Notes

Introduction

1 Ernst Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1959), 3.
4 Helga Schubert’s lecture at the Goethe Institute in Amsterdam took place in the summer of 1994.
13 Ibid., 95.
14 Ibid., 39.
15 Ibid.

20 See historian Jacco Pekelder, who indicates that for as long as the GDR existed, a fierce debate was raging in the Netherlands about how this state should be considered: as a totalitarian dictatorship (thereby referring to the work of H. Arendt and that of C.J. Friedrich) or as an attempt to realize a true socialist state. After some time, the latter position statement was announced by more and more voices in the Dutch political landscape. Jacco Pekelder, Nederland en de DDR. Beeldvorming en betrekkingen 1949-1989 (Amsterdam: Boom, 1998).


25 Moranda, “Towards a more holistic history?,” 331.


29 Resp. Pollack, “Modernization and Modernization Blockages in GDR Society.” 27. Fulbrook, Anatomy of a Dictatorship, 2. Jarausch, ed., Dictatorship as Experience. Towards a Socio-Cultural History of the GDR, 47. Also see Pollack, who has described East German society as a “deeply divided and fissured society, essentially conflicted and contradictory.” Pollack, “Modernization and Modernization Blockages in GDR Society,” 29. Ross also stated that “the basic characteristic of East German society was [the] constant and systemic tension,” Ross, The East German Dictatorship, 66. Last quotation from ibid., 60.

30 Ibid., 42.


32 Ross, The East German Dictatorship, resp. 55 and 60.
33 Ibid., 63.


### Chapter 1

1 Thanks are due to Anne Gevers and Alex Strating for these descriptions.

2 Relevant with regard to the argument presented in this book is especially the recent literature on the senses. See for instance the journal *The Senses and Society.*


5 In chapter six, I describe and analyze the role of the East German material world in western representations, where it figures as a symbol of the country’s assumed pitch-black past in general.

6 See for example Robert Pool, “There Must Have Been Something… Interpretations of Illness and Misfortune in a Cameroon Village” (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1989).

7 Also see Abram de Swaan’s farewell speech which focuses explicitly on the importance of these very forms of transference and countertransference in the social-scientific knowledge process; Abram de Swaan, “Wijsheid achteraf. Rede bij het emeritaat als universiteitshoogleraar aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam,” *De Gids* 170 no. 2 (2007): 87-102.


15 Mattijs van de Port, *Gypsies, Wars, and Other Instances of the Wild* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), 100.

16 For a rich and detailed analysis of how inhabitants of Austria dealt with and especially kept silent about the most painful part of the past, the Second World War, throughout various periods, see Anne Gevers, *Façades. Oostenrijkers en het oorlogsverleden* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1995).
21 See for instance the work of East German psychiatrist Hans Joachim Maaz who, although he has formulated highly relevant insights, continuously attempted to show that the emotional, social and cultural developments in East Germany were determined by the fact that it was a dictatorship. Hans-Joachim Maaz, *Psychogram van Oost Duitsland* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 1991). Hans-Joachim Maaz, *Die Entrüstung. Deutschland, Deutschland: Stasi, Schuld und Sündenbock* (Berlin: Argon, 1992).

**Chapter 2**

1 Christa Wolf, *Patronen van een jeugd* (Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 1990), 71.
5 Historians debate the exact amount of reparations paid to the SU by the GDR. These amounts are derived from Corey Ross, *The East German Dictatorship. Problems and Perspectives in the Interpretation of the GDR* (London: Arnold, 2002), 84; and Mark Landsman, *Dictatorship and Demand. The Politics of Consumerism in East Germany* (Cambridge (Mass.) / London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 22. The GDR had to provide about 30% of its industrial capacity, the FRG about 3%. Combined with the Marshall Aid given to the FRG, it is clear that the GDR paid the bill for the war. Between 1945 and 1953 it paid “the highest known level of reparations in the 20th century,” Ross, *The East German Dictatorship. Problems and Perspectives in the Interpretation of the GDR*, 48.
7 Laufer, “From Dismantling to Currency Reform: External Origins of the East German Dictatorship, 1943-1948,” 86 n.21. This came to 80% of the remaining iron and steelworks (including large sections of the railway network), electro-industry and mechanical engineering; 75% of the car, precision engineering and optical industry, see Georg C. Bertsch, Ernst Hedler and Mattias Dietz, *SED. Schönes Einheit Design* (Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 1990), 15.

9 Ibid., resp. 107, 99. Daily calorie intake dropped regularly to the life-threatening level of 700. Leipzig had only 9% newcomers whereas the population of Rudolstadt grew by more than 40% after 1945.


