

Publication Practice and the Perception of British and Irish
Literature in the former German Democratic Republic
between 1949 and 1989.

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Statement

This volume is presented as a record of the work undertaken for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the School of Arts, English and Drama, Loughborough University, Leicestershire, United Kingdom.

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled 'Publication Practice and the Perception of British and Irish Literature in the Former German Democratic Republic between 1949 and 1989' has been carried out in the School of Arts, English and Drama, Loughborough University under the guidance of Professor Nigel Wood and Dr Wim Van Mierlo. The work is original and has not been submitted in part or full by me for any degree or diploma at any other University.

I further declare that the material obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged in the thesis.

Volker Jansen, February 2019

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the cultural, political and ideological objectives that led to the issuing of British and Irish literature in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and to analyse the socio-cultural dimensions of the reception of British literature in the GDR between 1949 and 1989. Its purpose is to examine the complicated relationship between the political organisation of the GDR and the prevailing ideology with regards to British and Irish literature. The motivation for this choice of topic derives from a lack of a comprehensive academic work on the subject of the publication and reception of British and Irish literature in the former GDR.

The study examines to what degree the function of imported British and Irish literature was to praise Marxism and bring the population of the GDR to a better understanding of socialist ideology. Consequently, English classics—the social novels of prominent 19th century British writers—and those of post-war anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, social realist and modernist British and Irish authors are evaluated with reference to their reception in the GDR. Given the fact that these works were not written to meet the requirements of Socialist Realism, the objective is to assess the reason(s) for their translation and publication in the GDR. This is achieved by tracing the outline of socialist ideology in the political works of the founders of the GDR by examining archival documents; by studying the publications of the GDR's literary critics, scholars, editors and officials; and finally, by analysing the relevance of this to published works of British and Irish literature.

Key issues—like the reception of British and Irish literature in socialist society, the relationship between realism and modernism in literature, and the complex relationship between publisher, ideology and cultural politics—are examined by regarding these as more than purely theoretical issues or abstract cultural problems. Instead, these are considered to be social issues that can only be settled at the level of practice. Consequently, in conjunction with socialist ideology, the project examines to what degree East German intellectuals (publishers, censors, scholars and politicians) were bound by both their history and the socialist ideology and culture they wished to establish. It will also consider the extent to which this influenced publication strategies for different genres of British and Irish literature. Additionally, the focus lies on the examination of strategies for the avoidance of conflicts between the ruling party and presiding authorities. The analysis is supported by an

evaluation of the relationship between the development of socialist literary theory and the process of cultural transformation in the GDR.

A close textual analysis of a large number of British publications (poetry, drama, fiction), and the study of socio-cultural, ideological and political conditions in the GDR, reveals that publication strategies match the course of socio-cultural change.

The analysis is based on academic works written by leading (former) East German scholars of literature (Marxist literary critics) as well as on a variety of sources such as historical documents available at archives, censorship reports and contemporary literary scholarship. The study is substantially based on historical sources.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my thanks to my advisors Professor Nigel Wood and Dr Wim Van Mierlo. Special mention goes to Dr Van Mierlo who supported me with valuable advice and good spirit. I have enjoyed our debates on the subject of literature and have valued his brilliant suggestions and vital input. This research has been a revealing experience for me, and I thank Dr Van Mierlo wholeheartedly, not only for his remarkable academic support, but also for helping me with generic and editorial issues.

Gratitude goes to Professor Simon Eliot for encouraging me to embark on this thesis, for helping me to define the subject and for nurturing my enthusiasm.

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A Note on Footnotes, Referencing and Terminology

Footnotes in this work comprise two aspects: annotations and quotations. While some shorter quotations are included in the body text, footnotes contain longer quotations that would inhibit the flow of reading if inserted in the body text.

If English translations from German quotations are inserted in the body text, the original German text is included in the footnotes if German textual elements will contain words or terms which contain special GDR-terminology, for instance *Gutachen* (literary assessment), *begutachten* (appraise), *ganzer Mensch* (the whole, unbroken or unspoiled man), *Formalismusstreit* (discourse on formalism) or *Kulturpolitik* (cultural politics) which has a slightly different meaning in English due to the political history than it had in East Germany. German quotations are marked as such and are quoted according to the German style guide.

The body text and the footnotes include references to historical and contemporary sources. Historical sources are academic papers, political texts, letters, archival documents, speeches, publications from the GDR, newspaper articles, essays etc., all authored before 1990, while contemporary sources stem from the period after Germany's reunification. Contemporary sources include analyses, personal memoirs and post-Cold War literature reviews. All sources used for this work are accredited as such and listed in the bibliography.

The bibliography is split into two sections: the bibliography of publications (literature) and the archival bibliography of unpublished texts, archival documents such as censorship reports, and legislative papers. The bibliography includes historical and contemporary sources, available at libraries or via the Internet. These sources are accessible to the general reader. The archival bibliography contains historical sources such as unpublished archival documents including letters, jurisdictions, legislative texts and pamphlets by Party officials. The archival sources are accessible at the Federal Archive in Berlin or via ARGUS, the archive's digital library.

For this study the Harvard style of referencing has been chosen. The system used in particular is based on the Style manual for authors, editors and printers, revised by Snooks & Co. 2002 (edition: July 2014). It follows the author-date convention and includes two types of citation, in-text citations and a reference list, the bibliography. The in-text citations are located in the body of the work and contain a fragment of the full citations. An in-text citation includes the author's name followed by the year of publication and the page

number, for example (Author 1986: 21). The conventional abbreviation p. or pp. (to represent a page number or page numbers) has been omitted in in-text citations for the reason of simplification.

For in-text references where there has been a close previous citation from the same source material, the abbreviation *ibid.* for *ibidem* has been omitted, only page numbers are mentioned, for instance (320-31). If there is no page number available, the year of publication is cited, for example (1995).

The bibliography is arranged in alphabetical order by author. If there is no author mentioned, the entry is cited by the title. It is included in the alphabetical list and the first meaningful word of the title is mentioned. If there is one item with the same name of author the list is organised in a chronological order, commencing with the earliest publication. The bibliography contains items cited in this study.

Historical sources which were published in the GDR (only) are quoted in the past tense, for example: *Becher argued*. Contemporary sources and historical sources from the West are quoted in the present tense, for example: *Lahusen maintains*. This gives the reader a better understanding of the reception history and the literature quoted, irrespective of the references made.

Terminology

The system of classifying literature used in this thesis follows *in general* the system used in the GDR. However, the terminology employed in this study can only follow the classifications of the GDR's ideologists in universal terms, because the literary categories were not sharply defined. In the GDR, all literary works considered 'social realist' (*sozialer Realismus*) were perceived to deliver content which could be used as a means for social or political reference. This genre is wide and encompasses social novels such as working-class literature and social-critical works, which portray the daily life of the working-class and the poor. Works under this category include the literary form of descriptive realism (*deskriptiver Realismus*).

In this study, the general term 'realist work(s)' (*realistische Werke*) is used only when the literature described is not entirely social or political in content but of a realist nature in general, or when a number of distinctive realist works (from different epochs) are referred to. In particular, works of 19th century European Realism were usually referred to as realist classics (*Klassiker des Realismus*) if these served political or social endeavours. The wide-

ranging term 'classic literature' or 'classics' (*Klassiker des historischen Realismus*) is used for those works which stem from an earlier period and comprise a number of different (realist) styles.

In the GDR 'critical realism' (*kritischer Realismus*) was used in a broad sense. This category includes works of 'social realism' (*sozialer Realismus*) such as literature by Dickens, Hardy, Thackeray and Fielding. Some of their works were deemed 'socialist literary legacy' (*sozialistisches literarisches Erbe*). Besides social realism, critical realism was understood to include some varieties, which are discussed at the end of chapter two. Some of these sub-categories mentioned in chapter two might seem incompatible with a contemporary view, but these were occasionally employed in literary criticism in the GDR and served the purposes of Marxist interpretation.

In this study, contemporary British novels published in the GDR are usually referred to as social novels (*soziale Romanliteratur*). Works of a philosophical or political nature, which did not originate in a socialist environment but in Britain or Ireland, are referred to as pro-socialist (*prosozialistisch*), left-wing, socialist inspired or anti-capitalist (*antikapitalistisch or antimperialistisch*) literature in this study in order to describe the nature of those works. Pro-socialist or socialist inspired British works show similarities in style, plot or aesthetics with socialist works (*sozialistische Werke*) written in the GDR which passed censorship but did not fully comply with the claims of Socialist Realism (*Sozialistischer Realismus*). The term Socialist Realism is only used for those works which did follow the literary claims of Zhdanov (1934), as laid out in detail in chapter one.

For the purposes of this study, the term 'modern literature' is not used to refer to a particular genre, as the category is too wide. For modernist, avant-garde literature, however, the term formalist literature (*Formalistische Literatur*) is applied, irrespective of its particular genre. In the GDR some writers of 'formalist literature' were considered bourgeois (*bürgerlich*). The term bourgeois literature (*bürgerliche Literatur*) was used among others for non-realist (romantic) works of the 19th and 20th century, works that were seen to adopt a positive stance towards imperialism and/or capitalism. Sometimes the term was also referred to early realist works, but labelled 'bourgeois realist literature.'

Introduction

In Germany after the Second World War in 1945 the four Allied occupational forces (Republic of France, United Kingdom, Soviet Union and the United States of America) imposed censorship on German literature and media. A list of literature was published, according to which books, including those from private property, are to be confiscated. The requirement for licensing in West Germany as a means of control was abolished in 1949 with the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany or FRG, while in East Germany with the foundation of the German Democratic Republic or GDR censorship was exercised.

In the years immediately following the division of Germany, an intense ideological opposition took over on both sides. Under the law of the Soviet Union the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (Socialist Unity Party of Germany or SED) established a socialist regime in East Germany (German Democratic Republic or GDR), while Konrad Adenauer, leader of the *Christlich-Demokratische Union* (Christian Democratic Union or CDU), gained power in West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany or FRG), a federal parliamentary republic with a social market economy. The rules that applied to literature and culture on both sides allowed for the creation of a gap as far as freedom of expression and the press were concerned.

GDR's ruling Party (SED) controlled literature and the media. Undesired publishing attempts were blocked. The most influential regulations limiting freedom were related to satire, defamation and incitement of popular hatred, holocaust denial and blasphemy; nevertheless, publications were blocked for being formalist or decadent in nature or critical with Soviet politics.

While in West Germany British and Irish literature was celebrated, East German publishers remained restrictive in their approach to the issuing of British and Irish works. David Bathrick (1995: 87) (Award Winner of the DAAD Prize of the German Studies Association) describes a strong hostility within Marxism (in the GDR) towards what has been called 'naturalism, modernism, decadence, formalism, or – most pejoratively - avant-gardism [...]'. Initially literature was to reflect East Germany's commitment to the new anti-fascist order and was to subordinate to a new literary reality: Socialist Realism. In the words of Leo Trotsky (1925 [2005]: 115), a Marxist revolutionary, theorist and pre-Stalinist Soviet politician: 'The working-class does not need know the old literature, it still has to commune with it, it still has to master Pushkin, to absorb him, and to overcome him.' Despite his

oppositional stance towards Stalin, Trotsky (121) shaped socialist art and literature enduringly. Art needed 'to be able to transform as well as to reflect, there must be a great distance between artist and life, just as there is between the revolutionist and political reality' (121).¹ He maintained that for 'socialist art [...], no basis has as yet been made' (Keach 2005: 20), even though eventually 'Socialist art will grow out of the art of this transition period' (1924 [2001]: 220). Trotsky's reconsidering (1925 [2005]) of 'form' and 'content' is fundamental to his analysis of literary tendencies, and to his commentary on the great works of bourgeois culture such as Shakespeare's tragedies and Goethe's 'Faust'. It is also fundamental to his imagining of future transformations (Keach 2005: 21), which informed GDR's cultural politics concerning literature and art.²

The cultural policy directives in the GDR developed under Walter Ulbricht inherited the construction of the 'biases stemming directly from the Soviet experiences of the 1920s and 1930s' (Bathrick 1995: 90), which informed the reception of British and Irish literature for the years to come. Moreover English was the language of the class enemy and English literature was ideologically problematic to varying degrees since it originated in an 'imperialist environment' (Korte, Schaur and Welz 2008: 2). Britain's colonial past was viewed as overly materialistic and ready to impose Britain's own civilisation on others in the name of capitalism, wearing the disguise of progress. In addition to the general facets of socialist ideology, the political relationship with the United Kingdom was a specific aspect that played an additional role when it came to the legitimacy of British literature, which was declared bourgeois or formalist.

In the GDR, as early as 1951, on 17 March, the Central Commission issued a declaration dealing with 'formalist literature' (non-realist, bourgeois literature). The document carries the title *Der Kampf gegen den Formalismus in Kunst und Literatur für eine fortschrittliche Kultur* (Bathrick 1995: 90) or 'the struggle against formalism in art and literature for a progressive culture', and follows in large the claims of Trotsky and other Bolsheviks. The categories the document employs reflect its historical origin. Formalism, we are told, is a form of 'American cultural barbarism.' When practised in a socialist society, it 'leads to a

¹ See: Terry Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory*, Verso, London (2006: 172)

² The powerful force of competition which, in bourgeois society, has the character of market competition, will not disappear in a Socialist society, but, to use the language of psychoanalysis, will be sublimated, that is, will assume a higher and more fertile form. (Trotsky 1925 [2005]: 230)

rupture with art itself a destruction of national consciousness and indirect support of the war policies of world imperialism' (Stone 1973: 3).

Despite the odds approximately 570 literary titles of British and Irish origin were issued between 1949 and 1989 (see appendix). The nature and style of these literary works varied from classics to Modernist. Despite censorship regulations the reality in publishing contradicted the rhetoric and posture of the Party, which labelled bourgeois and Modernist traditions as 'cosmopolitanism' (Bathrick 1995: 90). It also appears that the conflict between the two bourgeois traditions, 'high culture' and 'high modernism' varied with changing historical realities in the GDR.

During the Party rule there was a genuine opposition at the heart of GDR's cultural policy against English literature and British culture. Therefore, we ask the following question: When English was the language of the class enemy, when the UK stood for capitalism and when English literature was considered of imperialist origin, so why was British literature published continuously between 1949 and 1989 in the GDR? From the perspective of cultural politics the regime looks like a set of confusing ambivalences and irreconcilable antinomies.

These alleged paradoxes prompted me to undertake a study which aims to examine to what degree the function of imported British and Irish literature was to contribute to Marxism and bring the population of the in the German Democratic Republic to a better understanding of socialist ideology. There is a need to understand the reasons for the inclusion of British and Irish literature in the publishing programmes by leading GDR publishers (between 1949 and 1989). Hence, I look at the process of censorship control, which was *the* essential prerequisite for the issue of any print permission, and investigate the cultural, political and ideological objectives that led to the issuing of British and Irish literature. This includes an analysis of the socio-cultural dimensions of the reception of British literature in the GDR and different powers of literary control. Given the fact that British and Irish literature was not written to meet the requirements of Socialist Realism, the objective is to assess the arguments raised by publishers, editors, scholars and officials of ideological, political or social cultural reasoning for the translation and dissemination of works that did not fulfil the requirements of socialist ideology. The assessment is undertaken in four interlocking ways. Firstly, I seek to understand the dominant drivers in the publication process (editors and intellectuals), their ambitions and reasons for choosing

British literature among others. Secondly, I seek to understand how socialist literary criticism of, and the larger socialist discourse about, British and Irish literature was involved in the complicated process of challenge and transformation within a changing social order. Thirdly, I assess the reception of British and Irish literature, looking at obvious changes and deviations in the perception of these works, as well as the importance of publishers' preferences with regards to literary style, aesthetics and genre. Finally, I consider how publishers who both promoted and suppressed British literature were part of a complex network of relations that incorporated scholars, censors, offices of power, the Party and society at large. The study uses various approaches to analyse the reception of British and Irish literature and examines the discourse involved in making a publication possible. I will conclude this study with an attempt to explicate the motives of editors and scholars who sought to include British and Irish works in the prevailing literary discourse.

Key issues of my research—like the reception of British and Irish literature in socialist society, the relationship between realism and modernism in literature, and the complex relationship between publisher, ideology and cultural politics—are examined by regarding these as more than purely theoretical issues or abstract cultural problems. Instead, these are considered to be social issues that can only be settled at the level of practice. Subsequently, in conjunction with socialist ideology, the project examines to what degree East German intellectuals (publishers, censors, scholars and politicians) were bound by both their history and the socialist ideology and culture they wished to establish. My analysis considers the extent to which this influenced publication strategies for different types of British and Irish literature. Therefore, the study also examines possible strategies for the avoidance of conflicts between the ruling party and presiding authorities. It is supported by an evaluation of the relationship between the development of socialist literary theory and the process of cultural transformation in the GDR.

I became interested in the topic because of David Bathrick's scholarly work 'The Powers of Speech, the Politics of Culture in the GDR' published by University of Nebraska Press (Lincoln & London) in 1995. His work is considered potentially the most important book on GDR culture to appear in English. Bathrick's (1995) research interests are focussed on the tense relationship between GDR politics and culture between 1949 and 1989. What seems important to me are Bathrick's insights into the spiral movement that challenged political control with nonconformity that stood for GDR's literary elite. Up until the German

reunification in 1990 these nonconformists attempted to open alternative spaces for public speech. According to the scholar this happened from within the ideological framework of Marxism-Leninism. Bathrick examines the history of GDR's Avant-garde and portrays the intellectuals' efforts to develop a new theatrical tradition in the GDR. Finally, he declares that the development of a socialist alternative became the focus of East Germany's nonconformists.³ Bathrick's work 'The Power of Speech, the Politics of Culture in the GDR' is structured into three sections which comprise the 'Politics of Culture' (chapter 1 and 2), the 'Politics of Modernism: A Theatre of Revolution' (chapter 3 to 6) and the 'Politics of the Irrational' (chapter 7 and 8). Each of the eight chapters is based on the outcome of Bathrick's specific research activities conducted between the mid 1970s and the 1980s.⁴

³ David Bathrick is the Jacob Gould Schurmann Emeritus Professor of Theatre, Film & Dance and Professor of German and Jewish Studies at Cornell University. During a fellowship in East Berlin as a visiting professor at *Humboldt Universität* (1981-1983) Bathrick gained a deep understanding of GDR's social and political culture. His fellowship was granted by the 'International Research and Exchange Board', part of the IREX program (IREX is a U.S. non-profit organization committed to international education).

Bathrick is therefore one of the few Western scholars who was given the unique chance to research the role of East Germany's intellectuals in society. He witnessed East Germany's political culture and the hidden collaboration of allegedly oppositional intellectuals and writers with the state police (Stasi). His research resulted in the publication of a number of articles and essays concerning his analysis and findings. Consequently, he summarised various studies on the role of critical cultural GDR intellectuals in the process of social change in the 300-page scholarly work 'The Power of Speech, the Politics of Culture in the GDR' (1995). In revealing the development of a socialist alternative for public speech, which he argued became the central point of the GDR dissidence, Bathrick entered a hotly contested territory in reunited Germany. The debate was fuelled, when Bathrick suggested that that 'the emergence of the GDR-dissident writer was [...] promoted by a Western GDR cultural industry during the old War period' (Lamberechts 1997: 114).

⁴ The first chapter discusses East German writers and the public sphere. This chapter is based on Bathrick's scholarly work conducted during the 1980s in East Berlin, while chapter two, three and five are based on earlier research activities prior to his fellowship.

Bathrick wrote an early version of chapter two that appeared in *New German Critiques*, Volume 15 (1978: 3-24) titled: 'The Politics of Culture: Rudolf Bahro and the Opposition in the GDR'. The John Hopkins University Press published the text of chapter three under the headline 'Affirmative or Negative Culture: The Avant Garde under "Actually Existing Socialism"' in *Social Research* (1980: 166-87).

In 1976 Bathrick co-authored together with Andreas Huyssen an essay titled: 'Producing Revolution: Heiner Müller's Mauser as Learning Play', which appeared in *New German Critique*, number 8 (1976: 110-21). This article became the foundation for chapter five.

Chapter four, six, seven and eight were authored after Bathrick's fellowship in East Berlin. The fourth chapter is based on the article 'Agitproptheater in der DDR. Auseinandersetzung mit der Tradition' written in 1987 and published by Suhrkamp in *Dramatik der DDR* (pp. 128-49). Ulrich Profitlich edited the text, which was translated into English for the 1995 publication 'The Powers of Speech'.

Chapter six derives from the article 'Patricide or Regeneration: Brecht's Baal and Roundheads in the GDR' published by The Johns Hopkins University Press in *Theatre Journal* number 39 (1987: 434-47). The article is based on the result of Bathrick's study conducted during the early 1980's in the GDR.

Chapters seven and eight, both placed in the book's third section, are based upon Bathrick's research work done during and after his fellowship.

Bathrick was awarded with the 1996 DAAD/GSA Book of the Year Prize for his work by the German Studies Association. He authored and edited many influential books on German literature and literary culture. His major writings are (in chronological order): [Continued on page 19]

Bathrick researched at the Department of German Studies at Cornell University. He still gives lectures at the College of Arts & Sciences at Cornell University in the theory of modern drama, 20th century German literature, critical theory, Weimar culture and the cultural politics of East Germany.

The approach and scope of my study is indebted to Siegfried Lokatis, Professor at the University of Leipzig, Chair in Book studies, who recommended me in 2011 that I do research on the publication history and reception of English literature in the GDR. He convinced me that an analytical approach would be useful to gain new insights into GDR's publication history. Lokatis studies the system of censorship and literary publicity in the GDR. He examines the history of the publisher Volk und Welt, investigates the communist party history and analyses literary control under Walter Ulbricht (1956-1971). During the 1990s Lokatis conducted research on GDR's system of censorship which resulted in a scholarly work titled 'Jedes Buch ein Abenteuer' (Every Book an Adventure) published in 1997 by Akademie Verlag. This work influenced my decision to examine the publication history and reception of British and Irish literature in the GDR.⁵

Bathrick, D 1975, *The Dialectic and the Early Brecht: An Interpretive Study of "Trommeln in der Nacht"*, Akademischer Verlag H.-D. Heinz, Stuttgart

—(ed.) 1989, *Modernity and the Text: Revisions of German Modernism*, University Press, New York

—1995, *The Powers of Speech: The Politics of Culture in the GDR*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln

—(ed.) 2008 *Visualizing the Holocaust: Documents, Aesthetics, Memory*, Camden House, Rochester, NY

⁵ Lokatis (1997) shows in 'Jedes Buch ein Abenteuer' (Every Book an Adventure) that censorship was practiced in the GDR for decades. Five years after the reunification, Lokatis focused on the complex system of GDR censorship with regards to the publication of East German literature. With a small team of scholars (Simone Langermann and Simone Barck) Lokatis started to conduct a comprehensive survey. The scholars visited several archives in Berlin and Leipzig in order to find convincing evidence for a system of literary control in the GDR. The first step of their research work was based on the evaluation of approx. 200 documents from the *Central Administration of Publishing and Book Trade* followed by the examination of another 100 files from various departments associated with the Party. Lokatis, Langermann and Barck systemically analysed regulations, political and organisational structures and the workings of literary control with regards to the involvement of publishers and officials. They described how East German literature was staged, controlled, regulated, reduced and manipulated. Some of the facts that were revealed would simply not be believed if it were not documented by archival sources.

Lokatis maintains (1997: 192) that literature, which did not speak the language of socialist ideology, was not published in the GDR. He studied the experiences of well-known GDR authors such as Fritz R. Fries, Christa Wolf, Erik Neutsch, Irmtraud Morgner with censorship control and reveals the influence of literary control on distinguished GDR poets such as Volker Braun, Bernd Jentzsch, Sarah and Rainer Kirsch. Lokatis shows that even works by authors who supported the 'Bitterfeld Weg' complied with censorship requirements. This includes works by Helmut Hauptmann, for instance his novel 'Das komplexe Abenteuer Schwedt', Eberhard Panitz's 'Der siebte Sommer' and Karl Mundstock's 'Wo der Regenbogen steigt'. Lokatis has co-edited and written various essays on the history of the former publishing house Volk und Welt and the control and dissemination of illegal literature in the GDR. Publications include *Fenster zur Welt* (2005) and *Heimliche Leser in der DDR* (2008), both issued by Christoph Links Verlag (Ch Links), Berlin. Different to

Furthermore, the study is influenced by the works of Wolfgang Emmerich, a German literary and cultural scientist, who founded the *Institut für kulturwissenschaftliche Deutschlandstudien (IfkuD)* at the University of Bremen in 1988. He retired in 2006.⁶ His research focused on the literary and cultural history of the 20th century, especially the literature of exile, the GDR literature and the transformation phase of the GDR between 1989 and 1990. He authored an influential work titled 'Kleine Literaturgeschichte der DDR' (Brief literary history of the GDR), which was first published in 1981 by Luchterhand and was revised and republished four times since then. The work focuses on the literary history of East German literature, its protagonists and censorship issues. The fourth and latest edition was published in 2009 by Aufbau Verlag and is an extended version of earlier editions. It includes a literary criticism of the literature of the late 1980s and the literature of the time of re-unification.⁷

Only two major works were issued concerning the publication history of Anglophone literature in the GDR. In 2000 Anna-Christina Giovanopoulos wrote a monograph titled 'Die Amerikanische Literatur in der DDR: Die Institutionalisierung von Sinn zwischen Affirmation

Jedes Buch ein Abenteuer those publications are a collection of essays and articles written by former GDR editors, readers or officials. The articles were written after the reunification.

⁶ Emmerich is a critic in the Frankfurt school tradition and analysed the development of East Germany's literature in a socio-political context. He is convinced that 'GDR's literature became a medium of a radical critique of civilization and thus participated in the modern critique of reason' (Emde 2004: 56).

⁷ According to Emmerich (2009) GDR's own literature began to catch up with literary modernism during the 70s and 80s, but became increasingly trapped in socialist utopia during the second half of the 1980s. All the same Emmerich sees some 'tendencies in GDR literature that point in the direction of post-modernist aesthetic techniques [...]' (57). In 1988 he wrote an important essay about post-modernist tendencies in East Germany's literature: 'Gleichzeitigkeit: Vormoderne, Moderne und Postmoderne in der Literatur der DDR', edited by Heinz Ludwig Arnold and published by edition text und kritik (München) in *Bestandsaufnahme Gegenwartsliteratur* (pp. 193-211).

Although Socialist Realism remained the official doctrine until 1989, according to Emmerich (2009) literature fulfilled a compensatory role acting. He asserts that literature's function was to articulate public opinion and the discontent that could not find expression in the official press and media. According to him, this made GDR's literature highly political, and it made GDR's ideological guardians suspicious towards East German writers. Emmerich (2009) reveals in his scholarly work that for most writers in the GDR, the political change of 1989 resulted in a loss of purpose. He has charted the 'uncomfortable shifts' in critical discourse since 1990. Emmerich wrote and edited numerous works on literature. His most recent works include (in chronological order):

Emmerich, W, Solte-Gresser, C and Jäger, H-W 2005, 'Eros und Literatur. Liebe in Texten von der Antike bis zum Cyberspace' Festschrift für Gert Sautermeister, edition lumière, Bremen [*text continued on next page*]

Emmerich, W and Kammler, E 2006, 'Literatur – Gender – Psychoanalyse', Festschrift für Helga Gallas Bremen, edition lumière, Bremen.

Emmerich, W 2006, 'Gottfried Benn', rowohlts monographien, Rowohlt, Reinbek.

Emmerich, W and Leistner, B 2008, Literarisches Chemnitz. Autoren – Werke – Tendenzen, Verlag Heimatland Sachsen, Chemnitz.

und Subversion' (American Literature in the GDR: The Institutionalisation of Meaning between Affirmation and Subversion) published by Blaue Eule in *Dresdner Arbeiten zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik* (volume 6). The monograph is based on Giovanopoulos's doctoral dissertation at TU Dresden. Her research activities concern the politicisation of American literature in the former GDR. She examines processes of transfer of American literature into East German culture and analysis those institutions which took part in the dispute over meaning, and how books were chosen for publication (Neumann 2000: 164). Her study focuses on an examination of the various levels of selection of texts written by American writers and on political changes which impacted the publication history of American literature in the GDR between 1949 and 1989.⁸

The second work dedicated to the publication history of Anglophone literature in the GDR is titled 'Britische Literatur in der DDR' (British literature in the GDR) published by Königshausen & Neumann in 2008 and edited by Barbara Korte, Sanda Schauer and Stefan Welz. The work comprises a collection of essays written by scholars of literature, book historians, former editors and publishers. It contains 15 individual articles which discuss specific topics concerning the publication history, literary control and the reception of British

⁸ Giovanopoulos (2008: 80) distinguishes seven publication phases of American literature in the GDR, which vary in number of publications per anno, type of literature and in strategies for legitimation. Giovanopoulos asserts that until 1952 licence-free books of adventure stories and novels by left-wing authors became the only American literature which passed censorship. It was not until 1953 that the literary works of well-known American authors were included in GDR's publication programmes. This phase ended abruptly in 1958. Giovanopoulos sees the dawn of the next phase at the beginning of the 1960s, namely with the stabilisation of the political system in the GDR.

She identifies an increase in publication activity which concern the works of Soviet-friendly and socialist American authors. Trends towards a more liberal phase happened at the end of the 1960s, which led to the replacement of left-wing literature with popular fiction. This new phase was characterised by a cautious introduction of contemporary American literature.

Giovanopoulos reveals contradictory publication practices and an orthodox socialist discourse towards Western literature. She identifies a changing pattern of literary interpretation during the 1960s that deviated from the traditional Marxist-Leninist line of literary interpretation. According to the scholar, the 1970s confirm this line, while the socio-political climate of the 1980s heralded a new phase, an increase in publication activity of contemporary literature. This new and final era eventually led to the publication of some selected Modernist titles by American writers.

A summary of Giovanopoulos's work in English was published in 2000 by DeGruyter in 'English and American Studies in German: Summaries of Theses and Monographs' and edited by Stella Neumann (pp. 164-168).

In June 2014 Giovanopoulos received a postdoctoral degree for the research work 'Entstehung und Wandel kollektiver politischer Identitäten am Beispiel der Whigs und Tories in England im späten 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert: Zirkulationsprozesse zwischen Literatur und Politik' (The emergence and change of collective political identities using the example of the Whigs and Tories in England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: Circulation processes between literature and politics). Currently, Giovanopoulos teaches literature, linguistic and cultural studies. She has published numerous articles, monographs, papers and essays regarding literary reception and literary history.

literature in the GDR.⁹ These articles gave an important impetus for setting out the direction of this research work. Relevant conclusions of these contributions are quoted in this work.

An examination of the available literature has revealed that there is a lack of a comprehensive academic work on the subject of the publication and reception of British and Irish literature in the former GDR. Consequently, I took the decision to close the gap and to conduct my own research in that field of study. My notion to focus in particular on the publication and reception of British and Irish literature is driven by a need to unravel the complex system of suppression and promotion of Anglophone literature that existed in the GDR. The complexities - and the inherent contradictions within them - have not been fully understood.

To accomplish the task of analysing and establishing a contribution to the field of research, my study is structured in five chapters dedicated to different aspects of my research build on one another. Chapter one analyses the ideological and cultural aspects of censorship while chapter two examines the political and social dimensions impacting the publication policy regarding British and Irish literature. Chapter three comprises a case study demonstrating the influence of ideology on the reception of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, a realist work, to match the political morals of the time. Chapter four examines the issue of political change and its impact on the prevailing ideology with regards to the assessment, choice and reception of contemporary Anglophone literature. Chapter five covers a case study of the reception of Samuel Beckett's ambivalent modernist writings. It examines the politics of control and evaluates the influence of a deteriorating ideology in respect to the literary reception.

The contextual discourse in these five chapters starts with the first element in the sequence of this study, which is a research specification, focussing on ideological aspects and their impact on cultural politics. With regards to the eclectic influence of the GDR's socio-cultural policy on the publishing process for British and Irish literature, I explore the relevant historical background. The first chapter contains a succinct amount of essential

⁹ The articles are written by scholars of literature and book history, former GDR editors and GDR scholars, editors and literary critics. These are: Siegfried Lokatis, Günther Gentsch, Otto Brandstätter, Gabriele Bock, Alexandra Lambert, Oliver Lindner, Anna-Christina Giovanopoulos, Wolfgang Wicht, Jochanan Trilse-Finkelstein, Stefan Welz, Dietmar Böhnke, Gaby Thomson-Wohlgemuth, Elisabeth Gibbels and Sandra Schaur.

foundational information. It comprises a survey concerning the main socio-cultural discourses that were used in the GDR, and it will examine the ideological factors that underlie the specific practices employed to legitimise British and Irish literature. The role of Marxist-Leninist ideology, socialist aesthetics, literary principles and socio-cultural elements are examined in relation to this process. The chapter discusses the socio-cultural impact of GDR-specific politics in relation to the reception of Western literature in general, and of British and Irish literature in particular. In order to establish a clear understanding of the historical context of the literary discourse, the study starts out with an analysis of Social Realism; continues by examining the Marxist-Leninist purpose of interpreting literature; and argues for its influence on Socialist humanities. This particular analysis is necessary as it allows us to gain a greater insight into the key factors that (ideologically) impacted cultural politics, and hence the endorsement of selected works of contemporary British and Irish literature. As editors were well aware of the political dimension, titles and authors were included in the publication programme on a selective basis. In recognising the process of selection when it comes to British works, authors and genres, this study is able to explore the ideological and political endeavour of adapting literature to the GDR's ideological and economic system. Hence, this first chapter includes an exploration of the possible ideological shifts that took place, manipulating both the reception and publication of British and Irish literature.

The second chapter deals with political, organisational and bureaucratic developments within the censorship process and examines the degree of influence of politics on British and Irish literature. With regards to the conditions under which British and Irish works were published, deviations in appraisal and approval procedures, alterations in bureaucratic hierarchies and modifications to institutional processes are assessed. The intricate connection between the political structure and cultural politics is viewed in relation to the approval strategies employed for designated British and Irish literary works. I address the reception history, literary style and contents of various British and Irish works, and the analysis turns to different types of work: the social novel and within his genre the working-class novel, the anti-colonial or anti-imperialist novel and pro-socialist or socialist inspired works. A dedicated section in chapter two concentrates on the study of pre- and post-war British working-class novels and examines the reception of such works. The aim here is to evaluate the extent to which socialist norms were enacted through British and Irish working-

class literature; this can be seen as a system of binarisms articulated within a framework that juxtaposed 'enlightenment' and 'anti-enlightenment' values. Hence, I assess to what degree British 'pro-socialist' writers, in foundational narratives, coherently articulated (directly or indirectly) the struggle to defeat capitalism, the working-class life (lower class life) in Britain, the liberation of women, the evolution of socialist modes of production, the historical encoding of joint cultural heritages (East German and British), and the function of class in a socialist society. Here I am not simply talking about British literature that sought to serve the party leadership on this or that matter, but rather about the ways in which abstract ideological, cultural, historical and political concepts were turned into the language of everyday life. Therefore, publications are examined for their relevance to socio-cultural concerns; works are considered for their position in literary criticism and their general reception among intellectuals.

Chapter three deals with realist literary heritage. For the purpose of a more detailed investigation of the realist novel's function in cultural politics, a case study of the reception of Daniel Defoe's most renowned work, *Robinson Crusoe*, is conducted. The impetus to examine Defoe's narrative lies in the work's Marxist reception. Defoe's novel was included in the GDR's educational syllabus, while his works sparked controversy among Marxist literary critics across Europe. The case study examines the work's reception in the GDR and analyses different interpretations concerning the relationship between 'hero and work' and between 'hero and social environment.' Four aspects are examined: the author's cultural positioning within the socialist literary world, the socialist literary criticism concerning Defoe, normative models of socialist interpretation and finally the work's socio-pedagogical dimensions. The analysis concludes with an examination of possible controversies in a socialist context.

The fourth chapter deals with the growing uncertainty during the 1980s concerning the 'correct ideological status of social policy' (Schmidt 2013: 30) and the implications of this uncertainty for the type and genre of British and Irish literature chosen for publication. The scholar of cultural and literary studies, Wolfgang Emmerich (2009), who has become an authority in GDR literature and literary suppression, argues that the publication of modern British literature served to make the GDR regime appear liberal and cosmopolitan, while the political reality in the GDR was far from liberal. In light of his statement, chapter four examines the level of uncertainty about the ideological status of Marxism. Three aspects are examined: the reception of contemporary, non-socialist modernist British and Irish writers

during the 1980s; the impact of Western mass media; and the role of rhetorical force deployed by editors and censors. Beyond these aspects, chapter four questions whether or not an ideological erosion developed during the 1980s in the GDR. The reception of four modernist authors (Virginia Woolf, T.S. Eliot, Aldous Huxley and George Orwell) is examined in relation to an on-going debate about the ambivalence of literary meaning; this commentary is undertaken in order to establish the nature of discourse and its influence on philosophical, political and ideological principles. Aspects of Western cultural and political influence are examined which might have led to shift towards a more liberal literary interpretation of British and Irish works.¹⁰

To substantiate the findings, the analysis contains in chapter five a case study of Samuel Beckett, focussing on the author's changing linguistic, biographical, generic and cultural reception in the GDR. Beckett is especially relevant because he was an influential modernist author in post-war Germany. The study begins with an assessment of Beckett's early reception in the GDR. This is followed by an evaluation of literary parallels between Brecht and Beckett. Here, scholars' ambivalent attitudes towards Beckett are investigated; the reasons for the suppression of Beckett's works are also analysed in the light of ideological concerns. The argument includes a study of the so-called 'Beckett debate' during the 1960s and 1970s in the GDR and covers five elements: Beckett's literary influence on contemporary GDR writer Volker Braun; the political reasons for Beckett's ambiguous reception among the GDR's playwrights; the implications of reading Beckett in a socialist society; specific socialist interpretations of Beckett; and, lastly, the route to the final publication of *Waiting for Godot* in 1989.

The methodological approach of my research is grounded in historical sources such as literary criticism written by former GDR scholars of English literature, censorship reports and literary assessments by GDR publishers. Amongst these historical documents are publications written by the leading GDR scholars of English literature. These were for instance Georg Seehase (contemporary English literature), Wolfgang Wicht (modernist English literature) and Robert Weimann (English classics) as well as SED politicians Kurt Hager, Peter Hacks, Klaus Höpcke, Alexander Abusch, Johannes Becher, just to name a few. They established the prescribed literary reception (*Rezeptionsvorgabe*) of English works.

¹⁰ James Joyce will not be examined in this document as many scholarly works on this matter have already been published.

Their literary criticism is reflected in censorship reports (and vice versa), which are used in this study. The analysis is based on a wide-ranging survey conducted by the author, and it covers the entire publication history of British and Irish literature in the GDR, including 570 publications by 170 British and Irish writers and books on British and Irish literature published in the former GDR.¹¹ The documents and publications were obtained through the second hand book trade, archives and libraries. Therefore, this study examines socialist literary discourse and proffers an analysis of a possible shift in the reception of British and Irish literature from a strictly censored approach towards a more liberal perspective. I focus upon the evolving ideological, institutional and discursive framework that shaped the GDR's socialist discourse of literary and cultural life, and I consider this discourse in relation to the efforts of a number of intellectuals in the literary sphere who struggled to open up alternative spaces for the publication of British and Irish literature, while operating within that framework.

The sources consist of official documents, individual articles or collections of essays written by scholars, literary critics and other relevant writers; these primarily recall the authors' private experiences as editors or assessors during the communist era. This is exemplified in publications produced by those representatives that reflected the stringent *Kulturpolitik* (cultural politics) of the GDR. For this study, literary assessments produced by critics from both East and West Germany (which were published before 1990) were used and provide an essential contribution as they represent different philosophical standpoints. An analysis of these opinions allows us to better comprehend the complex correlation between different social and political perspectives.

This methodology is a consequence of the fact that in the 1980s attempts to understand the workings of literature and censorship within a closed society led to a shift in focus for GDR studies, moving towards the premise that, according to Peter Christian Ludz (1980: 9), 'the comprehension of language allow new insights into the history, society, and behavioural structures of a particular time.' Besides, historical analyses by Lokatis, Bathrick, Emmerich and others have attempted to reconfigure questions of nonconformity, opposition and critical subversion by looking at the interplay between institutions of power and the various

¹¹ It contains vital data concerning each work's title, the year of publication, the official number of copies printed, the name of the censor or assessor, the file number, the publisher, the licensor (when available), the name of the translator and the name of the editor (who usually wrote the internal appraisal and sometimes the afterword).

modes of expression that existed within the socialist sphere. I consider that this emphasis on discourse did seek to establish how a given text is itself implicated in the process of encoding and decoding history and ideology; the problems of language and representation force one to rethink the traditional dualism of text and context, ideological belief and reality, accepted (dominant) and destabilising works of literature. Instead these dualisms can be viewed as a network of textual relationships.

My study makes a relevant contribution to both British and German scholars who endeavour to understand the purpose of publishing English literature in the GDR from a historic, literary, political and social perspective. Ultimately it offers an important input to our understanding of how British and Irish literature found its way onto the shelves of East German bookstores.

It excludes a traditional critical reader reception of English literature in the GDR. This is due to a lack of historical sources, such as publications and archival data, dealing with the reader reception between 1949 and 1989. All published interviews were carried out after the reunification, and essays concerning the subject were written at a time when the GDR was no longer in existence. These sources are likely to be distorted by hindsight bias; they are neither representative nor of sufficient relevance for the use of this study. This conclusion derives from an extensive analysis of the available material.

I argue that the reason for a lack of historical data lies in the regime's sole interest in *Rezeptionsvorgaben* (reception guidelines), which were published in introductions, blurbs or afterwords of books with a non-socialist background. Scholars, literary critics, editors, assessors or employees of the Ministry—who, in one way or another, were involved in the complex process of control—neither investigated nor published the reader reception of British and Irish literary works. Indeed, a reader reception was particularly critical because it could have led to ambivalent, undesirable results. As a consequence, it was agreed to create specific ideologically informed reception guidelines that preempted any deviation from the given line of interpretation. A research into a possible reader reception was therefore unnecessary since interpretations other than those provided by the state were not valid. Consequently, I concentrate on the official position towards British and Irish literature.

The socio-political content of reception guidelines gives the impression that intellectuals, *Gutachter* (assessors) and censors must have truly believed in the regime's ideology. They

were reportedly faithful to socialism, its ideology and its prescribed goals (Jarausch 2004: 4-6). We can only speculate about whether or not these intellectuals could have secretly agreed on the need for substantial reforms or, worse, if these scholars deceitfully misused the system in order to spur the publication of British and Irish works in order to subvert ideology. Hence some questions spring to mind, which are addressed in this study: Were these *Gutachter*, these assessors, these scholars of literature, pawns of the system? Did participation within official bodies constitute an alleged forfeiture of the existence of any real opposition to, or even criticism of, the system? Or was it possible to contest power relations as a member of the East German publication industry? And if it were, what would be the framework for realising, or retrospectively evaluating, such a strategy? Did political development trigger a growing motivation for change that might have spurred intellectuals to adapt their discourse, within a culture of censorship, in order to positively validate British literature? Or had these intellectuals unwittingly allowed formalist fictional works to filter into a socialist society because they were convinced of the literary value of British and Irish literature? What then are the powers of literature in a system devoid of formal legal protection with regards to freedom of speech and publication? Had, finally, the whole notion of publishing British literature in the GDR simply been rendered apocryphal when viewed from a historical perspective? This is the reason why I analyse the various motives and possible changes of reason(s) for the inclusion of British and Irish literature in the publishing programmes by GDR's publishers, and why I examine the challenges that went with it. Consequently, we need to focus on the ideological, political and cultural directives and need to look at the process of censorship control, which lead to the issue of print permissions.

We must also consider that a print permission required an *externes Gutachten*, an external opinion or assessment that informed the reception guidelines, drafted by a *Gutachter*, an expert assessor who was typically a scholar of English literature. Their opinion was virtually akin to a censorship report.¹² To ensure that a British literary work would pass censorship and receive print approval, publishers actively chose distinguished GDR scholars as expert assessors for the preparation of an external opinion. In general terms, the expert's role was to evaluate the level of relevance of a given literary work. The evaluation involved a

¹² An *externes Gutachten* or external opinion was an official report (usually commissioned by a publishing house) produced by an expert assessor (usually a GDR scholar of English literature). The German term *Gutachten* implies an official review prepared for authorities.

thorough analysis of the on-going socialist literary discourse and the reception of a given work among Marxist intellectuals, party members and leading literary critics. In order to delineate how the production of official Marxist-Leninist discourse in the GDR was at once controlled, selected, organised and distributed, I focus less on explicit ideological pronouncements and more on what that ideology did or did not say of its structural arrangements and procedural operations. Two rhetorical strategies have emerged as an important framework for assessors to reflect on. The first concerns the function of discourse as a system of exclusion and prohibition about what is true or false, progressive or reactionary, acceptable or intolerable. Here I do not talk about censorship as an institutional practice, but about the way in which restrictive aesthetic codes—communicated normatively through the discourses of Socialist Realism and official socio-cultural politics—functioned to legislate value and social identity as a total discursive system. A second dimension of the official discourse may be seen in the major stories it tells. This includes stories relating to cultural heritage, the genesis of socialism and the function of class in the new society (although no explicit criteria were officially published to regulate how censorship controls were conducted). Hence it seems that the forms of opposition emerged within the code itself. For the preparation of an external opinion the expert assessor used a set of valid Marxist-Leninist codes in his discourse in order to ideologically satisfy the two rhetorical strategies. The preparation of external opinions for British and Irish works had become an increasingly academic undertaking, as the system of control became more sophisticated and an assessment required an ideologically and politically sound discourse about an already published piece of literature from the West. These are the major reasons why I have decided to analyse the discourse, language and cultural encoding as systems of interpretative communication through which power was articulated in the GDR.

Chapter 1

Ideology, Marxism and Cultural Politics – Its Impact on the Publication of British and Irish Literature

Who invented Socialist Realism? Two traditional, unsatisfactory answers to that question are: 'the powers-that-be and the masses.' But 'the culture of Socialist Realism originated in neither with state power nor the masses' (Dobrenko 1997: 135). Rather, it was the product of a hybrid: "'the power-masses", functioning as a *single creator*' (135). Evgeny Dobrenko (135) explains that the aesthetics of Socialist Realism were

equally motivated by the aesthetic horizon and the demands of the masses; by the logic of immanence inherent to revolutionary culture; and by the state's interest in preserving mass tastes and reinforcing the "organisational political policy-making" power structure deployed in both formulating a new art and refashioning its market, or potential consumers. (135)

Socialist culture in the GDR shifted toward the masses more thoroughly than was the case with its revolutionary predecessors; it determined the traditional working-class dismissal of highbrow literature and art by accusing Western literature of decadence and neurasthenia, and urged that art become worker-oriented (142). The radical partisans of the GDR's ideology proposed bringing the working-class viewer onto the repertory theatre and writers' councils, creating new authors, playwrights and actors. They would listen to workers' criticism and adapt accordingly, orienting themselves—in both the organisational and economic senses of the term—towards the working-class viewer (142).

Leonid Heller discusses models of Socialist Realism based on abstract, historical, cultural, semiological, and psychoanalytic concepts, which are not so much descriptions as they are interpretations of the phenomenon of socialist aesthetics and Soviet culture as a whole. Heller (1997: 51) argues that these concepts are in essence deeply ideological and cannot solely be characterised as 'aesthetic.' This is because, as metaphysical aesthetics shows, we sometimes allow our idea of reality, an idea that is reached intellectually, to dictate our interpretation of beauty. According to Pravas Jivan Chaudhury (1965: 191), aesthetic metaphysics conversely allows our experience of beauty to rule our understanding of reality. The traditional aesthetics of the West align with the first of these models.

The concept of beauty as an aspect of intellectual truth, an intelligible form reached through some sensuous medium, has its foundation in classic Western philosophy. The same is true of the concept of aesthetic activity as a kind of cognition, and not sensation. (191)

The rejection of these traditional Western aesthetic categories was crucial to Socialist Criticism for solely ideological reasons: at stake was the rejection of Western metaphysics itself. Socialist Realism, as a literary and artistic style, was the official aesthetic doctrine of the GDR, with its origins in Marxist dialectical materialism. Therefore, the publication policy of British and Irish literature in the GDR was heavily shaped by this doctrine. The publication programme built on Marxist-Leninist literary interpretations that were current in the GDR, and it was strongly influenced by social and political shifts (rather than by classical aesthetics).

To gain a clear understanding of the choices governing the publication of British literature and the treatment of these works in the GDR, we need to expand our current understanding of the function of Socialist Realism. Katerina Clark (1997: 27) argues that in order to comprehend the function of Socialist Realism 'we have to go back to Hegel's insight (in *The Phenomenology of the Spirit* and elsewhere) that particular stages of cultural development produce particular cultural forms.' Clark (27) identifies shifts in social cultural understanding between 1949 and 1989 that had a strong impact on the British literary works chosen. These shifts of cultural forms are associated with GDR specific ideological aspects and political developments connected with the function of Socialist Realism and its artistic form(s) which informed substantially the official reception and interpretation of British and Irish works, irrespectively of genre, style and epoch.

