Erik Neutsch (1931-).

In early 1968, the state-controlled Deutsche Film AG (DEFA) produced what Western observers termed its best picture since the unfettered early postwar period. The film, *Ich war Neunzehn* (I Was Nineteen), is a skillful and surprisingly honest account of a few days in the life of a 19-year-old Russian propaganda officer of German emigrant parents who returned to Germany with the Soviet occupation forces following World War II. The film poses such issues as the appeal of Nazism to many Germans, their reverence for military traditions, and the dilemma of a divided

Germany and its future. In addition, there were scenes in the film which depicted the Soviets in an unfavorable light. The regime may have felt that the film would counteract complaints that East Germany's unquestioning loyalty to Moscow went too far. At any rate, *Ich war Neunzehn* appeared to be DEFA's first attempt to satisfy the critics and public alike and still maintain the favor of the SED leadership.

Christa Wolf drew additional acclaim and criticism in early 1969 for her novel *Nachdenken uber Christa T* (Reflections about Christa T). The book, which is probably autobiographical, depicts a young East German woman's search for meaning in life. She rejects socialism as "inapplicable" and in despair chooses to remain outside the life of the society in which she has been placed. The novel was regarded with disapproval by the regime and the author was severely criticized at the 1969 East German Writers Congress. Only with the Honecker regime was the novel published in sufficient numbers to be available to the general public.

The appearance of works considered by party officials to be disrespectful of socialism, decadent, or pornographic became an issue in the early 1960's and coincided with the rise of a popular young poet and ballad singer, Wolf Biermann (1936-), whose songs were outspokenly critical of the system. Simultaneously, rock music groups proliferated, which the orthodox saw as a contributing factor in the increase of juvenile delinquency. For the first time in almost a decade, philosophical dissent from the system was posed when Humboldt University's Prof. Robert Havemann gave a series of lectures at the end of 1963 and in early 1964 arguing for greater freedom of intellectual inquiry.

Conservative forces, which in 1964 succeeded in having Havemann dismissed from the university, the party, and the Academy of Sciences, won a major victory at the SED Central Committee's 11th plenum in December 1965. Following a harsh speech by Erich Honecker denouncing "old and new liberal and revisionist tendencies," the Central Committee ordered a return to stricter orthodoxy, blaming many of the responsible organizations for failing to exercise better control over the cultural scene. The Minister for Cultural Affairs was made the scapegoat and was replaced. DEFA, the film monopoly, was purged, and several of the more prominent writers were forced to admit their errors. Perhaps most noteworthy in this otherwise oppressive exercise was the failure of a few writers to recant and the spirited defense of these few by still other writers.

East Germany's position in support of the Arabs during the Arab-Israeli war in June 1967 further

strained relations between the regime and prominent Jewish intellectuals. The Czechoslovak crisis in the summer of 1968 and the resulting dissidence—particularly among youth—led the regime to place much of the blame on intellectuals and cultural leaders for their alleged ideological laxity. The State Secretary in the Ministry for Cultural Affairs, Horst Brasch, whose son was sentenced to prison for taking part in a pro-Dubcek rally, was dismissed from his post. Maverick Prof. Robert Havemann, already ostracized by the regime, came in for further criticism as a result of the activities of his two young sons who were involved in antiregime demonstrations protesting the occupation of Czechoslovakia. The regime criticized East German scientists in general for their penchant for rejecting Soviet scientific theory in favor of some of the more pragmatic Western thinking.

On the popular level the regime's youth organization, the Free German Youth (FDJ), was blamed for not properly combating the rise of juvenile delinquency, and new controls were placed over "beat bands," which the authorities considered the core of the problem. Bands are now required to register and pass examination before receiving a license. Authorities are thus able to weed out groups that they consider offensive. Nevertheless, young people continue to reject many of the modern East German compositions played by the state-approved orchestras and bands, claiming they are too difficult and involved. Instead, youths prefer popular Western music which can be performed by small groups of amateurs.

With the change in regime leadership from Ulbricht to Honecker there has been a shift in emphasis in cultural policy. Honecker has urged the cultural community to promote class consciousness among individuals as well as the mass, and reviving the slogan of the Bitterfeld Conference he has stressed that their work should be created "not only for the people, but with the people." At the same time he has acknowledged the stodginess of East German arts and letters and has called for more originality, humor, and critical insight. Accompanying Honecker's exhortations have been a small number of releases of literary and film works held up by the Ulbricht regime as too controversial.