12 Ibid.


14 According to a verbal estimate by Dr. Heinz Doebler, one of Rudolstadt’s historians, Kreis [district] Rudolstadt had about 70,000 inhabitants in 1945 and two years later 30,000 more. The numbers of inhabitants in those years cannot be found in the town’s archives. In an item dated 17/10/1945, written by the Landrat and addressed to the mayors of Kreis Rudolstadt, the announcement was made that 25,000 Umsiedler, due to be arriving shortly, had to be offered accommodation. *Landratsamt Rudolstadt Archiv* (LRA): E 50/1987. Information about refugee camps can be found in: Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar (THW): 1059.

15 Except for the previously quoted figures, this number consists of: 747 members of the Wehrmacht, 10 Jewish inhabitants, 128 residents of a care home who had been deported under the so-called euthanasia programme, and 12 others who died at the hands of the Nazis. Peter Langhof, “Die Zeit des Dritten Reiches,” in *Geschichte des Landkreises Rudolstadt*, ed. Werner Thomas (Rudolstadt: Landratsamt, 1992), here: 50.

16 Ibid.

17 Dagerman, *Duitse herfst*, 45.

18 Ross, *The East German Dictatorship*, 55.

19 Policies were carried out by local KPD and SPD politicians who were steered by the SMAD to whom they had to report. LRA: E50/1987.

20 Unfortunately when the SMAD left in 1949, most of this material from the East German city archives was taken as “Russian property” to the Soviet Union.

21 LRA: E-249.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 THW: Land Thüringen, Bureau des Ministerpräsidenten, Aktenr. 534/535.


27 Joachim Gauck, *Die Stasi-Akten: das unheimliche Erbe der DDR* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1991), 42-3. Although Gauck’s father was not taken away till 1951 (forced to work in a labour camp near Lake Baikal, in the southeast of the Soviet Union, until Stalin’s death in 1955), the experience described by Gauck is similar to those left behind in 1945, 1946 and later.

29 Alongside the original letters, the archives still have copies of the replies. This allows one to see who received a reply and when.


32 THW Bestand: Land Thüringen, Bureau des Ministerpräsidenten Aktenr. 534/535.


34 Peter Langhof, “Die ersten Schritte nach der Katastrophe,” in Geschichte des Lankreises Rudolstadt, ed. Werner Thomas (Rudolstadt: Landratsamt, 1992), 52-70, here: 58. In 1950 and 1951 the SED was also cleansed; 150,000 members were banned, and many social democrats who were in contact with the West German SPD were taken prisoner. Weber, DDR. Dokumente zur Geschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1945-1985, 152.


40 Geissler, Een generatie zwijgt, resp. 4 and 7.


42 Döblin, Schicksalsreise, Bericht und Bekenntnis, here: 20.
Chapter 3


2 According to Borneman, “Nazi propaganda...tended toward hysteria in its...portrayals of the Russians as a bestial, inferior race,” ibid., 122.


5 Many of those who were adults in 1945 continued to feel strong loyalty towards the GDR until the end. This was largely due to the fact that the East German state had offered them better career opportunities than they would have had otherwise, Christine Muusse, “Wir sind hier nicht angekommen’. Senioren in Leipzig en het DDR-verleden: een zoektocht naar identiteitsvorming en identiteitsbehoud.” (MA Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2003). Also see Christoph Kleßmann, “Rethinking the Second German Dictatorship,” in *Dictatorship as Experience: Towards a Socio-Cultural History of the GDR*, ed. Konrad Jarausch (New York / Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1999), 363-72. And see Jürgen Kocka, “Eine durchherrschte Gesellschaft,” in *Sozialgeschichte der DDR*, ed. Hartmut Kaelble, Jürgen Kocka and Hartmut Zwahr (Stuttgart: Klett Cotta, 1994), 547-54. Ross, Fulbrook and Jessen all show that the loyalty of the so-called Aufbaugeneration [the reconstruction generation] later came to seriously thwart changes in the GDR. Corey Ross, *The East German Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives in the Interpretation of the GDR* (London: Arnold, 2002). Mary Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship. Inside the GDR, 1949-1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,


7 Günther Kühn and Wolfgang Weber, Stärker als die Wölfe (Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1976), resp. 17 and 276.

8 Herf, Divided Memory, 189.


10 Ross, The East German Dictatorship, 46.


14 Sigrid Meuschel, Legitimation und Parteiherrschaft in der DDR: Zum Paradox von Stabilität und Revolution in der DDR 1945-1989 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1992), resp. 221, 71 and 78.