Socialist Realism and Marxist-Leninist Interpretation in the GDR

The artistic form of Socialist Realism emerged in the early 20th century as the communist literary style in Russia. At the core of Socialist Realist aesthetics was the triad of "'ideological commitment" (*ideinost*), "Party-mindedness" (*partiinnost*), "national/popular spirit" (*narodnost*), and so on' (Heller 1997: 51). Drawing on his own impressions of events before and after the October Revolution, the Social Realist writer Maxim Gorky depicted Russian

working-class and peasant life in his novels (53).¹³ Gorky's reputation grew both as an exceptional working-class writer and a keen supporter of Russia's social and cultural transformation, leading in 1932 to the coining of the term Socialist Realism. However, his novel *Die Mutter* | *The Mother*, which inspired Socialist Realism, was written almost 30 years earlier in 1906. The story is about a working-class family who suffers the oppression and alienation of capitalism and who eventually turns to communism. The protagonist of the story, the mother, never enjoyed any formal education. Her superstitions, pessimism and lethargy were forced on her by the difficult conditions of her life, which gave her no time for reflection. Yet she progresses with her education and becomes conscious and completely dedicated to communism. Gorky was the first writer to make ideological commitment, truthfulness and activeness a central theme; these are themes that, as we shall see, were to become important elements of any Socialist Realist literary aesthetic during later years.

With Gorky's novel in mind, Socialist Realism can best be described as a depiction of *the* ideal social reality, not as things are but as they are supposed to be (Lahunsen and Dobrenko 1997). Literature must depict man's endeavour toward socialist advancement and an improved life. This prevented writers from acting autopoietically. Instead, the socialist novel was projected to deliver a story that showed how the forces of inspiration and awareness work themselves out in history.

The roots of the differences between social realism and Socialist Realism lie in socialist ideology. The socialist novel reflected the basic myth of Stalinist culture: the working out of this culture accorded with the myth of the 'Great Socialist Family', depicting positive figures who are developed to political consciousness (1997). As a result, artists would serve the proletariat (the Great Socialist Family) by being optimistic and heroic and by writing according to the three concepts of Socialist Realism noted above: party mindedness, ideological commitment and popular spirit (Heller 1997: 54). The positive hero represented the vital dialectic in the Leninist approximation of Marxism, with the character's inspiration standing for those forces which as yet were not informed politically, and the character's consciousness standing for those people who act from political awareness, in a self-controlled manner and following Party policy or directives (Clark 1997: 29). A British social

¹³ From his personal experiences, Gorky was familiar with the working-class of Russian society. His talent lay in making his characters seem life-like in the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary societies his works embraced. Gorky's novels were perceived to be ideologically committed, with his works following the structure of a realist novel and focussing on the life of the working-class.

novel like those written by, for example, Barry Hines, Arnold Wesker or Sid Chaplin with a plot based on the ups and downs of society would prove insufficiently party-minded. In the socialist novel, the plot would have to include scenes of workers sharpening their skills so as to transform themselves into technological intelligentsia. The Party opposed everything that was passive, nostalgic or ‘reactionary’ or anything that supported nationalism. Popular spirit was a necessary and ubiquitous literary feature of socialist literature that could not fail to express the expectations of the whole people (Heller 1997: 53). These tightly intertwined concepts necessarily brought into play several others. The aspect of ‘ideological commitment’ presupposed a unity of content and form; ‘party-mindedness’ presupposed social activism; and ‘national/popular spirit’ included universalism and humanism (54).

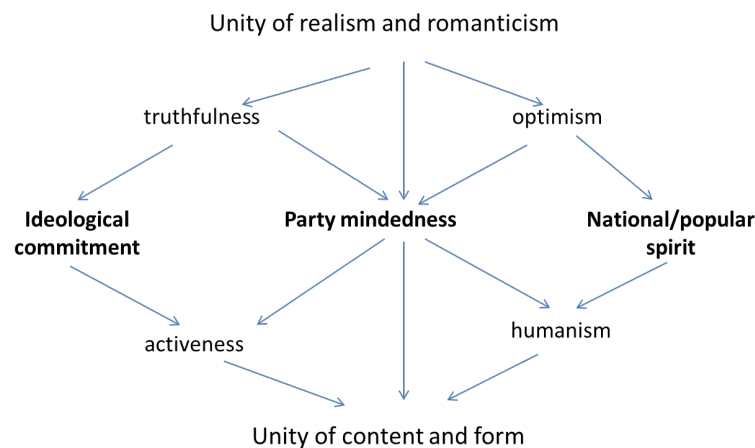


Fig. 1: The basic schema of Socialist Realism (Heller 1997: 54)

The first official Marxist-Leninist interpretation of Socialist Realism was declared by the Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934 and approved by Joseph Stalin, Nickolai Bukharin, Andrei Zhdanov and Maxim Gorky. This interpretation of Socialist Realism described ‘the myth of the “Great Family”’ which portrays ‘Soviet society and history in terms of an on-going hierarchy of “fathers” or highly “conscious” members of the vanguard, and “sons”, or highly “spontaneous” positive figures who were nurtured to political consciousness by the “fathers”’ (Clark 1997: 29). Katerina Clark (29) argues that ‘the myth therefore confirmed symbolically both the purity of the line of succession from Lenin, the “original father”, and the assured progress toward Communism, or universal “consciousness.”’ Therefore, ‘transpersonal forces were personalised’ (29). Zhdanov (1934) officially announced the

concept of the proletarian, working-class protagonist, 'the son' or 'socialist hero' in a doctrine delivered during the 34th Soviet Writers' Congress:¹⁴

[T]he main heroes of works of literature are the active builders of a new life—working men and women, collective farmers, Party members, business managers, engineers, members of the Young Communist League, Pioneers. Such are the chief types and the chief heroes of our Soviet literature. Our literature is impregnated with enthusiasm and the spirit of heroic deeds. It is optimistic, but not optimistic in accordance with any 'inward', animal instinct. It is optimistic in essence, because it is the literature of the rising class of the proletariat, the only progressive and advanced class. Our [...] literature is strong by virtue of the fact that it is serving a new cause—the cause of socialist construction. (Zhdanov 1934 [2001]: 225)

The myth of the 'Great Soviet Family' led to a type of literature that was designed to speak to the masses. As V. Ozerov (1948: 189), a Zhdanivist theoretician evoking Gorky's commandments, put it, 'the accessibility of the literature stays among the most important criteria of the new aesthetics.' Thus, a hierarchy of interrelated categories emerged, with classical concepts strictly subordinated to ideology (Heller 1997: 53).

A. P. Belik (1950: 150-64) posited a greater reductionism, defining Socialist Realism as a "'party method", with "party-mindedness" constituting both its main motivating principle and its main aesthetic category, under which all others were subsumed.' With regards to Socialist Realism Heller (1997: 58) argues that 'according to its exponents, socialist culture, while remaining completely innovative, had not severed its ties to the heritage of the past; therefore, new aesthetic categories [used by Socialist Realism] were nothing other than the reimagined categories of classical aesthetics', whereas Georg Lukács (1971) came to the conclusion that the very idea of a classic does not just depend on aesthetics but on classification, on judgements of normativity, on categorisation. Lukács endeavoured a moral justification of Bolshevism in his 1923 [1971] 'History and Class Consciousness.' He became the leading Marxist literary theorist. In his later essay *Art and Objective Truth* (1954 [1970]) he asserts that 'just as the process of the reflection of reality through thought [...] express[es] the most abstract laws governing nature and men; so it is with the forms of art' (45). Concerning aesthetics, he criticised modernist techniques such as montage and stream

¹⁴ The Zhdanov Doctrine was a Soviet cultural doctrine developed in 1946 by Andrei Zhdanov who was the Central Committee secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

of consciousness and viewed this narrow concern with biased impressions as something that contributed to the 'growing subjectivisation of subject matter and of the creative method and in the increasing alienation of art from great social problems' (33) prevalent in Western societies. According to him, capitalism depressed workers and refused them a common purpose. Therefore, the ideology of modernism as a form of aesthetics emphasised the triviality of individual lives. Lukács approved the Hegelian dialectic in emphasising the ambiguities of class struggle. Given his focus on the nineteenth century, it is unsurprising that he argued that capitalism preplaced the feudal order, substituting it with some more efficient production; hitherto he viewed the private accumulation of capital as a necessary step towards factory production. Lukács (1967; 1971) was convinced that the consequence of the exploitation of labour was social protest, and that social protest would inevitably steer to communism, and communism would lead to a transformed aesthetics in literature, to realism and truth.

The debate about normativity, the nature of socialist realist aesthetic norms, would continue in the GDR until 1989. This included disputes over the correct interpretation of romanticism *and* realism 'or more precisely about romanticism *in* realism' (Heller 1997: 57) as well as disagreements over a number of further issues: the function of literary criticism, the polishing of reality, beauty in life, satire, and the critical principles of socialism.¹⁵

The dearth of works on aesthetics was particularly problematic. Heller (58) maintains that the Stalinist system not only subordinated traditional aesthetic categories to ideology, but also neglected to analyse these categories or even to consider their ideas worthy of scientific or philosophical study. It is widely held that the Stalinist system generally, and its art in particular, 'aspired to create a utopia of total communication; the utopia of a language that would be monosemic terminological, fully adequate to reality.' (59; Robin 1987: 157). The discourse about classics and the normativity of Socialist Realism in the GDR was not

¹⁵ A typical example of this discourse is found in I. Vinogradov's 'On Socialist Beauty' in Leonid Heller, 'A World of Prettiness: Socialist Realism and Its Aesthetic Categories', T Lahusen & E Dobrenko (eds.), *Socialist Realism Without Shores*, Duke University Press, London (1997:55). Vinogradov (1935: 171, 189) asks: 'Does socialism acknowledge the beauty and delightfulness of a rose?' and gives a firm answer: 'A rose, like any other thing, is a whole world [...] and it is important to find out what the object of our aesthetic admiration is in it.' But Vinogradov suggested a more obvious object for admiration to him: industrial development in which 'the new beauty of the socialist homeland was incarnated.'

untypical for socialist countries, and this conversation would continue up to the very end of the Stalinist era, and beyond.¹⁶

The politically optimistic novel whose plot is related by an omniscient narrator was to dominate the literary scene. Literary representations of reality were limited to the working world and served obvious educational objectives; this gave way to the institutional invasion and control of society that was highly developed in the GDR. Terms like *Literaturgesellschaft* (society of literature) or *Leserland* (country of readers); *verstaatlichte Gesellschaft* (best translated as a nationalised or expropriated society); and *durchherrschende Gesellschaft* (controlled society) imply a society virtually drenched through by, and in the sclerotic grip of, the state (Emmerich 2009: 62).

Any literary work published in the GDR was to be realistic, was to support the aims of the regime, and ideally was to describe life in the fields and in the factories. With its objective of party-mindedness, commitment to the Party and solidarity with its leaders played a major role in the GDR's literary aesthetics. The objectives were of course closely related, as the regime demanded of the intellectual elite both a clear positioning towards the ruling party and compassion towards the working-class (Roeber 2005: 5).

The doctrine 'call[ed] for intelligibility and mass appeal and demand[ed] an orientation towards heritage' (Erbe 1993: 29-30). Here Günther Erbe refers to works of *das kulturelle Erbe* (cultural legacy), a term cited by Becher and Lukács in reference to socialism.¹⁷ It refers to the socialist tradition and the cultural heritage of the working-class, such as working life in the fields and factories, or communal and family life. At the centre of the socialist literary work stood Zhdanov's positive protagonist, who becomes unsatisfied with bourgeois life and turns towards socialism. The dialectic of passion and reason that, as Clark (1997: 30) argues, had in earlier revolutionary novels played out in terms of divided selves had, in Socialist Realism, been transformed into an impersonal dialectic in which characters were merely symbolic media.

The 19th century British social (realist) novel became a subject of interest to the GDR's intellectuals as it was considered pre-socialist by early Marxists (although the categorisation

¹⁶ Leonid Heller (1997: 56) gives some representative quotations from articles published in the post war years.

¹⁷ See Guido Böhm, 'Ein Sozialistisches Faustbild', in *Theater der Zeit*, PDF, <https://www.theaterderzeit.de> (2017).

'pre-socialist' was not without controversy, a fact that became apparent in light of the different interpretations of British literature in general that abounded). The political view of the United Kingdom as well as the party-political climate in the GDR impacted on the general reception of British literature, irrespective of its specific literary nature. Heller (1997: 57-8) sees a certain degree of arbitrariness in the literary assessment and validation process, and therefore in the editorial policy of the GDR's major publishing houses, because publication programmes were controlled by the SED's socio-cultural guardians. According to him, there were no fixed rules or regulations to the assessment process for a given literary work. The very nature of information exchange excluded a direct link between what was said and what was meant, with the consequent need for 'decoding' (58). He argues that party politics worked 'analogous to what Heisenberg formulated for quantum physics [the uncertainty principle]: that is, the spin and the position of a particle cannot be simultaneously determined, nor its trajectory predicted, just as ups and downs of the Party line, of the whole system, were always unpredictable, despite the codification of all its elements' (58). Adherence to the party line and ideological commitment to Marxism-Leninism could lead to unpredictable results.¹⁸ Different assessments of one and the same literary work were the result of party-political uncertainties, which spurred a socio-cultural and literary discourse among the GDR's intellectuals, termed *Formalismusstreit* (discourse on formalism). This socio-political discourse resulted in a number of distinct socio-cultural and political *Anpassungen* (adjustments) which were directly responsible for the changing fortunes of British literature published in the GDR.

The prelude to this historic discourse dates back to when the Soviets took control of the publishing industry in 1945. Hence, the first set of socio-cultural adjustments were proclaimed before the foundation of the GDR in 1949, when the authorities asserted that art and literature were not making the same progress as the SBZ's social economy and politics.¹⁹ They reasoned that the imperialist thinking of writers and artists lay behind a retarding in the development of the humanities towards a truly communist society. Hence, in the SBZ after the Second World War, Alexander Dymshitz was ordered to introduce the Soviet 'Zhdanov Doctrine' (Erbe 1993: 61-3). This was the beginning of a widespread adoption, in

¹⁸ Here Heller notes that 'the discussions about aesthetics and literature were [often] carried out against a context of incessant local turbulence and stormy overturning of the party line.' (1997: 57)

¹⁹ SBZ = *Sowjetisch besetzte Zone* or Soviet Occupied Zone (1945-1949).

East Germany, of political campaigns from the CPSU that were concerned with taking a stand against formalism and decadence in literature and art. Zhdanov's observations grew out of his pessimistic view of capitalism: he was convinced that the bourgeois writer had little reason to draw a realistic image of society due to the depressing future of capitalism, resulting in unmanageable, 'rotten', 'decadent' and 'destructive' art movements.²⁰ Within the socio-cultural framework of Germany, Alexander Lwowitsch Dymshitz (Soviet literary scholar, writer, university teacher and cultural officer in the SBZ) firmly implemented Zhdanov's ideas in the SBZ, and the 'Zhdanov Doctrine' fuelled the unfolding *Formalismuskampagne* or *Farmalismusstreit* (Anti-Formalism Discourse or discourse on formalism) with full vigour. After the foundation of the GDR the 'Zhdanov Doctrine' was strongly promoted by the Party, and the introduction of the Anti-Formalism Discourse during the early 1950s followed the original Zhdanov campaign.²¹

However, bourgeois British writers dating from as early as the renaissance were widely considered to be the precursors of a new, more humanistic period since they did not adhere to the style and dictum of the former feudal period. The realism of bourgeois British literature from the 17th and 18th centuries played a vital role in building Germany's literary tradition. Shakespeare was one of the bases of British literature in the GDR's publication system as proclaimed in *Shakespeare und die Tradition des Volkstheaters* (*Shakespeare and the Tradition of the People's Theatre*), published by the GDR's *Henschelverlag* in 1967. Therein, Wolfgang Weimann, a distinguished GDR scholar of literature, claimed Shakespeare to be one of the most significant playwrights of the 17th century who was critical of feudalism. Accordingly, the renaissance Shakespeare was considered the first representative of *das literarische Erbe* (socialist literary legacy) (Weimann 1967: 11-19).

²⁰ 'Of what can the bourgeois author write, of what can he dream, what source of inspiration can he find, whence can he borrow this inspiration, if the worker in capitalist countries is uncertain of the morrow, if he does not know whether he will have work the next day, if the peasant does not know whether he will work on his plot of ground tomorrow or whether his life will be ruined by the capitalist crisis, if the mind worker has no work today and does not know whether he will receive any tomorrow? What can the bourgeois author write about, what source of inspiration can there be for him, when the world is being precipitated once more—if not today, then tomorrow—into the abyss of a new imperialist war?.' (Zhdanov 1934: 34)

²¹ Zhdanov (1934 [2004]: 34) writes: 'The present state of bourgeois literature is such that it is no longer able to create great works of art. The decadence and disintegration of bourgeois literature, resulting from the collapse and decay of the capitalist system, represent a characteristic trait, a characteristic peculiarity of the state of bourgeois culture and bourgeois literature at the present time. [...]. Gone never to return are the times when bourgeois literature, reflecting the victory of the bourgeois system over feudalism, was able to create great works of the period [...]. Everything now is growing stunted—themes, talents, authors, heroes [...].'

Of course, Shakespeare's legacy did not issue a *carte blanche* for English literature, and nor did Shakespeare's reputation among Marxists acquit British literature from its capitalist origin. As a rule, literature from the British Isles was to undergo a merciless scrutiny in the light of ideological, socio-cultural and party-political contemplations. Concerning the publication of a given (British or Irish) work only a validating *Gutachten* (literary assessment) could satisfy these wide-ranging political, aesthetic and socio-cultural questions. This would either affirm a given literary work in conjunction with ideological and party-political considerations or express disagreement on ideological, aesthetic or socio-cultural grounds (the latter made it difficult for re-submission at a later stage).

Following the socialist concept of the nature of literature, Dobrenko (1997) reaffirmed a number of tasks literature had to fulfil in the GDR. This was true irrespective of the work's origin and style; therefore, a similar process of control applied for every work of foreign or local literature.²² The demand for truth in literature was, allegedly, one important characteristic that made the socialist reader distinctive; hence, the demand for truth was a significant socio-political element and was perceived as consistent with the whole moral aspect of the GDR citizen's worldview. In addition, total realism, sequential logic, living people, fullness and completeness were the aesthetic norms of Socialist Realism, and perceptions of it relied strongly on the Soviet worldview. The Socialist Realist canon was, in many ways, produced by the reader's directive and merely formulated by the state. Dobrenko (1997: 157) argues that the art of Socialist Realism was a self-turning mechanism, and cites Eduard Nadtochii's (1989: 115) definition: a 'machine for encoding the masses' fluid desires.' Therefore, socialist criticism resounded with the demands of the mass reader. Those demands coincided almost completely with the demands of state power.

Socialist Realist aesthetics in the GDR never recognised the theory of the inherent elitism of literature or art, but rather fought against it. Socialist Realism rested on ideological doctrines which claimed that the reader demands realism in literature and art, representation of the living person, acting and thinking, without any naturalistic digging

²² Further reading recommended, see Evgeny Dobrenko, 'The Disaster of Middlebrow Taste', in T Lahusen & E Dobrenko (eds.), *Socialist Realism Without Shore*, Duke University Press, London (1997: 135-64).

around in physiological details, and without avant-garde effects or formalist magic tricks (Lenobl 1950: 218).²³

Eventually Zhdanov's doctrine became the rubric for the ideological validation of literature in the GDR, and it was explicitly incorporated into the first five-year plan (1951-1955). Owing to the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee (ZK) of the SED, on 17 March 1951 the ruling party made cultural development one of their main targets. They decided to articulate clear warnings and rigorously strived against *Formalismus* (formalism) in art and literature. This socio-cultural discourse became known as *Formalismusstreit* (discourse on formalism). On the one hand, as we have established, the discourse was an extension of Zhdanov's doctrine. However, it eventually followed in principle the *Expressionismusdebatte* (expressionism debate) concerning the humanities and education that took place among exiled German Marxists in the 1930s, based on ideological considerations and on various socio-philosophical elements. On the other hand, the discourse became largely influenced by the current party-political constellation in the GDR; the socio-cultural emphasis of the politburo at the time led to shifts in literary interpretations and literary criticism. Otto Grotewohl (1951b: 30-32), the GDR's first prime minister (from 1949–1964), explicates the strong ideological motivation for this relentless fight: 'Literature and arts are subordinate to politics [...], as they have a strong influence on society. The concept of art and literature must follow the concept of political struggle and therefore the claims of Socialist Realism.' The Anti-Formalism Discourse purely served the regime's ideological endeavours and provided a nebulous guideline that was governed by a subjective validation process for literary works.

One aspect of this discourse that has been contested is its criticism of imperialism as an expression of formalism; this was presented as something that was intended to undermine the popular spirit and party-mindedness. The critique of formalism conceals accusations against the capitalist West. The Ministry of Culture declared that 'when the question of

²³ Zhdanov (1934 [2004]a: 34) compared *das literarische Erbe* with literature of the 20th century and concluded: The 'illustrious persons' of bourgeois literature—of that bourgeois literature which has sold its pen to capital—are now thieves, police sleuths, prostitutes and hooligans. Not so with us. Our [...] writer derives the material for his works of art, his subject-matter, images, artistic language and speech, from the life and experience of the [socialist] men and women [...] Our writer draws his material from the heroic epic of the Chelyuskin expedition, from the experience of our collective farms, from the creative action that is seething in all corners of our country [...].'

aesthetics gains an independent meaning and the content becomes irrelevant, literature loses its humanistic and democratic character' (Emmerich 2006: 119). As a consequence, British and Irish modernist literature was accused of irreverence, and of provoking anxiety and negating tradition. Henceforth the Party declared that modernist art and literature was formalistic, a 'subversion and destruction of art', and denied the potential significance behind formalist pieces of work (118). On 31 October 1951, Walter Ulbricht, the first secretary of the Party (from 1950–1971), drew a clear picture of what he understood by formalism in his speech to the *Volkskammer* (People's Chamber) of the GDR: 'We want to see no more abstract paintings. We do not need the pictures of lunar landscapes or rotten fish. The grey-on-grey painting is an expression of capitalist decline and is contradicting our present life in the GDR' (ctd. in Möller 2003). In reference to Ulbricht's speech, Stephan Hermlin (1951), a distinguished East German writer, emphasised the relationship between art and modernist literature and reasoned as follows: 'As during the imperialist epoch capitalism destroys art and poetry [and] capitalist production is counterproductive to [...] intellectual disciplines [...].' He concluded in his 1951 discourse that 'formalism is an artistic, musical or literary expression of capitalist cannibalism and has developed an aesthetic style which is best described as *Amerikanische Götterdämmerung* (American twilight of the gods).' Hermlin's statement confirmed the general idea that modernist (and in particular avant-garde literature) was to be received and rejected as decadent, cosmopolitan and futuristic. Conclusively a formalism verdict was established to suppress the very concepts of modernism and avant-gardism. Hereafter, any literary style that was not considered to be a preliminary stage of Socialist Realism was declared taboo. Eventually, the Party came to use the term *Formalismus* (formalism) to stigmatise Western art, and the diversity of artistic styles of the 20th century was reduced to the mere contraposition of formalism and realism in various discourses (Erbe 1993: 34). As a result, formalism was perceived as a failure of art, ideologically reactionary, not realistic in style and form and affiliated to the elite. Expressionism, surrealism, futurism, Dadaism and naturalism were considered erroneous. These were decadent forms of art without deeper meaning or commitment, carried out for art's own sake without sentiment.

Socialist Humanism

The perceived failure of Western art and literature lay in its susceptibility towards the feeling of alienation in the reader. Conversely, the resilience of Socialist Realism against *Dehumanisierung* (dehumanisation) and *Kapitalistische Entfremdung* (capitalist alienation) was explained by its fundamental link to the socialist humanities and to Marxist aesthetics (Kahler 1969: 20). Hence, Hermann Kahler (1969), a former East German literary critic, considered that the strength of Marxist aesthetics resided in its natural contradiction of *Ausbeutung* (exploitation) of man and *Gesellschaftsentfremdung* (social alienation). In a celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Berlin Humboldt University in 1961, Kurt Hager (1961: 18-9), chief ideologist of the Party, amplified this aspect of the socialist humanities in relation to the discourse on formalism when he officially maintained that [translation from German]:

Marxism brought humanism into existence with its doctrine to liberate the working-class [...] from the chains of social exploitation and spiritual bondage. Marx established scientifically that the working-class is the true carrier of humanist ideals and [is] the social force acting in close alliance with progressive people whose true ideals are the building of a socialist and [eventually] a communist society. The transition from a capitalist to a socialist society is deeply humanistic, because it eliminates the exploitation of man by man forever, because now the voluntary and conscious association of free individuals is that in socialist society talents find the conditions to eventually develop their skills in full (1961: 18-9).

Hager (1961) declared Socialist Realism to be the highest and purest form of any artistic development. His reference to Marxist aesthetics focused on the concept of *den ganzen Menschen* (whole, unbroken or unspoiled man) who has no need for protection from capitalist alienation. This is the case because the unspoiled man creates social change by organising large collectives in order to overthrow imperialism, and by building a socialist society (in accordance with the latest Marxist scientific findings). It goes without saying that Hager's perception of the *ganzen Menschen* had nothing to do with British or Irish literary movements, such as existentialism, structuralism and the literature of the absurd. In his understanding, Socialist Realism was a historically open system of aesthetic possibilities that, he additionally noted, had an increasing power of attraction in world literature.

The international character of Socialist Realism was mainly related to the literature of socialist countries. However, it was commonly understood among Marxist intellectuals that many writers in Britain and Ireland practised critical realism in order to produce social novels. According to Thomas Lahusen, it was commonly argued that these British and Irish writers of social novels had been influenced, at least to some extent, by the socialist novel. Among these allegedly socialist influenced writers (all published in the GDR during the 1960s and 1970s) were Barry Hines, Angus Wilson, Alan Winnington, Keith Waterhouse, Alan Sillitoe, Cedric Belfrage, Stan Barstow, Kingsley Amis, John Braine, Norman Lewis and John Sommerfield, to mention just a few.

Poet and former GDR Minister of Culture Johannes Becher was convinced that the notion of *des ganzen Menschen*—expressed variously in literature, art and organisations—should be understood holistically; working under this assumption he merged environment and individual into a natural and social entity. This included the fundamental stages of life such as birth, love, infirmity and death, which, according to him, were sadly neglected and dismissed by most works of proletarian-revolutionary literature.²⁴

Becher reviewed the concept of the unspoiled man in cases where a literary personality falls in line with the collective, and concluded that literary men must not write for the collective but *with* the collective. He understood the collective as a mere platform for

²⁴ As his sonnet 'Den ganzen Menschen' (The Unspoiled Man – I consider the best translation in terms of meaning and feeling) reveals, Becher's philosophical reflections crystallised during his years spent in exile in the 1930s – translation:

The unspoiled man a creation with mind
Consists of feeling and desire
With all that separates from and binds him to
In its entire depth and serenity.

The unspoiled man and every type
Built from flesh
Him the broad and muscle-strong
Him the slender and weak
And yet he can succeed.

The unspoiled man in all his love and hate
In all his decadence and maturity
In infirmity and recovery.

The unspoiled man we want to capture
His devotion and disgust
The immense human being!
(Becher 1946: 141)

exchange and interaction between different disciplines such as labour, the sciences, politics and the arts. Becher's conclusion legitimised many contemporary writers of social novels and in particular *Arbeiterromane* from the British Isles, some of whom themselves came from working-class backgrounds. This was especially true of those who were active members of the British Communist Party (CPGB) and were familiar with the conceptual theory of the *ganzen Menschen*. However, Alexander Abusch (1969b: 640-71), former Minister of Culture (from 1958–1961), was rather reluctant to declare the British working-class free from imperialist influence. He warned of imperialism's capacity 'to act upon the mind and soul of man [which] makes literature a real threat [...] especially when exposed to imperialism, as this may turn man against his own best interests.' Abusch (640-71) concluded, with regard to Johannes Becher's notion, 'that the protection of the humanities, preservation and propagation of spiritual wealth can occur only in the spirit of socialist humanism [...].' As a result, the 'Socialist culture will increasingly determine the course of cultural history [...], because it [literary culture] is an expression of socialist society and emphasises the ideological differences to Western humanities' (647). Through this statement, Abusch (1967b) admits that the SED regime believed in the socio-cultural power of literature. The 'centrality of literature and culture' was one of the few links between the private and public spheres in the GDR (Bathrick 1995: 44). As an intermediary space, literature could function as a substitute source of information. Drawing on the tradition of social democratic pedagogy that placed emphasis on the spoken and printed word as a means of educating workers, Socialist Realist literature, which originated in a socialist environment, officially enjoyed a high esteem in the GDR. Self-representations of the GDR as the *Leserland* (country of readers) or *Literaturgesellschaft* (society of literature) underscored the cultural revolutionary claims of the SED regime. To strengthen the Socialist Realist character of the GDR's new literature, Anna Seghers, an East German writer and party member, and Johannes Becher called on the literary community to capture the life of the working-class by shaping the literary Socialist Realist concept of the 'unspoiled man': he would be seen as a socialist individual and as a compassionate member of socialist society (Pracht 1975: 19-54).

Abusch's overestimation of the GDR as a *Literaturgesellschaft* (Society of Literature) contributed strongly to the Anti-Formalism Discourse of the 1950s and 1960s, and subsequently to the development of a GDR-specific and aesthetically acceptable type of

Socialist Realist literature.²⁵ His resolve was picked up in various cultural and political discourses in the GDR, although the exaggerated claims of a 'land of readers' proved untenable (Barck 1999: 230). Rather, the Anti-Formalism Discourse served the political purpose of distinguishing the 'socialist reader' in the GDR from the 'bourgeois reader' in West Germany according to readers' interests, their range of reading, their purchasing practices and their library use. This exemplified the political thinking of the Party's leadership when specific theoretical guidelines were incorporated to indoctrinate East German writers (Hutchison 1977: 66). As a result, the GDR developed into a society where literature had an *Ersatzfunktion* (substitute function) as a form of documentation. The author's voice would chronicle or report information, a function that was constrained by the aesthetic requirements of the Socialist Humanities.

Could, then, British writers become chroniclers in the GDR? Did their works take on the role of *Ersatzfunktion* in this *Literaturgesellschaft*? Interestingly enough, Alan Winnington lived and worked in the GDR. Some of his works were especially published for the GDR market. He was recognised as being a faithful communist and a faithful contributor to the GDR's socialist humanities; along with his political journalistic writings, he published children's books (for instance, *Silberhuf* and *Silberhuf zieht in den Krieg*, a series about a robotic horse that was considered fine socio-pedagogical writing). In this respect, we might consider him to be a chronicler. However, with imported and translated British and Western literature, the author was not regarded as a chronicler or as a reporter of socialist humanism; this role was attributed either to the novel's protagonist, for example Robinson Crusoe, or the editor or assessor (censor) who guided the GDR's readers (via an introduction or afterword).

Publishing policy exemplified the political thinking of the GDR and nebulous guidelines were incorporated to intimidate editors and assessors. We may speculate that it was not the literary value of a given British work that allowed it to function as *Ersatzfunktion*, but rather the manner in which it embodied historical and social aspects that tended towards politics. This meant that paratextual features such as explanatory afterwords and Marxist-Leninist interpretations of British and Irish literary works became an essential part of the book's actual content.

²⁵ see David Bathrick, *The Powers of Speech: The Politics of Culture in the GDR (Modern German Culture and Literature)*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln (1995: 35).

Early Constellations (1949 to 1953)

The curious combination of the Party's paternalistic attitudes and paranoia can be viewed as a distinctive factor that contributed to the GDR-specific severity of the *Formalismusstreit* (discourse on formalism), and also to the vehemence of the developing discourse on the socialist humanities. Given the circumstances of the GDR's foundation, its dependence on Soviet politics and the infiltration of West German media, the Party leaders never felt secure (Fulbrook 1995: 25, 27). Mary Fulbrook (25) declares that 'the very existence of the GDR was never securely guaranteed'; the GDR was 'created as a pawn and servant of the Soviet Union' and the 'longing for German national unity' among the population was a 'destabilising' factor. She continues by saying that 'the open border was a constant source of haemorrhaging of talent throughout the 1950s, until [...] the erection of the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961' (25-6). Consequently, it is not surprising that British and Irish literature was considered an intellectual window to the world beyond socialism and Germany. The party continued their explicit and long-term struggle against 'formalism in culture', addressing art, music and literature. Series after series of publication bans were implemented; modernist literature was pulped, theatre performances cancelled and wall art painted over.

Günter de Bruyn, author and former East German librarian at the *Zentralinstitut für Bibliothekswesen* (Central Institute for Librarianship) in East Berlin (1953–1961), remembers that libraries received a well-supervised order to scrutinise every work of broad-based and decadent literature (Emmerich 2006: 119). They were required to eliminate non-compliant literature in an urgent, unbureaucratic and ruthless way (119). Many of the targeted books had inadvertently survived twelve years of Nazi Germany and were eventually sent to their final destruction. Henceforth, libraries were expected to officially promote Socialist Realist literature and works which followed the principles of the socialist humanities. As a consequence, publishers were subject to four elements of control: central planning, publication control, collectivism and unrestrained state authority.

The literary theories of Zhdanov and Lukács were to pave the way for the Socialist Humanities, and the Party's socio-cultural politics became increasingly important for the GDR's publication regime. These socio-cultural considerations were strongly based on Lukács literary theory (developed during the 1930s). Aesthetically speaking, Lukács linked his aforementioned view of realism to the standards of bourgeois realism of the 17th and 18th

centuries. He believed that modernism was another label for anti-realism. His ideology was influenced by Heidegger's idea that 'human existence is a thrown into being' (Abusch 1967a). Analogously, Abusch (1967a) argued that artwork and literature were to contain all essential objectives, which determine and reflect life in a proportionally correct context. Universality, legitimacy and the special quality of socialist reality were to be reflected upon. While it is difficult to escape the sense of a certain inconsistency in this attempt to combine the stylistically old with the ideologically new, the regime seemed concerned with this historically conditioned contradiction. In their specific formulation, all literary and artistic creations were simply *Folgen und Erscheinungsformen der Entwicklung der materiellen Produktivkräfte und des Klassenkampfes* (consequences and manifestations of the development of materialistic productive forces and class struggle).

In retrospect, it is often claimed that writers in the GDR were committed by force to conform to the Socialist Humanities, which they did not necessarily prefer. However, this is not always true. Many writers (particularly poets with social-democratic leanings) had been suppressed under the fascist regime of Nazi Germany. They had survived exile and resistance and now felt sympathetic towards socialism. Others were already members of the German Communist Party (KPD) before the war and had internalised the socialist idea. Altogether there was a genuine intellectual openness towards Marxist-Leninist ideas and concepts. Most GDR writers had no objection to Lenin's maxim to make the literary work a general proletarian concern (Emmerich 2009: 40-9). The fact that 'Stalin has called writers engineers of human souls' (Zhdanov, A 1934 [2001]: 1) was firmly rooted in a compulsory programme first introduced in the Soviet Union at the first Soviet Writers Congress in 1934. This program prescribed the content and form of an artistic work and was introduced to the GDR after 1949. Two objectives were important: truthfulness and socialist ideology; depicting reality in its revolutionary development was understood as the central aim of literature in the GDR.²⁶

²⁶ Zhdanov writes: 'Comrade Stalin has called our writers engineers of human souls. What does this mean? What duties does the title confer upon you? In the first place, it means knowing life so as to be able to depict it truthfully in works of art, not to depict it in a dead, scholastic way, not simply as "objective reality," but to depict reality in its revolutionary development. In addition to this, the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic portrayal should be combined with the ideological remolding and education of the toiling people in the spirit of socialism. This method in belles lettres and literary criticism is what we call the method of socialist realism. Our Soviet literature is not afraid of the charge of being tendentious." Yes, Soviet literature is tendentious, for in an epoch of class struggle there is not and cannot be a literature which is not class literature, not tendentious, allegedly nonpolitical. To be an engineer of human souls means standing with both feet firmly planted

The ideological re-education of a formerly fascist society became a general concern, and the majority of young poets (even those lacking a pre-war communist background) became writers on duty. The antifascist syndrome – the guilt that haunted Germany after the Second World War—helped fuel leanings towards socialism. The lost war, the Nazi terror regime and the holocaust had provoked a specific compunction complex among Germany’s intellectuals that spurred a positive feeling towards communism; there was little opposition from the intellectual elite to their communist leadership. The GDR was seen as an empathic antithesis to the Third Reich and many intellectuals were prepared to exchange their former beliefs for a new worldview. They wished to establish a new political order going along with a different anthropology and a new social and humanistic culture. Initially their writings not only reflected their commitment to an anti-fascist order but also represented the socio-political progress undergone through living and working within a socialist society (Pracht 1975: 16-9).

For the period between 1945 and 1950, Erwin Pracht (16-9) defined two functions of literature: ‘On the one hand the masses should recognise the reasons and context of war, racism and German imperialism and on the other hand should focus on the advance of socialism’ (16-9). He bases his conclusion on a written statement by the former Minister and President of the State Commission for the Affairs of Art, Otto Grotewohl. Grotewohl’s (1951: 3) statement [translated by the author] appeared on 2 September 1951 in *Neues Deutschland*, where he argued thus: ‘The idea in art must follow the direction of politics. In addition to that I will say, as to the assessment of art, political criticism is of the utmost importance and literary criticism is purely secondary.’

We may conclude that literature in the GDR was supposed to make a tangible contribution to the establishment of a socialist society. It was to serve as an illustration of the possible avenues that would lead to achievement and prosperity. The regime demanded that literature provide a positive stimulus towards a socialist society.²⁷ This regimentation made it impossible for writers to participate in the development and progress of an

on the basis of real life. And this in its turn denotes a rupture with romanticism of the old type, which depicted a non-existent life and non-existent heroes, leading the reader away from the antagonisms and oppression of real life into a world of the impossible, into a world of utopian dreams. Our literature, which stands with both feet firmly planted on a materialist basis, cannot be hostile to romanticism, but it must be a romanticism of a new type, revolutionary romanticism.’ (Zhdanov 1934 [1977])

²⁷ Typical authors to provide a positive perspective of this period were Bruno Apitz, Johannes R. Becher, Berthold Brecht and Anna Seghers.

independent modern art and literature. Those who failed to conform were disciplined or expelled from the Writer's Association. Writers who purportedly propagated reactionary attitudes, journalists who gave a voice to the class enemy, and publishers who tolerated pluralist views and promoted formalist literature soon found themselves out of a position of influence and out of job.²⁸ It would appear that control meant that the intelligentsia was indeed a conformist pillar that supported the system.

Here the question arises to what degree can intellectuals be blamed for supporting the political system. Fulbrook (1995: 78) maintains that individuals who were the 'pinnacles of the cultural intelligentsia were of great significance in the history of the GDR.' Authors who returned from exiles 'were highly important in establishing a degree of legitimacy for the anti-fascist state' (78). Authors belonging to a younger generation who were educated in the GDR, such as Christa Wolf, Sarah Kirsch, Stefan Hermlin and Volker Braun, provided the 'GDR with a degree of international acclaim and credibility' (78). The degree to which these writers can be held accountable for supporting a dictatorship has been the subject of an ongoing debate since the reunification in 1990. To fuel this debate Fulbrook (79) suggests that the notion of the East German intelligentsia ought to be understood in a much broader sense, as this category includes professionals and academics operating in a wide range of cultural contexts, not just literary stars. She asserts that 'using essentially the definition of intelligentsia employed by the regime itself to cover what Westerners like to call the "middle-class", then an interesting pattern of development emerges' (79).

At the level of individual writers and intellectuals, it was hard to get around control, because party membership was very widespread: one in five of the adult population was a member of the Party, and it was mandatory for the intelligentsia to become party members so as not to raise suspicion. Virtually the entire working population was a member of the *Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* (Free German Union), and approximately half of the population were members of the *Gesellschaft für Deutsch-Sowjetische Freundschaft* (Society for German-Soviet friendship). Many of these bodies were organised into bloc parties, which were subordinate to the SED (85). These mass organisations effectively became organs of the ruling Party and were of key strategic importance in seeking to effect and implement the social, cultural and economic policies of the state. The GDR was not a pluralist state, nor an

²⁸ For further reading see Walter Janka, *Schwierigkeiten mit der Wahrheit*, Aufbau, Berlin (1990).

open society. There was one official line to which the population had to conform. Mass participation occurred for a wide variety of reasons. Many members showed genuine commitment; however, for some, a mass organisation meant nothing more than a useful alibi, with possible personal advantages. Fulbrook (85) argues that

the capacity to conform, without enquiring too closely, the capacity to live within apparently immutable parameters, is less difficult to explain than the emergence of a willingness to think differently, to have the courage to of one's convictions and accept the related risks and disadvantages and to dare to mount an active challenge to the rules of the game.

The retrospective condemnation of all such alleged complicity with the supposedly atrocious crimes of the *Unrechtsstaat DDR* (the illegitimate state, the GDR) against scholars, writers and artists may seem misplaced, especially when it is noted that the intelligentsia chose to conform with the prescribed parameters of political correctness and to live with the stigma of a self-imposed censorship. The GDR could not have functioned without the intelligentsia who made the system work and who enjoyed various privileges, which of course varied profoundly. This intelligentsia chose the type of literature that was to be deemed appropriate, worked for the Party in one way or another and eventually made the publication of British and Irish works possible.

With all of that said, given the topic of this study, further considerations are necessary prior to discussing the political, cultural and social reception of British and Irish literature. We need to further examine the progress and importance of socio-cultural developments that began with the 1953 June uprising and the *Bitterfeld* conferences; the resulting influence of these events on the publication strategy with regard to British and Irish literature must also be considered in order to follow vicissitudes in publication policy and the reception of Anglophone literature discussed in this study. Such an approach is indispensable if we are to appreciate the approach taken by editors, literary critics and assessors towards English literary works.

The Road to Bitterfeld – Re-educating Intellectuals (1953 to 1959)

The events of the June uprising (17 June 1953) did neither trigger a cultural nor political transformation, despite Stalin's death bringing noticeable psychological relief. The successful suppression of the June uprising, and the temporary return to Stalinism-friendly politics at the 4th Party Congress in 1954, meant a first true *Staatsgründung* (state foundation). The police forces were strengthened and restructured in the interests of security and rapid intervention. *Kampfgruppen der Arbeiterklasse* (workforce combat groups) were called into factories as a reliable on-the-spot force that would be deployed in moments of unrest. An ironic outcome of the June uprising was the consolidation of Ulbricht's own position; any change in leadership would have looked like capitulation. Within less than four years of its founding, the GDR was set on a relatively hard-line course. The dogmatic approach of the previously established socio-cultural politics remained unaltered, and the formalism discourse continued in an even more relentless, rigorous and ignorant fashion.

Still the discourse strongly relied on Lukács's literary theory. His definition of modernism and the avant-garde in literature as an expression of the alienation of late-capitalist society remained a key topic in the debate. The GDR's intelligentsia increasingly viewed avant-gardism as the literary and artistic expression of the impetuosity and blindness of bourgeois intellectuals; it was a counterpoint to the real historical counterforces working towards a socialist transformation of their society. It is on this political world-view that Lukács based the possibility of a realistic art and literature in the present. However, the West German philosopher Theodor Adorno, who himself leaned toward socialism, did not share the same perspective: the avant-garde became for him the only authentic art in late-capitalist society. Peter Bürger (1984: 86) suggests that every attempt to create 'organic, coherent works'—which Lukács called 'realist'—were ideologically suspect once they diverged from the principles of Socialist Realism. Many Western intellectuals perpetuated a polarity in which avant-garde art and realist art faced each other antagonistically across an unbridgeable gap. Briony Fer, David Batchelor and Paul Wood (1993: 264) argue that Western intellectuals applauded the avant-garde 'while criticising realistic, figurative art and literature as retrograde. Neither side acknowledged that avant-garde art could be a form of, or could at least be illuminated by, the requirements of realism.' The dispute mentioned here is to demonstrate that the debate itself was historical (264). The discourse between Lukács and Adorno concerning the legitimacy of avant-garde art and literature is confined to

the sphere of artistic and literary means and involved the ideologically all-important juxtaposition of 'organic' and 'coherent' versus avant-garde or, as debated in the GDR, realist versus formalist.

In principle, modernist and avant-garde English literature appeared hostile to the Socialist Humanities. The rejection of avant-garde works was therefore a 'radical protest that rejects all false reconciliation with what exists and thus the only art from that has historical legitimacy' (Bürger 1984: 88). Peter Bürger (88) asserts that 'Lukács [...] condemns avant-gardist art because that protest remains abstract, without historical perspective, blind to the real counterforces that are seeking to overcome capitalism', while Socialist Realism was perceived as the sole artistic and literary form that had legitimacy; this was considered to be true despite the fact that the early literature of the GDR, the so-called *Aufbau-* and *Produktionsliteratur*, had failed to deliver a 'whitewashed portrayal of reality' (Emmerich 2006: 125). It does not come as a surprise that in January 1956, during the 4th Writers' Congress, it was announced that the *Aufbauliteratur* had failed in its purpose. Hans Mayer, an East German literary scholar and literary critic, accused his colleagues of pan-politicisation and criticised the lack of opulence in the indigenous literature. Dedicated socialist writers such as Anna Seghers, Eduard Claudius, Bodo Uhse and Willi Bredel complained about the *ödes kleinbürgerliches Niveau* (dull middle-class level) of literature, and Stefan Heym called the contemporary GDR literature a *hölzerne Primitivität* (primeval primitivity) (126). In response, Abusch (1967b) again declared the Party's strong resentment of 'dogmatism in scholasticism and aesthetics'; he made it clear that no deviation from the principles of Socialist Realism would be accepted (Abusch 1967b).

Similarly, this ideological limitation informed the politics of publication vis-à-vis British and Irish works. Abusch's speech during the 4th Writers Congress strongly impacted the publication strategy employed for British and Irish works, as well as the reception of such works. English literature published in the GDR during the 1950s were realist works from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries: penned by writers such as Shakespeare, Dickens, Fielding and Defoe, these works were understood to be pre-socialist in nature. A new strategy did, however, need to be formulated when it came to the reception of British literature (particularly from the 20th century) that was required to satisfy the requirements of Socialist Realism and the Socialist Humanities in a wider sense.

At first glance, it seemed that contemporary British literature only satisfied the criteria of bourgeois aesthetics. Hence the following questions were asked: What was there for the working-class? What use could the working-class make of British literature? In response to these queries, Marxist intellectuals recognised that contemporary British fiction had more to offer than just the kind of bourgeois realism, avant-gardism and modernism that sought to alienate the reader from society. There was a small community of British writers who offered responses to the prevailing capitalist society in which they lived.

During the 1950s in particular, British pro-socialist writers established new strategies of opposition against the social and cultural disciplines enforced by capitalist work. For instance, among these first British writers published was Derik Kartun, whose novel *England zwischen Gestern und Morgen* (first issued in the UK in 1956) was issued in 1957 with *Volk und Welt*. The British publishing industry showed an increasingly pervasive and inevitable form of control. Its capitalist nature was understood to grow increasingly abstract, diffuse, and precarious, writing about the British class society acquired a newly antagonistic quality; this produced new types of subjective independence and new imaginative visions of a conceivable life beyond the scope of British capitalism, which was appreciated by the GDR's intelligentsia.

Through the genealogy of working-class literature GDR's intelligentsia developed successful strategies to argue the publication of contemporary British working-class novels, whose authors attempted to identify and combat the source of capitalist suppression in their country.

One of the important early publications of contemporary British novels was Graham Greene's first novel *Der stille Amerikaner* | *The Quiet American* in 1957. That Greene's novel was issued at all seems extraordinary considering the political climate in the GDR; the initial impulse came from the Soviet Union in 1956, and Soviet scholars declared that their readers 'were exposed to a strong dose of sex' after the release of the novel in an uncensored form.²⁹ GDR's *Gutachter* (assessors) Fritz J. Raddatz and Carola Gärtner-Scholle did not openly discuss the issue of 'sexual descriptions' when reviewing the novel, but there was certainly a significant correlation between the publication of *The Quiet American* in the Soviet Union and in the GDR. To finally legitimise Greene's novel, its publisher Volk und Welt

²⁹ The topic was taken up by the weekly West German newspaper *Die Zeit* (1957), which noted smugly 'that Greene translations were regularly "improved" by the prudish paradigm of the Soviet censors.'

referred to the positive reception of this potentially controversial publication in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Gärtner-Scholle (BA DR-1 3987 1956: 26-40) concluded that Greene's *Der stille Amerikaner* was important to the GDR. She arrived at this conclusion by separating the protagonist from the author, accrediting the protagonist with optimism and positivism. She finished by saying that Greene reveals that 'America is the world's enemy. The anti-American criticism of the book is important to us' (26-40). As a result, the title could be declared ideologically acceptable. However, Greene's novel remained an exception during the late 1950s (Bräuer and Vollnhals 1995: 405).