The theater continues to convey Communist dogma with a rather heavy hand (Figure 30), and perhaps only the cabaret theaters, a distinctly German form of entertainment employing political satire, can profit by the new trend toward relaxation. Naturally the performances of East German cabaret groups have been more restrained than those by West Germans, but occasionally a cabaret has featured a few skits



FIGURE 30. Exploitation of the theater by the regime. Scene from a "progressive" play adapted from a Brazilian work depicting the misguided efforts of a youth gang "to correct imperialist conditions" by resorting to crime. The young people subsequently realize their error and join working class organizations.

sniping at the regime. One famous cabaret, the Peppermill in Leipzig, reportedly featured a number of unflattering comments about the East German system and its leader Walter Ulbricht in performances during the city's international fair in the fall of 1969. This may have been especially permitted at the time, however, to impress foreign visitors and convey the impression that no cultural restraints existed. Most cabarets confine their programs to criticism of Western politics, employing only an occasional mild rebuke about some shortcoming of East German society. Cabaret theater is practiced professionally in four locales—East Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and Halle.

Despite a lightening of the regime's negative cultural policy, stagnation continues to pervade East German arts and letters. The Communist authorities cannot be expected to abandon their right to set guidelines in the cultural field; East German intellectuals, by tradition submissive to authority, have not striven to protect their integrity and lack leadership around which to coalesce. The historical past, being less controversial than the present, continues to be a refuge into which East German creative artists can withdraw. Unable to create culturally edifying works which at the same time will satisfy the authorities, intellectuals frequently retreat to historical themes which will not lead them into difficulty. The classics—Beethoven and Brahms symphonies, Mozart and Strauss operas, Handel and Bach cantatas—are certified as edifying and are popular, and works of Goethe, Schiller and Lessing, or of such foreign masters as Shakespeare and Gorky, are frequently performed. The SED encourages per-

formances of earlier masters, as the preservation of the German cultural tradition is a declared policy of the regime.

J. Public information media

All media of mass communication in East Germany are directly or indirectly controlled by the regime, which views them as a primary means of indoctrinating the population. At the same time popular access to uncontrolled or outside sources of information is sharply limited in order to maximize the impact of the regime's efforts. Although the East German constitution guarantees freedom of the press and ostensibly independent organizations are allowed to publish, all publications must be licensed by the Press Office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, an adjunct of the SED Central Committee's Departments of Agitation and Propaganda. This office also exercises control through a form of prior censorship and allocation of newsprint. Radio and television are indirectly controlled by the Agitprop Department through two separate commissions of the State Broadcasting Committee. The publication of books and the production of movies are also state monopolies under the purview of the Ministry for Cultural Affairs.

I. The press

Of the 41 daily newspapers published in East Germany in 1972, 10 were published in East Berlin (Figure 31). The rest were published in various district capitals and other large cities. The average size of the

FIGURE 31. Major newspapers

NAME	FOUNDED	SPONSOR	FREQUENCY/ WEEK	CIRCULATION
Berlin press:				
BAUERN-ECHO	1948	DBD	6	150,000
BERLINER ZEITUNG	1945	SED	7	500,000
BZ AM ABEND	1949	do	6	175,000
DEUTSCHES SPORT-ECHO	1947	DTSB	5	na
JUNGE WELT	1947	FDJ	6	150,000
DER MORGEN	1945	LDPD	6	45,000
NATIONAL-ZEITUNG	1948	NPD	6	60,000
NEUE ZEIT	1945	CDU	6	43,000
NEUES DEUTSCHLAND	1946	SED	7	800,000
TRIBUNE	1945	FDGB	5	250,000
Provincial press:				
FREIHEIT (Halle)	1946	SED	6	360,000
LAUSITZER RUNDSCHAU (Cottbus)	1952	do	6	160,000
LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG (Leipzig)	1946	do	7	352,000
MARCKISCHE VOLKSSTIMME (Potsdam)	1946	do	6	240,000
NOWA DOBA (Bautzen)	1947	Domowina	6	5,000
OSTSEE ZEITUNG (Rostock)	1952	SED	6	256,000
SACHSISCHE ZEITUNG (Dresden)	1946	do	6	280,000
VOLKSSTIMME (Magdeburg)	1947	do	6	320,000

na Data not available.

dailies was 4 to 6 pages, with the exception of the 15 dailies sponsored by the SED, which average 6 to 8 pages. As in other European countries, the papers published in the capital generally have the greatest prestige and largest circulation. Some of these papers are published in as many as 23 editions, each edition carrying a separate section devoted to news about a particular area for regional distribution.