17 Ibid., 83-4.

18 Fulbrook, German National Identity after the Holocaust, 33-4.

19 Ibid., 34.


23 See Hell: “the new social order that emerged in the GDR…was founded upon the notion of the ‘People-as-One,’ a conception of society as essentially homogeneous and unified…[which] categorically denies that division, conflict, and antagonism are constitutive of society.” Julia Hell, "History as Trauma, or, Turning to the Past Once Again: Germany 1949/1989," The South Atlantic Quarterly 96 no. 4 (1997): 911-48, here: 916.

24 Fulbrook, German National Identity after the Holocaust, 34.


27 Herf, Divided Memory, 390-1.


34 Borneman, Belonging in the Two Berlins, 62.


36 Ibid.

37 Landsman, Dictatorship and Demand, 118.


Chapter 4

3 Kultur im Heim, 1977/4, 34.
4 Ibid.
6 Kultur im Heim, 1977/4, 34.
8 I deem it important to stress that the ideals described here were certainly not limited to the GDR, or the other countries of the socialist bloc. Comparable ideals were widespread then, and also very much en vogue in many western / capitalist countries. Also see Scholz & Veenis, in which we show that exactly the same discussions on the social role of design took place in West as in East Germany at that time, with comparable forms being the result. In both countries, enlightening consumers was supposed to play an important role in relation to the country’s dark past – for the false romanticism the Nazis had used to blind the masses, was to be eradicated. Nathalie Scholz and Milena Veenis, “Cold War Modernism and Post War German Homes. An East-West Comparison,” in Cold War Culture, ed. Joes Segal, David Romeyn and Giles Scott-Smith (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).
9 All references are from Kultur im Heim, resp. 1980/3, 41; 1973/5, 24-26; 1968/6, 4 and 7.
10 Kultur im Heim, resp. 1965/1, 27; 1965/3, 39; 1988/6, 27; 1977/1, 1; 1968/5, 1; 1965/3, 27.
11 Kultur im Heim, 1969/1, 49 and 1966/4, 22.
12 Ibid.
13 Kühne, Gegenstand und Raum, 186.
14 Neue Werbung, 1958/4, 1.
16 The example is taken from Hirdina’s outstanding history of design in the GDR, Heinz Hirdina, Gestalten für die Serie. Design in der DDR 1949-1989 (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1988), 131.
17 Ibid., 56.
18 Ibid., 64.
19 Kultur im Heim, 1971/3, 1.
20 Ibid.
22 Hirdina, Gestalten für die Serie: Design in der DDR 1949-1989, 58.
23 Ibid., 129.
24 Herbert Pohl, “Rationeller Umgang mit Möbelelementen,” Form und Zweck 2 (1970): 13-5. Again, this development was certainly not exclusive to the GDR and other socialist countries. The rationalization of furniture and interior design has been a globally successful trend – think of Ikea and Lundia.
25 Hirdina, Gestalten für die Serie, 135.
26 Ibid., 139. Although the material expression of variety and subjectivity was not stimulated in the GDR, this is not to say people were unable to give a personal interpretation to their material surroundings. See Merkel, who explicitly warns not only to focus on the official ideology with regard to design and material culture, in order to then draw the unjustified conclusion that “it was impossible to develop different lifestyles” in the GDR, Ina Merkel, “Working People and Consumption Under Really-Existing Socialism: Perspectives from the German Democratic Republic,” International Labor and Working-Class History 55 (1999): 92-111, here: 379. Also see Miller, for ways the inhabitants of a uniformly designed neighbourhood in East London appropriated their flats via individual furnishings. Daniel Miller, “Appropriating the State on the Council Estate,” Man 23 (1988): 353-72.
27 Hirdina, Gestalten für die Serie, resp. 162, 163, 129 and 133.
28 During my fieldwork I interviewed ten graphic designers.
29 Also see Fehérváry, who shows that clashes between designers and party functionaries were a well-known phenomenon throughout the socialist bloc. Krisztina Fehérváry, “Goods and States: The Political Logic of State-Socialist Material Culture,” Comparative Studies in Society and History 51 no. 2 (2009): 426-59.
30 TSR: W 634. The paper is not dated, but its place in the record suggests it refers to 1983 or 1984.
31 Allotments were responsible for the production of honey and certain small stocks. RSA: Volkswirtschaftsplan der Stadt Rudolstadt, 23/11/1975.
33 LRA: A8697 (1983), n.d.
34 Interestingly, East German rat-poison was called Delicia. East German product naming practices are worth studying; note the following names: Lebona (probably perfume), Decenta (probably sanitary towels), Fekama (against insects), Gentina (washing powder), Immuna (tampons), Thania (perfume), Alberna (sun oil), Landina (cream) and Duolit & Duotex (against insects). Helmut M. Bien, ed., Schmerz laß nach. Drogerie-Werbung der DDR (Dresden: Deutsches Hygiene-Museum, 1992), resp. 41, 19, 32, 18, 23, 22, 14, 29 and 19.
35 There was of course also an ideological argument why too much attention to packaging was subject and not in line with socialist mentality. For a discussion on this, see the journal Neue Werbung.
37 The car example is not entirely true: the famous East German Trabant was made of a mixture of cotton and creosote, but in the stories about the car that circulated after the Wende,
it was affectionately known as Auto von Pappe [car made of paper] or Pappschachtel [paper box].