The Party's leading position when it came to censorship was not merely due to its particular rigidity, nor was it due only to its mixture of communist orthodoxy, Stalinist inflexibility, Prussian thoroughness, and Lutheran-Pietism belief in the printed word. What made it particular was the fact that the Party saw itself as being faced with external ideological and political challenges, security threats and most importantly the threat of Western ideological influence, which caused it to continually renew its methods of control. It took time to determine the most suitable method of dealing with texts submitted for approval. Every ideological slip-up, whether it was an obsolete or an invalid Stalin quote or a badly edited translation, pointed to a previously overlooked gap in surveillance that needed to be closed, to an irresponsible editor, or to a shallow or even phony review. Therefore, each book published was the result of a complicated process and functioned as an expression of institutional pressure (Klötzer and Lokatis 2004: 254-55). In the 1950s, the discrete structure of the system of censorship, if such a thing existed at all, was rather obscure. Larger houses publishing British and Irish literature (e.g. *Volk und Wissen* and *Aufbau*) existed to showcase the cultural politics of the GDR and the ideology behind it. Therefore, it is not surprising that censors' dealings with publishing houses were political affairs that changed according to the overall politics of the Party. Consequently, any decentralisation of censorship was connected with the internal democratisation of the Party.

Despite the strong culture of censorship, calls for a more open discussion and a free exchange of opinions remained a staple in *realsozialistischem* (true / real socialistic) literary life in the GDR. A lasting reform of Socialism would only have been possible in conjunction with the Soviet Union. Hence, disillusionment and frustration led to spontaneous mass movements, such as the Hungarian uprising (1956) or that in Czechoslovakia twelve years later (1968). Walter Ulbricht and party officials drew their own conclusions from this political

unrest, and they saw no alternative but to revise their policy of control and adopt a more stringent line.³⁰ After the Hungary uprising in 1956, even Lukács's objectivistic theory of realism was now criticised. The reasons for this were twofold: first, Lukács's concept would not allow for a distinction to be drawn between critical realism and Socialist Realism; second, and more importantly perhaps, Lukács's theories would hamper attempts to overcome widespread dogmatic thinking about nineteenth-century great realism. The criticism of Lukács's literary theory was aimed neither at his traditional perspective nor at his aesthetics, but rather criticisms were levelled against his arrogant attitude of intellectual aristocracy in reference to a young socialist literature, which he according to Emmerich (2009: 128) utterly failed to recognise as a new historic quality. Writers who had advocated for the reform of Stalinist socialism in the GDR were accused of conspiratorial activities and boycott propaganda. Even publisher and Chief Editor Walter Janka (1990) of *Aufbau Verlag* was accused of counterrevolutionary conspiracy for preparing Lukács' escape to the GDR. As a result, he was sentenced to prison.³¹ Much of the moral and literary reputation of the communist intelligentsia was squandered.

In 1957, mounting criticism from the literary elite resulted in a governmental campaign to re-educate (*umerziehen*) intellectuals and to encourage the working-classes to become grass-root writers. The campaign aimed to bring about a final resolution when it came to the contradiction between manual and intellectual labour, and it became the target of cultural politics between 1957 and 1964; the gap between the professional and amateur arts was to be overcome. The re-education of intellectuals was reinforced by a conference held in *Bitterfeld* on 29 April 1959 (Schulze 2013: 5-10). The aim of the gathering was to fathom out

³⁰ During the 20th Party Congress in February 1956, Khrushchev launched an attack on the rule of Joseph Stalin. He argued that Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation and patient co-operation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion. Whoever opposed this concept or tried to prove his viewpoint, and the correctness of his position, was doomed to removal from the leading collective and to subsequent moral and physical annihilation. This was especially true during the period following the 17th Party Congress, when many prominent Party leaders and rank-and-file Party workers, honest and dedicated to the cause of communism, fell victim to Stalin's despotism.' He condemned the Great Purge and accused Stalin of abusing his power. He announced a change in policy and gave orders for the Soviet Union's political prisoners to be released.

³¹ Indeed Becher, Seghers and Janka planned a rescue mission for Lukács, but most Marxist intellectuals and artists collaborated with, or simply submitted to, the party leadership. As a consequence, on 6 December 1956, Walter Janka was arrested on charges of counterrevolutionary conspiracy and taken to the prison in Berlin-Hohenschonhausen. The Supreme Court finally convicted him of boycott and agitation on 26 July 1957, and he was sentenced to five years in prison and solitary confinement. The Court argued that Janka acted as a direct *Hintermann* and participant in a counter-revolutionary group. Even the GDR Minister of Justice, Hilde Benjamin, attended. No defense witness was allowed (Janka 1990).

possibilities for providing access to art and culture for the working-classes. The existing separation of professional art and literature from everyday reality and the alienation between author, artist and society was to be abandoned. The Ministry of Culture expected writers to study factory workers in their environment and to examine their daily routine. To achieve this goal, writers, artists and other intellectuals were to encounter, in situ, the daily experiences and routine of the working-class, and were to assist workers in allowing their individual artistic power to unfold (*Bewegung schreibender Arbeiter*). Equally, the working-class was to participate more extensively with the bolstering of socialism. Factory workers were expected to produce amateur literature that would expound the greatness and satisfaction of the proletariat's existence. Walter Ulbricht gave clear directions: 'Put your pen to paper comrade, the socialist German National Culture needs you!' (Barner 2006: 517).³² Ulbricht (1959) argued that 'the authority in state and economy is the [...] working-class. [It] must storm the heights of culture and take possession.'³³ His initiative informed a new style of literary work which was henceforth called literature of the *Bitterfelder Weg*; it aimed to reach the ideals of Socialist Realism. The ultimate goal was now to regain authorial loyalty and the writers' full acceptance of the *Bitterfeld* concepts.³⁴ Writers were to merge manual labour with brainwork in order to talk with the voice of the people in an indisputable and pragmatic way.

Since the regime increased the number of posts for the censorship squad, the *Bitterfeld* concepts significantly informed the choices made with regard to the publication of foreign literature. The regime tightened both the criteria and procedures when it came to assessment, and they limited access to foreign currency for imports and copyright licenses. The foreclosure not only targeted authors of modernist British and Irish literature, such as James Joyce, Samuel Beckett and George Orwell; it also resulted in a dramatic reduction of literary imports from the West (Barck and Lokatis 2005: 20). Lokatis (20) recounts that, for example, literary imports from West Germany decreased from 69 titles in 1958 to 32 in 1959. The situation became severe owing to the fact that an international elite of writers—

³² Original announcement by Ulbricht: „Greif zur Feder, Kumpel, die sozialistische deutsche Nationalkultur braucht dich!“ (Barner 2006: 517)

³³ Original text: „In Staat und Wirtschaft ist die Arbeiterklasse der DDR bereits Herr. Jetzt muss sie auch die Höhen der Kultur stürmen und von ihnen Besitz ergreifen.“ (Ulbricht 1959)

³⁴ The name originated from the writers' conference of 24 April 1959 that was convened by the publisher *Mitteldeutscher Verlag* at the premises of *VEB Chemiekombinat Bitterfeld* (the nationalised chemical plant in *Bitterfeld*).

those considered to be ‘writing comrades’—were, temporarily, no longer to be found on publishers’ lists. This included writers such as Jorge Amado, Louis Aragon, Elisa Triolet, Pierre Courtade, Ilya Ehrenburg, Pablo Neruda, Jerzy Putrament and Theun de Vries—almost the entire avant-garde of communist authors. Lokatis argues that this change was a direct outcome of Khrushchev getting even with Stalin (Lokatis 2008: 13-21).

This publication policy had a significant impact on the British literature that the leading houses chose to issue. Only 15 British works were published in 1958, mainly classic examples of realist literature. Publications included realist works by Emily Brontë, Robert Louis Stevenson, Joseph Conrad, Jonathan Swift, John Milton and William Blake (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).³⁵ Among the 20th century British writers, it was Bernard Shaw, a figure who enjoyed international acclaim, who was considered anti-capitalist, if not socialist. The Party attributed to Shaw a certain degree of importance, as he was perceived to be a prominent early Anglophone representative of socialist sympathy. Withstanding waves of political change, Shaw remained popular due to his stance on Karl Marx. This continued even when, in the late fifties and early sixties, other socialist poets were no longer to be found in the GDR’s bookshops. Two of his titles were issued by *Rütten & Loening* in 1958: *Die törichte Heirat* | *The Irrational Knot* and *Cashel Byrons Beruf* | *Cashel Byron’s Profession* (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). To elucidate Shaw’s popularity, it is advisable to recall his memorable article *Karl Marx and Das Kapital*, which had first appeared on 7 August 1887 in the weekly secularist publication *The National Reformer*, a longstanding 19th century publication noted for providing a strong radical voice and for advocating Atheism.³⁶ Shaw interpreted Marx’s *Das Kapital* | *The Capital* in such a way as to make it fit very well into his liberal worldview from a purely ethical perspective (Wittig 1982: 128).

Although Shaw was critical of Marxism, and despite Shaw advising his readers not to take Marx’s metaphysics too seriously, Marxist intellectuals never conceived of Shaw as bourgeois, owing to his social-critical writings. But it wasn’t just Shaw who was seen as a

³⁵ Total authors and titles published: George Bernard Shaw: *Cashel Byrons Beruf*; Oscar Wilde: *Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray*; Joseph Conrad: *Das Herz der Finsternis*; Robert Louis Stevenson: *Der Laichenräuber* (Blaulicht-Reihe); Basil Davidson: *Der Strudel*; John Sommerfield: *Die Gegner*; Robert Tressell: *Die Menschenfreunde in zerlumpte Hosen*; William M. Thackeray: *Die Memoiren des Mr. C. J. Yellowplush, ehemals Lakai in vielen vornehmen Familien*; George Bernard Shaw: *Die törichte Heirat*; Jonathan Swift: *Gullivers Reisen*; Charlotte Brontë: *Jane Eyre*; John Boynton Priestley: *Laßt das Volk doch singen*; John Milton: *Simson der Kämpfer*; Nathaniel Hawthorne: *The Scarlet Letter* (Reihe: Panther Books); William Blake: *Werke*.

³⁶ See *The National Reformer*, 7 August 1887 and 21 August 1887.

modern British representative of social-critical sentiment. There were also writers of British workers's novels, such as John Sommerfield, Cedric Belfrage and many others, to consider.

These writers were particularly scrutinised for their personal background, political history, literary style and political beliefs. In order to understand why this was the case, we need to consider the fact that British working-class literature cannot easily be recognised as an explicit genre. It is reasonable to argue that, with regard to labour-led and working-class writing in Britain, Raymond Williams (1960) set the critical standard in the late 1950s. His analyses of the experimental formation of culture were linked to a radical awareness of the materiality of capitalist productive relations and to an overtly militant drive towards democratisation, and ultimately the reconfiguration of culture itself as a common undertaking. The majority of accounts and studies of working-class novels in Britain bear witness to the cultural imprint left behind by the critical project initiated by Williams in 1958 (Valle Alcalá 2016: 1 [see footnote 1]). According to Roberto del Valle Alcalá's introduction (1):

[c]ritical analyses of literary representation of work under capitalism have been traditionally aligned, especially in Britain, with socially transformative aspiration. The politically informed assumption that literature is directly involved in the construction and processing of shared social experience has led to the consolidation of a critical practice that finds, in the textually mediated treatment of exploration, a fundamental resource for denunciation, contestation, and, ultimately, for the achievement of effective social change.

As the idea of a 'British working-class literature' differed from what GDR's ideologists recognised as 'socialist realist working-class literature' we need to establish a firm distinction for this study. When discussing 'British working-class novels' in this study this particular type of literature is understood as part of a broader genre, the social novel. This was because when speaking of British working-class novels in particular, the reader required an exact idea of what class meant in the UK. Despite of the widespread use of the notion 'working-class', it is rather difficult to explain what it involves, especially when seeking to understand those whose literature might have been classified as writers of British working-class novels. The fact that much of 20th century British fiction deals with class-consciousness offers one suggestion why there is a lack of a specific British working-class genre. Another problem, similar in nature to the problem of defining the working-class in British society, is the

difficulty of describing the British or Irish working-class as a whole. Further important issues arise when one considers that the occupation of author in the UK, as well as the act of reading in a capitalist society, were not seen to tally with a working-class, socialist life. Therefore, it was important for the GDR's editors that, at the very least, the British writer himself originated from a 'lower class' background. This would prove that social inequality had certainly not been expunged in the UK.

Within working-class literature, Marxism was to remain the principal master narrative that would inform analytical practice. This makes thinking about the representation of class in literature virtually inseparable from the promotion of a class-based perspective. According to Valle Alcalá (1-3), when reduced to a basic schematic, Marxism in British 'working-class literature' is nothing but the recording of social relations around the divisive and antagonistic category of wage labour. Valle Alcalá (2) claims: 'This implies that work under capitalism is not a natural extension of human creative capacities but the result of a social operation: whereby the latter are transformed into marketable commodity – labour power' and therefore it belongs to the greater genre of the social novel. GDR's intellectuals were especially interested in the neutralising efforts made by capitalist ideology. I should note that a distinction frequently made in the discourse that came later—the distinction between work and labour—was not relevant for the publication of British working-class novels, as these were primarily used to portray the shortcomings of capitalism.

It is surprising that, despite the central position of these issues, the majority of Marxist analyses and appraisals of British working-class novels have tended to focus on the derivative social aspect of the work relation (2). The emphasis on class as social context and cultural formation, something that is characteristic of these stands of criticism, has often prevented the development of a clear conception of the (either hidden or obvious) antagonisms sustaining capitalist society (2). In this sense, the critical discourse of the GDR's editors and censors, something that was admittedly committed to the radical questioning of capitalism, left the nucleus of British society unquestioned. A majority of Marxist-influenced British literary pieces representing work have tended to focus on the derivative social aspects of the work relation, specifically in relation to British society (Williams 1960: 2-4).

One of the literary types employed to represent the British working-class involved the revelation of social inequality as a reason for the rise of the under-class: according to Dominic Head (2002: 73) those who had been 'bypassed by technological change, and

disadvantaged by the increasing rarity of unskilled manual labour.’ As Ian Haywood (1997: 140-155) has postulated that the under-class thus consists of anyone who does not belong to middle-class. He suggests that cleaners and menial service workers along with those still lower in the social hierarchy—such as the homeless—can be included in the same under-class. By incorporating the under-class (with all its facets in the UK) into one category, the label ‘British working-class’ comes to have a different meaning when compared to what was commonly understood as the term ‘working-class’ in Marxism. Hence the term ‘working-class’ in British literature means anything that comes ‘underneath’ or ‘below’ the middle-class.

Head (2002: 73-5) suggests that the eradication or modification of the term ‘working-class’ does not mean exterminating feelings of inequality or the sense of loss of perceived communities. Understanding British social novels as literary works about the lives of the under-class, a social model representing a specifically British working-class, aided the GDR’s editors and literary critics in arguing that the label of this so-called ‘British working-class novel’ denoted a strong expression of anti-capitalist sentiment as the under-class was supposedly exploited by entrepreneurs (capitalists) of the British upper-class.

Hence, we can conclude that British working-class novels served to reveal the shortcomings of capitalism and to facilitate the portrayal of the miserable lives of the under-class in Britain; this served as an antidote to the heroic lives of the socialist working-class articulated in Socialist Realist novels. As British working-class novels did not follow the ideals of socialist working-class literature, let alone Socialist Realism, these works were subject to closer scrutiny prior to a possible publication. The editor and the assessor were to examine the author’s background, his political activities and his literary history. This was undertaken in order to gauge the level and type of anti-capitalist sentiment on display, employing a firmly Marxist approach in order to evaluate the relevance of a given British (social) novel according to specific socio-cultural considerations. Always the outcome was a literary analysis which would elaborate on the aspect of labour and the influence of society upon the individual.

During the 1950s, a small number of British contemporary works (some of them classified as British working-classes) were published, penned by 14 carefully selected authors. Among those writers were two representatives of ‘British working-class novels’: John Sommerfield (*Die Gegner* | *The Adversaries* and *Die Erbschaft* | *The Inheritance*) and Cedric Belfrage

(*Geschäft der Seeligkeit | Abide with me*), all issued by *Volk und Welt* (BA DR-1 RGUS 2013).³⁷

Print permissions were also issued for works by Basil Davidson, Derik Katun, Doris Lessing, Oscar Wilde, John Boynton Priestley and Alan Winnington (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013), all listed in the appendix of this study.

With the publication of works by Doris Lessing and Oscar Wilde, it becomes obvious that the term working-class is misleading and not applicable to many British social critical novels. Here it becomes noticeable that it is difficult to clearly distinguish a British social novel from a British working-class, as the latter genre is not separable from the former.

Authors such as John Sommerfield, Cedric Belfrage, John Boynton Priestley, Basil Davidson, and Barry Hines, all authors of contemporary British novels published in the GDR, not only brought new topics to the literature, portraying British under-class life in a completely new and different way, but also, in regard to language and style, contributed to new aesthetic notions in working-class literature. Here we find the concepts of 'low' and 'high culture' (Williams nD [2017]). These authors did not only question the established hierarchy, but their literature implied a critique of the supposed hierarchy within Britain's literary circles. These circles were assumed to consist mainly of bourgeois authors, readers, and publishers (Schagen 2005: 9). Hence, we may ask ourselves if these novels should be considered social novels.

³⁷ Sommerfield joined the Communist Party and his writing appeared in the *Left Review*, *New Writing* and *The Daily Worker*, where he had a column. He was active within the party, talking at meetings and taking part in marches, some of which turned violent as communists, fascists and the police confronted each other.

According to FBI files, Belfrage was questioned by the FBI in 1947 about his involvement with the Communist Party.

Ideology and Cultural Politics of the Late Ulbricht Era (1959 to 1970)

In the decade that was to follow, the cultural politics of the 1960s revolved around ideology within literature based on the ideas of early Marxism and the interpretation of Socialist Realism. British social realism rested on the foundations of political, social and cultural transformation in the UK, and it remained the dominant literary theme of classic British literature published in the GDR. The social revolution that occurred during the age of exploration and industrialisation was viewed as a precursor to the development of a new, independent and realist literary and artistic style. Even so, adopting a literary identity that was bound up with British social realism, something that was linked to the enforced logic of capitalist work, could not possibly result in a truly revolutionary position on the part of the respective authors. Truth and realism were the literary goals of the time, and many literary texts express a basic dissatisfaction with the regime of exploitation through labour, for instance in workhouses and factories. If we accept that the logic of capitalist work underwent a significant historical transformation from the age of industrialisation to the age of socialism, we may also need to accept that the terms for defining work and the strategies for representing it, are equally subject to change in relation to existing models, which became subject of Marxist literary evaluation. There is a sense in which this historical and aesthetic break corresponds to the distinction between the English Enlightenment novel, the bourgeois realist novel, the 19th century social realist novel, the (20th century) social novel, and modernist literature. With this in mind, we might ask, and how did British literature inspire Socialist Realism?

According to Georg Seehase (1986: 117), former GDR professor at Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig (chair in English literature), the English realist novel, with its emphasis on truth, realism and accuracy, became the literary foundation of Socialist Realism. Himself a Marxist literary scholar held in high esteem, stated that the first period of the modern English novel [realist novel] was characterised by Daniel Defoe.³⁸ According to him, 'Defoe's mental conception of his novels is characteristic of the bourgeois philosophy of enlightenment' (118).³⁹ Marxists were greatly influenced by Karl Marx's attitude towards the 18th century

³⁸ Original text: „Defoe's Romanschaffen fällt in die Jahre von 1720 bis 1725. Seine Meisterleistung auf dem Gebiet ist der Roman Robinson Crusoe - oder, wie der volle Titel dieses 1719 erschienenen ersten modernen Romans der Weltliteratur lautete: [...]“ (Seehase 1986: 119)

³⁹ Original text: „Defoes gedankliche Konzeption des Romans (vor allem des ersten Bandes) ist charakteristisch für die bürgerliche Aufklärungsphilosophie.“ (Seehase 1986: 118)

realist writers. Seehase claimed that ‘on the one hand the Prophet of the 18th century [...] envisions the 18th century individual primarily the product of the dissolution of the feudal society, and on the other since the 16th century a newly developed productive force – like an ideal, whose existence is a past one. Not as a historical result, but the starting point of history’ (119-20).⁴⁰ For Marx, the English classic realist novel was the beginning of modern literary history because its protagonists, the heroes (Robinson Crusoe, Lemuel Gulliver, Oliver Twist, David Copperfield etc.) were not stigmatised and cast as mere outsiders from society, but rather they were presented as heroes of their time. These protagonists were exceptional according to the will of the author, and according to Marxists they were blessed with clever conduct to contribute to social progress. Seehase (120) asserted: ‘And finally, the value of the novels lie in their unique combination of picaresque narrative technique by a materialist (sensualist), enlightened narrator under a bourgeois perspective which considers the existing capitalist society to be permanent despite criticized deficiencies.’⁴¹ It was the writers who made the history of social grievances and shortcomings in English capitalist society more than obvious, at least according to Marxist reception of this literature. This archaic form of the ‘social novel’, the heritage, was in accordance with the claims of the *Bitterfeld* Conference, which, of course, went one step further in order to firmly establish the ‘socialist novel’ in the GDR as a prevailing form of literature. This was achieved by involving the author, who was himself to become the ‘working hero.’⁴²

As per the claims described immediately above, 20th century British literature had little to offer. Contemporary British literature was understood to be suffering a deterioration that was analogous with the UK’s crumbling influence on the world stage; something that was reflected in the ‘declining quality of British literature’ (Schagen 2005: 10). In ‘The Situation of

⁴⁰ Original text: „Den Propheten des 18. Jahrhunderts ...schwebt dieses Individuum des 18. Jahrhunderts – das Produkt einerseits der Auflösung der feudalen Gesellschaftsformen, andererseits der seit dem 16. Jahrhundert neu entwickelten Produktivkräfte – als Ideal vor, dessen Existenz eine vergangene ist. Nicht als ein historisches Resultat, sondern als Ausgangspunkt der Geschichte.“ (Seehase 1986: 118-19)

⁴¹ Original text: „Und schließlich liegt der Wert des Romans in der einzigartigen Verbindung von pikaresker Erzähltechnik mit einem materialistischen (sensualistischen) aufklärerischen Erzählstandpunkt und einer bürgerlichen Erzählperspektive, welche die bestehende kapitalistische Gesellschaft trotz kritizierter Mängel als dauerhaft betrachtet.“ (Seehase 1986: 120)

⁴² see Otto Gotsche (1959: 24): ‘Writers need to commit their lives to the workers and peasants. The new can only emerge from knowledge. Short visits [to the factories] do not suffice; poets need to immerse themselves into the lives of farmers and labourers. The development of a socialist writer is different from that of a bourgeois writer: he [the socialist writer] is correspondent, editor, [and political] writer in one person. New talents grow from “writing workers” [translated from the original].’

the Novel', Bernard Bergonzi (1970: 67-8) claims 'that in literary terms, as in political ones, Britain is not a very important part of the world today.' Similarly, in 'The Survival of the Novel: British Fiction in the Late Twentieth Century', Neil McEwan (1981) discusses the supposedly lower quality of the post-war twentieth-century novel and Philipp Tew (2004: 59) talks about the 'crisis among the post-war generation of British writers'. This crisis inspires McEwan (1981) to announce 'the death of the novel' while advocating a new view of post-war literature that had aesthetics at its core. Eventually Tew (2004), in 'The Contemporary British Novel', looks to McEwan's new, aesthetic view and attempts to establish its meaning. He suggests to consider a more 'intuitive, creative sense of the objectifiable real' (6) and to focus on the 'hybridity, social consciousness, historical influence and shared identities' (185) found in contemporary literature. He calls readers to look beyond categorisations.

For the GDR's publishers a focus on lower class individuals in British literature meant a new approach. Despite the perceived deterioration of British literature, the portrayal of lower class individuals in a small number of British novels was seen as evidence of a renewed class-consciousness in the UK. Such a view found a consensus with the socio-cultural claims made, and the directives issued, about the duties of literature during the first *Bitterfeld* Conference.

Against the general opinion, the conceptual directives delivered at the *Bitterfeld* Conference did not come from Ulbricht directly but from Otto Gotsche, an East German political activist and the GDR'S first deputy president of the Council of Ministers (as laid out in a government memo of 22 April 1959). Ten days prior to the conference, the adjacent districts received the following letter:

Dear Comrades, [...] To facilitate the conference and to make it a complete success, it is agreed that the delegates chosen from your districts are to be 'excellent workers' who are close to literature, who can contribute to the conference and have already produced literary work. Of course, the term workers [...] must not be interpreted too closely [...] engineers; technicians [...] are also welcome. Under all circumstances, there must be at least one representative of the Women's Committee from each district [...]. (BA DY 30 IV2 9.06 259 1959: 9)

The district leaders were fully responsible for the political preparation of their delegation, as well as for their appearance. 'Appropriate consultation with the workers' was to take place, as were 'discussions' (BA DY 30 IV2 9.06 1959: 259). The intended fusion of manual labour and intellectual work points to a literary system that was an integral part of a socialist reality. This notion is supported by the four goals of the conference, which are detailed in a government document from 1959:

- a) The duty of literature is to serve [our] main tasks: economics [...] Writers move to the centre of production!
- b) From the movement of the 'reading workers' the 'writing workers' are to emerge, [as] correspondents of the People [...]
- c) Poets who [...] have migrated to the areas of production, shall share their experiences [...]
- d) Focus [...] on the issue of Socialist Realism in literature [...] The proletarian leadership need to take control of literature. (BA DY 30 IV2 9.06 1959: 259)

The implementation of these four goals brought about the formation of workers' festivals, workers' theatres, and circles of authors.' GDR writers such as Heiner Müller, Brigitte Reimann, Christa Wolf and Wolf Biermann incorporated many of these workers' experiences into their dramas and novels (Stamp Miller 2004: 38). A writer's social and political participation was required at all levels of the institution, and every author was to sign up to the regulations of the monopolistic *Schriftstellerverband* (Writers' Association) to become a 'co-worker involved in the erection of a socialist society by means of his or her creative work' (Emmerich 2009: 43).⁴³ Only *apparatchiks* were on the Writers' Association's board. The Writers' Association was directly subordinated to the SED Central Committee's Department of Culture, which was headed by Ursula Ragwitz. She was in close contact with Kurt Hager, a former member of the politburo.

After the first *Bitterfeld* Conference in 1959, the GDR's writers were increasingly confronted with a different reality. Moreover, after the erection of the Berlin wall in 1961, they lived in a walled-in, confined country. While the Party required the literary elite to

⁴³ During the late 1970s and early 1980s, representatives of the new literary subculture turned away from the Writer's Association, as they did not seek to follow the opinion of the SED.

function as socialist tutors, readers were reduced to immature wards; they were treated as dependents who were to be permanently restrained. This process began at school: children's education systematically focused on the promotion of people from previously underprivileged backgrounds. Fulbrook (1995: 75-6) confirms that these 'new, upwardly mobile young people had [...] to prove their political commitment, their willingness to conform.' To achieve a true socialist education, teaching was based on a comprehensive syllabus, which was, compared to West Germany, more extensive. It followed two objectives: first, to convey a socialist anthropology, and second, to develop in the individual the ability to enjoy the aesthetics of socialist literature. The selection of writers (including classical writers) published at this time included Maxim Gorki, Anna Seghers, Immanuel Kant, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, Heinrich Heine, Heinrich Mann and Thomas Mann, as well as classic English playwrights and novelists such as Shakespeare, Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift and Charles Dickens. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* in particular played a vital role in literary education: Crusoe was treated as an early example of a hero of labour, created by a British dissenter who was a 'declared enemy of the English feudal system' (Seehase 1986: 116).⁴⁴

Regarding British literature, the 1960s were characterised, predominately, by a preference for classics dating from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries (despite the occasional social novel), which reflected the general reception of the aforementioned deterioration of the British novel. It is necessary to look at an example of how British classics were dealt with in order to appreciate the seriousness of the Party's social cultural endeavour.

Between 1962 and 1963, *Aufbau* was involved in the publication of several of Shakespeare's works (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). Printed in 1964, each edition in the series became a scholarly achievement. Much effort was expended in annotating the issues with peripheral notes, while foreign-language passages or single terms were analysed and explained in detail. Allusions to historical events and people were given and historical quotes were tracked down, even where these came from remote sources (Brandstädter 2008: 35).

⁴⁴ In his literary criticism of Defoe, Seehase illustrates the position of literary aesthetics within the given ideological context. O. Lindner describes how *Robinson Crusoe* became a GDR bestseller and a model of didacticism in the educational system (2008: 65-76). For students, it must have appeared that British literature was always optimistic and that it affirmed the concept of socialism. It is important to note that the British social novel of the 20th century did not play any role in the educational system of the GDR.

Using this method, an encyclopaedic compendium was generated that satisfied the demanding scholarly requirements of socialist analysis.⁴⁵

What did the preference for classics mean for the publication of contemporary British literature, the occasional novel? Among the occasional publications representing the social novel was for instance Angus Wilson's *Meg Eliot | The Middle Age of Mrs Elliot* (1958). The reasons for its choice were manifold. First, Wilson had always been a paradoxical writer: he was tirelessly concerned with the niceties of humanist behaviour, and he was interested in the sinister, but most importantly Wilson was considered an outsider from the British literary mainstream illuminating the edges of society.

Since Wilson was born to an upper-middle-class family who, residing primarily in London, lived a 'shabby-genteel existence in small hotels and boarding houses' (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2017b), *Aufbau's* editors were using Wilson's biography as a demonstration of the unsettled world of present-day Britain. This uncomfortable world, existing on the edges of society, is featured in many of his short stories; they portray British characters who range from elitists to the lower classes (2017b). In *Meg Eliot | The Middle Age of Mrs. Eliot* (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013), the exploration of a mental crisis came to the fore, which can only be overcome by the fact that the heroine has become impoverished through the death of her husband and must prove herself in the workplace. It was the class-consciousness and the resulting criticism towards British society of his novel which legitimised his work. Above all, Wilson's literary elements of alienation and parody were recognised as a sign of British bourgeois decline. In fact, Wilson's literary modernism convinced GDR's editors due to the crisis-conscious dialogue between the individual and the social. It explains its relative popularity among readers. GDR's literary critics recognised in Wilson's works a new quality of postmodern literary expression and thus acknowledged a valuable contribution to socialist reading.

In hindsight, it seems that editors in the GDR used every conceivable opportunity to legitimise the GDR's socio-cultural politics by revealing the shortcomings of Western society. Even with a genre like Cold War spy fiction, espionage was not simply included as context or as an important plot device, but as something with a political message that expressed moral superiority. Naturally, only those British spy stories that were inspired by the tense rivalry

⁴⁵ Besides Shakespeare, Thomas Hardy, Daniel Defoe and Henry Fielding were on the publications list of British classics in 1964 (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

between Western democracies and Eastern socialist societies were of interest, as they were seen to support the political, social and cultural endeavour of the Soviet Union. In the West, spy fiction (i.e. the politico-military thriller) was generically related to adventure novels (the thriller). But in the GDR, the spy novel did not serve merely as entertainment: it was considered to be *political* fiction. Seehase (1986: 421) especially praised the spy stories by Grahame Greene and James Aldridge for making the topic of anti-imperialism an important subject for English literature. He admired Aldridge's literary work as a 'true contribution to Socialist Realism', notwithstanding Aldridge's lack of a working-class background (421).

To appreciate Seehase's enthusiasm (421-22), we need to look briefly at Aldridge's publication history. Marxist intellectuals perceived Aldridge as outstanding in his struggle for the preservation of peace. He 'energetically responded to the pressing problems of the times, advocating peace and the easing of international tensions' (422). Therefore, his novel *The Diplomat* (1949), for which he received the Gold Medal of Peace in 1953, had already been translated into Russian in 1952. As a leftish British writer, he supported the struggle for the national liberation of oppressed peoples, and after 1952 more of his novels were translated into Russian. Aldridge allegedly saw the 'complex nature of the fierce ideological struggle between the worlds of capitalism and socialism and its reflection in people's consciousness' (421-22). Owing to his exploration of moral and political dilemmas in the West, in the Soviet Union his books were declared to be in agreement with the Marxist-Leninist perspective. As a consequence, Aldridge was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1972. The early Russian editions of Aldridge's works and Soviet scholars' enthusiasm for his novels provided the initial motives for the novelist's unreservedly positive reception by the GDR's intellectuals. Hence, we can conclude that the positive Soviet reception of Aldridge was the reason for his lasting success in the GDR. Between 1952 and 1988, Aldridge's publication list consists of an impressive 16 titles and numerous reprints with an average print run of 40,000 to 50,000 copies (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

The 1960s were informed by the Cold War, and the GDR's party leaders felt politically insecure due to the long border to West Germany. This geographical position was especially critical due to the constant influx of West German media: the neighbouring class enemy who represented a most serious ideological adversary and who spoke the very same language. Hence, the politburo felt that moves towards decentralisation and reform, something that was supported by many leading intellectuals, threatened to undermine the supremacy of the

Party; reform opponents feared that the dynamic forces unleashed in the economy and society would overtake them. Ultimately, the politburo identified the decentralisation of decision-making processes as a threat to the unity of the Party – a serious risk to its prescribed ideological Marxist-Leninist foundation and uniformity. The politburo was smarting from their recent loss of total power, since important decision-making responsibilities had already been passed on to expert panels. In short, some leadership offices were at risk of becoming superfluous. Thus, it is not surprising that there were growing efforts among the politburo to consolidate the power of the Party.

The second *Bitterfeld* Conference 1964 reflected the regime's increasing concern over a potential risk to their power monopoly and ignited the return to a more dogmatic, narrow-minded preference for Socialist Realism in literature and art. Literature with a non-socialist background, and especially literature from West Germany, was increasingly viewed as a potential conductor for positions that opposed the regime. Nevertheless, certain selected works with a pre-socialist, realist heritage (mostly classics) were considered valuable for a socialist readership. By using literary works with a socialist legacy, the party sought to prove their legitimacy. Furthermore, they wished to consolidate their domination by creating a utopia of total communication. Part and parcel with this was the fact that the Party intended to ban ambiguity in literary language, format and style. In theory, the language of the GDR's literary utopia would be monosemic and terminological, and it would be fully adequate for expressing reality in meaning and content.

This goal, however unattainable, reveals the party's on-going pursuit of total control as they endeavoured to exclude any literary tendency that compromised the canonical wisdom of Stalinism. There was a constant battle over terminology in literary criticism, resulting in the drive for an impossible clarity. In accordance with Socialist Realism, clarity, comprehensibility and accessibility were essential features of any literature that claimed to serve the masses. Therefore, works indulging in ambivalence, avant-gardism and modernism were still perceived as literary forms that directly opposed realism; a powerful manifestation of the privileging of a subjectivity that was lacking in lucidity, intelligibility and approachability. 'A language pure as water, through which the content of life is visible' (Maslim 1948: 282) is how Novikov-Proboj, a Russian writer, labelled the ideal literary form (Heller 1995: 59).

The Second *Bitterfeld* Conference was followed by the 11th Plenum of the SED's Central Committee (from 16–18 December 1965), a conference that was originally instigated as a plenary assembly for economic questions. Today, this conference is known as the *Kahlschlagsdiskussion* (discussion of eradication) with regard to cultural politics. The result was a cultural crackdown (Emmerich 2009: 182). The gentle liberalising trends in cultural and intellectual life that had occurred during the late 1950s and early 1960s were rigorously curtailed, and proposed reforms for more liberalisation within the party were cancelled. At the same time, economic reforms were carried out and modified according to centralising notions. Erich Honecker, Security Secretary of the Party's Central Committee at the time, was aware of the critical importance of literature within any political and economic discourse, and he appeared as the major spokesman on the subject, accusing the literary elite of 'nihilism', 'scepticism' and of producing 'pornographic art and writings.' He announced that '[o]ur GDR is clean. There are unalterable standards of ethics and honour, for decency and public morals' (Honecker 1965: 11; Adge 2000).

Honecker's announcement informed publishers that they must strictly conform to the party line. Works were reassessed and examined for nihilism, the presence of pornography and other objectionable formalistic elements. Even the English classic novels were re-evaluated because the political climate demanded a 'truncation of modern British and American literature' (Wicht 2008: 95), presenting a challenge to Marxist intellectuals once again. The seriousness of this political claim can be gauged when we consider Seehases's (1986: 125) argument in favour of *Gulliver*:

It seems rather ridiculous and cranky that Gulliver expressed admiration for the genus of horses, just because of sheer disgust for his own people. Hence the general misanthropy is modified. By doing so Swift avoids his satire degenerating into nihilism.

In short, the 11th Plenum had a crucial effect on the literary sphere. Ulbricht implemented new objectives of economy by involving the Party's 'Socialist cultural policy.'⁴⁶ His baiting policy seems to have become a permanent socio-cultural condition: Ulbricht argued that the

⁴⁶ For instance, Walter Ulbricht's famous slogan (1965) was: 'Chemistry brings bread, prosperity and beauty.' Original text: "Chemie bringt Brot, Wohlstand und Schönheit."

GDR's policy on literature and culture needed to be brought into closer connection with WTR, a technological revolution which was to serve three major purposes:⁴⁷

Forecasting the development of culture (steering and controlling literature, the press, film, and broadcasting by giving feedback).

Analysis of cultural consciousness in reference to the technological revolution and the shaping of socialist life (reference to the second *Bitterfelder* conference).

Continuous monitoring of world trends, examination of new relationships, formulation of new tasks, control of education, and deployment of leading cadres in terms of culture. (Emmerich 2009: 184-89)

First and foremost, the Party was trying to ideologically link manual and intellectual labour, just as the party sought to relate two cultures: namely, the scientific-technological and the social-humanistic culture.

The principal idea of linking scientific-technological and the social-humanistic culture was already devised in 1961 in order to boost the national economy. The result was a re-designed economic model, labelled the *Neues Ökonomisches System* (New Economic System or NÖS for short). An increased production should lead to a higher living standard under the NÖS, which in return should help 'to overcome the austerity of the *Aufbaujahre*' or construction years from 1945 to 1961, resulting in an increase in 'consumer expectations' (Bathrick 1995: 29). In 1963, six months after the 6th SED conference (15–21 January 1963), the party introduced the NÖS, declaring that its targets would constitute official party policy. The NÖS was to provide an important impetus to society, involving science, literature and the arts. The main objectives of the NÖS were the modernisation and rationalisation of the GDR's economic system to serve one single purpose: streamlining the economy. Eventually in 1964, the Party officially raised science and technology (along with capital, labour and land) to the fourth force of production and declared it officially a *Wissenschaftlich-Technische Revolution* (Scientific Technological Revolution; WTR for short) (Hertle and Wolle 2004: 120).

Hence the second conference of *Bitterfeld* in 1964 expanded on Ulbricht's arguments regarding 'the establishment of a lasting harmony between technological and social cultures'

⁴⁷ WTR = *wissenschaftlich technische Revolution*.

(the Scientific Technological Revolution) (Abusch 1967a: 704), something that was presented as the final goal of a socialist society. During the conference, Ulbricht himself stated that:

The technological revolution in our economy will [...] change people's lives fundamentally, [this involves] the character of the work, the relationship between mental and physical activity and the design of leisure. (ND 1964b)

In reference to this objective, the protocol of the second *Bitterfeld* Conference reads:

Likewise the progress of socialist national culture is a lasting political and ideological battle against reactionary ideology and backwardness, for new, advanced ideas, for the perspective of a free people on a free soil. (Rembold 2003: 343)⁴⁸

The notion of linking the two cultures science and humanities was taken up by the British scientist and novelist C.P. Snow, who argued in his *Two Cultures* (1959) that the intellectual life of Western society was divided into the two groups, which he calls cultures—namely the sciences and the humanities. He recognised that this was the chief hurdle to solving the problems of this world.⁴⁹ The Party considered Snow's argument seriously but claimed that the arts and humanities were to become more 'objective', 'calculable', 'plannable' and therefore more 'predictable', in accordance with the theories of the sciences. Snow was first published in 1967 by *Volk und Welt* in an edition of 13,000 copies, which was considered a large number of copies for a book on science (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). Abusch reasoned:

If the contradiction between the spirit and power, between theory and practice, between technological revolution and personality development, between economy and culture is of the essences of capitalism, it is one of the advantages of our socialist society that it has solved these contradictions and has produced a creative interaction [...]. Linking the Scientific Technological Revolution is the nature and goal of our socialist society. (Abusch 1967a: 703)

⁴⁸ Original text: „Auch der Fortschritt der sozialistischen Nationalkultur ist ein ständig politisch-ideologischer Kampf gegen reaktionäre Ideologien und Rückständigkeit, für das Neue, Fortschrittliche, für die Perspektive des freien Volkes, das auf freiem Grunde lebt.“ Berlin 1964 (Rembold 2003: 343) from: „Zweite Bitterfelder Konferenz, Protokoll der von der Ideologischen Kommission beim Politbüro des ZK der SED und dem Ministerium für Kultur am 24. und 25. April 1964 im Kulturpalast des Elektrochemischen Kombinats Bitterfeld abgehaltenen Konferenz“.

⁴⁹ *The Two Cultures* is the title of an influential 1959 Rede Lecture delivered by C. P. Snow at Senate House in Cambridge. See: Snow 1969.

Abusch claimed, that the socialist writer should no longer just depict socialist personalities in a socialist community, but should portrait their protagonists as pro-active examples within the environment of an industrial production. He should make use of scientifically proven and predictive methods or, vice versa, he should renounce and refrain from all poetry, which is based on the privilege of 'irrational dreams' (Abusch 1967a: 701-3).

But literature did not easily adapt to the style that *Bitterfeld* and the Scientific Technological Revolution implied. Increasingly, the younger generation turned away from the new socio-cultural policy, preferring instead to consider topics such as the relationship between man, nature and technology; the conflict between education and the socialist reality; the building of the Berlin Wall; and, finally, love. For Gotsche, the reluctance of many poets to follow Party politics provided enough evidence to seriously question their commitment towards the Party.

The question of party discipline is no question to be raised and cannot be discussed. It [the discipline] is always there. One cannot argue something that stands like a tower. This is real [...]. What is decided is decided. [...] We're still a Marxist Party. We are not a club! [...] And why things are done differently now? Because we are satisfied? Perhaps, but if this is true it will lead socialism into a dead season. (BA DZ 30 IV 2.2.109.6 1959: 116)

Five GDR writers openly criticized the party's crackdown on cultural politics: Christa Wolf, Wolfgang Joho, Anna Seghers, Kurt Barthel and Helmut Baierl. Christa Wolf suggested that the people's growing reservation towards the party derived from the emptiness of local literature and from the lack of intellectual appeal. She criticized the prevailing economy, since, according to Wolf, the regime did not offer appealing alternatives to the common goal of materialistic prosperity and believed that the Scientific Technological Revolution were hiding a dangerous fetishisation of rationalism and technology.⁵⁰ Moreover, she advocated an open and fruitful dialogue between East and West. In addition, writer Günter Kunert (1966) argued against the 'objectification of man' in socialism by referring to history, as quoted by Emmerich (2009: 189)(2009: 186-188):

⁵⁰ The literary elite did not feel they were being addressed when in 1966 the FDJ (Frei Deutsche Jugend or Free German Youth) magazine titled *Forum* raised the question 'Demon technology – A threat?' (FDJ 1966)

At the beginning of the technical age stands Auschwitz [and] Hiroshima [...]. I think only naivety puts technology on the same level with social humanitarian progress.

During the second half of the 1960s, contemporary literature was impacted by the ideological paradigm of the Scientific Technological Revolution and the legitimisation of a 'matter of fact' style of language ahead of a literary variety of different styles. On the one hand, the partial integration of formalism, structuralism and semiotics brought about a certain depoliticisation of literature. On the other hand, the factual language style model led to the extension of increasingly naïve reflections on reality. Questions about the practical value of the arts were incorporated into the theory of realism. There were serious attempts to translate science and technology directly into literature; this provoked a negative influence on literary creativity and was possibly amplified by the proverbial *Deutsche Gründlichkeit* (German Efficiency). This was especially true, for instance, in the case of Guenther Lehmann's conduct. He sought to overcome the literary element of aesthetics by introducing a 'scientifically acceptable textual element', which he described as a textual constituent containing 'objectively verifiable criteria' (240-69). He envisaged language as the sole expression of the natural sciences, putting literature on the level of an auxiliary discipline. But where had literary compositions by the workers gone to? What happened to the standing of socialist artists? With these questions in mind, an oddity persists until this day: in fact, the individual reality of the working-classes played a larger role in the proletarian-revolutionary literature of the Weimar Republic (as depicted by authors of the older generation) than was the case with the younger generation of writers producing 'socialist working-class literature' in the GDR.

By the end of the 1960s, the politburo might have continued to re-centralise their decision-making processes. All the same, explicit criteria for the control of literature were not available, and it was still the responsibility of the individual censor to decide whether or not to pass a given work, something that was conducted according to nebulous criteria.⁵¹ In

⁵¹ The publishing list for 1964 comprises of works from John Braine (*Der Weg nach oben*), Daniel Defoe (re-print of *Robinson Crusoe*), Henry Fielding (*Ausgewählte Werke*), Graham Greene (*Der stille Amerikaner*), Thomas Hardy (*Herzen in Aufruhr*), Shakespeare (*Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden*), Keith Waterhouse (*Billy der Lügner*), Angus Wilson (*Meg Eliot*) etc. In 1965, twenty titles by eleven British writers were published, and in 1966 a staggering thirty titles by eighteen British and Irish authors found their way into the bookshops (of which eight titles were reprints). This included Cedric Belfrage, Joseph Conrad, Archibald Cronin, Daniel Defoe, Arthur C. Doyle, Henry Fielding, Graham Greene, Rudyard Kipling, D.H. Lawrence, William Somerset Maugham, the Irish Writer Sean O'Casey, William Shakespeare, Alan Sillitoe, Robert H. Spring, William Thackeray, Keith Waterhouse, Oscar Wilde, and Stan Basrow.

response to the claims of the Scientific Technological Revolution and the new socio-cultural policy, the publication of contemporary British literature was limited to social novels and realist classics (the social novel of the 19th century). Novels by Basil Davidson, Alan Winnington, Kingsley Amis, John Braine, Norman Painting, Robert Howard Spring, Cedric Belfrage, Alan Sillitoe and others were issued during the 1960s, and publications by Bernard Shaw and James Aldridge were among the selected British works to be published, they were viewed as social-critical and pro-socialist. Authors working broadly speaking with the realist, narrative tradition such as Charles Dickens, William M Thackeray, Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, Joseph Conrad, Arthur Conan Doyle, Tobias Smollett and Henry James and William Shakespeare remained on publisher's lists, as these were, even more than ever, considered to be an important asset to any socialist reading list. The reason for this particular preference for 19th century literary realist tradition in the GDR had historic roots which lay in the British class system, and the assumed class-based attributes and values, of the 19th century. Alastair Bonnett (1998: 320) affirms:

As in contemporary Britain, the class order of Victorian Britain was legitimised through imputed class attributes and values. However, in the nineteenth century, this order had adapted only relatively superficially to the challenges of organised labour and the complexities of mass consumerism. As a consequence, Victorian capitalism largely did without the welfare state and other interventionist, non-market orientations that characterise the British state in its contemporary form. This *laissez-faire* phase of capitalist development both enabled, and was enabled by, the formation of ideologies that naturalised and reified social difference.

In consequence, the publication of historical sources such as the British classics served predominately to reveal the unavoidable upsurge of class struggle. In other words, the publication of the British classic novels, with their realist and social attributes, served the purposes of legitimising a socialist society. More precisely, the gap between wealth and power concerning the British under-class and the bourgeoisie was highlighted in both Forewords and Afterwords; according to such, the Marxist criticism of capitalism was embodied by the protagonist (hero) of the story or the plot (for example, *Oliver Twist* by Charles Dickens). The bourgeoisie's capacity to see themselves as the most reliable examples of cultural, ethnic and national principles (and ethics) were central to the GDR's historic

criticism of class struggle. This was viewed as a significant factor in the rise of the socialist movement in Britain and the foundation of the CPGB.