In contrast to the declining fortunes of the printed media in the West, the East German press enjoys a relatively high newspaper circulation. This is not attributable to any virtuosity on the part of the papers' editors but to the fact that one can be more selective in obtaining information from the press and can more easily filter out the pervasive propaganda than is the case with the other media. The following tabulation compares newspaper circulation, i.e., the number of purchasers, per 1,000 inhabitants in 1969:

Sweden	528
United Kingdom	463
East Germany	445
Switzerland	368
West Germany	331
U.S.S.R.	320
United States	305
Czechoslovakia	277
Austria	268
France	243
Hungary	212
Poland	204

By far the most important of all the East German dailies is the SED's central organ *Neues Deutschland*

(New Germany), which is published every day in two editions, a city edition and one for distribution throughout East Germany. *Neues Deutschland* is the most authoritative East German publication and reflects party policy more accurately than any other publication. It sets the tone and style for all other press reporting, and many of its stories are printed verbatim in provincial newspapers. While policy direction for *Neues Deutschland* comes from the SED Central Committee, the paper is run on a day-to-day basis by an editorial collegium consisting of the chief editor, five or six deputies, one secretary, and four or five party ideologues. The paper maintains a network of editorial offices in major East German cities and foreign correspondents in all East European capitals as well as in several West European countries, including France, Italy, and the Scandinavian states. The paper usually runs eight pages, with major sports events sometimes vying with important political news on the front page. On Saturdays it carries a six- to eight-page supplement on cultural, historical, and scientific subjects and prints a page devoted to such items in the weekday editions. Most sports reporting and foreign news appear on the last three pages. There is only limited advertising.

In addition to the 41 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 7.6 million, there are more than 500 lesser newspapers. Most of the 218 county governments publish newspapers that appear one or more times a week, but their number is diminishing as the authorities amalgamate facilities in order to reduce

newsprint demands. Factories and cooperative farms together publish about 600 newsheets. Unlike other publications, they are banned from export, probably because of their frank discussion of local economic problems. The 540 periodicals cover a broad span of interests in monthly, bimonthly, and weekly editions. The weeklies with the largest circulation are the *Wochenpost*, the illustrated journals *FF-Dabei* and *Neue Berliner Illustrierte*, the *Zeit im Bild*, the paper for foreign policy *Horizont*, the cultural paper *Sonntag*, and the satirical paper *Eulenspiegel*. The regime claims a combined circulation of about 6.9 million for all periodicals, journals, and magazines.

The party line is disseminated from East Berlin to provincial journals through two indigenous agencies other than *Neues Deutschland*. The SED's Departments of Agitation and Propaganda provide interpretations of domestic and international developments as well as special publishing instructions to agitation and propaganda bureaus at the district and county levels. The government-owned East German news agency, ADN, which is supervised by the Press Office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, distributes important news items at home and abroad. The East German press also uses material distributed by the Soviet news agency TASS and the other Eastern European news agencies. Material of various Western news agencies, including the Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI) of the United States, may be used when the subject matter coincides with Communist policy.

Despite efforts to improve the format and presentation of newspapers and periodicals through greater highlighting of sports news and human-interest stories, the East German press projects, for the most part, an aura of dull uniformity. The constant and predictable propaganda makes the press an unpopular medium. Subscriptions to non-Communist newspapers and magazines are not permitted to East Germans, and the authorities periodically screen non-Communist literature brought in by western travelers entering the country.

2. Books and libraries

The book publishing industry, which centers on Leipzig and East Berlin, published 5,234 new titles in 1970 in 122 million copies; 804 of the titles, or about 15%, were translations, mostly from the Russian. Of the new titles published, 4,500 or 86% were book length. These totals show that the steady decline in variety evident since 1962, when the industry published 6,540 titles, including 902 translations, has continued despite an alltime high in total book production. Book publishing concentrates on the

classics, light literature, and scientific and technical works, but ideological treatises, both historical and contemporary, comprise a steady portion of the industry's output.

East Germany has more than 17,000 libraries, of which more than two-thirds are state-supported public libraries and the balance run by the trade unions at various industrial enterprises. These libraries have about 27 million holdings and loaned about 66 million volumes in 1970, or about 16 volumes per reader. The libraries are controlled by the Ministry for Cultural Affairs' Central Institute for Library Activities, and their collections are carefully selected. There are in addition 34 scholarly libraries with nearly 26 million volumes in their collections. Among the major East German collections are the German (formerly Prussian) State Library in East Berlin with 4 million volumes (of which 1.8 million are "illegally withheld" in West Germany and West Berlin) and the *Deutsche Bucherei* in Leipzig, which collects all publications in German regardless of national origin, with 3 million volumes.

3. Radio and television

East Germany has one of the highest per family ratios of radio and TV ownership of any Communist country. In 1970 nearly 70% of the East German households contained a TV set and nearly 92% had at least one radio. The authorities make extensive use of both media in their campaigns to indoctrinate their own citizenry and to present the regime in the best possible light to audiences abroad.

