

# United Germany Debating Processes and Prospects

Edited by Konrad H. Jarausch



NQ 7230 737



Published in 2013 by

Berghahn Books

www.berghahnbooks.com

© 2013 Konrad H. Jarausch

All rights reserved. Except for the quotation of short passages for the purposes of criticism and review, no part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system now known or to be invented, without written permission of the publisher.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

United Germany : debating processes and prospects  $\slash$  edited by Konrad H. Jarausch.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-85745-972-5 (hardback : alk. paper) —

ISBN 978-0-85745-973-2 (institutional ebook)

1. Germany—History—Unification, 1990. 2. Germany—Politics and government—1990— 3. Germany—Economic conditions—1990— 4. Germany—Social conditions—1990— I. Jarausch, Konrad Hugo.

DD290.25.U57 2013 943.087'8—dc23

2013005551

### British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Printed in the United States on acid-free paper

ISBN 978-0-85745-972-5 (hardback) ISBN 978-0-85745-973-2 (institutional ebook)

## **Contents**

Preface	vii
Introduction Growing Together? Processes and Problems of German Unification Konrad H. Jarausch	1
Part I. Political Processes	
Chapter 1 Two Decades of Unity: Continuity and Change in Political Institutions Gero Neugebauer	25
Chapter 2 United, Yet Separate: A View from the East Heinrich Bortfeldt	44
Chapter 3 Debates and Perceptions about German Unification: The Centrality of Discourse Helga A. Welsh	64
Part II. Economic Problems	
Chapter 4 Institutional Coping: The Treuhandanstalt and the Collapse of the East German Economy, 1989–1990 Wolfgang Seibel	83
Chapter 5 East Germany 1989–2010: A Fragmented Development Rainer Land	104
Chapter 6 Getting Even: East German Economic Underperformance after Unification 1 Ionathan R. Zatlin	119

vi

Contents

#### Part III. Social Upheaval

Chapter 7 1989 and the Crisis of Feminist Politics Ute Gerhard		135
Chapter 8 Women's Movements in East Germany: Are We in Europe Yet? Ingrid Miethe		154
Chapter 9 Feminist Encounters: Germany, the EU, and Beyond Myra Marx Ferree		171
Part IV. Cultural Conflict		
Chapter 10 GDR Literature Beyond the GDR? Klaus R. Scherpe		183
Chapter 11 Unity and Difference: Some Reflections on a Disparate Field Frank Hörnigk		205
Chapter 12 The Painful Exit from the Cold War: East German Writers and the Demise of the Reading Culture Frank Trommler		213
Part V. International Normalization		
<i>Chapter</i> 13 The"Normalization" of Humanitarian and Military Missions Abro Beate Neuss	oad massini	231
<i>Chapter 14</i> German Foreign Policy after 1990: Some Critical Remarks Erhard Crome	April 1990 April 1990	252
Chapter 15 "To Deploy or Not to Deploy": The Erratic Evolution of German Foreign Policy since Unification Andrew I. Port		267
Note on Contributors	Service Services	278
Selected Bibliography		282
Index	•	285

## **Preface**

quarter century after the fall of the Wall, politicians, journalists, and Ascholars are still debating its chief consequence—German unification. On the one hand, during its twentieth anniversary the government led by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) celebrated the restoration of the national state, the progress of inner unity, and the lifting of the Iron Curtain that reconnected Europe. In newspaper articles, television specials, and exhibitions, former dissidents also sought to recapture the courage of the opposition movement that overthrew the dictatorship of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) in order to memorialize "the peaceful revolution." On the other hand, opposition parties like Die Linke and the Greens denounced unification as a takeover of the East and decried the economic crisis that had produced mass unemployment, focusing on its negative consequences. At the same time, many displaced Eastern intellectuals continue to resent Western arrogance, cultivate a nostalgic image of the solidarity of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), and stress the lingering psychological divide.

In order to reflect these conflicting evaluations, this volume includes a diverse group of contributors who represent a wide range of experiential and analytical positions. Though there is some disagreement within each camp, the key difference between the optimists and the pessimists stems from each writer's role in the events, which tends to color his or her judgment. In spite of minor self-criticisms, Western commentators generally view unification positively, since they see it as a confirmation of the Federal Republic's democratic market economy. While appreciating many of the gains, Eastern observers tend to judge the result rather critically because they are more aware of the losses incurred in the process. Finally, American scholars have the luxury of viewing events from a transatlantic distance, which allows them to formulate a more dispassionate judgment. By discussing one theme from three different perspectives, this volume