Anna-Christina Giovanopolous (2008: 80) identifies an additional paradigm during the mid-sixties which applied to foreign literature. She writes 'only a text from the West could match the [Marxist] requirements when it described a given social condition without suggesting any change or improvement' (80). This paradigm led to unpredictable results for the validation of British literature. Despite publishers' efforts to include more (suitable) British titles in their publication lists, the publication itself could not stray from ideological limitations. Günther Gensch (2008: 23-32), who worked in 1967 as an editor for English, American and Scandinavian literature at *Insel Verlag* in Leipzig, explains the reason for the relatively small number of British classic works in comparison to Soviet writings. According to him, editors' restraint when it came to British and Irish works was caused by the renewed accusation of literary decadence, the renewed focus on formalism even in classic literature (23-32). Again, therefore, any leeway when it came to the planning and publishing of British literature remained limited to realist classics and some works which met the socio-cultural considerations ordained by the Party. Within this socio-political context informed by Marxist ideology, during the second half of the 1960s some publishers managed to include in their publishing programmes some works of twentieth-century British fiction which at a first glance did not fulfil the prescribed ideological requirements. But, on second glance, it becomes evident that editors managed to argue the case for ideological relevance thoroughly in consensus with the party's socio-cultural expectations and preferred novels that fell into this category. Among those titles published were: Rudyard Kipling's *Rikki-Tikki-Tavi* published by Philip Reclam Verlag; William Somerset Maugham's *Julia, du bist zauberhaft* | *Adorable Julia*; Grahame Greene's *Unser Mann in Havanna* | *Our Man in Havanna* and *Die Stunde der Komödianten* | *The Comedians*; and George Eliot's *Silas Marner*—all published by Volk und Welt (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

Ideology and Cultural Policy During the Early Honecker Era (1971 to 1979)

In June 1971, a new era began when Erich Honecker was elected General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party at the 8th Party Congress. Honecker (1971) proclaimed the baseline of his cultural policy for the years to come: a 'creative search for new forms' (SED 1971). It seemed as if the party congress would cause a turning point in the GDR's cultural policy (Nawrocki 1971: 2). As Honecker (1971) declared:

Writers and artists know best that among [their] works superficiality and boredom are still to be found. We are well aware that it is not an easy task [...] to discover the great and world-changing achievements of socialism and to raise awareness for the beauty of our life [...]. Our party will always assist artists [...] and will help them to open their work for the socialist society in ever more effective ways. The writers and artists should decide themselves [...] how their task can be mastered in a better way. This implies a close connection between the artist's life and the [...] understanding for the development processes of our society. Finally the writers and artists [...] will capture the full range and variety of new expressions of life. There will be more creative works to come, dedicated to the reality of [our] life, to the solidarity with [our] people and [our] party, [...].

At the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee (of the SED) in December 1971, Honecker sent an even stronger signal to artists and writers:

If we start from the position of socialism, [...] art and literature do not need taboos. This applies both to questions of content and style—in short, the basis of what one calls artistic mastery. (1971)

During the 8th Party Congress in June 1971, Honecker's initial message was that a committed socialist writer could write in accordance with the 'current position of socialism.' This indicated a climate of literary autonomy and seemed to represent the start of a more diverse literary life. To fully appreciate Honecker's statement and to recognise his positioning of socialism, further analysis is required. Long before East German singer, songwriter and dissident Wolf Biermann was expelled, GDR writers such as Reiner Kunze, Volker Braun, Stefan Heym, Rainer Kirsch, Günther Kunert and Heiner Müller experienced continuous censorship—despite the promise of literary freedom.

The main task of the consecutive Five Year Plan 1971-1975, which Honecker (1971) announced, was to further increase living standards and to elevate the standard of culture on the basis of continuous (technological) progress. Honecker's plan emphasised a GDR-specific cultural hegemony which was not solely determined by Marxist-Leninist ideology and German traditions, but by consumerism and by a GDR-specific industrial culture which almost obsessively emphasised continuous growth, security and efficiency. The literary elite was yet to recognise Honecker's new directive (namely, that socialist life in the GDR was based on industrial growth). Subsequently, any authorial freedom that might have followed from a shift in values was eliminated. Writers had to dedicate their literary works to the scientific, technological and social achievements of socialism, taking the worker's daily life into account. The literary expression of party-mindedness, an aspect of Socialist Realism, was therefore required to a much greater extent than was the case before 1971, and this revealed writers' misunderstandings concerning a new literary freedom of expression.

Honecker's position of socialism represented the current position of the Party. This meant that writers were required to follow a position that was continuously shifting in its priorities, interpretations and emphasis. Honecker's policy caused a deliberate uncertainty around literary production; there were no explicit guidelines from which an author could orient him or herself with any certainty. As a consequence, literary success simply depended on the author's leniency toward the party.

Naturally Honecker's direction did not spur the publication of British works; neither did the publishers look for new literary styles from the British Isles, and it would certainly have seemed politically unwise to request print permission for modernist titles by Beckett, Joyce or others. Publishers remained conservative in their selection of British titles and concentrated on socialist-inspired works and (social) realist classics.

In 1970, shortly before Honecker's takeover, fourteen new English titles passed censorship, including works by Henry James, Oscar Wilde, Norman Lewis, Graham Greene, C.P. Snow, Ian Fleming, Arnold Wesker, Sid Chaplin and Edgar Wallace. However, the list did not expand in 1971.⁵² Just three contemporary authors from the British Isles were published

⁵² Ian Fleming's *Gedichte (Poems)*; Arnold Wesker's *Stücke (Pieces)*; and Sid Chaplin's *Zu zweit ist alles anderes (The Watchers and the Watched)* all appeared with *Volk und Welt*. Edgar Wallace's *Die gefiederte Schlange (The Yellow Snake)* was published by *Aufbau* (BA DR1 2013: ARGUS).

during Honecker's inaugural year (Clive Barker, William Sansom and Arnold Bennett), and a good number of 19th century social realist classics were issued (BA DR1 2013: ARGUS).

At first glance, works by some of the aforementioned British writers such as Oscar Wilde, Ian Fleming or Edgar Wallace do not seem to follow the idea of what socialist or anti-capitalist literature should look like. At a second glance, these works seem not to be ambivalent in style and content, but nor did publishers receive print permissions for large runs of these books (BA DR1 2013: ARGUS). Under the socio-cultural requirements of the early 1970s, a case could be argued in favour of these works from a Marxist-Leninist point of view. Oscar Wilde was controversial in Britain owing to his sensational legal troubles and his outsider status; the published work of Ian Fleming contained only poems; and Edgar Wallace's crime novel *The Yellow Snake* is about a business close to bankruptcy owing to the fact that the protagonist has speculated with his clients' money.

Günter Gentsch (2008) has shown that some contemporary British titles could only receive print permission if a reputable *Gutachter* (or assessor), usually a GDR scholar, was appointed to produce the *externes Gutachten* (external assessment). For instance, during the early 1970s, the assessments of three works by Wilde, Fleming and Wallace offered a critical evaluation of the relative deprivation or subordination of a social form of life where the defining experience is capitalism. The texts in question express a basic dissatisfaction with the normalised regime of exploitation and potentially present the daily routine as a structural problem. For some British texts, in hindsight Günther Gentsch (2008: 23-32), a former GDR editor, publisher and literary critic suggests an extended leeway for Marxist interpretation. This allowed for the consideration of editors' personal input, and left some room for academic judgements, and for scholars to label a work valuable. Hence the interpretation of a given work could in principle lead to unpredictable results. According to Lokatis Lokatis, Professor at Leipzig University (Chair in Book Science, *Institut für Kommunikation- und Medienwissenschaften*) (2008b: 11-25), the uncertainty principle was always present and changed according to the people involved, the time and the place. The requirement for a sound Marxist-Leninist interpretation and a decisive and accurate translation, which was difficult to contest led to British works being treated differently from local writers. Consequently, the treatment of British works involved an unconventionally sophisticated academic approach.

Translation played a significant part in the process, and this is something that might be appreciated by considering the dispute that arose over the publication of a new translation of Shakespeare's works. Surprisingly, a new edition annotated by Günter Walch (member of GDR's Shakespeare Society) and translated by Stefan George was seriously criticized by the censor due to reactionary conduct (Gensch 2008: 30).⁵³ The official censorship office (*Central Administration Publishing and Book Trade*) preferred that the translation keep the diction and rhythm of the original language and objected to a more modern, smoother translation (30-31). It was required that readers would not draw any comparison whatsoever with contemporary socialism in the GDR, which a translation in contemporary German might have implied. Therefore, the use of contemporary language in translations demanded a careful academic assessment which included a thorough comparison with the work's original language. The assessment of the use of modern-day language required that those who assessed the new editions were familiar with the actual socio-political literary requirements of those who translated, edited, annotated and published the work (32-33).

It is obvious that Honecker's culture-liberal regime, which had proclaimed the removal of taboos in 1971, was never implemented. Naturally, this circumstance adversely affected any possible publication of Britain and Ireland's most celebrated modernist writers. For instance, in *Meyer's Lexikon* (1973) one could read that James Joyce's '*Ulysses* leads into a cul-de-sac and is an expression of decadence.' In principle this did not differ from Radek's closing remark at the 1934 Soviet Writers Congress when it came to the rejection of *Ulysses*; he defamed Joyce with the words: 'Joyce's form matches Joyce's content, [and] Joyce's content mirrors the most reactionary of what bourgeois life has on offer' (Wicht 2008: 94). Radek's conclusions were never disproved, even during the 1970s. Wolfgang Wicht (2004: 71),

⁵³ In 1909 Stefan George reworked Shakespeare's original text. Therefore, his translation (*Umdichtung*) lacks proximity to the original. Through experiments in syntax, word-formation and orthography George had moulded the original text into a piece of decorative art. However, exact translations were common in East Germany. We can only speculate as to why Stefan George's version of Shakespeare's works was proposed for publication. George's 'systematic faltering out of hypotactic structures from the English, in which syntactic elements are freed from a fixed hierarchy to be recorded at will' (Conquer 2015: 365), was considered formalist. Rey Conquer (365) asserts: 'When formal similarities are understood not as mere lubrication for the carrying over of "meaning" from one language to another, "original" and "translation" can stand side by side in a spatial as opposed to hierarchical relationship'. George's translations reveal a desire to rejuvenate the German language, which, according to the censor, was an act of incorporating reactionary and bourgeois language elements (Gensch 2008: 30). George believed that the purpose of poetry was to provide an alternative to reality (Conquer 2015: 365). His own oeuvre has similarities with the French symbolist style.

former GDR professor of philosophy at University Potsdam (Chair in English literature), would later argue that 'in their search for a scapegoat to represent the sin of literary degeneration, the champions of Stalinist cultural dogmatism found their main target in James Joyce.'

In the 1970s, the paradigmatic centre of ideological struggle was still governed by the confrontation between formalism and realism, which once again bore witness to the importance of a socio-cultural and ideological approach when it came to building a convincing argument based on Marxist-Leninist considerations for any work that was to be published. Seehase (1986: 5-6) stated in his basic work *Englische Literatur im Überblick* that GDR publishers are always concerned to produce convincing books in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, taking into account the positions of GDR scholars, Soviet works and literary critics following the ideological guidelines.

Wicht (1981: 7) justified the publication of 20th century British writers by highlighting the social function of art and aesthetics and by giving a Marxist-Leninist interpretation (1981), while Seehase argued in favour of these works from a socio-cultural perspective (1986), leading to a similar result. Wicht (7) reasoned that aesthetics and the function of art had always been important issues in philosophy and should receive greater attention among scholars. This response confirms that, as Seehase reckoned, cultural preferences might have played a significant role in choosing and publishing British literature.

At the 1973 Plenum of the Central Committee, it seemed as if Honecker was withdrawing his previous removal of taboos to erase any misunderstandings. Honecker did not mention by name authors from the GDR who did not follow the Party's envisioned Marxist literary ideal; not Volker Braun nor Ulrich Plenzdorf nor any other name for that matter, although he did make vague allusions. He argued that 'some writers [were] not consistent with the goal of socialism in terms of art and literature' (Honecker 1973: 778). The goal of the SED was made the goal of socialism. The 7th Writers' Congress in November 1973 reaffirmed once again the relative freedom of literature with respect to the socio-political authorities, but Honecker's earlier warnings were well understood. Again, readjustments of the regime's cultural policy were underway. The dialectic between the individual and society was declared to be the central concern for literature. As a result, dogmatic faith in technology, the notion of a Scientific Technical Revolution, became less important and the idea of natural science as a means of literary expression was eventually abandoned. Again, changes

for the literary elite were underway, something that finally culminated in the remarkable circumstance of writers being allowed the autonomy to conduct private meetings with West German authors. The GDR regime agreed to this plan in which writers could have controlled contact with their West German counterparts. Honecker's aim was to attract more attention to works of partisanship, ethnicity, and high socialist ideas (Der Spiegel 1978: 23).⁵⁴ We might speculate that Honecker wished to test the true sympathies of his writers.

From 1974 onwards, on the initiative of Bernd Jentzsch (GDR), Günter Grass (FRG) and others, writers from both Germanys met regularly about four times a year 'to read new texts to one another.'⁵⁵ The stimulating power of these meetings is not to be underestimated; but evidently euphoria was not appropriate, since the years 1973 to 1976 were years of suppression (Sabro 2004: 195-211).

The best proof of the official approach to unwelcome texts was the measures enforced regarding two new works: Rainer Kirsch's (GDR) comedy *Heinrich Schlaglands Höllenfahrt* and Volker Braun's (GDR) narrative *Unvollendete Geschichte* (BA DR1 2013: ARGUS).⁵⁶ Kirsch's short comedy did not receive print permission and Braun's narrative was not published. The assessors came to different conclusions, even though both works were considered a parody of the system. The oppressive, arbitrary character of the regime prevailed and was once again confirmed spectacularly with Wolf Biermann's expatriation in 1976 (Stamp Miller 2004: 71-99). This had serious political ramifications for those intellectuals who remained in the GDR, for it signalled the beginning of a new, less permissive cultural policy. Once again, the government proved that its policies were not based on the citizen but on the Party as an instrument of power (71-99). We might naturally then argue that this party-oriented policy negated the legitimisation of modernist works during the 1970s.

⁵⁴ Original text: „Von Erich Honecker war diesmal zu hören, *große Beachtung* fänden vor allem *jene Werke, die sich durch Parteilichkeit, Volksverbundenheit und hohen sozialistischen Ideengehalt auszeichnen.*“ (Der Spiegel 1978: 23)

⁵⁵ These included Hanspeter Born, Günther Grass, Max Frisch, Rolf Haufs, Gerd Jonke, Reinhard Lettau, Christoph Meckel, Hermann Peter Piwitt, Peter Schneider, Jürgen Theobaldy from the West and Erich Arendt, Rudolf Bartsch, Jurek Becker, Thomas Brasch, Heinz Czechowski, Bernd Jentzsch, Sarah Kirsch, Günter Kunert, Klaus Poche, Hans Joachim Schädlich, Klaus Schlesinger from the East.

⁵⁶ Both works were never translated into English. For more information see <www.complete-review.com/reviews/braunv/unvollg.htm>.

In 1973, twelve British titles were published, which included seven contemporary works. *Volk und Welt* issued a selection of short stories (*Billig im August – Kurzgeschichten*) by Graham Greene. The other six were William Somerset Maugham's *Silbermond und Kupfermünze* | *The Moon and Sixpence* (Aufbau); James Plunkett's *Manche, sagt man, sind verdammt* | *Strumpet City* (Aufbau); Rosemary Harris's *Kein Happy End für Miss Brenning* | *The Nice Girl's Story* (Volk und Welt); James Aldridge's short stories titled *Der letzte Flug – Erzählungen* | *Selected Short Stories* (Aufbau); Barry Hines' *Und fing sich einen Falken* | *A Kestrel for a Knave* (Volk und Welt); and Stan Barstow's *Jenseits von Glückseligkeit* | *The Watchers on the Shore* (Volk und Welt).

Barstow wrote works that offered a social critique of working-class life in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. His works were seen as a contribution to the continuous demonstration of capitalist shortcomings and the dehumanisation of British society, while Hines followed a similar credo. His novel *Und fing sich einen Falken* | *A Kestrel for a Knave* concerns a schoolboy who lives in depressing social conditions with his family in a mining village and finds relief in tending a kestrel hawk which is named 'Kes.' Hines's background and works sat with the understanding of the working-class tradition in the GDR. He was born in Hoyland Common near Barnsley, a mining village, where his father worked in the pits. Hines's upbringing imbued him with legitimacy since none other than Honecker himself shared the same background.

The remaining publications were once again classics. *Aufbau* published *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe and works by Henry Fielding; there were also editions of works by Sir Thomas Malory (*Insel-Verlag*), Robert Louis Stevenson (*Dieterich'sche Verlagsanstalt*) and Henry James (*Aufbau*) (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). The only works selected were those considered ideologically acceptable to the present socio-cultural politics and those that corresponded to the political perspective of socialism.

While the publication of British literature was reduced to politically correct titles, the politburo now intended to get rid of the boldest and most serious critics who occupied their own literary circles. In hindsight Klaus Höpcke (1995) noted that Wolf Biermann, although once a fine poet, had to be dismissed for his anti-communist ballads. Honecker (1965) stated to the Central Committee: 'Biermann's so-called poems reveal his petty bourgeois anarchistic behaviour, his arrogance, scepticism and cynicism.' In response to Honecker's views, Leslie Colitt (1966: 20) asserted on 23 January 1966 in the *New York Times* article

'East German Poet Is Called Betrayer' that 'Biermann the successor to the late poet and playwright, Berthold Brecht, has been denounced by the East German Communist party for his alleged "betrayal of the basic positions of Socialism.'" Recognising the seriousness of the situation, Biermann stopped ridiculing the GDR government in his poetry. He maintained unequivocally his position as a confirmed socialist and stated that he planned to stay in the GDR. But Biermann had smuggled his poems and protest songs to West German publishers following his reprimand, and so the party were not convinced (Stamp Miller 1999: 81). Because of the intensely political nature of his poems, the Department of Agitation had collected a considerable number of documents on Biermann. In April 1973, a plan was drawn up with the purpose of withdrawing Biermann's citizenship. The idea was to get Biermann to violate his civic duties while staying abroad in West Germany. In case he should not want to travel, a scenario was to be planned for his immediate arrest (Emmerich 2009: 252). Eventually, in 1976, the IG Metall (West-German trade union) offered Biermann a gig in Cologne, West Germany. This was the opportunity the politburo had been waiting for, and Biermann's concert was (as expected and hoped) broadcast on 13 November 1976 in West Germany.⁵⁷

This outburst gave the regime the excuse they needed to declare Biermann's behaviour officially unruly, and his citizenship was withdrawn three days later. *Neues Deutschland* reported that, in reference to the state law, Biermann's expatriation was the result of *grober Verletzung* (gross violation) of his civil duties (ND 1976: 2). The regime officially claimed that Biermann's exile 'was due to the ferment of opposition which might endanger the country's internal security' (Lentz 1976: 1).

Returning to English literature, under the impression of Biermann expatriation GDR's publishers became more cautious. The list of contemporary British writers published in the mid-1970s remained short and included Barry Hines and Peter Lovesey. Lovesey's novels are categorised as entertaining thrillers in the tradition of the Golden Age of mystery writing. His historical crime novels were set in Victorian London's underworld, indirectly hinting at the failings of the capitalist world. However, Lovesey was barely recognised in the GDR. Only two of his titles were issued: *Detektiv in Boxershosen* | *The Detective Wore Silk Drawers* (Aufbau,

⁵⁷ Biermann was critical of the GDR regime and told his audience during his concert: 'The [East German] citizens are gradually going to sleep, and in reality it is just a few party functionaries who are in control.' (BA DY 30 IV 2 2.033.3 1976).

1974) and *Der Urlaub eines Übergeschnappten* | *Mad Hatter's Holiday* (Aufbau, 1977) (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013; Hoefft and Streller 1985: 380).

In 1975, twenty-one British titles were issued, and in 1976 seventeen works found their way into the bookstores (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). Among these were works by Norman Lewis, who was published in large numbers. A staggering 50,000 copies of the first edition of his novel *Flucht vor einem dunklen Äquator* | *Flight from a Dark Equator* were issued by Volk und Welt. The book was classed as an *antikolonialer Roman* (anticolonial novel) and recognised as *sozialistisch-realistische Alternative* (an alternative to Socialist Realism) (ARGUS). Seehase (1986: 419-21) argued in *Englische Literatur im Überblick* that 'in contrast to previously observed trends of bourgeois British literature, an alternative literary style has arisen during the 1950s.' He postulated that the new British literature (i.e. works from the likes of Lewis) was inspired by the progressive development of anti-imperialist national liberation movements, the continuing decline of colonialism and by the fact that socialism is the designated world-system which will soon ask questions about the class struggle of the British workers and their potential allies with new intensity.⁵⁸ The scholar (420) envisioned a postcolonial crisis in British literature owing to a weakening of the political focus on class struggle. He reasoned that the failure was 'to be rooted in strategies of the ruling English bourgeois class to escalate economic conflicts.' The themes found in postcolonial literature that most interested the GDR's publishers and literary critics dealt with culture, class, society, identity, race, ethnicity and gender. As Rafey Habib (2005: 739) argues in *A History of Literary Criticism: From Plato to the Present*:

Postcolonial criticism has embraced a number of aims: most fundamentally, its aims are to re-examine the history of colonialism from the perspective of the colonised; to determine the economic, political, and cultural impact of colonialism on both the colonised peoples and the colonising powers; to analyse the process of decolonisation; and, above all, to participate in the goals of political liberation, which includes equal access to material resources, the contestation of forms of domination, and the articulation of political and cultural identities.

⁵⁸ Seehase (1986: 421) hinted at Margaret Thatcher's role and argued that 'British socialist-realist prose' was 'sold almost exclusively through the capitalist book market' in England 'with its ideological watchdogs.' He concluded that 'such regulations could not remain without influence on its authors.'

The GDR's postcolonial theorists saw that the issue of identity was central to the discussion and recognised that 'the major themes in the works written in the postcolonial period have been the fragmentation and identity crisis experienced by the once colonised peoples and the important impacts of colonialism on the indigenous' (Dizayi 2015: 1002).⁵⁹ Thus, novelists such as Norman Lewis and Doris Lessing were able to reveal the circumstances of the identity crises that arose in Britain after 1918. As Saman A. H. Dizayi has put it: their writings 'rarely avoided or escaped from the presence of diasporas and those in exile and matters that connected to identity' (1002). Such novels were inclined to deconstruct the power of the sign by highlighting the insignificance of any claim to the idea of a fixed truth in western realist novels in the 19th century (1002). Publishers in the GDR felt obliged to support anti-imperialist forces in Britain, while at the same time the British population suffered under Tory ideology. Anti-colonial and anti-imperialist British writers were carefully chosen, scrutinised for their political endeavours and examined for their class-consciousness. This was intended to prove their compassion to fellow socialists.

The Decline (1980 to 1989)

During the 1980s, the GDR faced increasing criticism from intellectuals, fuelled by the deteriorating economy. What was new about the 1980s was not the growth of opposition—nor even the growth of discontent—but rather a combination of other factors.

Fulbrook (1995: 201) sees that these included

the changing organisational forms and cultural orientations of a growing minority of political activists, who were seeking not to overthrow the regime, nor even to escape from the GDR, but rather to improve it from within; the changing domestic political context of their actions, including both the growth of structural spaces within which to act, and the changing responses of the state to what the party denigrated as 'hostile-negative forces' (*feindlich-negative Kräfte*); and, finally, a changing aspects of the international context.

These factors are interdependent, and it seems impossible to separate economic performance from politics. The authorities increasingly had to deal with the unavailability of raw materials for the construction industry and consumer goods; hence, they faced

⁵⁹ See: Syeda Saba Batool, 'Post-Colonial Identity Crisis [...]', in *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*, Vol. 4, Issue 4 (2016: 625-32)

mounting discontent among the population and increasing disapproval of neo-Stalinism. The Party felt pressured and, in order that their claim to power continue to go unchallenged, they readjusted their socio-cultural policy in a manner that in turn influenced literary life. Both the deteriorating economy and the ambiguity of socio-cultural politics and decision-making processes were relevant to the assessment and evaluation of literature (see chapter 4). This can be seen in the treatment of local writers, as well as the ways in which British works were legitimised during the late 1970s and early 1980s.

While local writers faced a mounting number of restraints, the process for evaluating British literature took a slightly different turn. The simple fact that writers who were critical of the regime departed the GDR for West Germany during the second half of the 1970s, meant that the remaining writers were those who were more willing to accept the claims of the regime. Therefore, an interesting situation presented itself. While the literary style of contemporary British and Irish works chosen for publication seemed to shift from social-realist politically motivated to modernist writings, local literature did not catch hold of the spirit of mounting activism that prevailed during the 1980s, and therefore remained stagnant. However, the development of a more liberal publication policy for British and Irish literature was subtle. It began with the translation of well-selected works of British and Irish modernism towards the end of the 1970s, which could undoubtedly be interpreted as problematic in various ways. This started in 1977 with James Joyce's collection of stories *Dubliners* and T.S. Eliot's *Gedichte | Poems*, followed in 1979 by Joyce's *Ein Portrait des Künstlers als junger Mann | A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and T.S. Eliot's *Old Possums Katzenbuch | Old Possum's Book of Practical Cate*, all published by *Volk und Welt* (BA DR -1 2013 ARGUS; Tschörtner 1987: 386-388). These publications established Joyce and Eliot's literary reputations in the GDR and enabled the publication of modernist titles such as Joyce's *Ulysses*, which followed in 1980 (in two volumes by *Volk und Welt*) (Tschörtner 1987: 115). Among the contemporary authors translated and published were also Susan Hill (in 1982); P.D. James (in 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987 and 1989); William Golding (in 1980, 1984, 1985 and 1986) and Samuel Beckett (in 1989) (BA DR -1 2013 ARGUS).

A natural question then follows: Why were some modernist British and Irish writers legitimised while local socialist authors were suppressed? In order to shed light on the issue, one needs to look at a number of factors: the socio-cultural developments that occurred during the 1980s; the manipulation of local writers by party politics; and the foreboding

conflict with intellectuals in the GDR. This change involved authors and scholars alike. In this respect, Sigrid Stahl, a literary critic, asks an apposite question: 'What happened to the individual [writer] after twenty years of socialist progress?' (Kaufmann 1986: 149). A possible answer might be found in Emmerich's words (1991: 239) when he argues:

The confrontation with reality results in a lack of perspective. Expectations impinge on the prosaic nature of life [...] and stand in the way of the poetically unachieved. Therefore [the] literature [of the GDR] has little chance to affect the sensitivities of individuals. The literary perspectives are seen from a socialist point of view although they are not always enforceable by the working-class and their party.

Unlike many intellectuals, the majority of socialist writers who did not leave the GDR had convinced themselves that the ideology of the GDR would lead to utopia. As a consequence, they were no longer able to distinguish the stagnation and alienation of real existing socialism from the original idea of true socialism. They remained trapped in the prevailing political discourse. Kaufmann claims that 'they [the authors in the GDR] conserved the idea of true socialism as the 'illusion of the epoch by [literarily] encasing the original zeal of socialism into the shrine of Utopia' (Kaufmann 1986: 149-50). Helga Königsdorf, a GDR writer, expounds further on this state of affairs:

We did not accept the system, but we loved utopia, [...] and [...] we were hoping to get there [...]. We wanted to shake the system in order to change it but not to abandon the country, which was connected with our utopia. The more painful the differences between dream and reality were, the more the obligation to intervene. Precisely this suffering was the source of our work, which increased the grief and left us with self-importance. And this grief we shared with our readers. The important role of literature is not explained with a sort of replacement function but with its close attachment with [our] country (Petersell 2010).

This type of literature is referred to *Sinngebungsliteratur* (literature of interpretation), albeit Julia Hells (1992: 308) calls this style 'legitimising discourse.' She places the reassessment of GDR literature in the wider context of the *Interlektuellendebatte* (debate of the intelligentsia) during the 1990s, and comes to the conclusion that writing in the orbit of power made discourse impossible. Klaus-Michael Bogdal underlines this notion:

Schirmmacher and Greiner suggested that at the moment of terror over the disastrous consequences [for not complying...] there was no possibility for any controversial discourse outside of power (the regime). Therefore those writers who no longer spoke up understood the relationship between power and literature (Christa Wolf, Christoph Hein, Heiner Müller) [...]. (Hell 1991: 333)

Marcel Reich-Ranicki did not use laconic terms such as *Sinngebungsliteratur* or 'legitimising discourse.' For him, every East German writer who stayed in the GDR was partly responsible for what happened in the country because he or she lived and published there, and because his or her work passed censorship. Uwe Saeger, a former GDR writer who is still writing lyrics, confirms Reich-Ranicki's argument by stating that the literature of the GDR was conformist. He argued that it was believed that writers had a particular value because they felt tolerated, and this was underlined by the regime actively encouraging writers to join the class struggle (Petersell 2010). 'They [the authors] participate in the democratic development and the re-education of the people and are generously supported in their literary activities by the workers' and peasants' state' (Kleines Lexikon A-Z 1959: 189). This explains why the writers' own understanding of their role revolved around the assumption that literature served a social and educational function, something that led them to highlight the cultural significance of their works. Many poets who stayed in the GDR felt a deep loyalty to the state that they still saw as the true anti-fascist Germany, and this loyalty informed their self-understanding as artists (Owen 2001: 63). With reference to this attitude, Heiner Müller stated that he could imagine his life as a writer in the GDR only, and this country was not West Germany (Petersell 2010). Writers and most politicians shared a common ideological end, but they had different ideas about how it would be achieved and how literature could be useful. Antagonism developed between writers on the one hand and the official guardians of culture and policy on the other, with writers re-enforcing their sense of themselves as an important intellectual elite. One writer's proclamation from the late seventies reveals the writer's self-understanding of their own practice:

I am a writer in the GDR, because I live and work here. [...] But I am also a German writer, I was always just who I was, connected with everything, positive and negative, everything which was written in German and is written in German. [...] And again, the existence of literature is independent from the existence of realms. [...] East German

literature cannot be disregarded: it is evolving and the result is German literature.

(Peters 1993: 7)

The regime continuously insisted that GDR's own literature maintain an educational function. When Honecker (1976: 102) unequivocally emphasised the educational role of literature during the 9th Party Conference in 1976, he stated that 'Art and culture are able to contribute much to the consolidation of socialist convictions and ignite in the hearts of the people the pure fire of communist ideals.' Five years later, at the tenth party conference in 1981, he was less enthusiastic, saying that literature was 'a part of our ever-changing reality which has caused change at the same time' (1981: 107). Now, one may well ask a simple question: Did literature lead people to believe in a utopia, or was literature the instigator of social or even political change?

If we accept that the state overestimated the power of literature, the reasons why the SED regime felt it necessary to suppress non-conformist literature become obvious. As a consequence, during the entire existence of the GDR, undesirable content was not discussed in any great detail but quietly suppressed. The importance attributed to literature made censorship a necessity, though. The literary elite wrote in the certainty that they were creating and supporting a consciousness-forming movement, and this was something that needed close surveillance in the eyes of the regime. As Jurek Becker (1992), author and filmmaker, put it: 'Again and again books were able to create turmoil or to intervene in the social debate.' In this respect, Christoph Hein, former GDR writer, translator and essayist, sees two objectives behind the process of forming social consciousness.

[Writers] were harassed and literature was threatened from two angles—from censorship and from the readers' expectations. The pressure of the regime could be avoided, as the system's reaction was rather predictable [...] although there was always the jeopardy of getting lost in dissidence. [...] But we could never escape the expectations of our readership. [...] Required was not the committed critical, but the extreme political writer. And that is dangerous for literature. In the GDR Proust would have had no chance at all. (Petersell 2010: 6)

Uwe Grüning (1994: 47), former GDR writer and essayist, confirms Hein's notion when he argues that this kind of expectation from readers was due to the replacement function of literature. In a spiteful review, he opined that literature had three writers, the originator

(writer), the censor and the reader. According to him, the content varied depending on the current political climate and its effect on censorship: 'Most poets did not intend to write between the lines, albeit the addition of censors and readers alike to find some sort of meaning between the lines unavoidably produced some meaning which was not intended' (47). However, it remains uncertain if this was always true. More serious was the fact that every reader knew that each book he bought had passed censorship. We could also argue that the book existed because of censorship. As Jurek Becker (1992: 77) has reasoned:

Every single book was either permitted or prohibited, there was no alternative. Even if a poet wanted to write something that had nothing to do with politics or censorship [...], he had to deal with the accusation that he only did so to circumvent a possible rejection by the censor. This is one of the most serious consequences of censorship, namely that literature that was not suppressed carried the stigma it had been allowed.

The interpretation of a work's content was the *raison d'être* of any literary criticism written in the GDR. Aspects of writing such as creativity, artistic sensibility or imagination derived their significance only by bringing the actual message into focus. Again, literary critics saw novels as a mere means of Marxist-Leninist education.⁶⁰ When studying historical sources such as censorship reports, assessments or afterwords it becomes apparent that there was no education without the consensus of the Party. At this point, it is vital to reiterate the regime's role in the Marxist-Leninist education of the people and its self-proclaimed task of social activation. The social-pedagogical role of literature and the methods implemented for its control made writers into vessels for the Party's objectives. We may conclude that, in order to secure their self-determined role within the socialist framework and stay in power, the Party felt that it had no alternative but to supervise the literary elite. This reduced the position of readers to that of *entmündigte Marionetten* (incapacitated puppets); they were in need of a socialist education and therefore told what to read and how to read it. Antonia Grunenberg (1992: 79), emeritus political scientist, deals with the outcome of this: 'It is almost a provocation that the readership in the GDR was always sworn to the level of "the positive hero", despite generational change and literary achievements.'

⁶⁰ Fürther reading: Haase, H.; Hartinger, W.; Heukenkamp, U.; Jaramatz J.; Pischel and Schlenstedt, D. (1984) *DDR-Literaturentwicklung in der Diskussion*. In *Weimarer Beiträge* (1984), No. 10, p. 1590.

While writers in the GDR were experiencing little cultural-political change and were trapped in utopia, publishers such as Volk und Welt continued to look for British and Irish works, preferably modernist writings [with socialist leanings] (Lokatis 2008: 13-18). According to my research, the number of *Gutachter* (reviewers) of British literature between 1976 and 1986 was approximately thirty (these were mostly academics). Among them were Hans Petersen (editor at Volk und Welt), Joachim Krehayn (editor at Volk und Welt), Anselm Schlösser (GDR professor at Humboldt University, Berlin, chair in literature), Wolfgang Wicht, Günter Gentsch and Erwin Pracht (GDR professor at Humboldt University, Berlin, chair in aesthetics and art sciences) (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). The books published during the late 1970s and early 1980s included works by Graham Greene, T.S. Eliot, P.D. James, James Joyce and Virginia Woolf. Every work required an astute Marxist-Leninist interpretation; this furnished the scaffolding for a systematic Marxist analysis that attributed social-cultural literary value to the work for the benefit of socialist readers. Literature dismissed as formalist during earlier years was revisited and subsequently justified by using the argument that 'British contemporary literature requires a critical socialist dispute by analysing the contents under a Marxist point of view' (Wicht 1981: 8-9). For instance, Wicht claimed that Virginia Woolf, James Joyce and T.S. Eliot were of value to a Marxist society because their writing demonstrated the ideological struggle within Great Britain's bourgeois culture (9).

It was the publisher Volk und Welt who initiated new translations of a variety of modernist British and Irish works in the GDR. They were the first publisher in the GDR to publish works by James Joyce (in 1977, 1979, 1980, 1982 and 1984); T.S. Eliot (in 1977, 1979, 1982 and 1984) and Samuel Beckett (in 1989). Volk und Welt were well connected and co-operated successfully with censors and *Gutachter* on various political levels. Karl Heinz Berger (GDR writer and external reviewer for Volk und Welt) wrote *Gutachten* for T.S. Eliot's selected works and Patrick Boyle's short stories, published as *Nachts sind alle Katzen grau* (Volk und Welt 1986). Christoph Trilse Finkelstein (member of the *Schriftstellerverband der DDR* or Writers Association of the GDR) and Norbert Krenzlin (German philosopher and esthetician, GDR professor at Humboldt University, Berlin, chair in history) wrote an assessment of Beckett's *Dramenreihe Spiele* | *Plays* in 1980 for the 1989 publication. Wicht was responsible for the *Gutachten* for T.S. Eliot's selected essays, published as *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* | *Selected Essays* (Volk und Welt, 1982); Graham Greene's *Ein ausgebrannter Fall* |

A Burned-Out-Case among other works (Volk und Welt, 1981); and Erwin Pracht for James Joyce's *Ulysses* (Volk und Welt, 1980) (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013; Tschörtner 1987: 386-388).

The positive comments of the Marxist literary critics, which were sometimes employed as *Gutachter* undoubtedly played an important role in legitimising modernist works. Influential critics were Marxist intellectuals of high standing, who were mostly members of the Party. One persuasive example is Günther Kretschmer's evaluation of *Ulysses*. Kretschmer was a journalist for a leading Party paper, and he wrote positively about the 1980 edition of *Ulysses*: 'U [sic] undoubtedly belongs to world literature, former objections are considered little relevance due to today's more liberal view.' This reinforced the arguments laid down by the *Gutachter* (Erwin Pracht) and gave Joyce's work a final legitimacy (BA DR-1 7321 1980: 708-776).

During the 1980s, the total annual number of British and Irish titles published did not increase from previous years. Instead, an increasing number of published works were modernist; these gradually replaced the social novels and anti-imperial and anti-colonial works. We can speculate that the shift in publication programmes was not due to the political courage of noncompliant individuals (publishers, *Gutachter* or censors) as has often been claimed, but rather that the shift was due to a sizable minority of intellectuals who experimented with forms of nonconformity within the ideological and political discourse of the time—individuals who wished to change the climate in the GDR, but not the system.

This was not necessarily political, however; the establishment of activist groups in the 1980s was a unique development that occurred under specific structural and cultural conditions. More widespread was the simple failure of the regime to persuade people to passively assent to the overall goals of the state. Even though there was a degree of differentiated support for at least some specific policies and aspects of life in the GDR, the lack of freedom to travel in particular attracted criticism. Yet, overall, the Party did, ultimately, change patterns of behaviour, expectations, and attitudes. What was important for the publication of British modernist works was less the (possible) opposition of publishers, *Gutachter* and censors, and more the emergence of new forms of organisation: the development of an incipient civil society in response to changing circumstances and regime responses during the course of the 1980s.

As the economy's demise accelerated during the 1980s, and the standard of life deteriorated, it became more and more obvious that socialism and its ideology were failing. Existential problems in the GDR were publicly articulated and expressed (Fulbrook 1995: 248). A steady minority of intellectuals criticized, usually from a Marxist point of view, the shortcomings of the neo-Stalinist form of regime which existed in the GDR. In contrast to the dissident intelligentsias of Poland and Czechoslovakia, the GDR's intellectuals failed to command a broader following among the professional classes, or to create alliances with members of the working-class. Intellectuals in the GDR wanted to change the state from within, which ultimately led to a certain degree of nonconformity rather than antagonism. This expressed itself in a willingness to review British and Irish literary works (some of which had previously been stigmatised as formalism) from a revised Marxist-Leninist perspective.

Paper shortages and the lack of foreign currency were further reducing the chances of publication. Therefore, it is remarkable that titles were chosen the publication of which involved copyright licenses. These licenses were expensive and required financial backing that the state could not provide. It is surprising that a country struggling through economic and political demise spent West-German Deutsche Mark on publishing modernist British and Irish writers, instead of investing the funds in raw materials. Volk und Welt spent a considerable amount of exchange currency on copyright licenses (in particular for *Ulysses* by James Joyce), an act that was condoned and finally approved by individuals in responsible positions of authority within the ministry. To comprehend how this was possible, one must look at the unwitting effect of the Party's treatment of nonconformists.

Those who thought differently were growing into a significant presence, and many of these individuals sympathised with activist groups supported by the Protestant Church. Even though they could not openly express their opinions, their presence grew gradually among members of the party and employees at the Ministry of Culture, supported by younger bureaucrats who were replacing the older *apparatchiks* (Party members).

These political developments led to a situation in which, after the publication of *Ulysses* in 1980, a few more modernist British and Irish works were published in the years to come. The list included the following additional works: T.S Eliot's *Ausgewählte Aufsätze, Vorträge und Essays* | *Selected Essays and Popular Lectures* (licensed by Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt a. M. and published by Volk und Welt); James Joyce's *Kammermusik – Lyriksammlung* | *Chamber Music* (Insel Verlag) and *Stephen der Held* | *Stephen Hero* (Volk und Welt); Oscar

Wilde's *Lehren und Sprüche* | *Lectures and Sayings* (Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar); and Susan Hill's *Seltsame Begegnung* | *Strange Meeting* (Aufbau). The classics published in 1982 were John Donne's poems *Zwar ist auch Dichtung Sünde* | *Poems* (Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig) and Thomas Nashe's *Der glücklose Reisende oder das Leben des Jack Wilton* | *The Unfortunate Traveller* (Aufbau) (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013; Hoeft and Streller 1985a: 438; Tschörtner 1987: 386-388).

In 1983, the publishers' lists included the following: Doris Lessing's *Afrikanische Tragödie* | *The Grass is Singing* (licensed by Michael Joseph, London and by S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M., published by Volk und Welt); Joan Aiken's *Die Kristallkrähe* | *The Rips of Death* (Aufbau); Oscar Wilde's tales *Die Märchen* and *Das Gespenst von Canterville* | *The Ghost of Canterville* (published by Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar). Also the list included Winifred Holtby and his work *Die Leute von Kiplington* | *South Riding: An English Landscape* (licensed by William Collins Sons & Co., Glasgow and published by Volk und Welt); P.D James with *Ein reizender Job für eine Frau* | *An Unsuitable Job for a Woman* (licensed by Faber & Faber, London and Rainer Wunderlich Verlag Hermann Leins & Co., Tübingen, published by Volk und Welt); Graham Greene with his novel *Die Stunde des Komödianten* | *The Comedian* (Aufbau); John Fowles with his work *Die Geliebte des französischen Leutnants* | *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (Aufbau); and Virginia Woolf with *Orlando* (Insel Verlag) (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013; Hoeft and Streller 1985a: 188; Tschörtner 1987: 365-367).

The following year, 1984, one could find works such as William Golding's *Äquatortaufe* | *Rites of Passage* (Volk und Welt); Aldous Huxley's *Das Genie und die Göttin* | *The Genius and the Goddess* (Insel); Edgar Wallace's *Der Pfeifer* | *The Squeaker* (Aufbau); John Fowles' *Der Ebenholzsturm* | *The Ebony Tower* (Aufbau); and T.S. Eliot's plays published as *Stücke: Mord im Dom* | *Plays* (Volk und Welt) in bookstores throughout the GDR (BA DR 1 ARGUS 2013; Hoeft and Streller 1985a: 188; Tschörtner 1987: 367-369).⁶¹

Between 1985 and 1988, however, the publication of British and Irish modernist writing was in decline. There was a smaller number of new titles available (from authors such as P.D. James, Doris Lessing, Virginia Woolf, and, in 1989, Samuel Beckett [BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013]) but despite many efforts by publishers to filter in new titles, the deterioration of the economy and the corrosion of the financial system in the GDR ended the prosperous phase

⁶¹ For the complete lists, see the Appendix.

of British modernist literature. It became increasingly difficult for publishers to acquire sufficient allowances for paper and copyright licenses. Even though political activists had been a force for destabilisation and change in the GDR throughout the 1980s, publishers seeking to publish contemporary English works were still deterred by the very real risk of prosecution and other serious repercussions. At this point, it is worth stating that, until the last and final modification of the print approval procedures on 1 December 1989, it was still necessary to obtain a legitimising assessment by a Marxist *Gutachter* (Grünbaum 2000: 45). Therefore, if Klaus Höpcke claims today that this new procedure was the end of censorship, or as he calls it ‘the abolition of censorship (*Abschaffung der Zensur*)’, than this is just another attempt to create lasting legends. Although the procedure for acquiring the *Druckgenehmigung* changed after 1989, censorship remained in force until the reunification in October 1990.⁶² All in all, the issuing of British and Irish modernist works by a small number of writers remains a significant contribution to the history of publishing in the GDR. Under the circumstances, we might conclude that this achievement is a notable accomplishment by a small group of intellectuals. We may also agree according to previous findings, namely that literature (whatever the genre) was not to reveal societal ambiguities, contradict Marxist principles and draw a positive portrayal of decadence. Hence, the political significance (to publish modernist British and Irish literature) needs further examination in chapter 2 as the unrestrained claim to power of the Party applied in cultural and literature politics as it did in all other areas of life. The Party enacted standards and controlled their implementation. To enforce directives, the Party relied on a complex and comprehensive organisational system of literary control. Chapter 2 deals with this specific system of control and analyses the political reasons for the publication of modernist British and Irish works. It examines the prevailing politics, Marxist principles, cultural strategies and methods of control between 1945 and 1989, which eventually led to the publication of modernist works from the British Isles.

⁶² See: Robert Grünbaum, ‘Trügerischer Schein. Anmerkungen zum „Ende der Buchzensur“ in der DDR im Jahr 1988’, in *Hallische Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte*, Heft 7, Martin-Luther-Universität, Rupieper, Halle-Wittenberg (2000: 45-56)

Chapter 2

Politics, Methods of Control and Censorship – Its Dealing with British and Irish Literature

Publishers in the GDR conducted a role quite different to that of their Western counterparts—firstly, they functioned as mediator between authors, readers, state institutions, and their own predilections, and, secondly, they operated in a market governed by a planned and centralised economy. In order to fathom the complex dependencies and interrelations that existed between publisher and state, it is imperative to study the correlation between Soviet occupancy, the governing party and bureaucratic institutions (firstly in the *Sowjetisch besetzte Zone* or Soviet Occupation Zone [SBZ for short] and later in the GDR). This section examines the policies and bureaucratic institutions that were managed by the Party in order to gain control over the publishing industry and book trade in East Germany. It uses this historic analysis to offer an understanding of the workings of bureaucratic institutions with respect to the release of British and Irish literature. It also deals with the interests of the ruling party: its relation to publishers, its actions and its policies. Furthermore, it examines the political reception of British and Irish works and assesses the reasons why these books passed censorship.

After the Second World War, and indeed by June 1945, each occupational power assumed control in its allocated zone. The powers initially pursued a policy that was dedicated to denazification and demilitarisation in preparation for the re-establishment of a democratic state. Despite the initial plan of democratising the whole of Germany, the SBZ was soon totally dominated, in political and economic terms, by the Soviet Union and the *Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland* (Soviet Military Administration in Germany, SMAD for short).⁶³

This administration introduced a new, far-reaching economic reform programme, which involved politics and industry. It included arrangements for German war reparations to the Soviet Union and the establishment of an administrative system that became increasingly centralised.

⁶³ See Peter Strunk, *Zensur und Zensoren: Medienkontrolle und Propagandapolitik unter sowjetischer Besatzungsherrschaft in Deutschland*, Vol. 2, Bildung und Wissenschaft, Akademie Verlag, Berlin (1996: 19-32).

The reform programme involved, from 30 October 1945, the immediate confiscation of businesses belonging to Nazi-leaders and the *Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschland*, NSDAP for short. In the following months, larger companies were converted into SAGs (*Sowjetische Aktiengesellschaft* or Soviet joint stock companies), and a lasting land reform was introduced which resulted in the expropriation of all privately-owned agricultural land over one hundred hectares. Until 1949, during the time of rebuilding in the SBZ, a licence (issued by the SMAD) was required for those who wished to print or publish. This was to prevent the dissemination of inflammatory pamphlets, publications exalting Nazism and works of defamation. Licensees must prove their independence from any former affiliation to the NSDAP and from any political involvement in Nazi organisations. In the SBZ the same rules applied for both those acquiring licences for the re-opening of previously existing publishers, and for those starting up new publishing houses.

Given the strong link to the Soviet Union, it is natural that all publications in the SBZ fell under Russian legislation—this first included administrative rules and guidelines for pre-censorship. Peter Strunk (1996: 92-103) describes pre-censorship a process in which a chief editor became personally responsible for the entire content created in or chosen by a publishing house. As a pre-censor, the chief editorial was a legal person who was determined by the law to decide if a publication was appropriate for the application of print permission.

During the summer of 1945, when the SMAD licensed the first German party newspapers, guidelines for the implementation of any applicable approval procedure were not in a place and nor were there any directives concerning the practice of censorship. On 2 August 1945, a directive (Ordinance No. 19) was issued which foresaw the implementation of a comprehensive control mechanism aimed at publishing operations in the SBZ; this greatly affected the regulation of the jurisdiction in East Germany. Consequently, the SMAD issued strict procedures concerning the publication and printing of newspapers, books, magazines, posters, leaflets and brochures. Approval procedures were further delineated with the implementation of uniform procedures for the conduct of pre-censorship. On 18 August 1945, these were covered by a supplementary directive, Ordinance No. 29, to further regulate and define 'the activities of the Division (Section) Propaganda and Censorship within the Political Department of

the Soviet Military Administration in Germany' (*über die Tätigkeit der Sektion Propaganda und Zensur der Politischen Abteilung der Sowjetischen Militäradministration in Deutschland*). The regulation required a custom-built organisation for the purpose of censorship. However, according to Strunk (92-103), the SMAD's procedures were outlined in superficial terms and did not detail or elaborate upon a well-considered concept.