In 1968, the State Broadcasting Committee was split into two separate commissions, one for television and one for radio. Both are administratively subordinate to the Council of Ministers, but under the direct, day-to-day control of the SED Central Committee. There are five major stations (*Sender*): 1) *Radio DDR I* broadcasts 24 hours a day, divided between political and economic subjects and entertainment; 2) *Radio DDR II* broadcasts 14 hours a day, stressing educational and cultural programming; 3) *Berliner Rundfunk*, targeted at the East German population in the environs of that city is on the air 24 hours a day; 4) *Stimme der DDR*, the product of an amalgamation in 1971 of *Deutschlandsender* and *Berliner Welle*, broadcasting high-quality, prestige programs for East and West German consumption, is also on the air 24 hours a day; 5) *Radio Berlin International*, as its name implies, is beamed to foreign audiences and as of late 1971 was broadcasting a total of 275 hours per week in 13 languages, including German and Russian. In addition, there is a network of studios primarily located in district capitals

which carries programming of *Radio DDR I and II* to local audiences along with a few hours each day of local programming.

In addition to these legitimate radio transmissions, East Germany is the site of several clandestine transmitters operating on frequencies ostensibly assigned to the Soviet forces in Germany. The Soviet station *Radio Volga*, founded in 1946, is on the air 193 hours weekly, but of this only 13 hours comprise its own programming, the balance being divided between retransmissions of *Radio Moscow's* program for the Soviet troops in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and its Czech and Slovak programs aimed at that country's civilian population. Of the clandestine transmissions the Turkish-language *Our Radio* and Greek-language *Voice of Truth* directed against Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus, have been broadcasting since 1958 and are on the air 30 and 50 hours per week, respectively. Between 1961 and 1963 clandestine Persian-language transmissions also originated from East Germany, but were subsequently transferred to Bulgaria.

Of greater significance are the clandestine transmissions directed to West Germany. A station calling itself *Deutscher Freiheitssender 904* began broadcasting in 1956 as the voice of the illegal Communist Party of Germany (KPD). With the decisions to absorb the KPD into the legal German Communist Party (DKP) and to promote a policy of normalization between the two Germanies, the station went off the air in October 1971. However, 2 months later programs in Greek, Turkish, and Italian aimed at foreign workers in West Germany were heard on this frequency. These transmissions were not a new venture, but a resumption of programs on the air between 1967 (Spanish-language programs had been attempted as early as 1964) and January 1970. A second station calling itself *Deutscher Soldatensender* started operations in 1960, directing its appeal to the West German military. It broadcasted 30 hours weekly until 1972 when the two German states agreed to stop directing military propaganda against each other.

The East German television (*Fernsehen der DDR*; prior to 1972, *Deutsche Fernsehfunk*) transmitted 90 hours per week in 1971 over two channels. Several hundred hours included programming taken from the Eastern European INTERVISION network, of which *Fernsehen der DDR* is a contributing member, airing as much as 100 hours of East German programming to its eastern neighbors annually via the larger network. Approximately 30% of *Fernsehen der DDR's* programming in 1971 was directly related to politics or news reporting, but the largest share of transmission time (23.4%) was devoted to feature and documentary

films. The East Germans have constructed the highest TV tower in Eastern Europe. The tower at Alexanderplatz in East Berlin (Figure 32) is 1,200 feet high, second only to the 1,700-foot TV tower in Moscow. The East Germans have both black and white and color television. The black and white is compatible with West German and Western Europe's EUROVISION. East Germany inaugurated its color system during its 20th anniversary celebrations in October 1969 and in 1971 was transmitting 9 hours of color TV weekly on Channel II. East Germany uses the SECAM 3-B color TV system, a French system not compatible with the West German PAL color television, the choice of most countries in Western Europe. The West Germans are installing a converter-relay network consisting of a number of special installations along the inter-German border that would change their signal to the East German pattern and then boost it across the border.

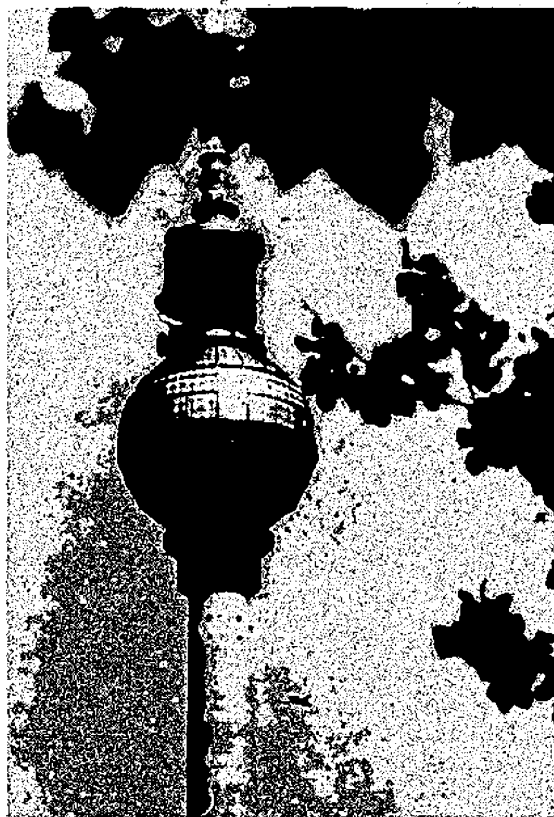


FIGURE 32. A view of the East Berlin television tower. This structure, located in the middle of East Berlin's reconstructed city center, has become a trademark for the East German capital along with the Brandenburg Gate, and with its viewing platform and revolving restaurant at the 670-foot level, it has become a leading tourist attraction.