47 Ibid., 3.


52 TSR: W 134, 15/03/1980.

53 LRA: 2S 725/70, 07/05/1970.

54 LRA: A 8697.

55 Also see also Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh-Jones, “Introduction: Barter, Exchange and Value,” in Barter, Exchange and Value: An Anthropological Approach, ed. Caroline
56 Ibid., 8.
61 Ibid., 147.
64 LRA: E52/19 (1796), 16/09/1963.

Chapter 5

4 Ibid., 143-4.
5 Ibid., 144, 145.
7 My quotes are from the Dutch translation of this book, Hans-Joachim Maaz, Psychogram van Oost Duitsland (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 1991), 112-3.
Notes 251

12 Also see Michael Lukas Moeller and Hans-Joachim Maaz, Die Einheit beginnt zu zweit: ein deutsch-deutsches Zwiegespräch (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1991), 108.
14 Maaz, Psychogram van Oost Duitsland, 30.
15 Just like all other mass organisations, the FDJ formed part of the National Front (which further consisted of the SED and so-called Bloc parties). This organisation was known to be extremely loyal to the state.
16 Nearly all young people between the age of 14 and 18 were FDJ members. After they became 18, most members left, except for students: in 1988 more than 95% of the students at Humboldt University were members of the FDJ, John Borneman, Belonging in the Two Berlins. Kin, State, Nation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 163.
18 SBZ: Sowjetische Besatzungszone, Soviet Occupied Zone.
19 Kleßmann and Wagner, Das gespaltene Land, 460-2.
21 Unpublished report from the secretariat of Rudolstadt's Council of the VKSK district representatives' conference 02/02/85 / Bericht des Sekretariats des Kreisvorstandes Rudolstadt zur Kreisdelegiertenkonferenz des VKSK (Verein für Kleingärtner, Siedler und Kleintierzüchter).
27 Allinson, Politics and Popular Opinion in East Germany 1945-68, 158.
29 Willem Melching, Van het socialisme, de dingen die voorbijgaan: een geschiedenis van de DDR 1945-2000 (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2004), 301.
30 Moeller and Maaz, Die Einheit beginnt zu zweit, 19-20.
31 See Fabian on presenting people as “our contemporary ancestors” as an affirmation of one’s power, Johannes Fabian, Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
32 Melching, _Van het socialisme, de dingen die voorbijgaan_, 301.

33 Moeller and Maaz, _Die Einheit beginnt zu zweit_, 61. Also see Guggenberger, who explains tensions between East and West Germans as following: “The...irritation between East and West Germans can for example now be traced especially to differences in aesthetic observations. For us in the west, the GDR, the past, is more than anything an aesthetic vexation,” Bernd Guggenberger, “Die politische Aktualität des Ästhetischen,” _Leviathan: Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft_ 21 no. 1 (1993): 146-62, here: 151.


36 Peter Schneider, _Vom Ende der Gewißheit_ (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1994), 58.

37 See a quote by Czech film director Milos Forman: “When you are not allowed to talk, you know what you want to say…But when you're free, you have to decide what's important. And that's more difficult,” Lisa Wedeen, _Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric and Symbols in Contemporary Syria_ (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 149.


40 Scott, _Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance_, 233. In the GDR, this role, alongside the arts, literature and theatre, was primarily played by religion, for the principal stronghold of criticism and resistance in the GDR was undoubtedly the Church.


45 See Frindte, who remarks that this was exactly one of the ways people spent their free time which helped them to silently “step out” of society (“aussteigen”), Wolfgang Frindte, “‘Vertrauen ist gut, Kontrolle ist besser...’: ein sozialpsychologischer Erklärungsversuch zum gesellschaftlichen Umbruch in der DDR,” in _Mythen der Deutschen: Deutsche Befindlichkeiten zwischen Geschichten und Geschichte_, ed. Wolfgang Frindte and Harald Pätzolt (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1994), 115-33, here: 129. Also see Fulbrook, who considers the allotments to be just like the non-political attitude of most East Germans: “the subordinate masses were genuinely content to leave politics to a well-meaning...élite and to retreat into private niches, cultivating their gardens,” Mary Fulbrook, _Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR, 1949-1989_ (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 141.