When representatives of the allies met on 24 August 1945 in the *Kontrollrat* (Control Council) Major Ivan Filippov, who was in charge of censorship in the SBZ, could not present a specific Soviet model concerning the establishment of a *Direktorat zur Informationskontrolle* or Board of Information Control. Instead he expected tangible suggestions to come from the Americans, who had already established a similar authority (McClure 1945). In fact, there is some evidence that the Soviets copied elements from the American media control policy in order to establish their own information (propaganda) administration (Strunk 1996: 93). Censorship measures were introduced to re-educate the population; the aim was to support the formation of a socialist state after the Soviet model wherein one communist party would seize the reins, preparing the ground for the assumption of total power. As Kurt Sontheimer (1990: 176) notes, the entire process of restructuring and re-education had been decreed and imposed from above and was realised by force with the help of Soviet instruments of power, regardless of the desires and interests of the population.

By the summer of 1945 editors of three major German newspapers had already gained some first-hand experience with freshly appointed Soviet censors. According to a German informant to the American military government, censorship was initially down to 'subordinate female staff with very poor general education who fell down on the job' (Strunk 1996: 93).⁶⁴ Eventually officers with the rank of lieutenant or captain were put in charge of controlling newspapers, and these deputies were reporting to a superior officer in charge of Soviet censorship. Strunk (93-4) asserts: 'To prevent the possible

⁶⁴ Original text: „Es handelt sich um 'untergeordnete weibliche Kräfte mit sehr mangelhafter Allgemeinbildung', die ihrer Aufgabe nicht gewachsen waren.“ (Strunk 1996: 93)

Josef Pieper (1979: 79) remembers that for instance three intelligent *Komsomol-Mädels* (Komsomol-girls) were made responsible by the SMAD for the control of political articles and 'editorial improvements' of the East German daily *Neue Zeit*. Under this load of responsibility, 'they were always angst-ridden and collapsed regularly in convulsing sobbing.'

development of friendly relations [fraternisation] between censors [Soviets] and editors [Germans], officers were regularly replaced on a bi-annual basis, which led to an inevitable deterioration in the textual quality of the daily newspapers.' In addition, the officers in charge did not possess sufficient German language skills to undertake a detailed assessment of the political content they evaluated. Therefore, it is not surprising that the approach to how an assessment was accomplished differed greatly from officer to officer. Some articles had to be laboriously explained to the Soviet officials, which considerably delayed the censorship process (79; Dovifat 1947: 160; Mendelssohn 1945: 6; Gries 1947: 25)

Eventually the censorship process developed into an exceptionally time-consuming and laborious procedure as every printing and publishing operation became subject to comprehensive control and a strict monitoring process, which included the implementation of identical procedures for pre-censorship and final approval. The control extended to printers, radio stations, film studios, theatres, agencies and press offices in a manner that ultimately overextended the SMAD's capacities.

In order to improve the efficiency of censorship, the SMAD issued a new directive (Ordinance No. 17 from 27 July 1945) for the foundation of the *Deutsche Zentralverwaltung für Volksbildung* or 'German Central Administration of National Education' (DZVV for short). The DZVV was to institutionalise control and was in charge of monitoring the German press according to the Soviet model (Weber and Broszat 1993: 226-38). KPD (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* | German Communist Party) member Paul Wendel became head of the new organisation; Erwin Marquardt (of the German Social-democratic Party or SPD) was appointed deputy; and Johannes R. Becher (KPD) was assigned the post of third deputy by the Soviet allies. The DZVV was to act as the authority on propaganda and media and became the face of the SMAD's censorship department called *Abteilung Volksbindung* under the control of Pyotr Vasilievich Zolotukhin (SMAD). From October 1945 onwards, the DZVV was divided into four central departments: Schools, Universities and Sciences, Cultural Education, and General Art and Literature (Strunk 1996).

Censorship control by the DZVV expanded to include the entire media industry in the SBZ. The control mechanism encompassed subduing publishers, artists and broadcasters, which were empowered to assess and evaluate literary works for its relevance to socialist

readers. The DZVV was to develop and promote literature by *Hebung der Qualität durch Begutachtung und Beratung* (quality improvement through assessment and guidance) which involved the licensing of individual literary titles; they approved publication schedules and were responsible for the allocation of paper (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 8). The DZVV's assignment was also to 'organise GDR's book trade' and to provide a 'progressive [socialist] literature' (BA-GB 1 1951 100: 785). At the same time publishers were encouraged to concentrate on works by contemporary writers (Socialist Realist writers) from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for which they could apply for licences. A division within the DZVV's organisation, namely the *Abteilung Kulturelle Aufklärung* or 'Department for Cultural Education', was to control (and censor) the publishing industry. This new division took charge of the following units: Press and Internal Publications, Broadcast, Publishing, Pictorial Propaganda (until 1947), Education for Adults, Folklore and Cultural Leisure Activities, Central Youth Committee (until 1947) and Women's Committee (until 1947).

A sub-division within the publishing department, the so-called *Referat für Verlagswesen*, was founded to focus on publishers and their literary productions. This sub-division specifically controlled and monitored publishing licences for individual titles, production planning and the allocation of paper quotas (BA DR-2 1090 1946: 26). Known as *Oberreferat für Verlagswesen*, the organisation was further divided into several sub-units, each dealing with different tasks (BA DR-2 896 1946: 65-71).

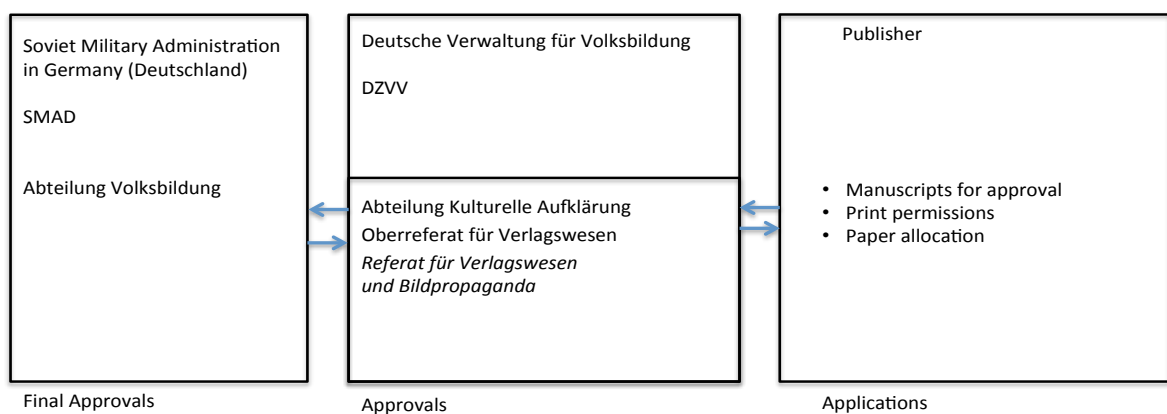


Fig 2.: Approval Procedure from August 1945

Figure 2 on the previous page demonstrates the re-worked approval procedure established by the SMAD. The re-defined control mechanism ran according to the following procedure: Each individual literary work required specific approval by the SMAD. Publishers submitted their manuscripts to the *Oberreferat für Verlagswesen* for further circulation within the DZVV, whose complex hierarchal system can be seen in figure 3 on the following page. The figure displays the organisational structure of the DZVV with its four departments. After review and approval by local assessors, the document in question was presented to representatives of the SMAD. Only when the censors at the SMAD deemed the work appropriate was the manuscript approved. With this endorsement, German publishers could apply for final print permission. To receive this final authorisation publishers were required to submit an official print application to the *Oberreferat für Verlagswesen* who applied to the SMAD for final endorsement. Only when the SMAD accepted the application and acknowledged the allocation of paper was the *Oberreferat für Verlagswesen* authorised to issue conclusive confirmation for printing. This rather complicated, time-consuming approval process eventually required a priority planning system: the review of designated Socialist Realist works from fellow socialist countries was accelerated. The *Oberreferat für Verlagswesen* was subordinate to the Department of Cultural Education. This organisational feature reveals the specific position of publishing houses and their publications within the intricate system used for the dissemination of information. The GDR's publication system was designed to follow the objective to develop a socialist education rather than to pursue the idea of a mere distribution channel for literature. Hence all British and Irish literature submitted for print approval by the publishing houses went through the department of Cultural Education, and were scrutinised for their contribution to the development of a socialist society.

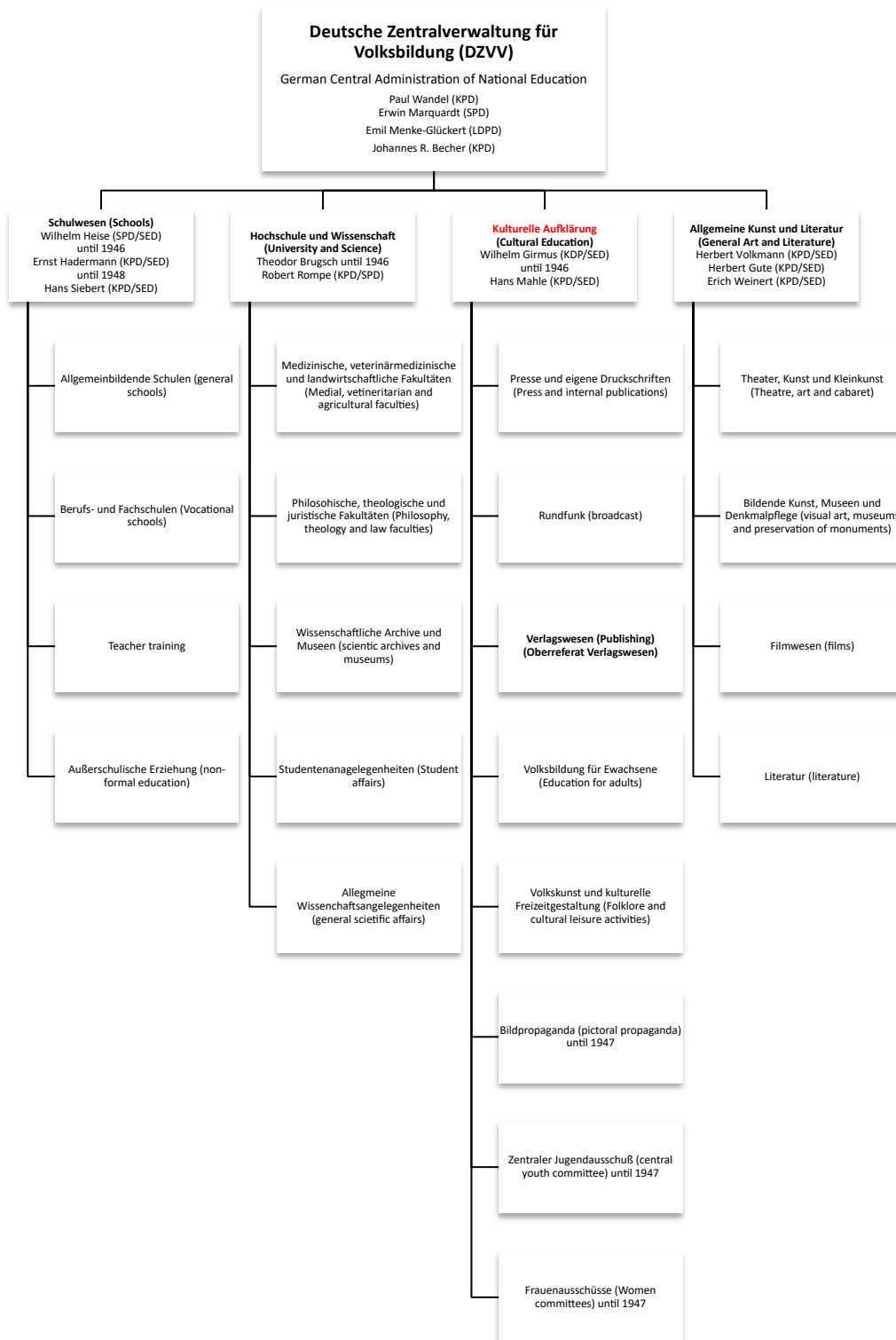


Fig.3: Hierarchy of the DZVV from October 1945 until March 1946.

Exercising Superior Supervision – The Cultural Advisory Council (1946 to 1947)

In April 1946, the DZVV established the *Kultureller Beirat* or Cultural Advisory Council in order to advance the evaluation and censorship process. This was deemed necessary because enquiries for print permissions were steadily increasing (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 4). The *Kultureller Beirat* consisted of 19 delegates from various backgrounds, such as writers or artists and representatives of administrations or mass organizations. Erich Weinert, vice president of DZVV, chaired the organisation and scheduled the first meeting on 3 June 1946 (BA DY 30 IV 2/11 1946: 496). Hereafter the Cultural Advisory Board met on a weekly basis and released politically correct works. Their involvement concerned the following: the pre-assessment of general literature; proofreading; the evaluation of literary manuscripts; and paper quotas. Three editorial departments were founded and assigned to the Cultural Advisory Board: the editorial concerning humanities; the editorial regarding art, art history and architecture; and the editorial dedicated to humanities and sciences. The Cultural Advisory Board acted as an advisory and steering committee (*Beratungs- und Lenkungsstelle*) and increasingly became the focus of criticism with regard to its staffing, its priorities and its procedures concerning the review of manuscripts (BA DR-2 1090 1947: 103-106). Figure 4 shows the organisational structure of the DZVV from 1946. The Cultural Advisory Board became subordinate to the Department for Publishing, while the *Oberreferat für Verlagswesen* was replaced. In order to facilitate a clearer understanding of the structure of the organisation, the additional three main departments (Schools, University and Sciences, and General Art and Literature) are omitted.

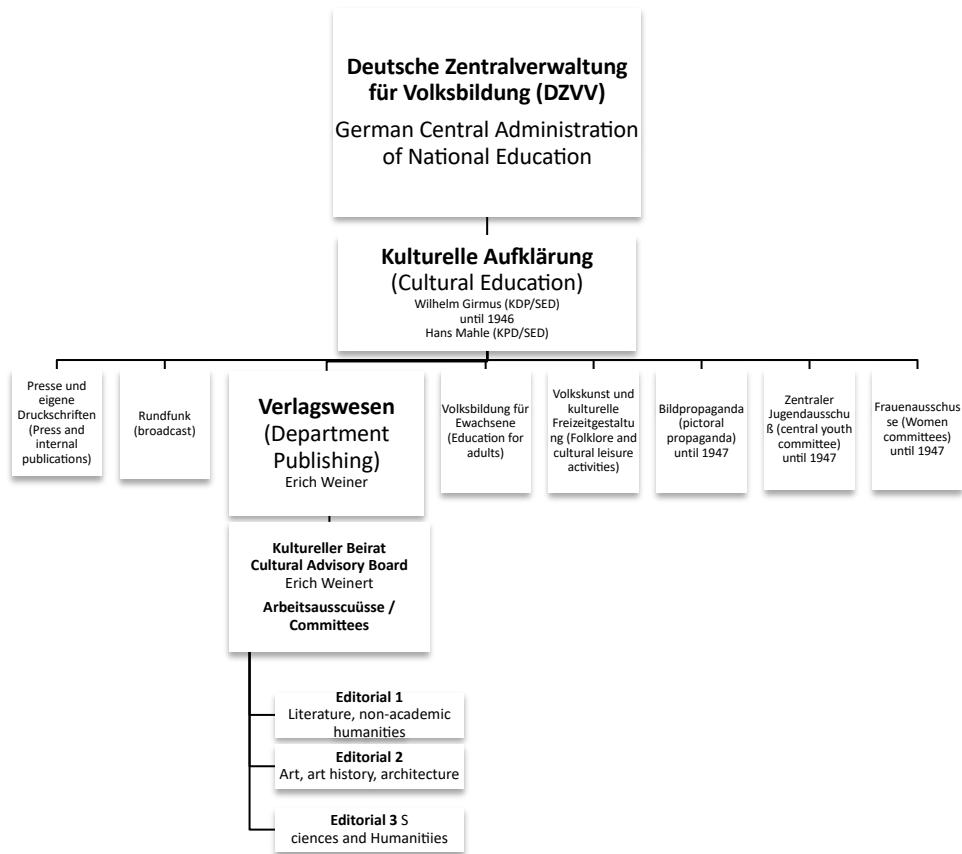


Fig. 4: Hierarchy of the Department Publishing with its Cultural Advisory Board from April 1946 until January 1947.

In order to improve control, the SMAD released a new directive shortly later, in January 1947 (Ordinance No. 25 on 25 January 1947). Possibly to strengthen the Cultural Advisory Board's position, they ordered the formation of a *Rat für ideologische Fragen des Verlagswesens* or 'Board for Ideological Issues in Publishing.' This additional board was again chaired by Erich Weinert and consisted of representatives from public life, trade unions, the Cultural League, the Organisation of the *Freie Deutsche Jugend* (FDJ) or 'Free German Youth', the Women's Committee, universities, public libraries and the *Deutscher Verlagsverband* or 'German Publishers' Association.' The panel's tasks primarily included the control, assessment and appraisal of ideological content in literary works. But they were also in charge of publishing plans, the inspection and monitoring of editorial staff, proposals concerning works to be published, the training of authors and the sourcing of new writing talent, all in accordance with cultural-political considerations. Archival documents (BA DR-2 1055 1947) bear witness to the fact that the Cultural Advisory Board sported a rather comprehensive constitution, hinting at its expansive apparatus and thus

long processing times. The organs of the Cultural Advisory Board were the Chairman's Committee; the Main Commission; the specialised sectorial committees with six working teams (known as *Arbeitsausschüsse*) that were responsible for science, fiction, reference books, music, art and youth literature; the Security Board; the Paper Allocation Committee; and the *Geschäftsstellen* or 'field offices' (BA DR-2 1055 1947). The *Arbeitsausschüsse* or 'Working Committees' were responsible for the assessment of manuscripts submitted by publishers. Once a manuscript was considered for publication it was handed over to the *Propagandaabteilung* or 'Department of Propaganda' at the SMAD (Gamsel 1995: 125-6). They made the final decision, and the results were recorded (121).

The Committee's *Einspruchsstelle* or 'Appeal Body' became the Cultural Advisory Board's ultimate organ for censorship; they were in charge of the decision-making process and therefore of all permit applications. Permit applications were categorised as follows: Category I involved texts that were *vordringlich zu befürworten* (priority to endorse) dealing with literary, political, academic or social content; Category II concerned publications that were *vorläufig zurückzustellen* (subject to postponement); Category III involved 'rejects', in German *nicht zu befürworten* (not to be endorsed); and Category IV was aimed at publications that were subject to amendment, called *lektoratsmäßig zu bearbeiten* (editorial changes required) (BA DR-2 1091 1947: 144). Given the fact that the Soviets authorised the allocation of paper needed for printing, attaining print approval from the SMAD was a major challenge for the *Einspruchsstelle*. Hence the final hurdle of paper allocation became the very instrument of ultimate censorship (7). Between October 1947 and March 1950, 12,125 manuscripts from 120 publishers were processed. The Board declined 3,373 manuscripts and approved 8,752 (BA DR-2 680 1950: 689; Barck, Langemann and Lokatis 1997: 29-30). The complex hierarchy of the censorship organisation is shown in the simplified chart below. It gives a sense of the opaque, barely intelligible, deficient and anonymous censorship process.

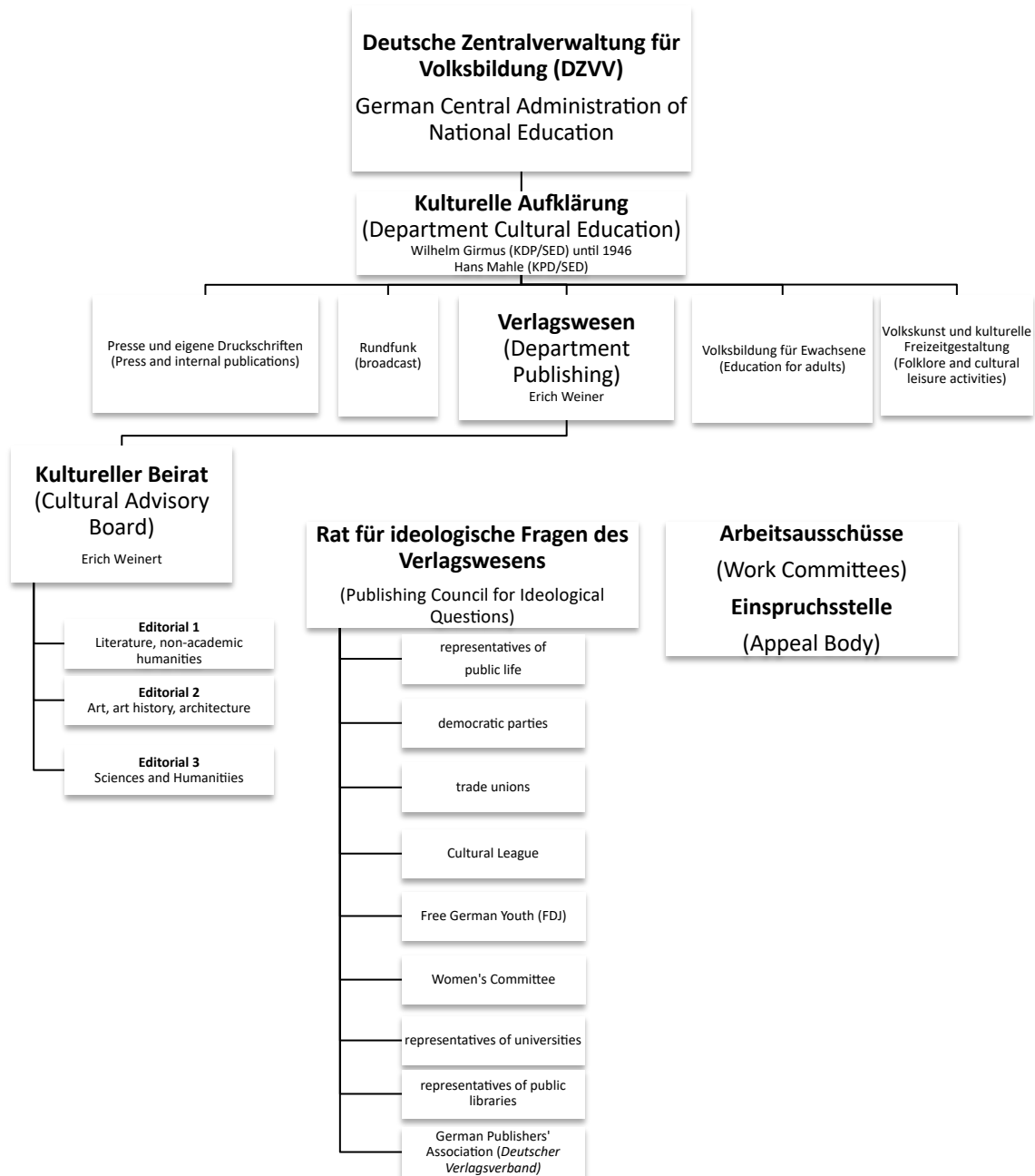


Fig 5: Hierarchy of the Cultural Advisory Board from January 1947 until 15 October 1950, illustrating its role as an instrument for ideological control with its voluntary bodies.

A number of factors meant that it was an arduous endeavour for publishers to issue British titles: the preference for Socialist Realist literature, the complex assessment system and the tendency to allocate substantial amounts of paper for socio-culturally acceptable, political and party-related works.

The Party suggested the establishment of a publishing house specialising in fiction with Soviet and other foreign origin, with the intention of developing an improved publishing

programme containing a wider variety of German, Soviet and international anti-fascist and socialist literature. In response, on 14 March 1947, Michael Tschesno-Hell and another private individual founded Volk und Welt, a publishing company of limited liability. Due to its affiliation to the recently founded SED (21 April 1946), the publisher obtained a licence from the SMAD in 1947. Naturally, Volk und Welt were not the only publishing house which issued international literature but they became the *Leitverlag* (lead publisher) for the issuing of contemporary foreign works. This privileged position enabled them to eventually define the type and trend of international (socialist) literature for the GDR's book trade. Through this policy, Volk und Welt became the largest publisher in the GDR for contemporary foreign titles (Lokatis 2005: 16).

Publications of British Literature in the SBZ and The Formation of the Office of Literature and Publishing (1948 to 1951)

The first recorded British publication in the SBZ was *Robinson Crusoe* which appeared in 1945. This very first edition of Defoe's work was a 32-page abridged English-language version published by Volk und Wissen in cooperation with B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft Leipzig (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). This was followed by Stevenson's *Schatzinsel* | *Treasure Island* published with Aufbau Verlag in 1946. During the same year Kinderbuchverlag published a German textbook edition of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* which was followed by Roy Pascal's *Deutschland – Weg und Irrweg* | *The Growth of Modern Germany* published with Volk und Welt in 1947. Pascal's work was first published in 1946 by Cobbett in London and became Volk und Welt's second title issued after the founding of the publishing house (Tschörner 1987: 263).⁶⁵ Pascal's work was followed by Kipling's *Dschungelbuch* | *Jungle Book* (published with Paul List Verlag) which was issued in 1948 with a rather large print run of 120,000 copies, followed by a reprint of a further 46,000 copies. Kipling's *Die schönste Geschichte der Welt* | *The Finest Story in the World* was printed (publisher unknown) during the same year. Volk und Welt also issued a politically affirmative work by Gordon Schaffner entitled *Ein Engländer bereist die russische Zone* | *Russian Zone of Germany*. In 1949 (and 1950), several editions of *Die Schatzinsel* | *Treasure Island* were reissued with Aufbau Verlag, and List reprinted Kipling's *Dschungelbuch* | *Jungle Book* (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). This concludes the meagre publishing list of (recorded) British works issued in the SBZ.

When on 23 May 1949 West Germany proclaimed its *Grundgesetz*, the SBZ responded by founding a new German Socialist State on 7 October 1949, the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik*, or German Democratic Republic, GDR in short. On 15 October 1949, the USSR officially recognised the GDR and, in due course, the other people's republics in the Eastern Bloc followed suit. With the foundation of the GDR, 151 licensed publishers and publishing organs were brought under the direct jurisdiction of the Cultural Advisory Board. This included 39 publishing houses owned by the organisation, 13 administrative publishing houses, 7 state-owned publishers, 92 private publishers, 33

⁶⁵ Between March and December 1947, Volk und Welt published four titles in total.

daily newspapers, 23 weekly newspapers and, finally, 232 magazines (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

Soon, however, the Cultural Advisory Board and its Committees had come to be widely criticised by authors and publishers alike. Their criticisms concerned the long processing times when it came to granting permissions, the editors' lack of qualifications, and the anonymity of the process (BA DR-2 1094 1948: 11). Mounting criticism revolved around accusations of bureaucratic and arbitrary procedures, and critics flagged the arbitrariness of the various committees' decisions (BA DR-2 1132 1949: 13-17). Numerous complaints about the Cultural Advisory Board coupled with its low acceptance rate led to the proposal of a new organisation, the *Deutsche Verlagskommission* or 'German Publishers Commission'. This new commission was designed to take over the Cultural Advisory Board's responsibilities in Spring 1949 (BA DR-2 1132 1949: 32-53; Gamsl 1995: 129). Arguments in favour of organisational changes were made with reference to the technical and ideological deficiencies of the Cultural Advisory Board, which was considered a 'voluntary body' (*ehrenamtliches Gremium*) within the DZVV. Klaus Gysi (Member of the Presidential Council and secretary of the *Kulturbund*, a Soviet mass organisation) also suggested changing the term *Druckgenehmigung* (print permission) into *Unbedenklichkeitserklärung* (declaration of no objection) as a sign of change (BA DR-2 1055 1949: 51).

In March 1950, after the formation of the GDR, the SMAD finally transferred their share of responsibility for censorship control to the *Amt für Information* or 'Office of Information' (the SMAD's responsibilities had been laid out on 17 April 1947 in Ordinance No. 90). Responsibility for literature, however, remained with the *Verlagskommission* or 'Publishing Commission'. As a consequence, the *Ministerium für Leichtindustrie – Hauptverwaltung Polygraphische Industrie* or 'Ministry of Light Industry – Polygraphic [printing] Industry' took charge of the authorisation of print permissions for unlicensed print products (Strunk 1996: 150).⁶⁶ As a result of these organisational changes, on 13 September 1950 members of the Cultural Advisory Board admitted considerable failings

⁶⁶ With the foundation of the GDR (7 September 1949) the Office of Information had emerged from the *Deutsche Wirtschaftskommission Hauptverwaltung für Information* (1959). See: *Mitteilung des Ministerpräsidenten Otto Grotewohl an das Amt für Information* (2 March 1950), DC 9 (*Presseamt beim Vorsitzenden des Ministerrates*).

in a self-critical report and, in a desperate attempt to hold on to their responsibilities, suggested far-reaching adjustments within the DZVV. But every attempt to urge the Party to reconsider proved unsuccessful, and the Cultural Advisory Board was finally dissolved. A memorandum from 25 July 1951 confirms the Party's reasons for dissolving the board: '*Das Gremium erwies sich als unbeweglich im Arbeiten*' (The Council proved to be stubborn in their work) (BA DR-2 1242 1951: 25).

Shortly after the Cultural Advisory Board's dissolution in 1951, the GDR's government formed a new office dedicated to the assessment and control of literature: the *Amt für Literatur und Verlagswesen* or Office of Literature and Publishing. The young GDR government envisaged more centralised guidance when it came to literature, book and journal production: an office with the political zeal to improve *Frieden und Einheit Deutschlands* (Germany's freedom and unity). The Party expected with the establishment of a centralised office an improvement of the publishers' working conditions. The Federal Archive reveals that the Office of Literature and Publishing had the legal status of a State Secretary with far-reaching responsibilities (BA DR-1 1871 1952). Fritz Aplet—chief editor of the *Tribune*, the union's (*Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, FDGB for short) newspaper—took charge of the Office in 1951 and, in January 1954, was promoted to 1st Deputy Minister and appointed State Secretary of the *Ministerium für Kultur* or 'Ministry of Culture' (BA DR-1 7992 1954: 20). His promotion is indicative of the relevance of literature for the burgeoning socialist society, and of the Office's importance when it came to the use of literature as a political tool for cultural control.⁶⁷

By the first *Durchführungsbestimmung* (regulation of implementation) on 13 December 1951, the Office had acquired far-reaching control over publishers. As of 31 December 1951, every publisher was required to obtain a new licence issued by the new Office; old licenses issued or acknowledged by the SMAD ceased to be valid (GBI 1951: 149). As a consequence, publishers were asked to re-submit their publishing programmes and *Plannachträge* (supplements) for re-approval by the Office. With regard to *Begutachtung* (censorship regulations), it was decided that the printing and dissemination of any manuscript or work required a distinct (ideological) review, an individual assessment and a separate approval procedure. However, the possible confirmation of a

⁶⁷ Karl Wloch became Aplet's successor (BA DY 30 1952: IV 2 11).

suggested programme did not release publishers from their responsibility concerning the content of individual works. Any infringement of current ideological or political principles could possibly have led to the withdrawal of the publishers' licence; equally, it may have led to the confiscation of printed matter, or even prosecution.

It is highly likely that, due to the simplification of the bureaucracy, British and Irish literary works had a greater chance of being issued. In 1951, we see a sudden rise in the number of British and Irish publications. According to documents stored at Berlin's Federal Archive, six British works received print permission in 1951. Volk und Welt published Cedric Belfrage's *Wenn aber das Salz dumpf wird | A Faith to Free the People*, a work that was first published in New York in 1942 by Modern Age. Volk und Welt also issued Fielding's *Tom Jones*. Felix Meiner Verlag issued a new edition of Hobbes' *Grundzüge der Philosophie | Moral and Political Philosophy*, followed by Aufbau Verlag's new edition of *Schatzinsel | Treasure Island*. Finally, Thackeray's *Humoristische Erzählungen und Skizzen | Stray Papers* appeared with Dieterisch'sche Verlangsanstalt. All books are documented in the appendix of this study.

Belfrage's book, the only contemporary work of British literature published in 1951, was considered politically appropriate socialist reading owing to the fact that the writer was viewed as a communist in East Germany; in fact, he had been accused of passing secrets to the Soviet Union.⁶⁸ In 1955, Belfrage was deported from the United States to his native Britain (Wikipedia 2004 [2015]) after refusing to disclose his communist affiliations to Congressional investigators. The Immigration and Naturalisation Service ordered that he be expelled on the grounds of his Communist Party membership.

The number of British and Irish works published remained rather small compared to number of works selected by socialist writers from socialist countries. However, British literature held a position of great importance in German literary history. During the 18th Century, England had been the centre of attention in Germany. Lessing, Goethe and Herder made pro-British statements—an expression of their emotional and spiritual attachment to Britain's intellectual elite. German publishers had therefore placed careful emphasis on the dissemination of English literary and philosophical writings: they had diligently translated and published such works for centuries, a practice that lasted until

⁶⁸ Britain failed to prosecute Belfrage because MI5 feared embarrassment over what might come out in court (Andrew 2009).

the rise of the Third Reich in 1933. Those who had hoped that the post-war anti-fascist regime in the GDR would swing the door widely open for Britain's highbrow literature were, however, soon to be disappointed. Bibliographies from the GDR lead us to speculate that it was of no importance if a work was high- or low-brow, so long as it was relevant to socialist culture. Since the choice of a particular work (whether foreign or domestic) was always linked to the question of its ideological contribution to the Marxist-Leninist legacy, the work needed to represent an adequate fit with the Party's current socio-political framework for cultural politics. The publication of British and Irish literature might have contributed to view the new state as more of a cosmopolitan socialist society; nevertheless, the decision about a manuscript was always taken according to two main criteria: Tradition or Legacy and contribution to socialism. This comprised mostly of classics from the 18th and 19th centuries, along with anti-fascist or anti-capitalist literature penned by contemporary British and Irish authors who were themselves socialists, were social-critical or wrote from a working-class perspective. The idiosyncratic interpretation of a given work, as well as the categorisation of authors and titles, was subject to the input of individual Marxist literary scholars, editors and censors. Print permissions depended on tangible party politics and the overall cosmopolitan climate. Because this general practice left a lot of room for interpretation, the appraisal process required a set of more advanced and centralised procedures.

It is, therefore, no surprise that the *Amt für Literatur und Verlagswesen* or 'Office of Literature and Publishing' (Office in short) underwent structural reorganisation in 1952. This involved the creation of several divisions, including three *Querschnittabteilungen*, i.e. administration departments with cross-functional roles. Examples were the *Personal* or 'Human Resources', *Referat Haushalt* or 'Budget and Finance' and *Innere Verwaltung* or 'Internal Administration' (BA DR-1 1871 1952). The two *Hauptabteilungen* (main or central divisions) were involved in the actual censorship process. Managed by Karl Böhm, the *Hauptabteilung A Begutachtung, Entwicklung und Koordination* (Department A: Appraisal, Development and Coordination) concentrated on assessments and reviews. They were assisted by two independent sub-divisions: *Abteilung 1 Begutachtung* (Division I: Review) and *Abteilung II Entwicklung und Koordination* (Division II: Development and Coordination). In order to determine literary categories explicitly, 'Division I: Review' was further divided into five editorial departments: *Hauptlektorat Gesellschaftswissenschaften*

(Main Editorial—Social Sciences); *Hauptlektorat Naturwissenschaften, Medizin und Technik* (Natural and Medical Sciences and Technology); *Hauptlektorat Belletristik und Jugendbuch* (Fiction and Children’s Literature); *Hauptlektorat Musikkultur, Musik, Laienspiel, Sport, Mode* (Literature on Art, Music, Amateur Theatre, Sport, Fashion); and, finally, *Selbstständiges Hauptlektorat Zeitschriften*, an independent editorial in charge of journals. *Hauptabteilung B Verlagswesen und Buchhandel* (Department B: Publishing and Bookselling) dealt with publishers and the book trade. In order to improve efficiency, Department B was split into two separate sections: *Abteilung III Verlagswesen* (Division III: Publishing) and *Abteilung IV Buchhandel* (Division IV: Book Trade). Division III was entrusted with planning, scheduling and controlling, and supervised the entire print approval processes, and it was responsible for production planning. There was also a third independent central sub-organisation *Hauptabteilung C Ausland* (Department C: International) that was in charge of foreign publications. The staff appointment scheme of 1952 foresaw 111 employees, including 30 staff who would be assigned to Department A (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 9-10; BA DR-1 919, 1953). Figure 6 illustrates the simplified administrative structure of the Office. This can be usefully compared to Figure 5, which displays the rather intricate structural arrangement of the DZVV.

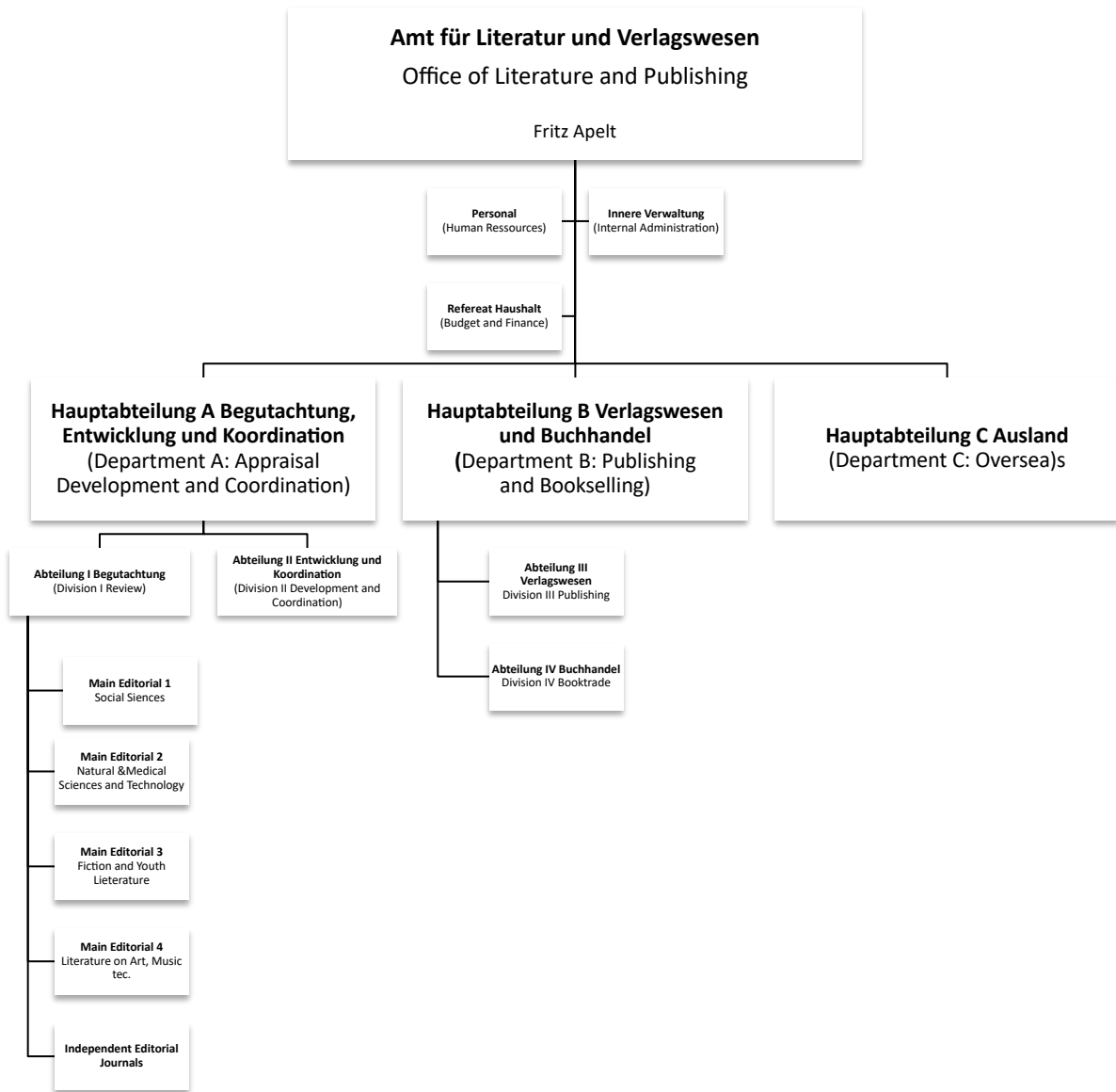


Fig.6: Hierarchy of the Office of Literature and Publishing from 1951

After the introduction of three main departments within the Office, the number of rejects for print permissions dropped sharply. At the same time, the number of manuscripts subject to revision declined from 5% to 0.9% (BA DR-1 DRUCK 2012: 10-1). For literary manuscripts or philosophical texts, however, the modifications required were much stricter than was the case with other genres. During the last quarter of 1952, 122 of 209 manuscripts were reviewed and edited, of which 14 texts were not further processed. Only six manuscripts were rejected. A manuscript's handling time (which had been key to the Advisory Council's criticism) was reduced to an average of nine days (11).

To cope with the assessment of manuscripts, the Office was able to establish an

extensive network of external assessors. Members of this Council were, however, subject to a thorough party-political evaluation. In order to prevent negative influences when it came to party-political or cultural-political targets, external assessors with a permanent address in West Berlin were not admitted (11). A generous remuneration system was, furthermore, developed for external assessors; this was now financed by the publishers, who were required to take on the entire cost of evaluating and assessing their manuscripts.⁶⁹ This burden of cost leads one to speculate that publishers now only submitted those titles most likely to pass censorship.

But not every manuscript was reviewed and censored (Barck, Langermann and Lokatis 1997: 29). This was mainly true for reprints, technical books and classical music. In 1952, only about half of manuscripts were reviewed: 10% of these were assessed by Office employees, and the rest was evaluated by external assessors. Hardly surprising, then, is the fact that the restructuring process led to the revision of the *Arbeitsanweisung für den Lauf der Manuskripte bis zur Druckgenehmigung* or 'Work Instruction for the processing of manuscripts until print permission' (BA DR-1 DRUCK 2012: 11).

According to the requirements of the Work Instruction, a publisher's report had to be prepared for each manuscript: a first assessment, written and attached by the editor, which was to accompany the text as a matter of principle. It became mandatory to include such an editor's appraisal when applying for the actual print permission. An accurate registration, translation and review of manuscripts also became compulsory as part of the new guidelines (Gamsel 1995: 270-72). The system meant that the Office needed to have thorough control over publishers' application forms when it came to matters of completeness and accuracy (this included details of the work's contents, any annotation and the publication schedule). The Office envisaged a censorship process that involved well-founded, accurate and thoughtful rejections, something that would conceal any possible appearance of an arbitrary censorship process. An external, second assessment by a Marxist literary scholar (external evaluation) became compulsory for new, unpublished titles (BA DR-1 1870: 1952).

The turnaround time for the average manuscript was improved (BA DR-1 1971 1952c). However, well-defined censorship criteria did not exist. Essentially, the Office issued no

⁶⁹ See BA DR-1 1102 (n.d. [1952?]): *Vorschlag zur Neuordnung von Honoraren*.

tangible guidelines that publishers and assessors could use as an ideological compass. As a result, the authorities appointed *ideologisch starke Verlagslektoren* (11), which means 'ideologically sound editors' and compared the editors' work with the one of the author(s). Since, on the one hand, the censorship criteria were idiosyncratic and subject to unpredictable political change, and, on the other, the Office did not like to be seen as *Zensurbehörde*, a board of arbitrary censors, the Party's Central Committee offered a general catalogue of measures contributing to the *politische, moralische und ästhetische Erziehung des ganzen Menschen* (political, moral and aesthetic [re-]education) of the whole, [unbroken or unspoiled] man). These measures were intended to guide censors in their decisions (Barck, Langermann and Lokatis 1997: 29-36). In April 1952, as part of this catalogue, two manuscript criteria were stipulated: the *Friedenskampf* (struggle for peace) and the *Ausmerzung pazifistischer Tendenzen* (eradication of pacifist tendencies) (Gamsel 1995: 270-272).⁷⁰

Undoubtedly, Department A did not have sufficient personnel to answer the countless enquiries from East German publishers. As a consequence of this, and because of broader cultural-political considerations, *Schwerpunktliteratur* (primacy literature) with a socialist origin retained its privileged status (BA DR-1 DRUCK 2012: 13). It is not therefore surprising that the number of British titles published did not rise after 1951: The Federal Archive in Berlin contains only six print permission files concerning British works which passed censorship in 1952, and the publication of British and Irish literature was increasingly limited to works by well-known socialists, members of the CP in Britain, or class-conscious authors.

In accordance with the priorities set by the Office, Aufbau Verlag successfully suggested James Aldridge's *Der Diplomat* for publication (Hoeft and Streller 1985a: 9-10). First released in 1949 by British publisher The Bodley Head, the book is a political drama set during the Azerbaijanian Revolution in Iran. A review for *Kirkus* on 23 February 1949 acknowledged the book's premise to be promising and original. However the novel was labelled as 'smothered in slow-motion trivialities, repetitive in expression and awkward in

⁷⁰ Almost the entire catalogue arose from the results of Stalinist show trials of the 'unmasked (anti-communist) agents' (*entlarvte Agenten*) who were to be eliminated from all manuscripts. These 'anti-communist agents' were not to be mentioned or cited positively in any text to be published or disseminated (Gamsel 1995: 270-272).

style' (Kirkus Review 1949). A reviewer in the 1951 edition of the *Anglo-Soviet Journal*, however, described Aldridge's book as 'absorbing and impressive' (S.J. 1951: 50). The journalist, named only as 'S. J.' (full name not recorded), offered, in his enthusiasm, some reassurances about Aldridge's relevance for a socialist readership:

The subject-matter and theme of *The Diplomat* are not, of course, solely or specifically of Anglo-Soviet interest, but Soviet diplomacy and foreign policy nevertheless come from frequently within its scope and Mr. Aldridge's absorbing and impressive treatment of his complex material cannot fail to interest and please readers of this journal. [...] Mr. Aldridge conveys the "feel" of a place or a situation. (S 1951: 50)

The affirmative reception of Aldridge by the Soviet Press may be the reason why he emerged as an essential political novelist in the GDR, a fact that was justified by his 'important contribution to Socialist Realism' (Seehase 1986: 422). Aldridge showed himself able to handle complicated political issues without losing touch with essential human questions. GDR scholars valued Aldridge's work since political aspects were removed from triviality or narrowness by linking the protagonist's painful struggle of understanding the world in which he found himself an actor (422-23). The arguments affirmed Aldridge's strong position within the camp of pro-socialist British writers, and the reception of *The Diplomat* in the Soviet Union paved the way for Aldridge to become one of the most popular (Australian-) British writers in the GDR (422-23). Shortly after its publication in 1949, *The Diplomat* was translated into Russian, conferring a large degree of legitimacy to the novel. This also meant that the work was an excellent prospect for Aufbau Verlag; the book promised to receive print-permission and an appropriate paper allocation.

P.S. Balashov reveals more about the Soviet reception of Aldridge in the 1979 edition of the Большая советская энциклопедия (*Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*):

Aldridge generically responds to the pressing problems of the times, advocating peace and the easing of international tensions, for example in the novel *The Diplomat* [...]. The theme of the Soviet Union runs through Aldridge's work. He clearly sees the complete nature of the fierce ideological struggle between the worlds of capitalism and socialism and its reflections in People's consciousness.

Aldridge's novels tend towards the genre of the heroic epic. (Balashov 1979)

Balashov (1979) further invokes Aldridge's important position as a socialist writer by adding:

They [his novels] realistically reflect both the complicated path of the individual towards new horizons and the tragedy of the individualist, who has lost sight of these horizons.

Der Diplomat | *The Diplomat* was reprinted in 1954 and 1955, and during the years that followed many of Aldridge's works received print permission. Figure 7, which illustrates works by Aldridge that were translated and published in the GDR by Aufbau, is a long list that gives an indication of the author's unbroken popularity.

A further five English titles were translated and published in 1952 besides *Der Diplomat*. These works included classics by Fielding (with Volk und Welt *Tom Jones* and with Aufbau *Johnathan Wild*). There were also works by Sterne (*Tristram Shandy* appeared with the then private company Paul List Verlag), Stevenson (Aufbau issued *Treasure Island*), and finally Thackeray's *Humoristische Erzählungen und Skizzen* | *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century*, which was published with Dieterich'sche Verlagsanstalt (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

Title	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Registration Number of Print Permission	Censors and translators
Der Diplomat	1952	Aufbau		first edition	
Der Seeadler	1953	Aufbau		first edition	
Der Diplomat	1954	Aufbau		reprint	
Der Seeadler	1954	Aufbau		reprint	
Der Diplomat	1955	Aufbau		reprint	
Der Haifisch / Der letzte Zoll	1960	Kultur und Fortschritt		285/66/60. 1960	J. H. Sauter, Linde
Der letzte Zoll	1962	Aufbau		120/82/62. 1962	Karl Blasche, Günther Klotz
Zuflucht am Nil (2 Bände)	1964	Aufbau			
Glühende Wüsten	1965	Aufbau		120/193/65. 1965	Alfred Antkowiak, Günther Klotz, Gerhard Schie
Mein Bruder Tom	1969	Aufbau	10,000		
Der letzte Flug	1973	Aufbau	12,000		
Mein Bruder Tom	1973	Aufbau		reprint	
Ein Pony für zwei	1975	Aufbau			
Kein hoffnungsloser Fall	1976	Aufbau	20,000	120/195/76. 1976	Erich Fetter, Otto Brandstädter
Der wunderbare Mongole	1977	Aufbau	47,100	120/181/77. 1977	Ingrid Müller, Erich Fetter – Translation: Utta Roy Seifert
Der unberührbare Julian	1979	Aufbau	20,000	120/168/79. 1979	I. Müller, Sigrid Klotz, Günther Klotz – Translation: Fetter
Der wunderbare Mongole	1980	Aufbau		reprint	
Die wahre Geschichte der Lilli Stubeck	1988	Aufbau	7,500	120/177/88. 1988	Erich Fetter, I. Müller – Translation: Magit Meyer

Fig. 7: Works by Aldridge published in the GDR between 1952 and 1988.