Radio and television are perhaps the sole mass communication media in which the East German regime does not enjoy a monopoly of information control. Western radio stations, notably the U.S. Government-managed *Radio in the American Sector* (RIAS) in West Berlin, virtually blanket East Germany, and West German television can be received in all but the northeast and southeast corners of the country. For many years the East Germans sought to blot out Western programs with jamming, but they found that the jamming effort was very costly and not effective. However, the regime still jams RIAS medium-wave broadcasts of news and comment when it feels the political situation merits such moves, as for example during the Czechoslovak crisis. The regime also sought to prevent people from tuning in Western TV programs by prohibiting orientation of TV antennas to Western channels and by invoking social and economic, and sometimes political, sanctions against violators. These efforts were a total failure, however, and many East Germans continue to listen to and watch Western programs, especially since UHF transmissions make the position of antennas irrelevant.

4. Cinema and theater

The cinema industry is a monopoly of the state, organized under the *Deutsche Film A.G.* (DEFA), which is controlled by the Ministry for Cultural Affairs. In 1965 DEFA produced a total of 611 films, the lowest yearly production since 1960. Of the 1965 total, only 15 were full-length features. In comparison, the West German film industry produced 69 full-length films that year. The number of theaters devoted exclusively to showing films has declined steadily from 1,369 in 1960 to 858 in 1970. During this period, however, more multipurpose theaters, known as *Dorfkinos* (village theaters), were established. The number of these theaters, which included films in their schedules, jumped from 289 in 1962 to 1,015 in 1965, but dropped to 520 in 1970, probably due to the increase in the number of privately owned TV sets. Overall the number of film presentations declined from 2.5 million in 1960 to 973 thousand in 1970; 91.4 million persons viewed films in 1970, a far cry from the 237.9 million who viewed films a decade earlier.

The theater, as a whole, has become a virtually static art. The number of full-time legitimate theaters in 1970 stood at 101, with a combined seating capacity of nearly 51,000. This represents an increase of 13 theaters over the previous 15 years but a drop in seating capacity of nearly 10,000 seats. During approximately the same period there was a decrease in the number of theater seats from 3.4 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1955 to 3.0 seats in 1970. The number

of theatrical performances also dropped from 29,566 in 1955 to 25,918 in 1970. Total attendance that year was 12.3 million, markedly below the 1955 high of 17.5 million. The irregular decline in theater attendance during the 1960's may be due to the TV explosion which has affected other countries in a similar way. While the quality of contemporary theater is far below that of the immediate postwar period, the faithful rendering of classical works has managed to retain a loyal theater following. This trend seems to have carried over to the Workers and Farmers Theater (*Arbeiter und Bauerntheater*). Encouraged by the regime in the early 1960's, factory and farm collectives formed theater groups. At their peak in 1964 there were more than 4,400 members of such companies with 135 theaters. By 1970 the membership in such companies had dropped to about 3,000 with only 95 theaters, but attendance for that year was 713,500 for 2,200 performances.

K. Selected bibliography

1. General and historical

Childs, David. *East Germany*. New York. 1969. Covers many aspects of East German life from an English point of view. Not notably biased but not very well written.

Doernberg, Stefan. *Kurze Geschichte der DDR*. Berlin. 1965. Standard text by leading East German historian. More useful for the image the regime would like to transmit than for the information it contains.

Dornberg, John. *The Other Germany*. Garden City. 1969. A journalist's view of contemporary East Germany, paralleling his work on West Germany, *Schizophrenic Germany* (1961).

Flenley, Ralph. *Modern German History*. London. 1968. Traditional text oriented on Prussia. Much revised since the first edition in 1953, with two chapters by Robert Spencer on post-1939 developments.

Government of the German Democratic Republic. *Introducing the GDR*. Dresden. 1971. The usual propaganda booklet for foreign visitors. Has the advantage of appearing after the Ulbricht-Honecker changeover and reflects the early emphasis of the new regime.

Hanhardt, Arthur M. *The German Democratic Republic*. Baltimore. 1968. A political scientist's analysis of East German political, economic, and sociological problems. Concisely written.

Ludz, Peter Christian. *The German Democratic Republic From the Sixties to the Seventies*. Cambridge, Mass. 1970. A West German political

scientist's digest of his extensive work on East Germany. Interesting not only for his insights but because he is Brandt's leading academic adviser on East Germany and has frequently visited the United States to promote East German studies.