46 L.’s previously mentioned Personal File, obtained for personal use.

47 See Borneman, who commented: “romance was the dominant genre in which authority was represented and legitimated in relations between state and citizen in East Germany,”
Notes 253


49 This does not detract from the fact that even then, many people found the enforced security a burden and felt imprisoned. Here too we can speak of a positive distortion retrospectively. See following chapter and also Kolakowski, who speaks of the “slave-like security,” Leszek Kolakowski, “Communism as a Cultural Formation,” Survey: A Journal of East and West Studies 29 no. 2 (1985): 136-49, here: 144.

50 Mary Fulbrook, German National Identity after the Holocaust (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 215.


54 Just as people had done under Nazi rule, see Klemperer’s analysis of the language of the Third Reich, Victor Klemperer, LTI (Lingua Tertii Imperii). Notizbuch eines Philologen (Leipzig: Reclam, 2005 [1947]).


56 The GDR was also described as a Nischengesellschaft. The term Nische for describing a feature of East Germans’ existence was initially used by the first permanent representative of the FRG in the GDR, Günter Gaus.

57 However, as will be discussed in chapter six, the state was able to infiltrate even the closest circle of confidants.


59 See a statement by (East) German politician Lothar de Maizière, in an interview with McEIlvoy: “The combination of the daily tussle with the system in all of its negative aspects and the modest happiness which we strove for and often achieved inside it has given us a feeling of belonging together, a separate identity,” Anne McEIlvoy, The Saddled Cow: East Germany’s Life and Legacy (London: Faber & Faber, 1992), here: 227.


Chapter 6

1 Günther de Bruyn, Verschoven stad. Een jeugd in Berlijn (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 1993).

2 The problems and painful elements of East German society and history were primarily dealt with in novels. Evemarie Badstübner-Peters, “Ostdeutsche Sowjetunionerfahrungen. Ansichten über Eigenes und Fremdes in der Alltagsgeschichte der DDR,” in Amerikanisierung


7 Ibid.

8 *Freund* is friend and *IM* is *informeller Mitarbeiter*, literally: informal employee, i.e.: people who secretly collected information for the Stasi.

9 All Gauck’s quotes in the following paragraphs, except those in which I refer to his book, are based on notes taken during his lecture at the Goethe Institute in Amsterdam, which took place on September 22, 1998.

10 One yard of records amounts to about ten thousand pages. All in all, the Stasi left about 1.8 billion pages in which the experiences of over six million people have been described meticulously. Gauck, *Die Stasi-Akten: das unheimliche Erbe der DDR*, here: 11. According to the employee of the Stasi archives I visited in Gera, about one-third of the East German population is mentioned in the archives. This includes people with only one reference but who had not (yet) been watched. Also see Gauck, *Die Stasi-Akten: das unheimliche Erbe der DDR*, here 61: onwards.


12 Interestingly, similar power was granted to the President of the USA in September 1950: “[It] even gave the President powers to intern ‘potential subversives’ in concentration camps during security emergencies. This…provision remained on the statute books for no less than 20 years,” Mel van Elteren, *Americanism and Americanization: A Critical History of Domestic and Global Influence* (Jefferson / London: McFarland & Company, 2006), 83.


14 It deviates too much from the subject to deal with the issue of how it is possible that Wolf herself had also worked as an IM, but the film *Das Leben der Anderen* [The Lives of Others] illustrates that the line between perpetrator and victim could be extremely thin.


18 Ibid., 4.

19 Ibid., 7.

20 ASKD: 003 156.

21 Also see Tefft who states that “espionage seems to generate the need for more espionage” because it “may provide unreliable information” and because “agents often betray their employers.” Stanton K. Tefft, *Secrecy. A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1980), 337.
Notes 255