(Hoeft and Streller 1985b: 89-90; BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013)

The Formation of the Central Publishing Administration (1952 to 1956)

On 17 June 1952, the *Verordnung zur Sicherung von Vermögenswerten* or ‘Enactment for Safeguarding of Assets’ was, crucially, introduced by the government. This greatly affected publishers who owned subsidiaries of their publishing operations in East and West Germany. The new directive expropriated businesses and land in the GDR from individuals who had taken up permanent residence in West Germany or West Berlin. The new law was drawn up in a precipitated approach, and yet the text of the ratification was ambiguous and gave way to interpretation. Section 1 reads:

The property of persons leaving the territory of the German Democratic Republic or preparing for this purpose, ignoring the requirements of reporting to the police, are subject to expropriation.⁷¹ (Links 2009: 21)

The same *Verordnung* announces in Section 6 that assets located on the territory of the GDR which are owned by German nationals who hold a permanent residence in the Western occupied zones or in West Berlin, are assigned under protection and temporary administration by the executive body of the German Democratic Republic (Links 2009: 21).⁷² The export of books to West Germany was barred, but the company names and brands of those publishers affected remained unchanged.

Publishers like Reclam, Dieterich’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung and Insel Verlag were among those most afflicted by the changes. Many publishers, even if they were not yet impacted by the new legislation, regarded the regulations with increasing suspicion. After all, it was conceivable that the new law might be extended in the near future to publishers with a permanent residence in the GDR. Consequently, a considerable number of private publishers left the GDR for West Germany. This exodus was promoted in particular by publishers who traditionally operated from Leipzig, the city formerly

⁷¹ Original text: „Das Vermögen von Personen, die das Gebiet der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik verlassen, ohne die polizeiliche Meldevorschriften zu beachten, oder hierzu Vorbereitungen treffen, ist zu beschlagnahmen.“ (Links 2009: 21).

⁷² Original text: „Das im Gebiet der DDR befindliche Vermögen von Personen deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit, die ihren Wohnsitz oder ständigen Aufenthalt in den westlichen Besatzungszonen Deutschlands oder in den von westlichen Besatzungsmächten besetzten Sektoren Berlins haben, wird in den Schutz und die vorläufige Verwaltung der Organe der DDR übernommen.“ (Links 2009: 21). On 20 August 1958, a further regulation came into force, amplifying the previous legislation. Regulation No. 1 (1958) concerned the private assets of individuals who left the GDR before 10 June 1953. It read: ‘The appointment of a state trustee (for the property which is expropriated) is determined by the relevant representative of the city council or municipality.’ (Gbl 1958: 664; Gbl 1952: 615; Gbl 1953: 1231)

occupied by American Forces. The American administration in West Germany endorsed the emigration of East German publishers to West Germany in a non-bureaucratic way. This predominantly occurred in 1951, when licences from the SMAD expired and had to be substituted by new ones issued by Office. Under Soviet responsibility, 160 publishers had been approved and licensed. Now, however, only 120 publishers received a permanent licence from the Office. Of these, only 20 were given to privately owned publishers. This brings us to the endeavour of a new censorship initiative, which was to amplify the responsibilities of individual censors.

On 9 June 1953, the Party introduced a new initiative titled: *Der neue Kurs im Amt für Literatur und Verlagswesen* or 'The New Route of the Central Administration for Literature and Publishing' which expanded the scope of discretion for the individual censor when it came to the assessment of literary manuscripts (Barck, Langemann and Lokatis 2000: 48; BA DR DRUCK 2012: 13;). This initiative contravened the calls for transparency made two years prior. According to the Party, wider discretion was needed in order to avoid 'administrative treatment [by the Office] of creative, artistic and scientific works.' To be avoided was 'arty generic nit-picking' and any 'bureaucratic methods [...] spoon-feeding and arrogance' that might be exercised by the Office. The Party's guidelines meant that censors should seriously prioritise 'the prevention of all anti-popular literature', 'the promotion of *Schwerpunktliteratur* (Socialist Realist literature)' and 'the avoidance of interference in creative processes' (BA DR-1 1108 1954: 4). This initiative was quickly followed, on 7 January 1954, by the creation of a new governmental organisation: The Ministry of Culture. The new Ministry was under the direct control of the politburo, the Central Committee and the Party's secretary, as illustrated in Figure 8 on the following page.

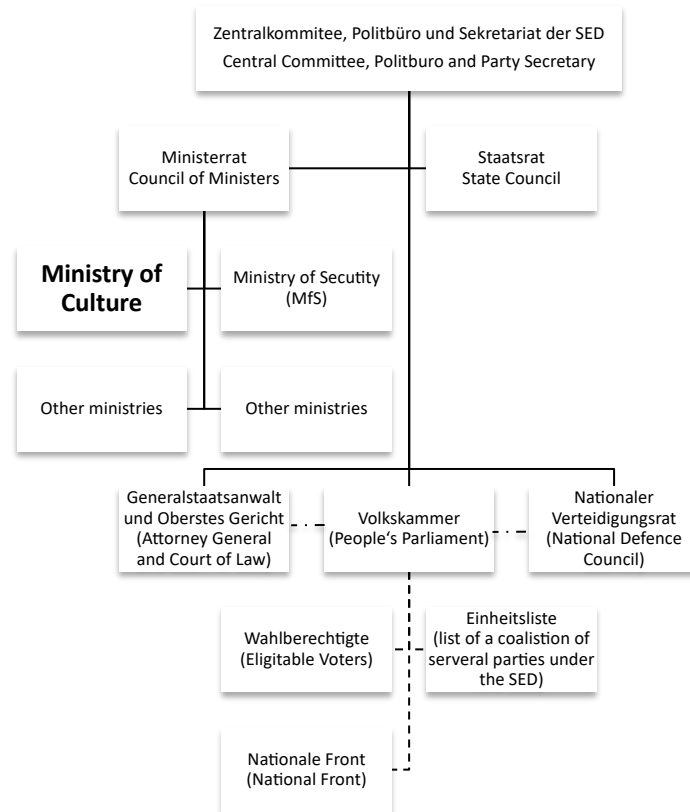


Fig. 8: Direct access of the politburo to The Ministry of Culture (1954).

By 1955, the number of manuscripts submitted by the publishing houses had increased significantly and would continue to do so. The Office planned for the assessment of 8,000 book manuscripts and the evaluation of approximately 340 magazines (Gamsel 1955: 134). However, the plan to assess only 8,000 manuscripts was thought too little, and the growing number of enquiries meant that a far-reaching reorganisation of the administration was required. To meet these new needs the Party established the *Hauptabteilung Literatur* (Central Administration of Literature) (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 16). The aim was to implement a more centralised and simplified command and control structure. In practical terms, the Minister of Culture was now the head censor of the organisation, and the politburo was empowered to ultimately issue approvals or rejections for print permissions.

This was why Johannes R. Becher (who served as Minister of Culture to the GDR from 1954 until 1958) at first spoke against the inclusion of the Office in his ministry, since he did not like to be seen as 'chief supervisor' (Selle 2008). Despite Becher's concerns, the merger of both organisations (the Ministry and the Office) was finally completed on 1 July

1956 via the enactment of the *Beschluss über Maßnahmen zur Verbesserung der Leitung des Verlagswesens* or 'Resolution on Measures to Improve the Conduct of the Publishing Industry' of 28 June 1956. The former Office was finally dissolved and Karl Ewald Böhm took charge of the new organisation the *Hauptverwaltung Verlagswesen des MfK* or Central Publishing Administration in the Ministry of Culture (BA DY 30 IV 211 1956).⁷³ He was well experienced with Marxist literature, was politically sound and a true *Gefolgsmann* (henchman) of the Party. He graduated at the *Parteihochschule* (University of the Party), was editor of the Party magazine *Neuer Weg* and deputy head of the corresponding department within the Central Committee of the Party.⁷⁴ Böhm's new post was considered a promotion as the Central Publishing Administration exercised strict control over all publishing businesses and was responsible for the task of enlarging state-owned publishing houses. The fact that his area of responsibility was subordinated to the Ministry of Culture led to a convenient situation for the politburo: they were now able to control both the political-philosophical and economic agenda for the entire publishing industry in the GDR.

The responsibilities of the (former) Office in relation to the *öffentliche Organe* (public institutions) were transferred to the *Innenministerium* or 'Ministry of the Interior'. Additionally, the department for *Graphische Industrie und Verlagswesen* or the 'Graphic Arts Industry and Publishing' was no longer accountable to the *Ministerium für Leichtindustrie* or 'Ministry of Light Industry' and was instead integrated into the Ministry of Culture under a new name: *Hauptverwaltung Polygraphische Industrie*, which translates 'Office for Polygraphic [Printing] Industry.' This office was based in Leipzig and headed by Heinz Leitel (BA DR-1 7903 1956: 27; BA DR-1 9010 1956: 308).

The restructuring fostered an environment in which ideologically advised assessment procedures could be refined. At this point, however, the changes did not help to substantially augment the number of British or Irish titles published. Figure 9 does reveal

⁷³ Confirmation by Karl Böhm, Head of HV Publishing by decision of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the SED from 4 November 1956; Leaving the function, see squad Act at BA DY 30 IV 211 1956: 2211, also footnote 57.

⁷⁴ In 1962, after his appointment, he became chairman of the District Association Frankfurt (Oder), a division of the German Writers' Association. In 1960 Böhm was awarded the *Nationalpreis der DDR* (National Prize of the GDR) and in 1973 the *Vaterländischer Verdienstorden in Silber* (Patriotic Order of Merit in Silver) (ND 1973: 2).

a rise in the number of British titles published after 1953. However, one must remember that the total figure (reaching a height of 21 titles in 1957) was rather meagre compared to the hundreds of works published from fellow socialist countries.

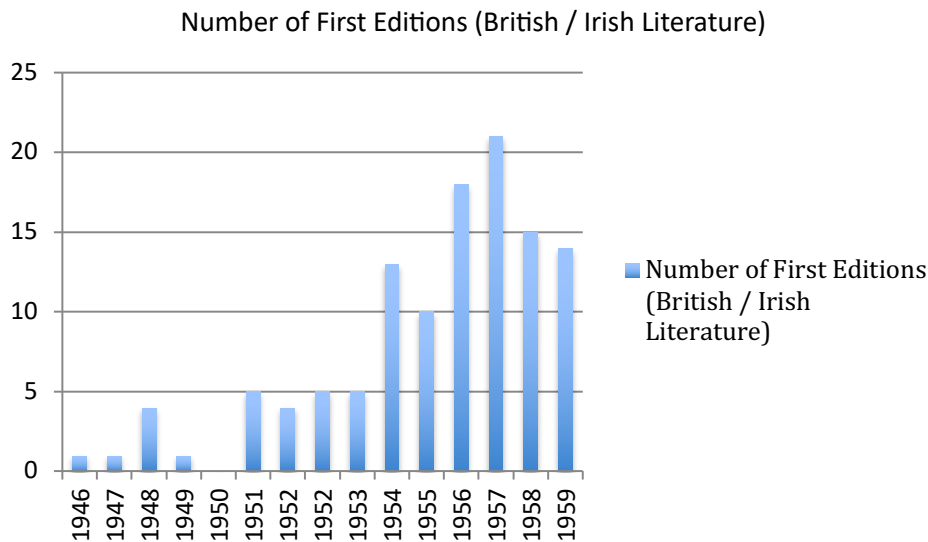


Fig. 9: Number of first editions of British and Irish literature published between 1946 and 1959.

Between 1954 and 1956, eight publishing houses published 41 British and Irish titles, and these were mainly classics.⁷⁵ Only a handful of works were chosen from contemporary Anglophone writers. These included, in 1954, Basil Davidson’s *Südafrika ohne Maske* | *Report on Southern Africa*, published by Volk und Welt; George-Warwick Deeping’s *Hauptmann Sorrell und sein Sohn* | *Sorell and Son*, issued by Carl Schünemann Verlag; and Doris Lessing’s *Der Zauber ist nicht verkäuflich* | *African Stories* published by Verlag Tribüne Berlin. In 1955, Seán O’Casey’s autobiographical *I Knock at the Door* was published by (the then privately owned) Paul List Verlag in an English language series called ‘Panther Books’ (Gentsch 2008: 25). Clear parameters were set for British and Irish literature in order to instil the spirit of Marxism-Leninism in the people through the issuing of foreign literature that was unambiguously characterised by anti-colonial and social-critical sentiment. Little leeway was granted to highbrow UK literature, especially new and ground-breaking modernist pieces drawing upon techniques of ambiguity and individuality. The four criteria of Marxism-Leninism—optimism, realism, humanism and socialism—were firmly cemented into editors’ publishing programmes. Volk and Welt

⁷⁵ This number does not include reprints.

were constantly seeking social-critical works appropriate for publishing: left-wing, social critical literature from the British Isles. Including a small but consistent number of English titles in their programme was politically advantageous as this made the publisher look more cosmopolitan and open-minded. Given the content of the publishers' lists, we can conclude that Basil Davidson, Warwick Deeping, Doris Lessing and Seán O'Casey met these requirements. Each of the works was carefully examined in order to discern the writer's political, social and cultural intentions and his or her anti-capitalist or socialist legacy.

In the case of O'Casey's socialist legacy, there were several points for the GDR's ideologists to consider (Gentsch 2008: 25). These included his working-class background, his role in the 1913 Dublin Lockout, his criticism of the 1916 Easter Rising, his great body of proletarian drama and prose, and his support for the Soviet Union. O'Casey showed a lifelong enthusiasm for the USSR—which according to Robert G. Lowery (1983: 128) : 'he [O'Casey] considered one of the world's greatest human experiments in creating a society of a new type' and which 'deserves primacy in evaluating his socialist legacy.' This approval may have been a contributing factor why his works were considered for publication in the GDR after Stalin's death in 1953. O'Casey's works were perceived to be the literary result of the author's proletarian upbringing. Roberto del Valle Alcalá (2016: 5) claims that O'Casey's books were understood 'to exhibit a quality of immediacy' and states that

the dynamics of exploration and resistance will appear inscribed within an ontological continuum without gaps, fissures, or hidden loopholes, in which the different subject positions will presuppose one another without exhausting their antagonistic nature' (5-6).

Seehase (1986: 385) praised his work 'the anti-imperial leitmotif' and asserted that the structure of his content conveys a political spectre far beyond the actual appeal. Marxist critics in the GDR agreed that O'Casey was first and foremost a proletarian dramatist: the product of a working-class Irish background (384-86). His upbringing contributed to his popularity in the GDR. Cristopher Murry argues in 'O'Casey Writer at Work' – a biography on O'Casey – that his works reveal his determination to write good literature and to promote his political views (Murray 2004). He did not distinguish art from politics, which made his work appealing to the GDR's publishing industry. From an artistic perspective, it

was argued that O’Casey’s work revealed the union between working-class life and art (Seehase 1986: 502).⁷⁶ The GDR’s publishers recognised O’Casey’s talent for combining both elements—art and politics—in nearly every literary work. While it was possible to gauge the merits of one or the other separately, it was the combination of both which determined his value for cultural politics.

Paul List Verlag published most of the more than 20 editions of O’Casey’s works that appeared between 1955 and 1988. For himself, O’Casey could, both in public and private, be fiercely outspoken about art and politics, a fact that was largely welcomed by his admirers. Lowley (1983: 128) argues that ‘he could be as plain as the simplest propagandist; at other times he could skilfully spin a web of multi-layered patterns confusing more than explaining.’

Section 1					
Title	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission	Censors and translators
Author: Seán O’Casey I knock at the Door (Series: Panther Bücher)	1955	Paul List		290/26/55. 1955	Berger
Ich klopfe an die Tür. Kurzer Rückblick auf das, was mich werden ließ	1957	Paul List	5000	290/16/57. 1957	Dr. Georg Goyert (München)
Das schwarze Tal	1957	VuW		410/65/57. 1957	Joachim Krehayn, Schlicht
Bilder in der Vorhalle (copyright by O’Casey 1942)	1959	Paul List	5000	290/16/59. 1959	Lange, Werner Beyer, Erich Schreier; Translation: Dr. Georg Goyert (München)
Ich klopfe an die Tür. Kurzer Rückblick auf das, was mich werden ließ	1959	Paul List			
Irische Trommeln	1961	Paul List	6000	290/14/61. 1961	Erich Schreier, Werner Beyer
Rose und Krone	1962	Paul List	6000	290/20/62. 1962	Werner Beyer, Helle Carola Gärtner-Scholle, Müller; Translation: Werner Beyer
Dämmerung und Abendstern	1963	Paul List	8000	290/16/63. 1963	K. Zippel, Werner Beyer; Translation: Beyer

⁷⁶ Seehase (1986: 502) praised: ‘With Sean O’Casey, the twentieth-century English-language drama reached its climax, were critical-realistic positions are reversed through a socialist realist approach.’ Original text: „Mit Sean O’Casey hatte die englischsprachige Dramatik des 20. Jahrhunderts seinen Höhepunkt erreicht, auf dem kritisch-realistische Positionen in der Methode des sozialistischen Realismus aufgehoben sind.“

Section 2 Title Author: Seán O'Casey	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission	Censors and translators
Bilder in der Vorhalle (copyright by O'Casey 1942)	1964	Paul List			
Bilder in der Vorhalle (copyright by O'Casey 1942)	1965	Paul List			
Ich klopfе an die Tür. Kurzer Rückblick auf das, was mich werden ließ	1965	Paul List			
Dramen Bd 1 und 2	1966	Aufbau	2000	120/258-259/66. 1966	Translation: Irmhild und Otto Brandstätter
Rote Rosen für mich	1966	Aufbau			
Unter einer bunten Kappe. Erzählungen, Aufsätze, Essays	1966	Paul List		290/14/66. 1966	Werner Beyer; Translation: Werner Beyer
Rose und Krone	1968	Paul List			
Irische Trommeln	1969	Paul List		290/14/69. 1969	
Wünsche und Verwünschungen	1970	Paul List		290/12/70. 1970	Franke, Lindner, Gisela Tronjeck
Rote Rosen für mich (mit Anmerkungen)	1976	Aufbau			
Juno und der Pfau; (license by MacMillan & Co, London)	1977	Insel		260/35/77. 1977	
Ein Pfund abheben. Sechs Einakter	1977	Reclam		340/74/77. 1977	Schröder
Ich klopfе an (license by Macmillan, London);	1980	Gustav Kiepenheuer	6000	265/13/80. 1980	Translation: Georg Goyert
Rose und Krone	1987	Paul List		3/378/00139/9	
Dämmerung und Abendstern	1988	Gustav Kiepenheuer		265/19/88. 1988	Translation: Werner Beyer

Fig. 10a: Works by O'Casey published in the GDR between 1955 and 1963 [123],

Fig 10b: Works by O'Casey published in the GDR between 1964 and 1988

We suggest that O'Casey's works were essentially selected due to their depiction, both in a historical and textual context, of the clash of opposites that is characteristic of class struggle. This involves, as Valle Alcalá (2016: 5-6) suggests a dynamic link between 'exploration and resistance': a starting position in which these concepts are united around, and through, the category of labour.

Owing to their candid anti-imperial position, Basil Davidson, Warwick Deeping and Doris Lessing were considered good reading in the GDR. With their critical Marxist view of South Africa's apartheid, it seems that the works by Davidson and Lessing confirmed the country's political worldview in the 1950s. The GDR's government supported the anti-apartheid movement for many years until the 1980s. Ulbricht (1964) —in an open letter that was published in the daily *Neues Deutschland*, ten years after it was penned— addressed Great Britain's anti-apartheid movement and personally consented to the movement's goals.

A further reason for Doris Lessing's popularity might lie in her family ties to Klaus Gysi, who was a representative in the People's Chamber (the GDR parliament). The connection can be explained as follows: In 1945, Doris May Taylor married the German communist Gottfried Lessing. His sister Irene is the mother of Gregor Gysi, the former deputy leader of *Die Linke* (the Socialist Party in present-day Germany and the successor of the SED) (Gysi 2013). Gregor Gysi is the son of Klaus Gysi, who became Minister of Culture in 1966. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that Lessing—viewed as a member of the Gysi family who was true to Party principles—was considered essential reading. Moreover, the chances of obtaining permissions to print her works were especially high. Thinking in more literary terms, Seehase (1986: 444) praised Lessing's intense experience of colonialist oppression, her knowledge of the double exploitation of women under capitalism' and honoured her struggle for emancipation.

From the early fifties onwards, Davidson, like Lessing, campaigned for the liberation of Africa from apartheid and colonialism; he addressed conferences and worked in commissions. In Cairo, Davidson contributed to plans to drop agents into Yugoslavia to target Tito's communist guerrillas. According to Victoria Brittain (2010) Davidson was eventually parachuted into Yugoslavia, joining the communists in the territory of the Vojvodina (the plain of the Danube valley across from Hungary), and Davidson (1980 [2009] 47-68) asserts on his fighting in Yugoslavia from August 1943 to November 1944, when he moved to the Ligurian hills of Northern Italy.

Because of his knowledge of independence fighters in the Balkans and in Africa, Davidson's works became significant for the GDR's Marxist sociologists and cultural anthropologists; he seemed to prove that the result of every struggle for political independence was a shift towards anti-imperialism. The writer was enthused by the

prospect of pan-Africanism and, therefore, his journalism on the subject of African liberation made him attractive to Soviet publishers. During the 1950s, Soviet reporters had little access to Africa. Davidson was consequently an excellent source of information, and his articles were eventually translated and printed in Moscow. In addition, he began to write elegant prose (fiction and non-fiction) dealing with African history. His works include classic textbooks that continue to be read in Africa today (Brittain 2010). However, given his popularity in the Soviet Union, the German translation of Davidson's non-fictional *Südafrika ohne Maske* | *Report on Southern Africa* (1954) was only published once in the GDR and never did appear with West German publishers. The table below (Figure 11) details the works by Davidson and Lessing published in the GDR.

Author	Title	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission	Censors and translators
Davidson, Basil	Südafrika ohne Maske	1954	VuW			
Lessing, Doris	Der Zauber ist nicht verkäuflich	1954	Verlag Tribüne Berlin	8,000	390/19/56. 1956	Paul Friedländer, Elli Schmidt; Translation: Lore Krüger
Davidson, Basil	Der Strudel	1958	VuW			
Davidson, Basil	Der Strudel	1960	VuW		reprint	
Lessing, Doris	Afrikanische Tragödie (license by Michael Joseph, London / S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.);	1983	VuW	6,000		Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger – Translation: Ernst Sander
Lessing, Doris	Hunger (license by Curtis Brown, London)	1984	Insel-Verlag		260/35/84. 1984	Klaus Köhl
Lessing, Doris	Winter im Juli (Kurzgeschichten)	1984	VuW			
Lessing, Doris	Winter im Juli - Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten; (licence by Klett-Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachf., Stuttgart / Diogenes Verlag, Zürich);	1984	VuW	8,000	410/114/84. 1984	Klaus Schultz, Sabine Teichmann

Fig. 11: Works by B. Davidson and D. Lessing published in the GDR between 1954 and 1989

In order to ease the publication of politically valuable British works the Ministry of Culture intended to relax regulations for publishers like Volk und Welt. With regard to the actual procedure for print approval, the Ministry of Culture announced in 1956 that this

would no longer involve a central assessment of individual manuscripts. Instead, liability would lie with the publishers themselves (BA DR-1 6234 1956). Karl Hagemann, who became Deputy Minister of Culture in 1956, decisively steered the Ministry's efforts to revoke central censorship (Bark, Langemann and Lokatis 1996: 53).⁷⁷ Hagemann argued against the Central Committee (ZK), stating that 'control will remain, but [conducted] in a different manner.' Following suit, on 8 November 1956, Karl Böhm informed publishers about the impending abolition of the comprehensive and bureaucratic print approval process for all publications (56). The Ministry's circular read as follows:

1. Annulment of the print approval process for books and leaflets. Soon the publishers will be informed that the publishing manager will carry sole responsibility for his printed products. There will be no more prior assessment of individual manuscripts [by the Central Administration]. Print permissions are no longer issued. The paper quota shall be globally allocated and administered by the publishers in accordance to central planning. Circular letters detailing the necessary procedures are going to be issued during the next days.
2. The activities of the Central Administration are limited to thorough planning, consulting and plan confirmation.⁷⁸
(Barck, Langemann and Lokatis 1996: 56)

A ministerial document from 1 September 1956 details the tasks of the Central Administration of Publishing. It notes that 'books and magazines are developed into the most important factor for educational purposes' (Marschall-Reiser 2012: 72-3).⁷⁹ The terms assessment and print approval no longer appear in the document, and the concluding edict, issued by the Ministry of Culture, does not include instructions

⁷⁷ Before his appointment as Deputy Minister of Culture, Kurt Hagemann was Director of the publishing house Verlag Volk und Wissen from 1945 until 1956. We may note, therefore, that he had a profound insight into the handling of literature.

⁷⁸ Original text: 1. „Aufhebung des Druckgenehmigungsverfahrens für Bücher und Broschüren. Demnächst erhalten die Verlage die Mitteilung, dass in Zukunft die Verantwortung für die Verlagszeugnisse der Verlagsleiter selbst trägt. Es findet keine Vorprüfung der Manuskripte mehr statt. Druckgenehmigungen werden nicht mehr erteilt. Das Papierkontingent wird aufgrund des bestehenden Plans global zugeteilt und vom Verlag selbst verwaltet. Rundschreiben mit Verfahrensanweisungen erfolgen in den nächsten Tagen. 2. Die Tätigkeit der HV wird beschränkt auf eine gründliche Planberatung und Planbestätigung.“ (Archive of Akademie-Verlag 154, confidential information by director Koven on 12 November 1956 in Barck, Langemann and Lokatis 1996: 56)

⁷⁹ Original text: „Buch und Zeitschrift werden zum stärksten Erziehungs- und Bildungsfaktor entwickelt.“

concerning the procedure for assessing manuscripts or the endorsement of print approvals (72).

Johannes R. Becher, the Minister of Culture, was now of the opinion that the shift in responsibilities made the Central Administration of Publishing superfluous. According to him, their discussions and bureaucratic procedures were no longer needed: they would only inflate the apparatus of the Ministry, patronise the work of publishers, compromise the publishers' responsibility, and involve a serious cost factor (Janka 1990: 23). Becher even emphasised the fact that employees of the Central Administration of Publishing, academics and editors alike, should work for publishers rather than for his ministry (23-4).

Socialist Legacy, Leniency and Political Clampdown (1956 to 1960)

Political struggle was, however, on the horizon, and this would eventually spoil the Ministry's plans for shifting responsibilities and reducing costs. Partially as a consequence of the Hungarian Uprising of 1956, publishers remained cautious when it came to suggesting the publication of modern, more liberal manuscripts with a British or Irish origin—these might have provoked the interest of some members of the Politburo, despite assurances from the Central Publishing Administration that they would shift control. Obviously, there was little trust in the administrative facilitations announced.

The statistics on the publication of British literature confirm the assumption that publishers remained reticent. In 1956, Aufbau-Verlag issued 13 British works, all classics (works by Daniel Defoe, Edmund Burke, Henry Fielding, Thomas Hardy, William Shakespeare and Robert Louis Stevenson). The only edition of a contemporary work with an Anglophone origin was a volume of Bernard Shaw's collected works. Of Irish descent, as we have discussed in chapter 1, Shaw enjoyed amongst communists a reputation as an unequivocal anti-capitalist. GDR scholars formally acknowledged Shaw's firm belief in Marxism, with Seehase (1986: 311) delving in Shaw's relationship with Marx by recalling the writer's own words: (translated from German) 'Marx was a revelation to me [...]. He opened my eyes to the facts of history and civilization, provided me with a whole new conception of the universe, and gave meaning to my life [...]' The ideological assessment of the GDR's socialists was in agreement with Shaw's philosophy. In fact, Seehase complimented Shaw for his consistent criticism, in his 53 dramas and many one-act plays, of bourgeois society, highlighting Shaw's appreciation of 'the great revolutionary Puritan

John Bunyan' (311). With Shaw, Aufbau chose a politically untainted author whose fame transcended socialist borders. Shaw was published in a rather large edition of 40,000 copies. This must have contented the Party, who directly profited from the GDR's book trade.

The publishers' reticence proved wise. By the end of October 1956, Becher's liberal tendencies were brushed aside by an ideological offensive lead by Kurt Hager, who, as a result of the Hungarian Uprising, had become the Party's chief ideologist. From the initial revolt on 23 October 1956, the revolution had lasted only 18 days, and the uprising was over before the population was able to respond to the call of the Hungarian workers. The great speed of events had, all the same, alarmed the Party leadership. Although the movement was a spur-of-the-moment incidence, all those who played a leading role were communists. Subsequently, the Party was especially apprehensive about Marxist intellectuals in the GDR: individuals who had the potential to become counter-revolutionaries. For instance, Walter Janka, the chief editor of Aufbau Verlag was arrested because he attempted to rescue Lukács and to drive him from Budapest to East-Berlin.⁸⁰ Kurt Hager recognised Janka's initiative as an assault on Party politics although Becher did not prevent Janka from taking such risk. Undeniably, Becher offered Janka his car and driver for the rescue mission. Later he would withdraw his support.

While the Hungarian revolutionaries did not have time to develop a programme as such, the political character of the uprising was certain: Political Revolution (LeJeune 2013: 17). Even though the revolt was successfully suppressed by Soviet forces, the Party was extremely anxious to avoid the repetition of such unrest in the GDR. The Party's concern was not completely without foundation, and in late October 1956, largely as a result of Western radio reports, rumours circulated that there are strikes in Magdeburg. Naturally this news was rigorously countered by the Party leadership, who labelled it *Lügemeldung* (falsehood or fake-news).

The Hungarian uprising did, however, bring Becher's liberal approach to an abrupt end, and Hager's intervention spelled a full renewal of censorship efforts (Fulbrook 2009: 188).

Hager now introduced an ideological evaluation of the Office to having the organisation evaluated for opposition against his ideological rulings. Also, this major

⁸⁰ See Walter Janka, *Schwierigkeiten mit der Wahrheit*, Aufbau, Berlin (1990)

campaign was unleashed to intensify political pressure against intellectuals. As a consequence, new censorship criteria were swiftly implemented and control of the publishing business intensified. As part of the reintroduction of strict censorship procedures by the Ministry, the Party's Central Commission ordered in a *Abschlußbericht der Kommission zur Untersuchung der literaturverbreitenden Institutionen*, which translates as a 'Final Commission Report regarding Publishing [Houses] and Dissemination' (BA DR-1 1352 1957). The Central Publishing Administration was now to assess the following aspects of manuscripts and brochures: 'oppositional trends, hostile tendencies [towards socialism], glorification of the social conditions in West Germany and imperialist countries and adoration of racial ideology etc.' (Barck, Langermann and Lokatis 1996: 76).⁸¹ Becher never spoke up on this matter, and nor did he ever regain full political control of censorship matters.

We are now addressing the implications on publishers. With Janka imprisoned, publishers in the GDR became more cautious, and this inevitably affected their activities when it came to contemporary British literature. In 1957, Aufbau-Verlag published only seven British works, once again all classics. Paul List Verlag and Rüttgen und Loening also published classics: Brontë, Hawthorne, Kipling and Thackeray (Hoeft and Streller: 1985). Rüttgen und Loening issued two major works by Bernard Shaw: *Cashel Byrons Beruf* | *Cashel Byron's Profession* and *Die törichte Heirat* | *The Irrational Knot*, licensed by Gbr.-Weiss Verlag in West Berlin (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

While others concentrated on the classics, the Party-owned (and ideologically sound) Volk und Welt was still seeking out British and Irish (contemporary) social novels that might prove valuable to the current cultural politics. They were able to negotiate three licences from Western publishers in order to print contemporary works by Derek Kartun (*England zwischen Gestern und Morgen* | *Great Britain 1956*), Liam O'Flaherty (*Das Schwarze Tal* | *Famine*) and Robert Howard Spring (*Geliebte Söhne* | *O Absalom!*) (Tschörtner 1987: 118, 171 and 216 ; BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). Liam O'Flaherty 'had long held left wing values but, [...] his left-wing ideals swelled and he brought such political convictions back home to Ireland with him [...]' (Murphy 2016). According to Lily Murray (2016) he distributed left-wing papers and sold the newspaper 'The Workers Republic' in

⁸¹ Original text: „...schädliche Tendenzen, feindliche Tendenzen, Verherrlichung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse in Westdeutschland und den imperialistischen Ländern, Verherrlichung der Rassenideologie usw.“ (ctd. in Barck, Langermann and Lokatis 1996: 76)

Dublin. O'Flaherty wrote tales of the Irish struggle and appeared to represent the prototype of the perfect writing worker. The GDR was sympathetic towards left-wing Irish writers, as they appeared to stem from a country which was colonised by Britain and whose publication had suffered under imperialism. Hence O'Flaherty seems to have made an appropriate addition to Volk und Welt's collection of social-critical Irish writers.

After the political clampdown, major organisational changes at the Ministry were undertaken, and this led to the inevitable dismissal of Karl Böhm; he received a *Parteistrafe* (punishment by the Party) due to his alleged efforts to leverage censorship. Oskar Hoffmann, who had until that point been head of the department for 'Literature and Publishing', became the new director of the Office. As of 2 January 1958, he was also tasked with establishing a new main department: the *Hauptabteilung (HA) Literatur und Buchwesen* (Main Department of Literature and Book Studies) (BA DR-1 8237 1957). At the same time, the *Abteilung Bibliotheken* (Libraries Division)—which had previously been affiliated to the *Kulturelle Massenarbeit* (the Department of Cultural Mass Work)—moved to the newly formed Main Department of Literature and Book Studies (BA DR-1 8253a 1957; BA DR DRUCK 2012: 17). As a direct result of these drastic changes, the *Hauptverwaltung Polygraphie* (Main Administration of Printing) was now separated from the Ministry of Culture and integrated into the *Staatliche Plankommission* (State Planning Commission). On 15 August 1958, the final transference of any remaining private property to state ownership was introduced for publishing businesses by Party decree. This inevitably meant that the entire publishing business in the GDR was made subordinate to the Ministry (BA GB-1 II 21 1958: 217-221). In other words, publications and performances in the various fields of music, the performing arts, folk art, fine art, literature and film became, respectively, the responsibility of the relevant departments within the Ministry of Culture. The Ministry's tasks were, from there on, to 'culturally and politically guide publishers (censorship), and they were entrusted with the appraisal of manuscripts and were responsible for the issue of printing permissions [assessment and permission]' (BA DR-2 1109 1958a; 1958b).

In the years that followed, Aufbau was subject to increased political control by the *Ministerium für Staatssicherheit* or 'The Ministry for Security' (MfS for short). Wolfgang Harich and the chief editor of Aufbau's *Sonntag* publication, Gustav Just, were arrested and sentenced to long prison terms. By the time Siegfried Seidel took charge of the

Hauptabteilung Literatur und Buchwesen or Main Department of Literature and Book Studies in September 1958, thus becoming successor to Oskar Hoffmann, the ideological offensive and the structural changes were in full swing. At this time, 66 of the Ministry's 329 employees were now assigned to the Literature Department alone. The substantial increase in the number of positions that were dedicated to the control and assessment of literature is indicative of the renewed importance of the print permission process and of the allocation of paper quota (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 14-16). With their chief editor Janka imprisoned, that the number of British and Irish titles published by Aufbau dropped sharply after 1956. Before 1956 Aufbau's interest might have been in contemporary writers such Aldridge and others, but they were now firmly focussed on classics like Burke, Defoe, Milton, Blake, Shakespeare, Thackeray and Swift (Hoeft and Streller 1985a; 1985b).

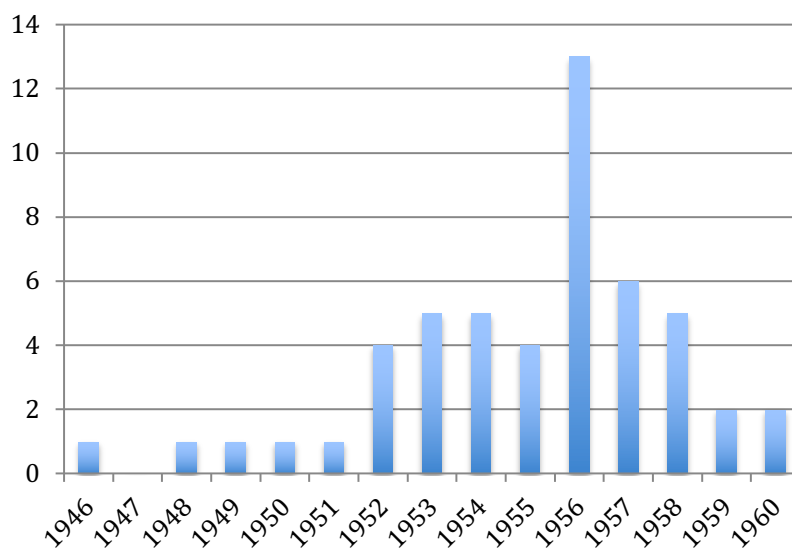


Fig. 12: Number of titles from the British Isles published by Aufbau Verlag between 1946 and 1960 (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

The Main Department of Literature and Book Studies, which involved related ministries for the control of the publishing industry, now founded a sub-department focussed on *belle lettres* and general literature in order to manage the heavy administrative workload. It seems that these organisational adjustments restricted publishers such as Aufbau, who were left to issue the classics. The Party-owned Volk und Welt was, by contrast, able to procure socially-critical English literature, albeit preferably works by contemporary

socialist writers (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 63-66). Even so the published number of British titles was smaller compared to the numbers issued by Aufbau, the variety of contemporary British and Irish works was still greater. The following diagram reveals the published titles of British and Irish origin issued by Volk und Welt between 1946 and 1960.

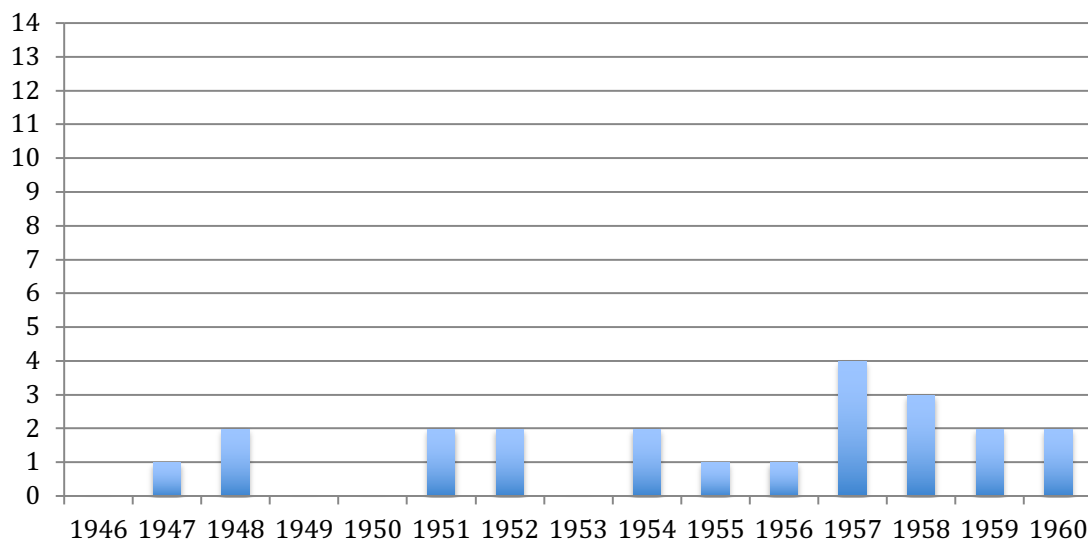


Fig. 13: Number of English titles (British and Irish) published with Volk und Welt between 1946 and 1960 (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). The books issued were mostly of British pro-socialist origin.

Indeed, Volk und Welt issued works by Gordon Schaffner, Graham Greene, Robert Howard Spring, Cedric Belfrage, John Sommerfield and Basil Davidson at this time.

What the historical and textual conditions of these British literary novelists announced, at least to society in the GDR, was an endorsement of the ideological forces in place. The changing nature of work and exploitation of the post-war period in the UK was closely monitored by the ideologues of the GDR. It was recognised that contemporary British social novels were naturally shaped by the prevailing capitalist system. It was assumed that most literary pieces were written purely for artistic purposes. However, the true socialist workers' literature was not understood as 'art for art' but aimed at the 'transformation of reality', which reveals the 'ideological condition of class character' (Kähler 1969: 9). This was considered invalid for British literature, since the element of

ideology is missing and must therefore be replaced by a socialist interpretation in order to make a given work intelligible to a socialist readership.

Interpretation made publication of contemporary British social novels (as any foreign literature) rather dangerous: with regard to publishers' activities, the Party might interpret any (alleged) attempt to liberate literature from the constraints of ideology as a plot orchestrated by the class enemy. These enemies, it was now understood, would not only operate from outside the GDR; they would also make use of allies (e.g. publishers) who were *inside* its borders. As a consequence, there were literary interventions and numerous rejections. There was an atmosphere of doubt and scepticism around British socialism and social realist literary forms. Only in 1965, in a politburo report from the 11th Plenary of the Central Committee of the SED, Honecker wrote about a 'weakening and watering down [of] the GDR from the inside' (Schubbe 1972: 1112). As a consequence, Honecker's constant paranoia of a possible infiltration of subversive literature, which might challenge the Party's credibility and therefore its power, led to a meticulous review of the publishing criteria to eventually to eradicate any subversive form of literature and to bring the right book at the right time into the right hands.

The Right Book into the Right Hands

Beyond the general literary assessment, additional publication criteria were implemented. To ensure that no philosophical challenging and politically ambiguous titles were considered for publication, this included an ideological and socio-political evaluation. The additional measures were introduced with a tell-tale slogan: *Das richtige Buch zur rechten Zeit in die richtigen Hände* (The right book at the right time into the right hands) (BA DR-1 1237; 1827: 1959). New censorship guidelines of July 1960 were significant for the ideological evaluation (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 16). The *Richtlinien* (guidelines) reiterated the importance of literary assessments for the development of an independent socialist literature and for the conduct of Marxist propaganda. As part of the Seven-Year Plan, they demanded advances in publishing and an 'increase in quality [of the content]' (Lausberg 2009). Lying behind the notion of 'increased quality' was the idea that a body of Socialist Realist literature would be created; this work would best coincide with the politically prescribed cultural requirements of the day and would seek to raise socialist awareness in education.

As we have seen earlier, naturally British literature did not fall into the category of Socialist Realism. Equally, it could not be censored as such. This was because major British titles were already published in the West, and licences forbade alterations. Therefore, a work could simply be 'passed' or 'rejected', with no middle way.

The system of documentation now required the following: a *Verlagsgutachten* or 'publisher's assessment' issued by the editor or chief editor; a 'second or external assessment' called *Außengutachten* written by an external appraiser, for instance a scholar of English literature; an additional *schriftliche Einschätzung/Meinung* or 'written evaluation', issued by a representative of the Main Department of Literature and Book Studies; and, finally, a report by the censor (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 14-23). Hence contemporary British literature had always been subject to either acceptance or rejection as a result of this process. The choice of an appropriate title was another vital aspect prior censoring as publishers would only chose those British titles which were eligible to socialism and which promised a good chance to meet the censorship requirements. However, this did not exclude the possibility of a rejection since the reasons for a refusal were manifold, and included: ambiguous, non-realist or formalist content; the prioritisation of Socialist Realist works from fellow socialist states owing to a lack of paper; or insufficient funding for costly licences from British or West German publishers.

British working-class novels or socialist inspired works were of less popularity in the UK, and therefore licences could be obtained at an affordable price. However, the Party also supported efforts to publish more liberal British authors who were held in high esteem internationally. Accordingly, the GDR's desire to demonstrate their cosmopolitanism may have warranted the acquisition of a small number of more costly licenses for internationally renowned works, which brings us Graham Greene. As briefly highlighted in the previous chapter, Greene already had a positive reputation in the Soviet Union and could claim the same high esteem in the GDR.

Like many thinkers of his generation, Greene saw communism as an attractive alternative to the perceived collapse of liberal modernity. He was seen (in the GDR) as an author who captured 'the essence of what it means to be human: The struggle between faith and doubt, love and betrayal, action and inaction, the individual and the state' (Baker and Shaller 2012: 91). While Greene advised writers 'to avoid personal, political and ideological ties' (91), in the GDR he was increasingly viewed as appropriate anti-

capitalist reading (Seehase 1986: 439-41).⁸² Indeed, George Orwell himself had, in 1949, referred to Greene's distinct political views, which seemed to him to be left-leaning. He felt the need to correct what he considered to be a friend's misconception of Greene's politics when he told that one keeps 'referring to him as an extreme Conservative, the usual Catholic reactionary type. This isn't so at all, either in his books or privately. Of course he is a Catholic [...] but in outlook he is just a mild Left with faint CP leanings. I have even thought that he might become our first Catholic fellow traveller' (Orwell 1968: IV 496).⁸³ Subsequent observers have often echoed the essence of George Orwell's speculation, and some conservatives have harshly chided Greene for (allegedly) muddying religion and politics and becoming something of a Communist fifth columnist in the process.

Seehase (1986: 439) reads in Greene's works exacerbated situations of a paradoxical moral decision taking with a tragic outcome and widening. His literary ironies reflected the alienated situation of the individual, opening up significant opportunities for psychological and social analysis. Owing to the fact that Greene's novels incorporated matters of national liberation in the developing world, the GDR's literary critics perceived him as someone who produced significant works of post-war literature (439). The first of Greene's novels to be published in the GDR—*Der Stille Amerikaner* | *The Quiet American* (1957)—takes place during the 1950s, on the eve of the collapse of the French colonialism in Vietnam (439). The protagonist of the novel, the English journalist Fowler, realises that his American friend Alden Pyle became a dangerous, undetected, quiescent enemy to the Vietnamese people. Pyle's idealism, his naïve belief in democracy conjured up unexpected resentments, which Fowler could not ignore. Fowler forces Pyle, the quiet American, to surrender to the national liberation army of Vietnam. The tragedy of the story made the editors of *Volk und Welt* to start the blurb's text of the 1957 edition of *Der Stille Amerikaner* (1957) with Pyle's death:

'American official murdered in Saigon!' For the foreign correspondents, bored by [...] clubs [and] fashionable brothels, this news is no more than a welcome

⁸² The virtues of disloyalty, according to Greene, are numerous. The following quote derives from a letter by Grahame Greene to Victor Sawdon Pritchett, quoted from Greene's *A Life in Letters*. A writer must 'have a sliver of ice in his heart,' he said, and 'be a piece of grit in the State machinery.' (Baker, Peter and Shaller: 2012, 91; Greene 2008: 155)

⁸³ see also Schwartz 2012 - Orwell's conversation with T.F. Fyvel in 1949

headline on the war in Vietnam. Alden Pyle's death barely interests them, though all of them knew him, the quiet, boyish, seemingly harmless American whose activities in Saigon had caused much gossip.⁸⁴

The Quiet American is a secular novel. It deals with doubt and uncertainty about the political world. It seems that the author's intention was to point in his novel towards the endless inquiry for the reasons of political conflict. In his novel Greene demonstrates that Western governments have little interest in helping minority countries with achieving wealth and peace. Greene is making us wonder if Western democracies are only interested in their own benefits.

Seehase (1986: 440) characterised Greene's handling of paradoxes as a literary achievement. He argued that Greene 'prefers to repeat his favoured [socio-political] findings' and expresses his personal quest for the 'anti-imperialist struggle' by political sensitivity. In Greene's 1966 novel *Die Stunde der Komödianten* | *The Comedians* the author fundamentally condemns the fascist Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti as amoral and obsolete under the premises of the 'great political conflict of the time' (communism versus capitalism). In particular Greene's political sensitivity becoming clearly noticeable in *Der menschliche Faktor* | *The Human Factor* from 1978. Marxists argued that the spy novel here discloses criticism concerning 'imperialist intelligence services' and would even reveal some 'reservations of the author concerning the real existing socialism' (440). However, Seehase concluded this statement by mitigating his criticism in favour for Greene, when he announced that the novel's pessimistic message philosophically aims toward the alienation in communication.