Mann, Golo. *The History of Germany Since 1789*. New York. 1968. A comprehensive treatment by a liberal German historian, the son of Thomas Mann.

Richert, Ernst. *Das Zweite Deutschland; ein Staat, der Nicht Sein Darf*. Goetersloh. 1964. Another survey in a more traditional mold. Critical, but not obsessively so.

Rodes, John E. *Germany: A History*. New York. 1964. A standard college text, beginning with Roman times. More descriptive than analytical.

Schwarze, Hanns Werner. *Die DDR ist Keine Zone Mehr*. Koeln. 1969. A comprehensive survey which attempts to be a scholarly work but has serious inaccuracies.

Smith, Jean E. *Germany Beyond the Wall; People, Politics . . . and Prosperity*. Boston. 1969. Highly favorable treatment of political, economic, cultural, and social life in East Germany. Based on extensive personal observation and careful research but marked by personal enthusiasms of the author.

2. Geography, demography, and sociology

Baum, Samuel, and Combs, Jerry W. *The Labor Force of the Soviet Zone of Germany and the Soviet Sector of Berlin*. Washington. 1959. A thorough analysis of the East German manpower situation, but usable now only for background.

Dickinson, Robert E. *Germany; A General and Regional Geography*. London. 1961. Information on cultural traditions as recent as the early postwar period; discusses Germany's regions more in geographic than in political terms.

Gayre, G. R. *Teuton and Slav on the Polish Frontier; a Diagnosis of the Racial Basis of the Germano-Polish Borderlands with Suggestions for the Settlement of German and Slav Claims*. London. 1944. Provides much of the pseudo-scientific justification for what was to become the Oder-Neisse line. Pinpoints every area of Slavic settlement in the Reich from the beginning of recorded history.

Herz, Hanns Peter. *Freie Deutsche Jugend*. Huenchen. 1965. A basic survey of the youth organizations: the Free German Youth and the Ernst Thaelmann Pioneers.

Holm, Hans Axel. *The Other Germans; Report from an East German Town*. New York. 1970. An informal sociological study of a town in Schwerin Bezirk by a

Swedish journalist. Valuable because of the absence of propaganda and the portrayal of life as it is actually lived.

Ludz, Peter Christian, ed. *Studien und Materialien zur Soziologie der DDR*. Koeln. 1964. A symposium covering many aspects of social conditions and intellectual life; contains a monumental bibliography covering the decade 1952-63.

Mampel, Siegfried. *Das System der Sozialen Leistungen in Mitteleuropa und in Ost-Berlin*. Bonn. 1961. A basic survey of the East German social security system published by the West German government.

Materialien zum Bericht zur Lage der Nation. Bonn. 1971. A comparison of the political, economic, and social systems of the two German states. Issued to supplement West German Chancellor Brandt's State of the Nation Report to the *Bundestag*.

Ministerium Fuer Gesundheitswesen *Taschenbuch der Medizinischen Wissenschaft der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*. Berlin. 1964. Listing of medical organizations, institutions, schools, libraries, journals, legislation. A basic reference published by the East German government.

Nelson, Walter Henry. *The Berliners; Their Saga and Their City*. New York. 1969. Neither scientific nor systematic but a thorough report on conditions in both East and West Berlin based on extended residence in the city by the author and more than 1,000 personal interviews.

Pollock, James K. and Thomas, Homer. *Germans in Power and Eclipse; The Background of German Development*. New York. 1952. Gives both an overall and region-by-region survey of developments of 1945. Invaluable for an understanding of the diverse cultural, social, and historical traditions in the various provinces.

Pounds, Norman J. G. *Eastern Europe*. London. 1969. A good recent discussion of the region as a whole with separate country chapters. More narrowly focused on geographic problems than similar books.

Schoepflin, George, ed. *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; a Handbook*. New York. 1970. Coverage organized on a problem-by-problem rather than country basis. Thus, discussion of specifically East German questions is uneven.

Storbeck, Dietrich. *Arbeitskraft und Beschaeftigung in Mitteleuropa; eine Untersuchung ueber die Entwicklung des Arbeitskraeftepotentials und der Beschaeftigung von 1950 bis 1975*. Koeln. 1961. A manpower study, covering the Baum-Combs book forward.

Thude, Guenther. *The Workers and Their Social Insurance; the Social Insurance for Workers and*

Employees in the G.D.R. and Its Prospects in the Seven-Year Plan. Berlin. 1961. An East German trade union information booklet.

3. Religion, education, mass media, and culture

Anderle, Hans Peter. *Die Literatur der Gegenwart in der DDR.* Stuttgart. 1968. A very brief study of East German literature, outlining principal trends and listing works by major authors.