22 ASKD: 003 156.
23 ASKD: 003 017.
24 ASKD: X/291/76/II.
26 Ibid., 1/26.
27 Gauck, Die Stasi-Akten: das unheimliche Erbe der DDR, 27.
28 Those people were already members of the party, and the Stasi preferred to recruit its collaborators from less obvious categories. Gauck, Die Stasi-Akten: das unheimliche Erbe der DDR, resp. 48-49 and 27-40.
29 Wolf, Patronen van een jeugd, 36.
30 I heard about this letter through the grapevine. Neither the addressee nor the author knows that I have read it. I therefore do not include the contents here.
31 They were officially employed by the MfS. They managed and were responsible for the activities of the service's informal employees.
33 Maaz, Psychogram van Oost Duitsland, 85.
35 Gauck, Die Stasi-Akten: das unheimliche Erbe der DDR, 36.
36 Maaz, Psychogram van Oost Duitsland, 81.
37 Wolf, Patronen van een jeugd, 15.
38 Annette Simon, Versuch, mir und anderen die ostdeutsche Moral zu erklären (Giessen: Psycho-Sozial Verlag, 1995), 68.
39 Fulbrook, Anatomy of a Dictatorship, 55.
44 Also see Fink, Living Silence: Burma under Military Rule, 130.
46 Ibid.
48 Wolf, Patronen van een jeugd, 197.
See Von Plato: “People often did not even talk about it with their own family.”


Ibid., 203.


Also see Slavoj Žižek: “The position, not all is ideology, beneath the ideological mask, I am also a human person, is the very form of ideology, of its practical efficiency.” Slavoj Žižek, “Fantasy as a Political Category: A Lacanian Approach,” *Journal for the Psychoanalysis of Culture & Society* 1 no. 2 (1996): 77-86.

Chapter 7


4 Two-thirds of the population of East Germany had West German relatives. John Borneman, *Belonging in the Two Berlins. Kin, State, Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 144. According to estimates, every year roughly DM 2.2 million (either in the form of money or in kind) poured in from the FRG to GDR inhabitants. For the West German givers, the costs were tax-deductible, just like the aid given to developing countries.


6 *Intershops* were set up in 1962. Unfortunately, I was not able to trace how the East German state presented this cavity in the official ideology. Alongside *Intershops*, where only western goods could be purchased with West German money, in the early 1960s there were also so-called *Exquisitläden* where luxury items produced in the GDR were sold at exorbitant (*Ostmark*) prices.


8 Until the FRG recognised the GDR as a separate German state, the trade between the two countries was often referred to as trade between different German zones.

9 The official exchange-rate was 1 *Ostmark* for 1 *Deutschmark*. On the black market, one usually obtained about 7 times as much.
I will come back to the theoretical implications of this issue in my concluding chapter.


A similar argument to mine on objects that evoke nostalgia is put forward by Stewart (1984): miniatures help to remind us of the by-gone days of handcrafts. Such objects act as intermediaries between the anonymity of mass and the desire for “authenticity.” See Susan Stewart, On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984). Also see Jean-Pierre Warnier and Céline Rosselin, Authenticier la Marchandise: Anthropologie Critique de la Quête d'Authenticité (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996).

Annette Simon, Versuch, mir und anderen die ostdeutsche Moral zu erklären (Giessen: Psycho-Sozial Verlag, 1995), 60.


As leader of the “Bereich Kommerzielle Koordinierung” [commercial coordination section] and state secretary of foreign affairs (from 1975), Alexander Schalck Golodkowski was the GDR's great Devisen-Beschaffer [hard currency provider]. Wolfgang Kenntemich, Manfred Durniok and Thomas Karlauf, Das war die DDR: Eine Geschichte des anderen Deutschland (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1993), 244. Under his leadership, all East German wares of international value – art, costly handwork, but also East German political prisoners – were sold to the west for hard currency.


During my stay in Rudolstadt, I heard various people uttering these and the following statements.


Schwarze, Die DDR ist keine Zone mehr, resp. 15 and 99-100.

For the relationship between material and economic progress on the one side and feelings of Germanness on the other, see Mühlberg, who shows that for East Germans, the DM was the main symbol of a better life, Dietrich Mühlberg, “Kulturelle Ursachen für das Scheitern des Staatssozialismus. Verordnete Kultur und Mangel an Akzeptanz,” in Was bleibt – was wird: Der kulturelle Umbruch in den neuen Bundesländern, ed. Hermann Glaser (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1994), 37-45. Gallenmüller & Wakenhut explain that from a list of the twenty most significant symbols of identification in the FRG, seven referred to material and economic terms (Wirtschaftskraft, DM, Produkte ‘Made in Germany’, Wohlstand, Westlicher Lebensstil, Freie Marktwirtschaft und High-Tech-Industrie). Jutta Gallenmüller and Roland Wakenhut, “‘Nationale Identität’. Konzeptualisierung und Entwicklung eines Fragebogens zur Erfassung des Bewußtseins nationaler Zugehörigkeit,” in Mythen der Deutschen: Deutsche Befindlichkeiten zwischen Geschichten und Geschichte, ed. Wolfgang Frindte and
Harald Pätzolt (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1994), 173-86, here: 179-80. See also Kleßmann & Wagner, for a report dated 1961 in which an East German supposes that the majority of the East German population would rather live on the other side because it is materially better there, but that West Germans must watch they do not start acting like rich uncles. Christoph Kleßmann and Georg Wagner, *Das gespalte Land: Leben in Deutschland 1945 bis 1990: Texte und Dokumente* (München: Beck, 1993), 35. Also see Schwarze, who reports the Weimar Republic was called the “Firma statt Staat,” while the FRG was known as the “Konsumgesellschaft statt Staat” [resp. company instead of state, and consumer society instead of state], Schwarze, *Die DDR ist keine Zone mehr*, 99.