Greene tried throughout his life to synthesise with what he deemed the best elements of both worlds: communist or capitalist, for both outlooks resonated strongly with his general worldview and political principles. He criticised communism strongly from what he considered a Catholic standpoint, perceiving crucial incompatibilities between the two systems, and implied that communism needed Catholicism's leavening influence to prevent repetition of its worst excesses. Marxist critics interpreted Green's

⁸⁴ Original text: "'Amerikanischer Beamter in Saigon ermordet!' Den ausländischen Korrespondenten, die gelangweilt in den Klubs der mondänen Nachtlokale herumsitzen, bedeutet diese Meldung nicht mehr als eine willkommene Schlagzeile über den Krieg in Vietnam. Alden Pyles Tod berührt sie kaum, obwohl sie ihn alle gekannt haben, den stillen, jungenhaften, scheinbar so harmlosen Amerikaner, über dessen Tätigkeit in Saigon mancherlei Gerüchte in Umlauf waren [...]' (Blurb by Volk und Welt in Graham Greene, *Der Stille Amerikaner*, Volk und Welt, Berlin (1957)).

works as a mirror of the modern bourgeois individual facing the presence of international political conflicts, asserting a clear philosophical message about the danger of living in the in the Western world.

Greene promised what Volk und Welt had been looking for: British works that affirmed socialism (441), although it is apparent that this affirmation was not always clear-cut and seen from a bourgeois perspective. Because of this, not every work Greene published in the UK appeared in the GDR. All the same, Greene's disillusionment with the Soviet Union did not completely change his leanings toward socialism, especially if religious (catholic) values guided them. Adam Schwartz (2012) suggests that an exploration of Greene's view of communist ideology reveals that he 'consistently admired Communism's commitment to ethical absolutes and social justice, while reproving what he deemed its overly-optimistic anthropology, over-ratiocination and consequent brutality.' These reservations constituted the most important reason to review and re-interpret his works individually (Brennan 2010). Spanning the period 1957 to 1990, Greene features a stunning publication record in the GDR.

Section 1					
Title	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission	Censors and translators
Der stille Amerikaner	1957	VuW	5,000	410/14/57. 1957	Fritz J. Raddatz, Helle Carola Gärtner-Scholle
Der stille Amerikaner	1964	VuW	30,000		
Unser Mann in Havanna	1965	VuW		410/71/65. 1965	Hans Petersen, Karl-Heinz Berger
Unser Mann in Havanna	1966	VuW		reprint	
Die Stunde der Komödianten	1967	VuW			?
Die Stunde der Komödianten	1968	VuW		reprint	
Der stille Amerikaner	1969	VuW		reprint	
Spiel im Dunkeln	1970	VuW	10,000	410/52/70. 1970	Manfred Küchler, Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger - Translation Walter Puchwein
Spiel im Dunkeln	1972	VuW			
Billig im August (ausg. Kurzgeschichten) (license by Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien und Hamburg)	1973	VuW	10,000	410/72/73. 1973.	Hans Petersen, Marianne Bretschneider, Ruth Greuner
Der Honorarkonsul (license by Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1975	VuW	10,000	410/112/75. 1975	Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz - Translation: Susanna Rademacher / Hans W. Polak
Der Honorarkonsul	1976	VuW			
Billig im August (ausg. Kurzgeschichten)	1977	VuW			
Die Reisen mit meiner Tante (The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Hamburg)	1977	VuW	8,000	410/103/77. 1977	Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger - Translation: Hans Pollak
Der stille Amerikaner	1978	VuW			
Die Reisen mit meiner Tante (Suhrkamp Verlag)	1979	VuW			
Ein ausgebrannter Fall (Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1981	VuW	10,000	410/96/81. 1981	Wolfgang Wicht, Klaus Schultz - Translation: Lida Winiewicz
Dr. Fischer aus Genf oder die Bomben-Party (Spektrum-Reihe); (Paul Zsolnay Verlag)	1982	VuW	8,000	410/112/82. 1982	Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger - Übersetzung: Peter Michael, Hans Polak
Die Stunde des Komödianten	1983	Aufbau			
Ein ausgebrannter Fall	1983	VuW		reprint	

Section 2					
Title Author: Grahame Greene	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission	Censor and translator
Broschurausgabe in sieben Bänden	1984	VuW			reprint
Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 1 Ein ausgebrannter Fall	1984	VuW			reprint
Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 2 Honorarkonsul	1984	VuW			reprint
Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 3 Reisen mit meiner Tante	1984	VuW			reprint
Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 4 Spiel im Dunkeln	1984	VuW			reprint
Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 5 Der stille Amerikaner	1984	VuW			reprint
Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 6 Die Stunde der Komödianten	1984	VuW			reprint
Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 7 Unser Mann in Havanna	1984	VuW			reprint
Mein Freund, der General; (license by The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1985	VuW	10,000	410/124/85. 1985	Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger - Translation: Werner Richter
Der menschliche Faktor; (license by The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1986	VuW	10,000	410/134/86. 1986	Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz - Translation: Luise Wasserthal - Zuccari und Hans W. Polak
Komödien der Erotik; (license by Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien)	1988	VuW	800	410/124/88. 1988	Hans Petersen - Translation: Hilder Spiel und Walther Puchwein
Ein Mann mit vielen Namen; (license by Viking Penguin, New York / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Darmstadt)	1990	VuW	10,000	410/111/90. 1990	Klaus Schultz - Translation: Monika Fleiß

Fig. 14: Works by G. Greene published in the GDR between 1955 and 1990 including reprints (Tschörtner 1987: 386-90; BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013)

In addition to Greene, the Polish-born Joseph Conrad was among the British writers held in high esteem. During the 1950s he was received as an internationally renowned social-critical author. Seehase (1986: 327) went so far as to express his belief that Kipling and Conrad were the 'greatest authors of their time.' His argument, developed along ideological lines, arrived at the firm conclusion that Conrad was critical of colonialism. Moreover, the scholar was convinced that the UK's 'propagated empire ideology' was shaped by 'Houston Steward Chamberlain's racist philosophy'; this in turn was derived from English Hegelians like Bernard Bosanquet who campaigned for 'British imperialism' (284). Consequently, GDR scholars deduced that colonialism progressed periodically out of imperialist education, substantially influencing literature and ultimately leading to serious adverse effects in society. The scholar (284) speculated that anti-imperialist works by Joseph Conrad and E.M. Foster emerged from the writers' close examination of an unforgiving colonial reality and the political and economic consequences of this for both ordinary individuals and colonisers. Conrad's sea-faring experiences motivated him to fictionalise his service at sea.

He labelled Conrad a 'bourgeois democrat' and saw in his fiction a convincing set of arguments about the problems associated with the actual distribution of international capital; his works were therefore interpreted as 'anti-imperialist mouthpiece[s] for the need of a re-consideration of its distribution' (328). According to the scholar, Conrad too experienced the spiritual crisis that is precipitated by a bourgeois society in which the individual moves in insolation. Consequently, Conrad invents Lord Jim as a vulnerable hero (328). By doing so, he reveals the egoism of the individual as an all-motivating theme. Lord Jim, the phantom of his heroic ideals, becomes a deadly danger for humanity (328). The fact that Conrad was published in the 1950s in the GDR becomes more notable still when one considers his critical reception in recent years. Reflecting the complexity of his works, Conrad has at times been attacked for his racism and for his portrayal of imperialism and colonialism. Chinua Achebe (1977: 782-94) was especially harsh with Conrad when he called him in a lecture titled *An Image of Africa*: 'Conrad was a bloody racist' (Watts 1983: 196-209).

In 1958, the first translation of *Das Herz der Finsternis* | *Heart of Darkness* came with a 'health warning from the advisers for public libraries', who insisted that Conrad was only suitable fare for the ideologically sound reader (Waligora-Rittlinghaus 1959: 766-68). We

can venture to assume that the reason for this warning lies in a certain ambiguity of the novel. The narrative centres upon a voyage to Africa, something that was still common for the British, despite the fact that the dreadful conditions of colonialism were already apparent. Conrad's anarchic, stream-of-consciousness style exacerbated the confusion, making the reader interpret the author's meaning for themselves. According to Johanna Waligora-Rittlinghaus (1959: 766-68) Conrad works with different styles. Some sentences have no ending: 'not a sentimental pretence but an idea: ... something you can set up...and offer a sacrifice to ...' (Conrad 2017: 7). The reader has to fill in these gaps and interpret for himself. For instance, Conrad (11) talks about the 'two women knitt[ing] black wool feverishly' at the gate of the city (of hell), to his aunt when he asserts 'It's queer how out of touch with truth women are. They live in a world of their own [...]' (13), to a description of the colonisers, the 'weak-eyed devil of a rapacious and pitiless folly' (18). His thoughts derive in a literary monologue and convey only what readers want to see, feel and to interpret for themselves. Adopting an impartial tone, Seehase (1986: 328-29) maintains that Conrad's works were the result of his lasting impression of the practice of British colonialism. His novel thus acquired an inevitable (political) meaning, enhancing its quality. Linked to his ethical sense of reality, Conrad wrote without any illusions. He never capitulated, and claimed discipline as *the* ultimate seafaring quality. The literary critic called Conrad *Kipling der Meere*, or the seafaring Kipling, a comparison which, upon closer inspection, might seem difficult to maintain from a Marxist point of view (327).

With regard to Conrad's modernist inclinations, the GDR scholar observes in his final conclusion that, via his fragmented style, the writer captures the structural feeling of a torn world order (329). These seemingly disordered momentary impressions serve to generate the illusion of everyday life. He aimed at episodes, which seem disconnected from each other. According to him, this is a progressive process of truth-seeking that at the same time activates the reader's mind. Eventually he did not expand further upon Conrad's experimentations: this particular modernist style was for readers to interpret for themselves. Instead Conrad became, in the GDR, a representative of anti-imperial literature: a political writer rather a modernist one. A large number of his titles were published and reprinted with Aufbau Verlag and Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, as listed below.

Title Author: Joseph Conrad	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission
Nostomo	1957	Aufbau		120/226/56. 1956
Das Herz der Finsternis	1958	Aufbau		120/84/57. 1957
Lord Jim	1963	Aufbau		120/109/63. 1963
Almayers Wahn	1966	Aufbau	10,000	
Der verdammte der Inseln	1968	Aufbau	10,000	
Sieg	1970	Aufbau		
Spiel des Zufalls	1974	Aufbau	20,100	120/191/74. 1974
Der Nigger von der "Narcissus"	1977	Aufbau	15,000	120/180/77. 1977
Spiel des Zufalls (Nachwort K.H. Berger)	1979	Aufbau		
Nostomo (new translation)	1983	Aufbau	15,000	120/166/83. 1983
Das Duell. Erzählungen	1988	Aufbau	10,000	120/176/88. 1988
Taifun (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1965	Dieterich'sche		
Sieg	1986	Dieterich'sche	10,000	190/7/85. 1985
Bericht über mich selbst	1979	Dieterich'sche	15,000	265/33/79. 1979
Ein Vorposten des Fortschritts. Erzählungen	1981	Dieterich'sche		260/28/81. 1981
Lord Jim - Nachwort: Günther Walch	1981	Dieterich'sche	15,000	190/7/81. 1981
Die Schattenlinie. Eine Beichte	1967	Dieterich'sche		340/34/67. 1967
Taifun	1965	Dieterich'sche		
Taifun	1967	Dieterich'sche		
Taifun	1975	Dieterich'sche	10,000	190/11/75. 1975
Erzählungen I	1979	Dieterich'sche	15,000	190/8/79. 1979
Das Ende vom Lied / Der geheime Teilhaber / Die Schattenlinie;	1980	Dieterich'sche		190/6/80. 1980
Almayers Wahn	1982	Dieterich'sche	15,000	190/12/82. 1982
Nostromo	1988	Dieterich'sche	12,000	190/108/88. 1988

Fig. 15: Works by J. Conrad published in the GDR between 1957 and 1988 (Hoeft and Streller 1985b; BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

Like Conrad, Kipling was popular and acclaimed. According to the censorship files, Paul List Verlag published *Das Dschungelbuch* | *The Jungle Book* in 1948 in a large edition of 120,000 copies, which reflects the work's fame (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). Given the shortage of paper at the time, this is a notable print run. Before the war, Kipling's books

had already sold in large numbers, and many readers in the GDR had access to pre-war editions of his work, something that might be attributed to the fact that he remains the youngest writer to have won the Nobel Prize for literature (1907). Many Germans associated Kipling with his pioneering use of the short story form, as in his works for children like the *Nur so Märchen* | *Just So Stories* and the *Dschungel Bücher* | *Jungle Books*. Despite this fact, Kipling was continuously published throughout the 1950s, but only his books for children appeared in the GDR. This is a consequence of the fact that literacy critics unsurprisingly saw Kipling as the embodiment of Imperial Britain, with his literature mirroring the privileged position of the UK (Seehase 1986: 286).

In the GDR, the transition of British capitalist society into its imperialist state, with all its tensions and grave contradictions, was seen as the epoch that determined the future thinking and feeling of people and their literature. This explains why Kipling confirmed such a view in his works, which appear to have been written by a practitioner of the vigorous life of action that, in the spirit of 'British imperialism, 'ought to be led by manly and efficient men' (286). In particular Kipling's poem 'The White Man's Burden' (1899) was perceived as the author's version of imperialism—the belief that it is the duty of the white races to develop and civilise the lower races (286-7).

GDR's scholars identified in Kipling's writings the attitude of an author who knew how to represent the specific power interests of England. His writings were considered to be the embodiment of imperialist Britain, advocating the use of effective methods of colonialism and oppression (285). Kipling was seen to have achieved the technocratic ideal of an expert in the field of colonialism. His expert opinion was recognised to serve as his ideological compass, a substitute for religion, and as contempt for bourgeois democracy and the working masses (285). Given the work's content, GDR scholars had no alternative but to agree that Kipling positively affirms the unrelenting mechanism of colonialism, and we might speculate that this fact disqualified 'The White Man's Burden' from publication in the GDR. This remains a speculation, as very little on this issue can be found in archival documents. In accordance with contemporary Western thinking, Kipling never questioned that the bigger part of this responsibility rested upon Britain.

Some of Kipling's other works however were far less controversial. His literary style and his forms of expression, reminiscent of the vast oceans and plains that he takes pleasure in, were attractive to a wide GDR-readership, despite the colonial nature of the

whole. Therefore, while it was a challenge to render the work suitable for a socialist readership, it was not expedient to entirely disregard it either. Instead, GDR scholars reinterpreted Kipling so as to shed a different light on his colonial works. In *Englische Literatur im Überblick* (1986: 284-86; 304; 327; 339) it is claimed that Kipling's short stories reflected the administrative ineptitude of the ruling classes, something that was only counteracted by British imperial soldiers in their scrupulous performance of duty. The scholar (285) concluded that Kipling 'critically portrayed the British domination in India.' As he put it, '*da seine Verachtung der Geschäftswelt die Grenzen seiner Einsicht in den Mechanismus kolonialer Herrschaft offenbart* [as his contempt for the world of business reveals his awareness of the colonial power mechanism's limits].'

Like *Das Dschungelbuch*, *Die schönste Geschichte der Welt* was first published in 1948, followed by reprints of *Das Dschungelbuch* in 1949, 1954 and 1955. In 1955, Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt published *Kaas Tanz* | *Kaa's Hunting* in a large edition of 191,000 copies. This was followed by a second edition of the 1955 *Das Dschungelbuch*, which was issued with Paul List Verlag with a print run of 126,000 (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). In 1980, Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar published a two-volume edition of *Das Dschungelbuch* and *Das neue Dschungelbuch* | *The Second Jungle Book*, resulting in the printing of 80,000 copies of each work. This was still a large edition given East Germany's notorious paper shortage (ARGUS).

The *Gutachter* of Kipling's work were Carola Gärtner-Scholle, Helmuth Findeisen and Heinz Modeat at Paul List Verlag; Jules Violet at Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt; Curt Abel-Musgave at Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag; and, finally, Klaus Schultz and Reinhard Ulbrich at Volk und Welt (ARGUS). Nonetheless, it seems that there were not many literary critics in the GDR dealing extensively with Kipling and his work, and Seehase's literary criticism does therefore remain an important source, as it is representative for the Marxist reception of Kipling during the 1970s and 1980s.

Among the general readership, Kipling was considered the champion of the 'epic form.' Moreover, his animal stories were viewed as 'world literature', with *The Jungle Book* considered the most original narrative of this kind that was suitable for children (Seehase 1986: 284-86). The prevailing whim of Kipling's stories was his love of animals and his imaginative engagement with their world, which involved placing human words in the mouths of beasts. The wolf-child Mowgli, and wolf-reared children more broadly, became

a vehicle to explore the abandonment of real life individuals—their situations were seen as symptomatic of society's failings. In this respect, the story deviated from sheer fantasy and became socially relevant. Mowgli's predicament could be construed as a consequence of the failings of the colonial society. By contrast, children in a socialist environment always found shelter. As T.S. Eliot (1959 [2008]) has put it: 'The moralist is always present.'⁸⁵

The thoughtful socialist reader of *The Jungle Books* is reminded from time to time that not all Law is natural: sometimes law-making is required, as is the proclamation of new rules. And W. W. Robson in his Introduction to the Oxford World Classics edition of the *Jungle Books* suggests in 1987 that this aspect of Law is illustrated by the fact that the Leader of the Pack can make new rules if the situation requires it: 'The word of the Head Wolf is Law' (1987 [2008] xiv). Seehase (1986: 285) did not make mention of the nature of law-making. Instead he argued that, via his portrayal of Mowgli, Kipling is indeed critical of British imperialism and the inability of the British ruling class to efficiently administer their colony. The scholar's argument might be supported, to a certain degree, by the manner in which elements of moral instruction are systemised in Kipling's work. As the scholar argued in closing, even though Kipling was concerned with the promotion of the British Empire, he rejected crude jingoism (286).

Besides all this, *The Jungle Book* left room for socio-critical interpretations when it came to the personification of the animals and their environments. Without discarding their own incongruous habits, the animals plainly represent human traits and conditions, and the socialist reader would have been well aware of the animals' counterparts in the world of men. The moral of Kipling's arrangements may extend beyond a child's comprehension, and a socialist interpretation would certainly be necessary in order to understand the narrative from a Marxist point of view. In *The Jungle Book* the fable moves in and out of focus, and we can see a deeper societal meaning behind the storyline.

The peculiarity of *The Jungle Book*, and its distance from social critical literature, is even so surpassed by the *Nur so Märchen | Just So Stories* (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). In the latter, all is communicated to the youthful reader in a language that he or she can

⁸⁵ It may be the moralist in Kipling that was displeasing to those intellectuals who saw in him the British Imperialist.

understand: the morality of 'just deserts' and 'just rewards' is standard fare for the young (Ricketts 2001: 206). The stories employ a traditional form, and can be enjoyed without giving any thought to didactic content. However, as fantastical as the animals' sensuous environment is, the stories continue to deploy multifaceted suggestive symbols, the full significance of which could not be easily explained.

Works by Kipling that were issued in the GDR between 1948 and 1989 are listed in Figure 16 on the following page. It is obvious that the publication list consists primarily of different editions of *The Jungle Book* and extracts from the same. The table reveals that works such as *Kim* (first published 1901), *Stalky & Co* (first published 1899), *Captains Courageous* / *Fischerjungs* (German Title 1930) and *A Diversity of Creatures* (1917) remained unpublished in the GDR. The last publication by Kipling *Just So Stories* | *Nur so Märchen* was issued by *Der Morgen* in 1989, and, in relation to this work, Dorothea Körner wrote one of the last compulsory literary assessments at a time when the GDR's ideological self-understanding was already beginning to dissolve (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). From here we shall turn, however, to the unfolding bureaucracy of control that took place during the 1960s.

Title Author: Rudyard Kipling	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission
Das Dschungelbuch (1. Auflage)	1948	Paul List Verlag	120,000	
Das Dschungelbuch	1948	Paul List Verlag	46,000	reprint
Die schönste Geschichte der Welt	1948	?	15,000	
Das neue Dschungelbuch	1949	Paul List Verlag	10,000	reprint
Das Dschungelbuch	1954	Paul List Verlag		290/59/54
Das Dschungelbuch (4. Auflage)	1955	Paul List Verlag	20,000	290/43/55. 1955
Kaas Jagdtanz	1955	Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt	191,000	285/22/55. 1955
Das Dschungelbuch (2. Auflage)	1958	Paul List Verlag	126,000	reprint
Das kommt davon (Reihe: Robinsons billige Bücher)	1963	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	20,000	270/39/63. 1963
Das Dschungelbuch (3. Auflage)	1965	Paul List Verlag	20,000	290/11/65. 1965
Das neue Dschungelbuch (2. Auflage)	1965	Paul List Verlag	20,000	290/12/65. 1965
Rikki-Tikki-Tavi. Erzählungen aus dem Dschungelbuch	1966	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		340/27/66. 1966
Der Herr der Dschungel (KAP-Reihe)	1966	VuW	12,500	285/175/66. 1966
Die schönste Geschichte der Welt	1975	Paul List Verlag	25,000	290/15/75. 1975
Das Dschungelbuch	1980	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	80,000	265/47/80. 1980
Das neue Dschungelbuch	1980	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	80,000	265/48/80. 1980
Nur so Märchen	1989	Der Morgen		48/22/89. 1989
Das Dschungelbuch (2. Auflage)	1950?	Paul List Verlag	46,000	reprint
Das Dschungelbuch (3. Auflage)	1952?	Paul List Verlag	46,000	reprint

Fig. 16: Works by R. Kipling published in the GDR between 1948 and 1989 (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013)

The Formation of the Central Administration of Publishing and Book Trade (1961 to 1969)

According to documents held at the Federal Archive, the *Außengutachter* or external assessor(s) faced ‘considerable demands concerning political, ideological and professional qualifications and hence were summoned for regular consultations’ (BA DR-1 DRUCK 2012: 20-21). As we have hinted in chapter 1, the system offered ideological standards (*Richtlinien*) that offered little leeway for individual considerations (21).⁸⁶ The nature of these standards or guidelines depended on the political climate, and these were not published or distributed to assessors and publishers. Unsurprisingly, this fostered an uncertain atmosphere in which the system was felt to be arbitrary. Equally, a strong degree of ideological control was inflicted upon the assessors themselves.

In order for the Party to be able to monitor and plan topics, and in order to regulate print approvals more efficiently, the unpublished, internal guidelines were accompanied by a set of internal Party instructions that were issued in February 1957: the *Perspektiv-* and the *Objektkartei* (perspective and object map) (BA DR-1 1101 1957a; 1957b; BA DR-1 1279 1958). Until 1989, the *Perspektiv- und Objektkartei* were the only (Party-internal) instructions drafted for the regulation of the *Druckgenehmigungspraxis* or print approval practice (Barck, Langemann and Lokatis 1996: 191; BA DR DRUCK 2012: 21). By the end of the 1950s, successful ideological monitoring of publishers became exceedingly challenging for the Party; this was a consequence of the fact that different organisations were in charge when it came to political and economic accountability and the management of the (by then) licensed publishing houses. The parallel responsibilities of the organisations in charge are listed below (22):

- a) *HA Literatur und Buchwesen im Ministerium für Kultur* (Main Department Literature and Book Studies in the Ministry of Culture): Responsible for cultural-political and thematic planning of publishing.
- b) *VVB Verlage im Ministerium für Kultur*: Responsible for economic control and management of the 25 publicly owned publishers.

⁸⁶ Original text: „Hohe Anforderungen hinsichtlich politisch - ideologischer und fachlicher Qualifikation wurden an die Außenlektoren gestellt. Mit Ihnen waren regelmäßige Beratungen vorgesehen. Die Außengutachten hatten ebenfalls einem bestimmten Aufbau zu folgen und ggf. Änderungen vorzuschlagen.“ (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 21)

- c) *ZK Abteilung Finanzverwaltung und Parteibetriebe, unterstellte Druckerei- und Verlagskontor (DVK)* (Central Committee of the SED, Department Finance and Party organisation, Office Print and Publishing): Responsible for the economic control of the 25 publishers (excluding Dietz) and for the financial management of the entire book trade.
- d) *Vereinigung organisationseigener Betriebe Verlage (VOB Verlage)* (Association of publicly owed publishers): Responsible for publishers of the block parties.
- e) 15 privately owned publishers: Individual publishers responsible for economic issues.
- f) Church owned publishers: Economic responsibility of the Catholic or Protestant Church.
- g) *Leipziger Kommissions- und Großbuchhandel (LKG)* (Leipzig Commissioning and booktrade): Responsible for the dissemination of all publishing products in the GDR.

(BA DR DRUCK 2012: 22)

Due to the Party's demand in November 1961 that the parallel acting of Party, state and mass organisations should be discontinued, the 14th Plenary of the Central Committee declared their decision to further consolidate and centralise the separate entities. The separation of culture-political and economic accountabilities required the lasting revocation of individual decision-making processes and the independent issuing of instructions by separate organisations (22). Accordingly, on 12 January 1962 it was announced that a drastic change in the management of the publishing industry and book trade was required. This would again entail a reorganisation of the Ministry of Culture (BA DR-1 8650 1962).

On 21 December 1962, the *Beschluß über die Bildung einer Hauptverwaltung Verlage und Buchhandel des Ministeriums für Kultur* (Resolution Concerning the Establishment of a Central Administration of Publishing and Book Trade in the Ministry of Culture) was drafted for the consolidation of the administrative process. The decree took effect on 1 January 1963 and served as a means by which the Party could establish a controlled schedule of political, ideological and economic responsibilities in publishing, including the dissemination of books. The changes were therefore aimed at an *einheitliche politisch ideologische und ökonomischen Leitung des Verlagswesens und des Groß- und*

Einzelbuchhandels (a common political, ideological and economic management of publishing, wholesale and the retail book trade) (GBI 1977: 360-61). The reorganisation had serious consequences for the official bodies previously in charge. The *VVB Verlage* was dissolved on 31 December 1962, and subsequently all publishers previously supervised by the *Abteilung Finanzverwaltung und Parteibetriebe* (Department for Finance and Party organisation) were assigned to the Ministry of Culture. This was also true for the *Leipziger Kommissions- und Großbuchhandel (LKG)* (Leipzig Commissioning and book trade), and all Party-owned publishers were transferred into the public ownership of the people's book trade (*Volksbuchhandel*) (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 22-23).

Since the reorganisation demanded more manpower, 123 new positions were created within the Ministry of Culture (23). In order to make a lasting impression upon the publishing industry and book trade, and in order to legitimise their organisational changes and to render these as necessary, the Party's ideologists accused the entire book industry of having neglected their political duties. In order to emphasise the relevance of censorship, publishers were accused by the Party's ideologists, such as Kurt Hager, of having issued *zerfallene Begutachtungen* (decayed assessments).

As a result of the new consolidation of responsibility, a new administration for control and censorship was born: the *Hauptverwaltung Verlage und Buchhandel* or 'Central Administration of Publishing and Book Trade' (*HV* for short). All major responsibilities in publishing were now transferred to this body and, as of January 1963, this Central Administration assumed strategic and thematic control of individual publishers. They were responsible for the assessment of manuscripts and the authorisation of print permissions (*Begutachtung*); the allocation of paper (for all publishers); the management of profits from publishing businesses; statistics; publishers' literary profiles and publishing programmes; and, finally, for the entire undertakings previously conducted by *VVB Verlage* (23).

With the establishment of the Central Administration of Publishing and Book Trade (not to be confused with the Office of Literature and Publishing previously in control) the Ministry of Culture envisaged, by way of a decree issued on 21 December 1963, the development of an improved 'socialist national culture very much in the spirit of the *Bitterfelder Weg*' (Bühl 1970: 79-82). Having found a new and lasting structure for the Party to directly control censorship and define publishing routines, the Ministry of Culture

maintained its new Central Administration of Publishing and the Book Trade until 1990, which we will call 'Central Administration' for short in the subsequent text).⁸⁷

In 1965 the Central Administration had two departments in charge of literary assessments: one addressed scientific literature and the humanities (*Abteilung Wissenschaftliche und Fachliteratur*) and the other was concerned with general literature, music and music literature (*Abteilung Belletristik, Kunst und Musikliteratur*). The latter included a division for contemporary German literature (*Sektor Deutsche Gegenwartsliteratur*) and there were also sub-divisions for several subject areas, or *Fachgebiete*, dedicated to specific genres. For instance, the sub-division *Fachgebiet ausländische Gegenwartsliteratur* dealt with the assessment of contemporary foreign literature and incorporated the appraisal of modern and contemporary British literature. The second (*Fachgebiet Kulturelles Erbe*) was concerned with reviewing and assessing general classics, which were considered cultural legacy. A further sub-division (*Fachgebiet Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*) concerned children's books and their educational value. Two more sub-divisions dealt with literary criticism, the *Fachgebiet Literaturwissenschaften und -kritik* was dedicated to literature such as poetry and prose and the *Fachgebiet Kunst- und Musikliteratur* dealt with art and music literature. A third department was introduced to deal with the 'dissemination of literature and propaganda' (*Abteilung Literaturverbreitung und Propaganda*). Finally, two additional departments dealt with the subject of economics, as well as with manuscripts that required no license. Figure 16, below, is an organisational chart showing the structural amendments.

⁸⁷ The essay '*Institutionelle Anbindung des Druckgenehmigungsverfahrens und Regelungen zur Durchführung*'—issued by the Federal Archive in Berlin—offers comprehensive insight into the development of the Central Administration of Publishing and the Book Trade (HV) and is recommended for further reading (BA DR DRUCK 2012).

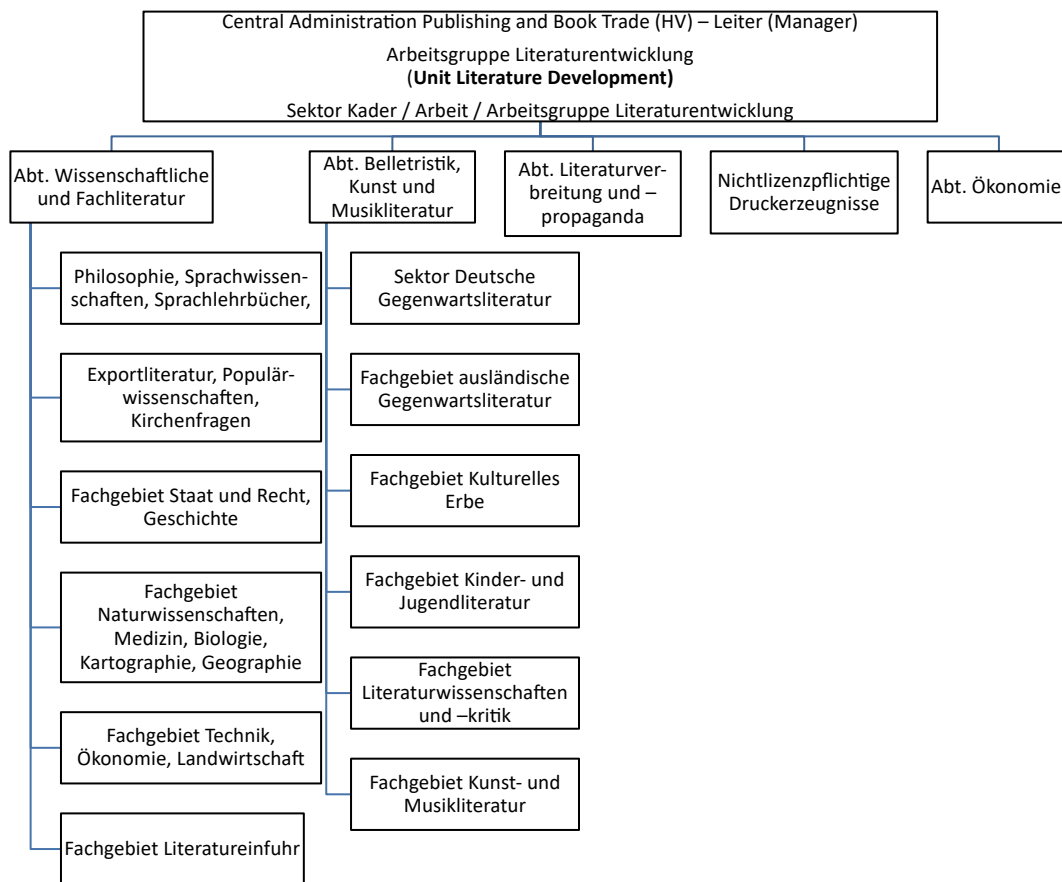


Fig. 17: Organisational chart of the Central Administration of Publishing and Book Trade in 1963 with emphasis on Abt. Wissenschaftliche und Fachliteratur and Abt. Belletristik Kunst und Musikk-literatur. The Central Administration of Publishing and Book Trade's staff appointment scheme of 1965 identifies 124 positions (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 74-7).

The structure of the organisation continued to change during the years that followed, and new departments were added (for example, a supplementary unit dedicated to 'Literature Development and Literature Policy' was added in 1966 and assigned to the department for literature and music). The staff appointment scheme was subsequently amended in order to identify 18 new positions (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 24-5). An organisational chart from 25 July 1967 again reveals yet another new unit responsible for International Liaisons in Publishing (*Sektor für internationale Verbindungen des Verlagswesens*), which concentrated its efforts on acquiring and settling royalties. This involved, for instance, procuring licences and translation rights (25; 74-84).

As the Central Administration belonged to the Ministry of Culture, they were

ultimately presided over and guided by the following authorities: the plenum of the Central Committee (ZK), the Politburo, the secretary of the ZK, the Ideological Commission and the council of ministers (Alexander Abusch). The *Staatsratsvorsitzender* (Chairman of State) became the ultimate head censor, and the publishing industry became subject to unreserved Party-control. Since the ideological and economic control of publishers was now in the hands of one single organisation, the Central Administration was authorised to identify and license ideologically sound publishers, who were then endorsed to operate in the GDR (27).

Christoph Links (2009: 9) has studied the history of the establishment of 78 licensed publishers in the GDR, and details the publishing profile of each company, the state of ownership and the director's name (328-337). Of these 78 licensed publishing businesses, 16 companies were involved in the publication of literary works, accounting for 22% of all titles published in the GDR (22-27). Many of these were contemporary socialist literary works from Germany and Russia. Most English and Irish literary titles, which were translated in the GDR, appeared still with Aufbau Verlag and Volk und Welt. As said before Volk und Welt concentrated on contemporary foreign (socialist) writers, whereas Aufbau Verlag mainly published classics and some modern-day literature (Hoeft and Streller 1985b: 89-93; Tschörtner 1987; BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). Furthermore, there were 39 specialist publishers (who issued technical, political and economic titles, accounting for 46% of all titles published in the GDR); 7 publishing houses for children's literature (14% of all titles); 7 music publishers and 5 art publishers (together representing 7% of all titles); 3 religious publishers; and, finally, one publishing house specialising in braille (Links 2009: 26). Almost the entire publishing industry in the GDR operated from two locations: Leipzig (38 publishers) and Berlin (32 publishers, albeit significantly larger companies) (26). The remaining 8 publishers were rather small businesses and operated from Bautzen, Dresden, Gotha, Halle, Rostock, Rudolstadt and Weimar (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

The ownership structure of the remaining 78 licensed publishing houses was never revealed in formal statements, neither by the *Leipzig Börsenverein* (Book Trade Association) nor by representatives of the 'People's Book Trade' (*Volksbuchhandel*). A possible reason for this omission may have been the concealed Party-tenure of the ten most profitable publishers, which, as of 1 January 1963, were managed by the Central

Administration of Publishing and Book Trade who acted as fiduciary for the party.⁸⁸ Indeed, on 18 April 1984, a confidentiality agreement was issued between the 'Department of Finance and Administration', the Central Committee and the Ministry of Culture. This document gives an indication of the Party's reluctance to officially admit ownership of the ten most profitable publishing businesses in the GDR (Links 2009: 27).⁸⁹ As early as 1956, the Ministry of Culture received an annual payment of 203,000 *Ost-Mark* (East German currency) from Party-owned publishers for fiduciary service conducted. By collecting this service charge, to some extent the state became the Party's agent; they were to provide a detailed annual account of how the Central Administration had managed and increased the Party's assets in exchange. This enduring relationship between Party and Ministry continued until 1990. At that time, the Party's Committee decided to discontinue this administrative practice by issuing an official ex-enactment on 31 January 1990 (27-29).

During the 1960s, Aufbau and Volk und Welt had already developed into *the* major publishers of British and Irish works. Volk und Welt in particular had a significant and flawless history of publishing foreign Marxist and socialist works. Volk und Welt was forever expanding its repertoire, which led to the inclusion of British and Irish titles barely known to British readers (Tschörtner 1987: 386-90). They looked for western contemporary social critical novels that were sceptical of capitalism (386-90). These distinct approaches may have been the result of the fact that the Central Administration profiled the two publishers differently. Another motive may be found in the officially prescribed avoidance of competition (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 30-36).

Despite the way in which Aufbau was profiled by the Central Administration, Aldridge remained with the publisher (Hoeft and Streller 1985b: 89-90) (presumably owing to the established history between author and publisher and a lack of economic motivation to shift business to Volk und Welt). Volk und Welt was allowed to continue its wider search for appropriate contemporary British owing to the publisher's affiliation with the Party; this was undertaken in order to satisfy the mounting demand for Western literature.

The following chart shows the number of recorded publications (first editions) by

⁸⁸ See the list of publishers included in *Das Schicksal der DDR-Verlage: Die Privatisierung und ihre Konsequenzen* (Links 2009: 328-337).

⁸⁹ Private Archive, Aufbau Verlag.

various publishers. Between 1949 and 1990 Volk und Welt and Aufbau published most British and Irish titles. In particular Volk und Welt published new contemporary titles while the rest published predominantly classics and contemporary English writers already established in the GDR.

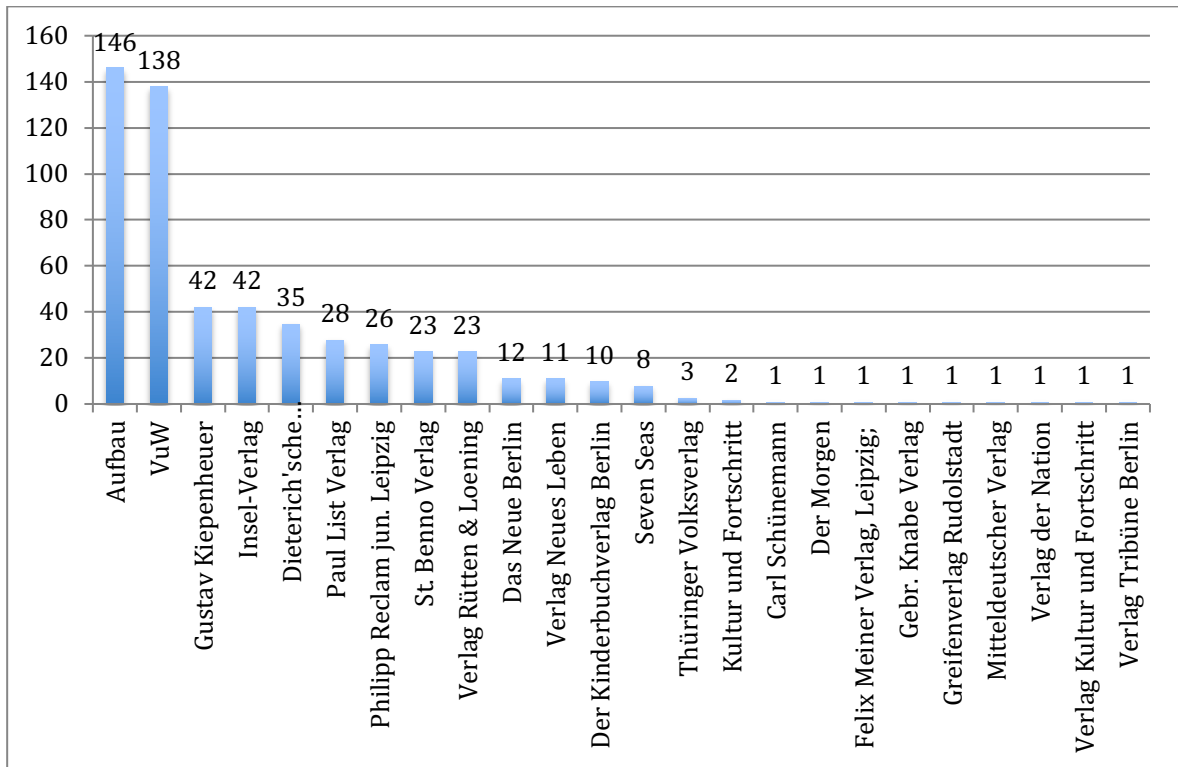


Fig. 18: Number of recorded British and Irish publications (first editions) between 1949 and 1990 according to publisher

British Left-wing and Social Critical Writers and Their Socio-Cultural Reception in the GDR

In 1960 Volk und Welt published Alan Winnington (Tschörtner 1985: 246), a most colourful personality whose biography is itself not dissimilar to a Cold War spy story. Winnington was won over to the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) in 1934, and soon became branch secretary. He had acquired a National Union of Journalists Card, and—while based at King Street, London—the party leadership made him into the CP's first Press Officer (Winnington 1986: 53).⁹⁰ He ran for election for the British Communist Party (PCGB) in the mid-1940s, but failed to win. After his defeat the Communist Party of China (CPC) had asked Harry Pollitt (General Secretary of the PCGB) for a British comrade to be sent to assist the Chinese Information Department. Accordingly, Pollitt sent Winnington to China in 1948.

In China, Winnington's role developed into that of an important foreign correspondent: he witnessed the most extraordinary events when he accompanied the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the final phase of the Civil War. Winnington was witness to China's changing politics; as the revolution triumphed, he was with the Chinese Communist leadership before and during the capture of Beijing (Ascherson 1986: 10).⁹¹ His cables to Britain's *Daily Worker* in particular made the paper indispensable reading at the time.

But more noteworthy was the fact that Winnington, along with the Australian Fed Graham (Wilf) Burchett, subsequently settled in as accredited correspondents on the North Korean side, becoming the only Western journalists to observe the Korean War from a North Korean perspective. Winnington's *I Saw the Truth in Korea—Facts and Photographs That Will Shock Britain*, published in London on 9 August 1950, brought about the first accusations of treason (Winnington 1986: 159-71).⁹² Because of his clear

⁹⁰ 'So I became a professional Communist and have remained one ever since. I recall it as the proudest moment of my life and through all the vicissitudes, disputes and disagreements have never regretted that decision.' (Winnington 1986: 53)

⁹¹ Winnington (1986: 84-9) recounts in his biography *Breakfast with Mao*: 'In that situation Chu De picked up his writing brush and wrote a dozen characters which were transposed into one of those uncrackable Chinese codes and sent to Lin Biao: 'DO NOT WAIT. MARCH ON BEIJING AT ONCE. [...]. The Chinese Communists took great pains and time to capture the unique capital peacefully and intact.'

⁹² 'As the talks bogged down, families of the prisoners who got no response from Whitehall began sending me letters through various channels and prisoners' committees sent messages urging me to go north. I had to refuse. I had already cabled the *Daily Worker* proposing to visit the British POWs and send some stories about how they were living. At once came the answer: Don't visit the lads.'[...] As I saw the law, probably

position, some representatives of the British government labelled Winnington a traitor and threatened him with prosecution for treason. He was no friend to the Americans, either. In his foreword to Winnington's 1986 biographical work *Breakfast with Mao*, Neal Ascherson (1986: 11) recalls: 'Alan never liked or understood Americans, and his view of them, like his explanation that they displayed no solidarity because they came from a free enterprise society, was in fact just the sort of *a priori* verdict on ideological grounds which he attacked in others.'⁹³

300 correspondents from 19 nations reported from the Korean War, but everybody else covered the South Korean side. Over the interminable months that followed (9-10), Winnington irritated American briefing officers by constantly undermining them. He challenged the version of the truce talks that they presented to United Nations journalists, and he was frequently able to prove them liars based on documents he obtained from the conference room (10). In 1952, Winnington (1986: 149-158) aggravated the British government by reporting on allegations that American forces had experimented with biological warfare against the North Koreans. He recalls: 'High on my charge-sheet for some time was my reporting of the Americans' use of bacteriological warfare [...]. Forecasting my reports encountered disbelief, indignation, ridicule coupled with the charge that it was a "Communist propaganda campaign" of which I was a dupe or, as some said the initiator' (149), and he goes on: 'Gem war brought some relief to [General William P.] Nuckols. His "UN" newsmen, constrained to join in the general chorus of disgust and disbelief at our reports, shunned Burchett and myself and made the most of the chance to demonstrate their 100 per cent anti-communism' (154). Winnington dryly concluded that 'all this detail and dovetailed evidence was brushed aside by the Americans as having extorted by the "mind-annihilating methods of the Communists" [...]' (157). All the same he (160) acknowledged the gravity of his journalistic contributions when he claimed: 'Bacteriological warfare was halted. I hope that I played a

wrongly, by visiting the 'lads' I might be committing sedition.' (Winnington 1986: 159-60)

⁹³ At the end of the Korean War in 1954 Winnington was deprived of his British passport. Without his documents he became practically stateless, unable to travel except within the socialist bloc. In 1960 Winnington relocated to East Berlin and continued to spend his remaining years in the rather 'congenial surroundings' of in the GDR. He married in East Berlin and his two children gave him, according to his own account, a secure home. Ascherson argues that just because of his family Winnington was able to remain 'an Englishman aboard' to never sank into self-pity and paranoia. Although the ban was lifted in 1968 Winnington continued to stay abroad (Winnington 1986: 12).

small part in brining that about' (158).

Amidst this atmosphere of outrage, the UK government faced mounting political pressure from the US administration to act swiftly against its own citizen. Furthermore, British politicians and the Western media accused Winnington of assisting in what they claimed was a new North Korean trick: the brainwashing of prisoners of war. Winnington was even accused of having been involved in the interrogation of British POW's in Korea (Stevenson 2016), a claim that developed into the allegation that he observed and acted as translator while POW's were beaten and improperly interrogated by the North Korean militia. This was an accusation that no British POW ever confirmed. Winnington gives a full account of what happened in chapter 13 *The British Prisoners* of his memoirs 'Breakfast with Mao' which starkly contradicts the general allegations made (159-171). Ascherson (1986:11) confirms that 'Alan always used to dismiss the "interrogation" charge with contempt. He had regularly visited the British prisoners, taken mail for them, talked and drunk and smoked with them, arranged marriages by proxy, spoken and discussion meetings...but nothing more.'

His journalism aside, when Winnington arrived in 1960 in the GDR he developed into a prolific writer of fiction, and many of his works were translated and published in a number of socialist countries. As a novelist, he authored several detective stories and thrillers that were very much in the English 'murder in the vicarage' tradition (ironically, these works had been especially commissioned for publication in the GDR). Because of the fact that his Chinese and Korean journalistic writings were highly respected by the Party, Winnington became the GDR's first foreign consultant on Asian affairs (Birnbaum 1961: 63). In the GDR, he was seen to possess a simple political outlook: the battle between socialism and capitalism represented a world of conflict, a struggle to the death. Winnington's opinion (1986: 31-3) of Stalin, which emerges with stark clarity in *Breakfast with Mao*, was that the combination of Stalin and Stalinist politics was the only formula that could have beaten Hitler and kept Marxist socialism alive.

In 1960, Volk und Welt issued their first title by Winnington—the first of his works to be published in the GDR. *Tibet* (a book that had been published in the UK, China and Japan in 1957, and in the Soviet Union in 1958) contains a political record of Winnington's journey as a correspondent. This (supposedly) true story tells of the time when Winnington, in a rather unconventional manner, illegally crossed the Manchurian Border,

devoid of a valid visa. The story continues with his arrival in Manzhouli. *Tibet's* most compelling chapters portray Winnington's assignment as Press Advisor to Mao Tse-tung. These chapters comprise a witness report of the conquest of Beijing (Winnington 1960). During his rather long stay in China, Winnington twice travelled to Tibet in order to write about the Great Leap, something he would distance himself from the events in Tibet in later life (Stevenson 2016; Winnington 1986). The writer's anthropological studies of minorities in China (*Die Sklaven der kühlen Berge* | *The Slaves of The Cool Mountains*) (first published by Lawrence & Wishart, 1959) had been translated and published in the Soviet Union before his work was issued in the GDR. In 1961, the studies were published by Volk und Welt and, in an English-language version for the series, by Seven Seas (imprint by Volk und Welt) (reprint in 1962) (Tschörtner 1987: 246).