Baske, Siegfried, and Engelbert, Martha. *Zwei Jahrzehnte Bildungspolitik in der Sowjetzone Deutschlands.* Dokumente. Berlin, 1966. About 200 texts documenting development of educational policies from 1945 to 1965.

Bodenman, Paul S. *Education in the Soviet Zone of Germany.* Washington. 1959. A factual and comprehensive survey for the period from 1945 to 1958. Contains numerous tables and other statistical analyses.

Brecht, Bertolt. *Brecht on Theatre.* New York. 1969. A selection from the works of the foremost playwright and theatre critic in postwar East Germany. This is only one title in a steadily expanding collection of Brechtiana.

Grant, Nigel. *Society, Schools and Progress in Eastern Europe.* Oxford. 1969. Places East German educational developments in useful regional framework, showing that many of the innovations of recent years were inspired by Soviet models.

Heil, K. Heinz. *Das Fernsehen in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands 1953-1963.* Bonn. 1967. Part of the series *Bonner Berichte aus Mittel- und Ostdeutschland.* A comprehensive survey of East German television.

Hermann, Elisabeth M. *Die Presse in der Sowjetisierten Besatzungszone Deutschlands.* Bonn. 1962. Published under official West German auspices as part of the series *Bonner Berichte aus Mittel- und Ostdeutschland.* A comprehensive survey of the East German press.

Hermann, Friedrich-Georg. *Der Kampf Gegen Religion und Kirche in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone.* Stuttgart. 1966. A basic discussion of the role of churches but is marred by underlying prejudices against the East German regime.

Kersten, Heinz. *Das Filmwesen in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands.* Bonn. 1963. Part of the series *Bonner Berichte aus Mittel- und Ostdeutschland.* A comprehensive survey of the motion picture industry.

Meinecke, Werner. *Die Kirche in der Volksdemokratischen Ordnung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik.* Berlin. 1962. An exposition of the East German view of the role of the church in the GDR.

Solberg, Richard W. *God and Caesar in East Germany.* New York. 1961. A basic discussion but woefully out-dated by the changes made since the erection of the Berlin wall.

Walther, Gerhard. *Der Rundfunk in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands.* Bonn. 1961. Part of the series *Bonner Berichte aus Mittel- und Ostdeutschland.* A comprehensive survey of East German broadcasting.

4. Statistical and other reference documents

American University, Foreign Areas Studies Division. *Area Handbook for East Germany.* Washington. 1972. A comprehensive document using open sources. Supersedes Harvard University's Human Relations Area File Study, *The Soviet Zone of Germany* (1956).

Bundesministerium fuer Gesamtdeutsche Fragen. *A bis Z: Ein Taschenbuch- Nachschlagebuch ueber den Anderen Teil Deutschlands.* Bonn. 1969. An invaluable one-volume reference prepared by the West German government. In addition to 752 pages of dictionary-type entries, it contains a list of abbreviations, biographic notes, a chronology, and an extensive bibliography.

Deutsches Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte. *Handbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik.* Berlin. 1964. A collection of essays on all aspects of East German political, social, and cultural life written from the regime point of view.

Deutschland Archiv, Vol. 1-, April 1968-. Koeln. 1968-. The single most useful periodical devoted to East German affairs. Contains analytic articles, documents, bibliographies, and a running chronology. Continues *SBZ-Archiv*, 1950-68.

Horecky, Paul. *East Central Europe; a Guide to Basic Publications.* Chicago. 1970. Brings the U.S. Library of Congress bibliography up-to-date in summary fashion. A separate section for East Germany (p. 361-442).

Meyers Neues Lexikon. 2d ed. Leipzig. 1961-64. 8 v. The leading East German encyclopedia. A 3d edition began to appear in 1971.

Reichelt, Paul, and Behn, Hans Ulrich. *Deutsche Chronik 1945 bis 1970; Daten und Fakten aus Beiden Teilen Deutschlands.* Freudenstadt. 1970-71 2 v. Parallel chronology of events in both West and East Germany.

Reisefuehrer Deutsche Demokratische Republik. Leipzig. 1971. The most recent edition of the official travel guide to East Germany. Although grudging with hotel and restaurant recommendations, it dispenses social and cultural information with a lavish hand.

Statlichen Zentralverwaltung fuer Statistik. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1971*. Berlin. 1971. The official East German statistical yearbook.

United Nations. *Demographic Yearbook, 1970*. New York. 1971.

United Nations. *Statistical Yearbook, 1970*. New York. 1971. Of use also are the statistical yearbooks issued by the U.N.'s Educational, Scientific and

Cultural Organization, by International Labor Organization, and World Health Organization.

U.S., Library of Congress, Slavic and Central European Division. *East Germany; a Selected Bibliography*. Washington, 1967. Concentrates on publications appearing from 1958 to 1966. An earlier work appearing in 1959 under the same title and auspices covers works to 1958. Across the board coverage.