23 As explained in the first chapter of this book, I do not do much justice to historical fluctuations. That certainly applies here, as after a difficult initial phase and until half way through the 1970s, there was a certain sense of optimism in the GDR, largely thanks to the improved material standard of living. By the mid-1970s, dissatisfaction with material consumption had spread throughout the country, as shown in a relatively reliable representative survey (not meant for publication) carried out by the *Institut für Meinungsforschung* (controlled by the SED) in Leipzig. In 1975 only 37.1% of the interviewees thought shopping facilities in the GDR were good. Mary Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship. Inside the GDR, 1949-1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 139.


28 Ibid.

29 Resp. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 32. Also see Wilk, who states that "if colonial time is at the heart of colonial cosmology, style and fashion are its outward concrete symbols". Richard Wilk, "Consumer Goods as Dialogue About Development," *Culture and History* 7 (1990): 79-101, here: 85, [italics in orig.]. Ellen Lissek-Schütz, “Es gab durchaus ein richtiges Leben im Falschen. Über den Diskurs mit ostdeutschen Kulturverwaltungen,” in *Was bleibt – was wird. Der kulturelle Umbruch in den neuen Bundesländern*, ed. Hermann Glaser (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1994), 109-17, here: 113. Although Hungarians were not able to identify with another country to the same extent as East Germans could, they also tended to regard the socialist period in their country as a disturbance, a hindrance to what otherwise would have been their normal historical development – read: as it was originally meant to take place. Equally, the west was seen as the place where “normal” life was possible. Krisztina Fehérváry, “Goods and States: The Political Logic of State-Socialist Material Culture,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 no. 2 (2009): 426-59, here: 429. The socialist period was regarded by many as an aberration from what was seen as the normal course. Krisztina Fehérváry, “American Kitchens, Luxury Bathrooms, and the Search for a 'Normal' Life in Postsocialist Hungary,” *Ethnos* 67 no. 3 (2002): 369-400, here: 371. Borneman, *Belonging in the Two Berlins*, 201.

30 Ibid., 24.

31 Diesener and Gries, “‘Chic zum Geburtstag unserer Republik.’ Zwei Projekte zur Produkt- und Politikpropaganda im Deutsch-Deutschen Vergleich,” 60.


Notes 259

34 Or, as in the brochure advertising nostalgic-looking roof tiles: “Wo ich den Alltag vergesse, bin ich zu Hause” [where I forget daily life, I feel at home]. Another brochure featured living room furniture with the slogan: “Den Alltag vergessen – die Freizeit genießen” [forgetting daily life – enjoying leisure].


Chapter 8


4 During my stay in Rudolstadt, I asked 465 secondary school pupils from various schools to write an essay on a number of topics chosen by me, including the Wende.


9 See Annette Simon, who also showed that during the Wende, East Germans felt for the very first time that “Realität und Wunschproduktion werden eins” [reality and wishes merged]. Annette Simon, Versuch, mir und anderen die ostdeutsche Moral zu erklären (Giessen: Psycho-Sozial Verlag, 1995), 15.


12 Thüringer Kurier, 26/02/1990: 11.


14 Newspaper cutting with no reference, from a diary made available to me of the period around the Wende.

15 Ost Thüringer Nachrichten, 17/03/1990.

16 Ibid., 20/03/1990.
It is interesting that the issue concerning the lack of trust was seen by many as typical of the post-socialist era (thus not of the GDR and the Stasi). Although we can interpret this as typical of the total denial regarding the topic Stasi, I prefer to think that the existence of the secret service was such an obvious part of daily life that the associated distrust had become a completely internalized and scarcely conscious part of the East German psyche and hardly noticed, as “implicit social knowledge,” Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man. A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago / London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 366.

 Unlike most conversations, I did record this one.

 Potato dumplings are a typical Thuringian dish.

 The Treuhandanstalt was set up shortly after the Wende by the German government in order to privatize and sell former East German state-owned companies.


 Statistics on Rudolstadt in the period before 1989 taken from *Statistische Jahrbücher der DDR 1988 bis 1990*, and after the Wende taken from Thüringer Landesamt für Statistik.