Glossary

ABBREVIATION	FOREIGN	ENGLISH
ADN.....	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Nachrichtendienst.</i>	East German News Agency
BEK.....	<i>Bund fuer Evangelische Kirchen.....</i>	League of Evangelical Churches
CDU.....	<i>Chrislich-Demokratische Union.....</i>	Christian Democratic Union
DBD.....	<i>Demokratische Bauernpartei Deutsch-lands</i>	German Democratic Peasants Party
DDR.....	<i>Deutsche Demokratische Republik.....</i>	German Democratic Republic
DEFA.....	<i>Deutsche Film AG.....</i>	German Film Company
DFD.....	<i>Demokratischer Frauenbund Deutsch-lands</i>	Democratic Women's League of Ger- many
DKB.....	<i>Deutscher Kulturbund.....</i>	German Cultural Association
DKP.....	<i>Deutsche Kommunistische Partei.....</i>	German Communist Party
DTSB.....	<i>Deutscher Turn- und Sportbund.....</i>	German Gymnastics and Sports As- sociation
EKD.....	<i>Evangelische Kirche Deutschlands.....</i>	Evangelical Church of Germany
FDGB.....	<i>Freie Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund.....</i>	Free German Trade Union Federation
FDJ.....	<i>Freie Deutsche Jugend.....</i>	Free German Youth
GDSF.....	<i>Gesellschaft fuer Deutschesowjetische Freundschaft</i>	Society for German-Soviet Friendship
KPD.....	<i>Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands...</i>	Communist Party of Germany
LDPD.....	<i>Liberal-Demokratische Partei Deutsch-lands</i>	German Liberal Democratic Party
NDPD.....	<i>National-Demokratische Partei Deutsch-lands</i>	German National Democratic Party
RIAS.....	.....	Radio in the American Sector
SED.....	<i>Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutsch-lands</i>	Socialist Unity Party
VDK.....	<i>Verband Deutscher Konsumgenossen- schaften</i>	Association of German Consumers Cooperatives
VELKD.....	<i>Vereinigte Evangelische-Lutherische Kirche Deutschlands</i>	Union of Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Germany

Places and features referred to in this chapter

	COORDINATES	
	° 'N.	° 'E.
Bautzen.....	51 11	14 26
Brandenburg (region).....	53 00	14 00
Bitterfeld.....	51 37	12 19
Cottbus.....	51 46	14 20
Cottbus (district).....	51 45	14 00
Dresden.....	51 03	13 45
Dresden (district).....	51 05	14 00
East Berlin.....	52 30	13 33
Eisenhüttenstadt.....	52 09	14 39
Erfurt.....	50 59	11 02
Erfurt (district).....	51 10	10 50
Frankfurt (district).....	52 30	14 00
Freiberg.....	50 55	13 22
Fulda, West Germany.....	50 33	9 40
Gera (district).....	50 50	12 05
Görlitz.....	51 10	15 00
Greifswald.....	54 06	13 23
Halle.....	51 30	12 00
Halle (district).....	51 30	12 00
Halle-Neustadt (sec. of Halle).....	51 29	11 56
Hildesheim, West Germany.....	52 09	9 58
Hoyerswerda.....	51 26	14 15
Jena.....	50 56	11 35
Karl-Marx-Stadt.....	50 50	12 55
Karl-Marx-Stadt (district).....	50 45	12 40
Leipzig.....	51 18	12 20
Leipzig (district).....	51 15	12 40
Magdeburg.....	52 10	11 40
Magdeburg (district).....	52 15	11 45
Mecklenburg (region).....	53 30	12 00
Meiningen.....	50 33	10 25
Meissen.....	51 09	13 29
Naumburg.....	51 09	11 49
Neisse (stream).....	52 04	14 46
Neubrandenburg (district).....	53 30	13 15
Oder (stream).....	53 32	14 38
Osnabrück, West Germany.....	52 16	8 03
Paderborn, West Germany.....	51 43	8 46
Pomerania (region).....	53 40	15 00
Potsdam.....	52 24	13 04
Potsdam (district).....	52 35	12 50
Rostock.....	54 05	12 08
Rostock (district).....	54 00	12 00
Saxony (region).....	51 00	13 00
Schwedt.....	53 04	14 18
Schwerin.....	53 30	11 30
Schwerin (district).....	52 12	13 53
Silesia, Poland and Czechoslovakia (region).....	51 00	18 00
Suhl (district).....	50 35	10 40
Thuringia (region).....	51 00	11 00
Warnemünde.....	54 10	12 05
Weimar.....	50 59	11 19
Wilhelm-Pieck-Stadt Guben.....	51 57	14 43
Wittenberg.....	51 52	12 39
Wrocław (Breslau), Poland.....	51 06	17 02
Würzburg, West Germany.....	49 48	9 56
Zwickau.....	50 44	12 30