 See the article on suicide attempts in Berlin in *Profil* (no. 29, 13/07/1992: 51). Also see Alexijevitsj on post-Wende suicides in the former Soviet Union, Svetlana Alexijevitsj, *In de ban van de dood* (Amsterdam: Pegasus, 1995).

 Literally meaning: would like to. Add: be rich. Möchtegerns are the New Rich or those who would like to be seen as such.


 Throughout Germany much criticism was voiced on the way privatisation of the GDR was handled. American historian Charles Maier remarked: “the Treuhand was becoming the symbol for a capitalist takeover that was at once rapacious and inefficient,” Charles S. Maier, *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 295.

 Some claimed that actual unemployment was even around 50%, see e.g. an article in the West German journal *Profil* (no. 29, 13/07/1992: 50 onwards). And Maier stated that “over one million out of four million workers were without jobs and another million and a half on subsidized...make-work assignments,” Maier, *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany*, 298.
33 The term pain here is not just used figuratively. See McDonald & Leary, who showed that social exclusion is often not only linked to mental but also physical pain, Geoff McDonald and Mark R. Leary, “Why Does Social Exclusion Hurt? The Relationship Between Social and Physical Pain,” Psychological Bulletin 131 no. 2 (2005): 202-23.


35 This supplement was meant to cover the additional costs of residing abroad, but many saw it as a kind of compensation. This is why East Germans thought that only due to the extra earnings (and career opportunities) were West Germans prepared to work in the East German jungle.

36 This measure did not refer to everything collectivized between May 1945 and October 1949 or taken away by the Russians, but only to the real estate belonging to people who had decided to leave the GDR.

37 See a relevant article in Stern 15/04/1992: 46.

38 Neues Deutschland, 11/02/1994. For an East German perspective on the restitution of houses in the former GDR, also see Daniela Dahn, Wir bleiben hier oder Wem gehört der Osten. Vom Kampf um Häuser und Wohnungen in den neuen Bundesländern (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1994).


40 Neues Deutschland, 20/05/1994.


42 Much has been written about Ostalgie in the media; an especially insightful article appeared in Le Monde Diplomatique (August 2004).

43 Simon, Versuch, mir und anderen die ostdeutsche Moral zu erklären, resp. 63, 47-8, and 48.

44 Ibid., 63.

45 Anthropologists Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch showed that the introduction of money often seems (or is said) to have negative consequences which, on further investigation, appear to pertain to other phenomena that already existed before, but that, with the introduction of money, were objectivized and could thus be categorized under one common denominator, Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch, “Introduction: Money and the Morality of Exchange,” in Money and the Morality of Exchange, ed. Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1-33.


Conclusion


3 Ibid., 17.

4 Ibid., 18.
5 Ibid., resp. 36 [italics in orig.], 29, and 35.
7 Literally: man is a wolf to his fellow man.
11 Mattijs van de Port, *Gypsies, Wars, and Other Instances of the Wild* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), 153.
12 Freely taken from Žižek, who states that the birth of nationalism which engulfed large areas of Eastern Europe in the 1990s, corresponded to “a desire for capitalism-cum-Gemeinschaft,” Žižek, “Eastern Europe's Republics of Gilead,” 61.
13 Only the most loyal East Germans were chosen to visit capitalist countries if that was required for business reasons. The financial bonus they received for such trips was paid in West German currency. BstU, KD Rudolstadt (Gera), 003017: “Berichterstattung zur Dienstreise Frankreich,” 7/12.-16/12/86, 4.
20 Ibid.
23 Ross, *The East German Dictatorship*, 107.


31 Ibid., 339.


33 Stavrakakis, Lacan and the Political, 74.


40 On the importance of the sensorial aspect in social science studies of food, see Milena Veenis, Kartoffeln, Kuchen und Asado: Over de verborgen keuken van Duitsers in Argentinië (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1995), 5-6.


42 See also Taussig on this topic. Referring to Proust, he states that “[t]he past is hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach of the intellect, in some material object (in the sensation which that material object will give us),” Michael Taussig, “The Sun Gives Without Receiving: An Old Story,” Comparative Studies in Society and History 37 (1995): 368-98, here: 369.


49 And were consequently disappointed, if only because by comparing their identity with an object, they themselves create the conditions whereby their so called identity, “can be alienated in the most concrete sense: by stealing, destroying, selling etc.,” Van Beek, “On Materiality,” 22.


51 Stavrakakis, Lacan and the Political, 64.

52 Žižek, “Fantasy as a Political Category: A Lacanian Approach,” 83.