The true reason for Winnington's appreciation in the GDR lays, however, in the fact that, in both ideological and literary terms, his works were unambiguous (in political and literarily respect), and therefore did not present problems for Volk und Welt to overcome. His flawless communist background supported his burgeoning reputation as a politically sound Marxist. In fact, in 1963, his first novel *Der Himmel muss warten* was even published by the renowned *Buchgemeinschaft der Freien Deutschen Jugend* or 'Book Club of the Free German Youth' with Verlag Neues Leben; this was high praise indeed for a British writer in the GDR. As a consequence, Winnington was actively approached by various GDR publishers and asked to write new works according to the Central Administration's 'policy of literary development', which he was willing to follow. By now, the educational value of his work in the GDR's socialist society was acknowledged, and Winnington was eventually approached by the children's publisher Kinderbuchverlag and asked to produce a sequel to his 1969 work *Silberhuf*, which they had already published (Thomson-Wohlgemut 2009: 129). Set in the Himalayas, the books are about a fantastic robot horse called *Silberhuf* (129). The first title had seen several reprints in 1970, 1971 and 1973 (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013), and the second volume, entitled *Silberhuf zieht in den Krieg*, was published in 1976, also by Kinderbuchverlag. Again, numerous reprints followed.

As a consequence of his success in the GDR, many new novels by Winnington were commissioned. *Der Todgeglaubte* was published in 1970 and would eventually be reprinted in 1975. Das Neue Berlin published two crime story called *Inspektor Gullet und*

die Todeskurve and *Herzversagen* in 1974. They specialised in popular fiction and issued a number of light-hearted crime stories. The business belonged to the Party with the Central Administration acting as fiduciary (Links 2009: 213). It seems likely that Winnington had little problem following up with more suitable and proper socialist writing, and Das Neue Berlin also published his *Duell in Tschungking* in 1978 and his *Der Doppelagent* | *The Double Agent* in 1981 (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). After Winnington's death in 1983, his final work, the autobiography *Von London nach Peking—Erinnerungen 1924 bis 1960* | *Breakfast with Mao* (1986), was finally published, six years after his death in 1989 (in the GDR). A list of Winnington's publications reveals his enormous popularity in the GDR, something that is unrivalled by many of his contemporaries. Figure 19 on the next page reflects the rich variety of his writings for different audiences.

Title Author: Alan Winnigton	Year of publ.	Publisher	Print Permission
Wir sahen selbst: Der Friede wird gefasst	1951	KuF	
Tibet	1960	VuW	302/2/60. 1960
The Slaves of the Cool Mountain	1961	Seven Seas	306/70/62. 1962
Die Sklaven der kühlen Berge	1961	VuW	302, 410/9/61. 1961
Wir hüten diesen Schatz	1961	VuW	
Der Himmel muss warten	1963	Verlag Neues Leben	409-160/7/63. 1963
Der Himmel muss warten	1964	Verlag Neues Leben	
Kopfjäger	1965	Das Neue Berlin	409-160/52/65. 1965
Kopfjäger	1969	Das Neue Berlin	409-160/52/69. 1969
Silberhuf	1969	Kinderbuchverlag	304-270/309/7. 1970
Der Todgegläubte	1970	Das Neue Berlin	409-160/1/70. 1970
Silberhuf	1970	Kinderbuchverlag	304-270/309/70. 1970
Silberhuf	1971	Kinderbuchverlag	304-270/309/71. 1971
Silberhuf	1973	Kinderbuchverlag	314-270/209/73. 1973
Gullet und die Todeskurve	1974	Das Neue Berlin	409/160/112/74. 1974
Herzversagen	1974	Das Neue Berlin	409/160/84/74. 1974
Der Todgegläubte	1975	Das Neue Berlin	409/160/168/75. 1975
Silberhuf zieht in den Krieg	1976	Kinderbuchverlag	304-270/309/83. 1983
Duell in Tschungking	1977	Das Neue Berlin	409-160/154/77. 1977
Duell in Tschungking	1978	Das Neue Berlin	409-160/154/78. 1978
Der Doppelagent	1980	Das Neue Berlin	409-160/166/79. 1979
Ridley & Son. Kriminalroman. DIE-Reihe.	1981	Das Neue Berlin	
Herzversagen	1983	Das Neue Berlin	304-270/537/83. 1983
Silberhuf	1983	Kinderbuchverlag	
Silberhuf zieht in den Krieg	1983	Kinderbuchverlag	
Von London nach Peking	1989	Das Neue Berlin	

Fig. 19: Works by Alan Winnigton published in the GDR between 1960 and 1989. (Tschörtner 1987: 246).

In 1963, Volk und Welt introduced John Gerard Braine's work *Der Weg nach oben* | *Room at the Top*, a work that had first appeared with UK publisher Eyre & Spottiswoode in 1957 (Volk und Welt would go on to reprint the book in 1964 and 1966). In the GDR *Der Weg nach oben* was classified as *britischer Arbeiterroman* (British working-class novel) since the author scrutinises the English class structure and the British society, revealing a certain vein of sarcasm. Prominent among the 'Angry Young Men' school of northern English working-class writers, Braine was disenchanted with the traditional English class system.

His novel *Der Weg nach oben* is about Joe Lampton, a worker's son, who reports with assured irony about his planned ascent to become junior partner of a steel company. Braine leaves no doubt that Lampton's social advancement is a moral descent into marriage for money. The book became a bestseller in both the UK and the GDR; indeed, Volk und Welt's 1966 reprint of the novel appeared in a large edition of 100,000 copies (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). *Der Weg nach oben* was to be the only work by Braine translated and published in the GDR (Herbert Schlüter, print No. 410/156/66; 1966). Although his first novel was popular in the GDR, his second novel *Life at the Top* | *Ein Mann der Gesellschaft* (1962) was not considered for dissemination (in the GDR). This was because it (allegedly) had lost the character of a realist British working-class novel, according to Marxist reading (1986: 420). In fact GDR's literary critics complained a rather *banale Ablaufschilderung* (banal depiction of the plot) lacking the essence of sufficient class-consciousness. Therefore, we may raise the assumption that this Marxist objection may have influenced the publisher's decision not to issue Braine's 1968 work *The Crying Game* | *Das marktschreierische Spiel*, although the storyline ties in with the writer's first work (*Room at the Top*). A reason might have been his contemplating contemporary issues critically. During the 1980s, there was no further interest in publishing novels by Braine since his stories did apparently no longer reveal sufficient class-consciousness or the right dose of social criticism. In particular *One and Last Love* | *Einzig und letzte Liebe* (1982) was regarded a 'blatant self-expression' without spirit (420).

In 1964, Volk und Welt published Keith Spencer Waterhouse's *Billy der Lügner* | *Billy Liar* (BA DR-1 RGUS 2013). Set in the fictional English town of Stradhoughton, the semi-comical story is about a working-class 19-year-old boy who resorts to fantasy in order to escape the monotony of family life (McEwan 1990: 5). From a Marxist point of view, the

protagonist's class context took a back seat to the problem of alienation and to the subject of the search for identity. Also, like Braine's first novel, Waterhouse's work was labelled as British working-class novel, Within this genre it was classified as 'Literature of the Angry Young Men' (Seehase 1986: 432). This particular term for a specific genre created in some ways a link to a number of contemporary British social critical writers. Marxist literary critics declared the eligibility of 'the term [British working-class novel] as a theme of the workers in their everyday existence' since they 'turned into protagonists exploring their social environment' (432), and they attributed authenticity to the workers' psychological situation in Britain.⁹⁴ The author's exposure to a bourgeois, capitalist society was considered the cause for the surfacing of a class-conscious type of *Gesellschaftszorn* (wrath against society), which, in the GDR, became an epitome of the literature of 'Angry Young Men.' Therefore, Waterhouse's work did not count as a classic representation of a British working-class novel,. Due to the literary prevalence of *Gesellschaftszorn* it was 'considered a warning against it' (432) (against the British capitalist society). According to Marxist reading the novel reflected the denial of social reform in Britain by revealing the shortcomings of capitalism. Marxist literary critics approved this type of literature as a specific lyrical concept which contradicted the contemporary bourgeois concept of poetry. In particular the novel was legitimised due to its explicit criticism of the British welfare state.

While 'Billy Liar' (Waterhouse) and 'Room at the Top' (Braine) were classified as British working-class novels of the 'Angry Young Men', Philip Larkin along with his contemporary, the poet Kingsley Amis was largely seen in the GDR as representing an offshoot of Britain's counterculture. In fact Larkin was considered a major representative of the counterculture movement. Marxist literary critics spoke of Larkin's angry verse (*zornige Lyrik*) (493). Despite his communist background GDR's culture guardians were afraid of Larkin's literature. It was seen of having lost its spirit to revealing class-differences and the deficiencies of capitalism; Larkin's corpus of work was considered provocative and too rebellious. It was feared for its subversive character to possibly compromise young people in their political beliefs. His literature was considered as anything but a 'closed style'

⁹⁴ Original text: „Die Literatur der *Angry Young Men* schuf in gewisser Weise Voraussetzungen und Anknüpfungspunkte für eine Reihe von Autoren, die sich dem Thema des Arbeiters und seiner alltäglichen, individuellen Existenz zuwandten und ihre Helden in einen authentische gestalteten Milieu mit Blick auf deren psychologische Situation erkundeten.“ (Seehase 1986: 432)

(*geschlossene Stilrichtung*) (492), a mere reflection with 'strong objectification' revealing a distance between the object and the lyric subject (492). The work by Larkin printed in the GDR was an anthology of poems (*Gedichte | Poems*) including verses by Thom Gunn and Ted Hughes. This anthology was published with Volk und Welt in 1974 in a one-volume edition (Tschörtner 1987: 136) and in 1988 Volk und Welt finally published *Mich ruft meiner Glocke grober Klang – Gedichte | Poems*.

In 1962, Volk und Welt added Kingsley Amis as a new British author to their programme. Amis's work *Glück für Jim | Lucky Jim* complemented Volk und Welt's legacy for publishing British working-class novels. However, this particular work seemed ambiguous to some degree. It was decoded as a 'social satire' (Seehase 1986: 429). The plot is about fictional Jimmy Dixon who comes from a working-class background and struggles in vain to extend his job as an assistant to a Welsh university. This is because he does not hide his contempt for academics while his own academic efforts remain rather mediocre. Eventually the story turns out to develop into a 'capitalist cliché' when Jimmy, the 'have-not' becomes the secretary of a millionaire. Also, like Larkin, Amis's work did not fulfil the literary expectations of a British working-class novel, but the scholars agreed that the storyline contained adequate social criticism towards the bourgeois society in Britain to be published in the GDR. Contemporary literary criticism suggests that 'Amis invented a new kind of writing (like Hemmingway), combining the demotic with an ironic and pseudo-academic insistence on correct syntax [...]' (Johnson 2010: 12-3).

Glück für Jim | Lucky Jim (1962) remains the only work by Amis published in the GDR, and there had been no further efforts for the publication of later works written by Amis. We may only speculate why the title was published at all, the writer's communist party background (1942) may have served the purpose. There been very little issued on Amis in the GDR, making Seehase (1986: 428-30) an important source. The scholar hinted at the likely reason when he claimed that Amis further artistic 'development led politically into the conservatism' by the adoption and continuation of writing 'trivial literature' (429). He asserted that even latent Tory-style anti-communism is evident in Amis's 1982 work *The Russian Hide-and-Seek* (not published in the GDR).

It is easy to understand why GDR publishers were increasingly restrained when it came to contemporary British writers in the period from the early 1960s to the late 1970s, an epoch that was characterised, in Britain, by an impulse towards a free and unrestrained

society. Cockin and Morrison eds. (2010: 46) describe the early 1960s as ‘the initial sexual and emotional revolution in Britain and Europe associated with the counterculture.’ This was something that ‘would gave way to a more genuine opening out of consensus to include issues of race, gender, nation and sexual orientation, a concern with rights and equality as well as with liberation, and with the diversification of citizenship and political identities’ (46). To appreciate the publication strategies concerning English literature that existed in the years that followed, we first need to examine the successive political and socio-cultural changes that occurred during the sixties.

During the early sixties, writers and intellectuals increasingly raised their voices in favour of the eradication of censorship and a more liberal print approval procedure (Barck, Langermann and Lokatis 1997: 199, 204). Denying these calls from the intelligentsia, the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the SED (held 16–18 December 1965), which solely focused on issues of cultural politics, firmly cemented the suppression of any liberalisation (Agde 1991). This so-called *Kahlschlagplenum* (clearing plenary) had serious repercussions for authors, theatrical practitioners, musicians and filmmakers, who experienced a number of repressive interventions and warnings (Jäger 1994: 119). Censorship was tightened, and the control of literary works intensified (Barck, Langermann and Lokatis 1997: 227).

The British literary and social scene of the 1960s and 1970s differed significantly from the cultural politics of the SED: literature on sex and nonconformist subjects were, in the GDR, viewed as a destabilising factor. Despite the fact that Larkin was an active member of the PCGB (until 1956), he was, in the GDR, strongly associated with the sexual liberation of the 1960s; this meant that the manner in which the poet was understood in the GDR was somewhat contradictory.

As the sixties wore on, a new, looser attitude could be found in British literature, characterised by new modes of expressing feelings, the return of the confessional mode, and a new explicitness about sex and the body. The energies of the movement came to be further and further bound up with questions of identity. Such questions are traditionally the concern of literature and culture. The *Post-War British Literature Handbook* reads that ‘the power of symbolic representation and cultural embodiment in constructing and containing identities and subjectivities was recognised from the first as definitive aspect of a new literary movement’ (Cockin and Morrison 2010: 49). Ashley

Dawson (2013: 114) suggests that 'since the ethos of collective benefits had failed to dismantle the competitive individualism of British capitalism, leaving increasing affluence as the primary legitimization of post-war settlement, working-class youths had good cause to rebel against inequalities of the education system and the dead-end jobs for which that system destined them' and she argues that during the early 1960s, 'working-class British youths were trapped in schools that offered them little social mobility and even less meaningful education', and Dawson (114) claims that 'these institutions were essentially prisons keeping the young out of the workforce until they reached state-designated maturity.' It comes as no surprise: The authorities in the GDR were afraid that rebelliousness literature stemming from these grievances could spread into East Germany.

The *Bitterfeld* Conferences were especially designed to keep negative, insubordinate influences out of the country and away from the GDR's youth, who were organised in the *Freie Deutsche Jugend* and in other organisations. In terms of their administrative structure and mass appeal, these unions were not unlike the pre-war *Hitler Jugend*. In a manner that was similar to the pre-war situation, the purpose of these organisations was to indoctrinate the young according to the Party ideology. Despite the Party's restrictive policy on information and literature, however, there *were* protests in the GDR, an almost unknown fact resting in the collective memory. Notwithstanding the Party's complete monopoly over publishing, a subculture developed in the GDR seven years after the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1968. According to the historian Bernd Gehrke (2008) this juvenile subculture represented a generation of nonconformity, and the oppositional tendencies of this group added a new dimension to the conflict with the Party (BA DR-1 182 1022 S-BN: 1967). Members of the various social classes were involved in countercultural protests in the GDR: workers, employees and the intelligentsia, even extending to the ranks of the SED. What was worse for the Party was the fact that the bulk of the protests were conducted by young workers. Gehrke (2008) confirms that the social rank of those arrested was an important indicator and showed that approximately three quarters were working-class members.

Owing to the countercultural movement in the West and the Party's concerns that this would infect their own working-class, the GDR tightened the reins when it came to the dissemination of information. As a consequence, they became more restrictive when it

came to the publication of contemporary left-wing British literature. The politics regarded literature as a mere guidance for society, and this guidance was still to come from the Central Administration (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 26-33). To an even greater extent, the issue of print approvals was strictly controlled by the Central Administration (see the Organisational chart of 1963). According to the *Arbeitsordnung für die nichtverlagsgebundene örtliche Publikationstätigkeit* (Declaration for Independent Publishing Activities) from October 1968, the *Bezirksdruckgenehmigungsstellen* (District Council's Offices for the Issue of Print Permits) within the *Abt. Kultur beim Rat des Bezirks* (District Council's Culture Department) were responsible for the examination of manuscripts rendered by local authors (29).

However, in contrast to the general practice for dealing with German writings, there was a distinct process for British literature. Contemporary works from the British Isles were chiefly selected and suggested by individuals at Aufbau and Volk und Welt according to an astute system of Marxist interpretation. The evaluation was conducted as follows: the choice was limited to a small number of selected writers who had (either in the past or the present) a PCGB or class-conscious (but not countercultural) legacy, or the choice involved classics that sat within the genre of critical realism. As we have seen, in order to be deemed acceptable, contemporary British literature needed to invoke anti-fascist, anti-capitalist and socialist humanist values. The authors of such works were required to be critical of British politics and the present state of Western society. British literature was required to establish a continuous and clear-cut position towards Marxism-Leninism; this fact was especially true after the second Bitterfeld Conference, which promoted the criterion that literature must deal with the 'socialist truth' (14-31).

At this point, we can draw the following conclusions: The majority of contemporary British literature and journalism did not, of course, follow the pattern promoted in the GDR. A manageable selection of British classics and contemporary social-critical or left-wing works were, all the same, deemed suitable. All such works dealt with humanism in one way or another, with interests ranging from the Renaissance through to modernity.

From the Party's point of view, it was imperative that readers received contemporary British literature according to a pattern that affirmed Kurt Hager's ethics. Hager (1961: 33), the Party's chief ideologist, had outlined these ethics in a 1961 speech at Berlin's Humboldt University, where he spoke about the serious role of socialist humanism in

cultural policy: 'The GDR is the secure stronghold of struggle for peace and humanism in Germany. This is due to its nature of [our] socialist society and its ideology which is determined by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.'⁹⁵ It is now obvious that each and every work considered for publication, whether communist or liberal, required a thorough Marxist assessment.

Between 1960 and 1969, an increase in the range and quantity of left-wing British and Irish literature is visible. This data is evidence of the constant pursuit of new and 'affirmative' literature from the British Isles in the GDR. The following table (Figure 20) supplies the names of the contemporary British and Irish authors published, and the year in which their work appeared. Each of the authors listed was class-conscious and critical of Western society in general, and of Britain in particular.⁹⁶ All of these writers possessed, at least to a certain degree, anti-capitalist and pro-communist sentiments. Judging by these writers' biographies, their political attitudes and their literary styles, there is the palpable sense that the British works published in the GDR during the 1960s did not represent the diverse trends of the UK's literary scene overall. The following table reveals the (perhaps obvious) fact that the GDR's publishers had no particular interest in highbrow literature; their sole concern was with issuing socially and ideologically acceptable works.

⁹⁵ Original text: „Die DDR ist die feste Basis des Kampfes um Frieden und Humanismus in Deutschland. Dies ergibt sich sowohl aus dem Wesen der sozialistischen Gesellschaftsordnung als auch aus der sozialistischen Weltanschauung, die durch die Ideen des Marxismus-Leninismus bestimmt wird.“ (Hager 19961: 33)

⁹⁶ see bibliographies of Tschörtner (1987), Hoeft and Streller (1985) and BA DR-1 ARGUS (2013).

Contemporary, social critical	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
James Aldridge	x	x	x		x	x				
Samuel Butler	x									
Basil Davidson	x									
Alan Winnington	x	x		x	x	x				x
Sean O'Casey		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
Kingsley Amis			x							
John Braine				x	x	x				
Norman Painting										
George Bernard Shaw				x		x		x		
Robert Howard Spring				x		x	x			
Angus Wilson					x				x	
Grahame Greene					x	x	x	x	x	
Keith Waterhouse					x		x			
Herbert Smith						x				
Cedric Belfrage							x			
Alan Sillitoe							x			x
Stan(ley) Barstow								x		
Colin Maclnnes								x		
Arthur L. Morton								x		x
Behan Brendan									x	
Edward Morgan Foster									x	
Clive Staples Lewis									x	
Hugh MacDiarmid									x	
Denis Nowell Pritt										x
Lewis Jones										x

Fig. 20: Left-wing or social-critical writers from the British Isles published between 1960 and 1969 in chronological order.

When thoroughly scrutinising the publication lists, however, it becomes apparent that,

during the 1960s, there *was* a small number of writers published who did not fit into the aforementioned categories. Among them are Agatha Christie, Oscar Wilde, W. Somerset Maugham and Archibald Cronin (see Figure 21).

Contemporary	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Agatha Christie		x							x	
Oscar Wilde					x		x		x	
W. Somerset Maugham							x			x
Archibald Cronin										x

Fig 21: Contemporary writers from the British Isles published between 1960 and 1969 in chronological order.

It seems likely that, despite the ideological requirements, the works of Agatha Christie, Oscar Wilde, W. Somerset Maugham and Archibald Cronin were accepted. We only can speculate that this happened simply because they did not refer to the GDR or its political system; some of their works were adequately critical of capitalism, did not seem to comply with the ideology of Tory politics, and were well-known internationally. This made publication in the GDR conceivable, but it was still left to the Party to allocate sufficient paper. One reason for them to do so might be the following: by investing funds for the acquisition of a licence and for the procurement of paper, the GDR must have appeared, to the outside world at least, more cosmopolitan. Hence, we postulate that it is improbable that similar works by GDR authors would have been allowed; owing to the fact that GDR authors were part of the system, there was always a suspicion of hidden messages in their texts, which readers might have willingly absorbed. While it is true that concealed political messages were unlikely to appear in Christie’s crime stories, such a view of these published anomalies seems too narrowly considered. I will, therefore, now look more closely at the particular reasons for the publication of the aforementioned British works.

In principle, Agatha Christie, a writer of fairly contemporary crime fiction, should have had a troublesome reputation in the GDR; the crime genre was considered trivial and non-socialist, with the integral violence of such works representing negative sentiments. Nevertheless, owing to her popular legacy, in 1961 Verlag das Neue Berlin published

Christie's *Schattenhand* | *The Moving Finger*. The decision to publish Christie entailed selecting short stories that were less ambiguous and easier to pin an ideological interpretation upon. According to Gaby Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009: 189), such authors had a particular purpose in the GDR they were to demonstrate to readers that 'the capitalist system with its class system and subsequently derived social problems, brought about corruption and criminality, while socialism, as a society subscribing to equal status and equal opportunities, had managed to do away with all illegal acts.'

Due to the political vagueness of Christie's work, only a small selection from her vast oeuvre of crime fiction was deemed acceptable by the assessors or *Gutachter*; these were deemed useful in highlighting the deterioration a decadent Western society. Based on this argument Reimar Dänhardt of Verlag das Neue Berlin wrote an affirmative assessment of *The Moving Finger*, and the book was printed in a rather large edition of 70,000 copies. Aufbau's editors Erich Fetter and Klaus Schirrmeyer authored appraisals for *Das Alibi* | *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* in 1968, and for *Mord im Pfarrhaus* | *Murder at the Vicarage* in 1971. 50,000 copies of the former were printed, whereas the latter was printed in a somewhat smaller edition of 30,000 copies. In 1986, Volk und Welt's editors Sabine Teichmann and Hans-Joachim Volkert issued an favourable interpretation of both *Die Tote in der Bibliothek* | *The Body in the Library* and *16:50 Uhr ab Paddington* | *4:50 from Paddington*. Having acquired the necessary licences from Collins of London and Scherz Verlag of Bern and Munich, Volk und Welt printed both stories in a single volume, issuing a rather small edition of 10,000 copies. All of the Christie stories published in the GDR reveal elements of a decadent society (as seen particularly in stories such as *4:50 from Paddington* and *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd*) but they also all dealt with aspects of the ways in which that society is deteriorating, something that is sharply felt, for example, in stories such as *Murder at the Vicarage*.

Authors like Oscar Wilde, who had a rather more colourful personality and chequered history than the likes of Christie, presented an even greater challenge when it came to arguing in favour of their work in the GDR. During the 1960s, four works by Wilde were published by Insel-Verlag: *Der unglückliche Prinz und andere Erzählungen* | *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* (1964); *Das Granatapfelhaus* | *A House of Pomegranates* (1966); *Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray* | *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1966); and his stories and prose poems, *Erzählungen und Gedichte in Prosa* (1968) (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). Wilde became

the ironic representative of English aestheticism—a movement that argued for the modernisation of the artistic culture of the nineteenth century, influencing many European decadent and proto-modernist movements. Stefano Evangelista (2010: 13) describes Wilde as a lasting ‘presence in the networks of influence and cultural contamination that criss-cross the cosmopolitan circles of European Decadence.’

The publication of Wilde was a thought-provoking task: the work needed to be presented in a manner that embraced a convincing Marxist interpretation, which inevitably meant that major aspects of Wilde’s general reception in Europe needed to be avoided. In the GDR, Wilde was first received as a representative of the decadent bourgeoisie who shockingly addressed the social issues of his day. The ideological reduction of Wilde’s work was conveyed by an almost intentional misreading of his works, something that is well-demonstrated by Rainer Kohlmeyer’s claim (1991: 269-86) that most importantly Jung-Alsen presents the characters as determined by their class and guides the sympathy against the individualist dandy Lord Goring, who appears as a representative of the imperialist class interests and as an ideological enemy of the people. When it comes to *Das Bildnis von Dorian Gray* | *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Seehase (1986: 318) asserted that the reader should not be distracted by Wilde’s fascination with frivolous jokes and elements of the decadent lifestyle; they must not overlook Wilde’s conventional literary style nor the trash of his plots.⁹⁷

It was only in 1976 when Christine Hoepfner’s more modern translation of the plays appeared (with Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag) that Wilde would rise to the top of the bestsellers list in the GDR. Hoepfner was one of several translators (along with Paul Bandisch, Siegfried Schmits, Rainer Kohlmeyer and Hans Wollschläger) who produced reliable translations in the 1970s and 1980s (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). The most prominent tendency in the East German reception of Wilde’s comedies was the reduction of the plays to the level of boulevard theatre. Indeed, his plays were predominantly presented as a one-dimensional form of entertainment (Evangelista 2010: 200). There was a general tendency on the part of GDR scholars either to fail to recognise Wilde’s personal attitudes (and indeed his homosexuality) or to systematically reduce the importance of his

⁹⁷ Original text: „Sosehr aber Wilde einerseits von seinen Geschöpfen, ihrem frivolen Witz und elegant-dekadenten Lebensstil fasziniert ist, lassen sich andererseits die durchaus konventionellen, ja kolportagehaften Handlungselemente nicht übersehen, die nicht nur Wildes kommerziellen Zugeständnis an die Verleger geschuldet sind, [...]“ (Seehase 1986: 318)

aestheticism. GDR scholars negotiated the meaning of his works within a complex web of cultural and political considerations, meaning that only certain elements of his writings could be highlighted and interpreted as being social-critical.⁹⁸ Wilde's publication in the GDR was certainly carried forward by his literary reputation in the rest of Europe. However, when one turns to the publication lists for the 1960s, the list of more ambivalent writers like Wilde is still rather short when compared to those situated firmly in the pro-communist British camp.

Nevertheless, the combined publication lists for Insel Verlag, Kiepenheuer Verlag, Reclam and Dieterich'sche Verlagsanstalt do show that Wilde was published regularly and in significant number in the GDR between 1959 and 1984. Table 22 reveals the rich number of publications issued.

⁹⁸ See: Georg Seehase, *Englische Literatur in Überblick*, Volk und Welt (1986: 290; 301-03)

Title Author: O. Wilde	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission	Censors and Translators
Das Gespenst von Canterville (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1959	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	10,000	340/201/59. 1959	Christfried Coler; Translation: Ernst sander
Der glückliche Prinz (AT: Märchen) (Kleine Klassiker-Reihe)	1959	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin		270/3/59. 1959	Ruth Kren
Sämtliche Märchen und Erzählungen (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1959	Dieterich'sche Vlg.		190/23/59 (190/18/58). 1959 (1958)	
Der glückliche Prinz und andere Erzählungen	1964	Insel-Verlag	13,000	260/22/64. 1964	Hans Klähn; Translation: Franz Blei
Sämtliche Märchen und Erzählungen	1971	Dieterich'sche Vlg.	10,000	190/24/71. 1971	Anselm Schlösser - Translation: A. Seiffert
Sämtliche Dramen	1975	Insel-Verlag		260/10/75. 1975	Helmut Findeisen
Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	1979	Gustav Kiepenheuer	50,000	265/47/79; 1979	Translation: Christine Hoepfner
Lehren und Sprüche	1982	Gustav Kiepenheuer	5,000	265/24/82. 1982	Franz Blei
Die Märchen und Das Gespenst von Canterville	1983	Gustav Kiepenheuer	30,000	265/51/83. 1983	Renate Brendel
Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	1984	Aufbau			
Das Granatapfelhaus	1966	Insel-Verlag		260/39/66 (260/28/65). 1965	
Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	1966	Insel-Verlag		260/12/66 (260/28/65). 1966 (1965)	Reichardt, Hans Klähn
Sämtliche Märchen und Erzählungen (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1959	Dieterich'sche Vlg.		190/35/59. 1959	Horst Höhne; Translation: Prof. Dr. F.W. Schulze
Erzählungen und Gedichte in Prosa	1968	Insel-Verlag		260/33/68. 196	Georg Seehase

Fig. 22: Works by Oscar Wilde between 1959 and 1984 (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

But what did these publications mean for local writers? Did local literature include pieces, which were on similar literary or philosophical lines than the aforementioned British works? Bathrick (1995: 17) offers an answer:

[F]or a writer in the GDR, the problem of ideological or political orientation was not a question regarding one's belief in part or all of a philosophical system. Rather, it was a matter of whether one wished to speak publicly. For to "speak" meant to fiction within the paradigms of a carefully delineated and heavily encoded linguistic network and to have internalised the dominant narrative pattern that ensured meaning as part of life-world. (17)

This rationalises why censorship was especially harsh with local authors and why local works were handled differently compared to British literature. British works did not need to encode their meaning in the same way. According to Bathrick (17) a local author might have chosen 'to parody, critique, destabilise, [...] but in order to mock one had to partake in the paradigm.' Of course this did not apply for British works, as their works were usually written for an audience that lived in a different reality. British writers feared no real form of opposition and, therefore, they could indulge in decadence and avant-gardism. Naturally, then, the assessment and critique of this work in the GDR took a different form.

Censorship and Royalties

As we have seen, during the 1960s, publishing was progressively restricted and an increasingly narrow range of literary styles was disseminated. This suppression was gradually institutionalised by the issue of new instructions, something that was undertaken in the hope of establishing a well-regimented procedure for the review of manuscripts. The anti-formalism debates played a decisive role in the politics of socialist culture, which prompted censors to especially detect literary elements of avant-gardism, decadence and modernism in manuscript. Bathrick (1995: 89) maintains that:

In exploring historically the "faces" of modernism within the politics of socialist culture, it is also important [...] to distinguish [...] the terms modernism and avant-garde from their function as epithets within the discourse of official *Kulturpolitik*. For instance, in Eastern European as opposed to American discussions, the notion of the subcategory avant-garde under the rubric of modernism has served

heuristically to delineate ontological differences and to help map out historical transformations within the modernist tradition generally.

When the goals of the GDR's Marxists are set against those of the historical avant-garde, it is clear that the relationship is problematic. As we saw earlier, the first important GDR document dealing with modernism was the declaration by the Central Committee of the SED on 17 March 1952 entitled *Der Kampf gegen Formalismus in Kunst und Literatur, für eine fortschrittliche Kultur* (The struggle against formalism in art and literature, for a progressive German culture). Here Bathrick claims (90) that 'the categories it employs reflect its historical origins.' Formalism, or so we are informed by Marxists, is a form of 'American cultural barbarism' that, when practised in the GDR, leads to a 'rupture with art itself, a destruction of national consciousness and indirect support of the war policies of world imperialism.' We learn that the content is not as important as the structure of a political relationship. The 'rhetoric' and bearing in such phrases as 'cultural barbarism and cosmopolitanism' were typical for the cold war climate and focused on the mounting political and social conflicts (90). He declares:

What would not disappear was this reestablishment within GDR socialism of the classical antagonism between the institution of affirmative culture, on one hand, and its potential subversion at the hands of some form of modernism, on the other – an antagonism transferred now into the legitimacy struggles of a "state that is not supposed to be".⁹⁹ (91)

The politicising of culture seemed a doubtful advantage as forming a national form to socialist content. When considering Bathrick's arguments it becomes fathomable why archival documents reveal the fact that a revision of any foreword or afterword for reprints required a re-submission to the *Abt. Belletristik, Kunst und Musikkultur* within the Central Administration and a new print permission (BA DR-1 12.529: 1980). Document DR-1 12.529 (1980) declares the print approval process to be 'an [indispensable] instrument for the development of literature, a means for the implementation of socialist cultural politics' and a 'tool of control for the prevention of socially destructive publications.'¹⁰⁰ According to this notion the fore- and afterword played an indispensable

⁹⁹ Bathrick (1995) refers to Ernst Wiechert's (1966) work *Das zweite Deutschland - Ein Staat, der nicht sein darf*, Bücher des Wissens 722, Fischer, Frankfurt.

¹⁰⁰ Original text: „Instrument zur Literaturentwicklung und Durchsetzung der sozialistischen Kulturpolitik“

part of Marxist reading. In its own right, the print approval process simply served as the supervisory body when it came to politics, ideology and thematic content. Hence any commentaries such as introductions and afterwords (accompanying a given literary work) needed strict control. Responsibilities were organised in detail. The working instruction was essentially based on the 'Guidelines for Assessment' of July 1960, but four new aspects were added, as listed below (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 29):

- a) External assessments are to be brought to the publisher's and author's notice.
- b) Recommendations by the Central Administration of the revision of manuscripts are obligatory for publishers.
- c) If concerns are voiced by the Central Administration the publisher is advised to withdraw his print application.
- d) Denials for print approval are to be issued by the head of department.

(BA DR-1 12.529: 1980) ¹⁰¹

The *Ordnung zur Begutachtung* or 'Procedure for Review' contained in the Work Instruction was commonly referred to as the *Beurteilungskriterien* or 'Evaluation Criteria.' The document refers to the four criteria of Socialist Realism: 'partisanship and national character, verisimilitude and realism, socialist-realistic positions and socialist ideological content' (1980).¹⁰² Since the aim was to comply with the (increasingly elastic) notions of 'Socialist Realism' and 'cultural heritage', the guidelines left little leeway for the consideration of highbrow British literature. No general rule according to which British or Irish literature could be published can, therefore, be articulated; a written directive never existed. The bureaucratic process was defined in detail, but the actual nature and design of the assessment was not.

For their part, publishers simply supplied detailed information concerning the submission of the manuscript, the print approval application and an external assessment

und als „Kontrollinstrument zur Verhinderung gesellschaftsschädigender Publikationen“ (BA DR-1 12.529: 1980).

¹⁰¹Original text: „Außengutachten sind dem Verlag oder dem Autor auf Wunsch zur Kenntnis zu geben; Empfehlungen zur Überarbeitung eines Manuskriptes haben verbindlichen Charakter; bei schwerwiegenden Bedenken wird dem Verlag empfohlen, den Druckgenehmigungsantrag zurückzuziehen; eine grundsätzliche Verweigerung der Druckgenehmigung bedarf der Zustimmung des Abteilungsleiters.“ (BA DR-1 12.529: 1980)

¹⁰²Original text: „Parteilichkeit und Volksverbundenheit, Lebenswahrheit und Wirklichkeitsnähe, d. h. sozialistisch - realistische Positionen und sozialistischer Ideengehalt.“ (BA DR-1 12.529: 1980)

(*Gutachten*), usually written by a GDR scholar of literature, according to his individual discretion and Party loyalties. When it came to external assessments, the publisher was to highlight the main subjects the external assessor might need to consider, along with any possible questions and controversies concerning the manuscript. For unaltered reprints, the submission of the original print approval certificate (without manuscript) sufficed (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 29-30). But this did not mean, that a print permission was automatically issued for reprints. A justified or unfounded rejection was always possible.

From March 1964 onwards, a *Musterverlagsvertrag* or Model Contract for Publishers became compulsory. This contract included provisions that were essential to the proceedings surrounding print approval. Moreover, the print approval process involved the GDR's criminal law to some extent.¹⁰³ When it came to one of the early regulations *Verordnung über die Entwicklung fortschrittlicher Literatur—Lizenzen* or 'Regulation on the Development of Advanced Literature—Licences' on 13 December 1951, infringements of the rules could result in criminal prosecution, something that was confirmed by the provisions of the revised regulation of June 1968. Fines were imposed for bypassing procedure, and it was argued that this constituted *Mißachtung der gesellschaftlichen Interessen* or the 'defiance of social interests' (Gbl 1971: 540-43). These measures were introduced in order to prevent publishers from printing works that had not been approved. Furthermore, publishers were also prohibited from submitting works to West Germany for possible publication abroad. The Customs Act of March 1962 details the consequences for the illicit transfer of literary works.¹⁰⁴

Copyright law was relevant to the acquisition of British works. The *Büro für Urheberrechte* or 'Copyright Office' regulated the acquisition of foreign currency that was needed in order to acquire a copyright licence. The Central Administration established administrative proceedings to prevent publishers from bypassing copyright law, and fines were imposed. The *Devisengesetz* or 'Foreign Exchange Act' of December 1973 regulated

¹⁰³ see Verordnung zur Anpassung der geltenden Ordnungsstraf- und Übertretungsstrafbestimmungen und von Strafhinweisen – Anpassungsverordnung 1968, page 370 | Gbl 1968: 370 and Anordnung über die Neufassung von Regelungen über Rechtsmittel gegen Entscheidungen staatlicher Organe auf dem Gebiet der Kultur, *Gesetzesblatt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Part 2, No. 61, 13 August 1971 Bundesarchiv, Berlin, page 540 | Gbl 1971: 540

¹⁰⁴ see Gesetz über das Zollwesen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik – Zollgesetz, *Gesetzesblatt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Part 1, No. 3, 28 and 31 March 1962, Bundesarchiv, Berlin, pp. 42-5. | Gbl 1962: 42.

the procurement of licences, and the terms of the Act meant that all contracts that had been concluded were recorded and filed (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 31). Now it was not only the Central Administration of Publishing and Book Trade who were narrowing publishers' prospects when it came to the acquisition of British manuscripts for publication; the Copyright Office and the Foreign Exchange Act also contributed to the complex and long-winded process of acquiring licences. The investment of foreign currency (usually Deutschmark) for the acquisition of a copyright licence and for the procurement of translation rights was also a serious stumbling stone for publishers.

Owned by the Party, Volk und Welt received slightly better financial backing for the procurement of licences than the smaller publishing houses, who had meagre amounts. It is possible to speculate that, when it came to acquiring new titles from the British Isles, this circumstance contributed to the success of Volk und Welt. It may also provide an explanation for that publisher's obvious preference for pro-communist British writers (many with leanings toward the CP). Smaller publishers or those in private ownership usually had to be content with British classics; these did not involve the payment of royalties and, provided the works fitted into the general ideological framework, could be published without risk. Even so, copyright issues *did* play a less important part in the publication of British classics. As shown in the following table, the selection of British literature published in the 1960s remained meagre. The publishers who were involved in the issuing of British classics were Aufbau Verlag, Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, Paul List Verlag, Verlag Rüttgen und Loening, Insel Verlag, and Verlag Philip Reclam (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

Figure 23 shows the most popular classics published during the 1960s:

Classics	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Charles Dickens	x	x	x			x		x	x	
William Shakespeare	x		x		x		x	x	x	
Thackeray		x			x	x	x	x		
Daniel Defoe			x	x	x		x		x	x
Henry Fielding			x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Joseph Conrad				x		x	x	x	x	
Arthur Conan Doyle							x			
George Eliot				x				x		
Rudyard Kipling				x		x				
Nathaniel Hawthorne				x						
Thomas Hardy					x					
Tobias Smollett						x				
David Herbert Laurence							x			
John Galsworthy										x
George Meredith						x				
Henry James								x	x	

Fig. 23: Classics from the British Isles published during the 1960s in chronological order.

Still, even with classic literature, editors faced the unceasing task of choosing ideologically appropriate titles that were socialist realist in terms of their literary character. They were to assess and comment upon imminent publication plans, and they were to supervise the actual publishing process in the GDR. In particular, Aufbau Verlag dedicated a substantial part of their publishing programme to heritage works (Brandstätter 2008: 33-9), and one third of their publishing programme dealt with foreign classics. The following procedures were undertaken: each work was methodically checked and justified and annotated (BA DR1 ARGUS 2013); the editor compared the translation sentence by sentence with the original English text; the text was thoroughly revised (Böhnke 2008: 124); Much effort was made to include comments and references to historical persons and events (Brandstätter 2008: 35). During the 1960s and 1970s, Shakespeare became the essential flagship of Aufbau's *Britisches Programm* (British program), and the entire set of Shakespeare's dramas were issued and reprinted, with large numbers of copies exported to West Germany (Hoeft and Streller 1985a: 541-43). This was because in the GDR Shakespeare's works were considered the most refined *englisches Volkstheater* (English popular theatre) (Weimann 1967: 11). The translation of Aufbau's edition followed the 19th century edition by Schlegel-Tieck.¹⁰⁵

Throughout the 1970s, the procedures for censorship control essentially followed the organisational structure set out during the 1960s (BA DR DRUCK 2012: 30-2). By then, the GDR craved international recognition, and they endeavoured to prove to the world that their Eastern Bloc membership did not necessarily mean that they were lagging behind. From the early 1970s onwards the orthodox concept of Socialist Realism started to crumble. Slowly, room was made for new notions of literature, music and art; elements that went beyond the theme of socialism became increasingly acceptable, to censors and Party members alike. The canon of classics and Socialist Realism experienced an influx of new, more ambivalent literary works from abroad (Brandstätter 2008: 39), as publishers were prompted to increase profit margins in the early 1970s. This resulted in the publication of more 'easy to read', 'suspenseful' and even 'exciting' literature (Thomson-

¹⁰⁵ The Schlegel-Tieck edition was based on a translation produced in the period between 1789 and 1833. Wolf Heinrich von Baudissin, Dorothea Tieck, August Wilhelm Schlegel and three additional translators were involved. Aufbau's editors thoroughly altered the former interpretation by Schlegel-Tieck. Anselm Schlösser, a leading Marxist Shakespearean, issued the comments (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). Published by Henschelverlag Berlin in 1967, Weimann's edition of *Shakespeare und die Tradition des Volkstheaters* (Print Permission No. 235/1/67) provides a full account of Shakespeare's position within the GDR's literary community (for further information see Weimann, R. 1967).

Wohlgemuth 2009: 189). By issuing short stories and anthologies by authors who were widely unknown to the East German readership, new writers from the British Isles were introduced.¹⁰⁶ This proved to be an effective strategy. Once an author had been officially sanctioned for publication in an anthology, the publisher faced less resistance when seeking to publish complete works by that same author.

Kitchen Sink Drama, the Cultural Antithesis, Socialist Inspired Novels and the Socio-Cultural Reception in the GDR (1970 to 1978)

During the 1970s a new selection of British contemporary writers began to feature on the publication lists (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). They were: Sid(ney) Chaplin, Stan(ley) Barstow, Arnold Wesker, Norman Lewis, Clive Barker, Arnold Bennett, Maura Laverty, William Morris's, Barry Hines, James Plunkett, Joyce Cary, Christopher Caudwell, John Boynton (J.B.) Priestley, Brian Friel, Wystan Hugh (W.H.) Auden, John Collier and Beryl Bainbridge. We will now examine the reasons for the increased publication of contemporary British works during the 1970s and their reception in the GDR. As the works of the British/Irish writers published differ considerably in literary style they require a closer analysis. In this analysis we will include references to Seehase's publications, as he was a Marxist critic, if not one of the most influential GRD literary critics dealing with contemporary British literature. His publications were widely distributed, studied and cited. He also worked as *Gutachter*. Seehase provided a lasting image of the general Marxist reception of contemporary British works in the GDR. Hence it is required to include his findings in the following section of this study. We start with Sid(ney) Chaplin, Stan(ley) Barstow, Arnold Wesker and Norman Lewis.

Owing to the fact that Chaplin was a miner's son who became a miner himself, he starkly represented a working-class writer from the lower strata of Britain's social class system. In the GDR Chaplin was perceived as a committed and truthful writer, offering a realistic and credible portrayal of the working-class environment in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Seehase 1986: 436). In 1970 Volk und Welt published Chaplin's novel *Zu zweit ist alles einfacher* | *The Watchers and the Watched* and reprinted the work 1972. The publisher presented *The Watchers* as a book by a writing worker from the British pits, sensitively portraying the lives of British mining families. In particular, the novel received a positive

¹⁰⁶ See the following bibliographies: Tschörtner 1987; Hoefft and Streller 1985b; BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013

Marxist appraisal due to the work's faithful portrayal of a working-class couple which was perceived as a 'protective community' in Britain's 'capitalist everyday life' (436).¹⁰⁷

In contrast to Chaplin, Stan(ley) Barstow's novels were classified as less relevant to the workers issue. From his oeuvre only four novels were issued which reveal the rifts in British society and thus provide an idea of the political shortcomings of the capitalist world, but they also talk about love and the problematics of marriage. These were: *Ein Hauch von Glückseligkeit* | *A Kind of Loving* (1967, Volk und Welt), *Jenseits von Glückseligkeit* | *The Watchers on the Shore* (1973, Volk und Welt), *Der Liebe wahrer Sinn* | *The Right True End* (licensed by Michael Joseph, London | published 1979 with Volk und Welt) and *Mein Bruder, der ungebetene Gast* | *A Brother's tale* (licensed by Michael Joseph, London | published 1984 with Volk und Welt)

Barstow's work *Ein Hauch von Glückseligkeit* | *A Kind of Loving* was received as a mirror of the harsh political reality in post-war Britain and the looming bourgeoisification of the British working-class (Seehase 1985: 435). Undeniable there is some fine irony behind his first novel *A Kind of Loving* in which the sensitive worker's son Victor Brown is caught after a short love experience in a foreign marriage. Trapped in his bourgeois environment, the protagonist remains unhappy. The cultural antithesis between old (working-class) and new (bourgeois) housing is particularly prominent in this work (Wilson 2015: 153). Literary critics saw the symbolic affect of working-class and bourgeois housing as the embodiment for the contemporary political and cultural crisis in British society. According to Nicola Wilson (2015: 154) 'The Brown's [the protagonist Victor's] home stands for the older working-class community culture while that of the Rothwells [the protagonist's wife Ingrid] indicates the vapidness of Richard Hoggart's "candy-floss world" (Hoggart 2013: 206).' Wilson concludes that Barstow explores in his novels 'the difficulties for young working-class couples in making a life of their own in the face of housing shortages and a scarcity of rented accommodation' (154). The novel became popular in the GDR due to the combination of political relevance and family life (marriage) and went on to be reprinted in 1968, 1971 and 1972 (Tschörtner 1987: 35).

¹⁰⁷ His earlier worker's novel *The Day of Sardine's* (1961) – however unpublished in the GDR – became the actual breakthrough for the writer's artistic recognition among literary critics.

The subject of a looming bourgeoisification was, according to GDR scholars, no longer taken up in Barstow's following works *Jenseits von Glückseligkeit* | *The Watchers on the Shore* and *Der Liebe wahrer Sinn* | *The Right True End*, but the writer was the son of a Yorkshire miner and demonstrated sufficient working-class background. Despite his background the two works were classified into the genre of love (in the GDR) rather than into the category of working-class novels. Although Barstow's works are socially critical with the prevailing system to some extent, Barstow's novels *The Watches on the Shore* and *The Right True End* were received to reveal an 'artistic obsession with the problem of marriage in the expectation and fulfilment of love' (Seehase 1986: 436). However, GDR's literary critics implied that the two novels were psychologically more convincing (and therefore realist) than Barstow's remaining corpus of work.

During the 1970's Arnold Wesker developed a reputation as a working-class dramatist from the British Isles. In Britain, according to the Marxist view, Wesker's plays were disqualified as *Spülbeckenkunst* or 'Kitchen Sink Drama'. The playwright was seen to truthfully portray working-class protagonists burdened with lower-class lives in an exploiting, capitalist society. Seehase (1986: 522) dedicated a long article to Wesker, which appeared in *Englische Literatur im Überblick* in 1986. He argued that Wesker describes proletarian heroes who are constrained by a deformed everyday life; something that his protagonists oppose to varying degrees (522). According to him, Wesker's study of art and culture in the wake of his efforts for social reform is *the* stimulating factor for his plays, which is especially visible in his trilogy *Chicken Soup with Barley* | *Hühnersuppe mit Graupen* (1958). We may speculate that GDR's Marxist literary critics selected Wesker due to his literary talent of presenting a certain degree of optimism in his working-class novels by replacing pessimism and disillusionment of his generation with hope and confidence. However, according to an interview at the World Book Club between Arnold Wesker and Harriet Gilbert for the BBC World Service on 10 May 2005 Wesker (2006) comments that 'he was not writing political plays about human beings who are animated by ideas.' Glenda Leeming (2001: 9) states that 'Wesker had a very conscious sense of being part of a new wave, more perhaps than the other dramatists' (11). However, for Wesker 'working-class drama' is not purely theatrical; it is rather 'an expression of a social force' (11). In his plays Wesker was always concerned to show men in his entirety, addressing emotional, intellectual und cultural aspects, which made his protagonists real.

Much of his ideas came from his own life experience, as Wesker (2006) outlined to Gilbert in the aforementioned BBC interview. This ideal of man corresponds intellectually with the philosophy of Johannes Becher and leaned towards contemporary socio-cultural understanding in the GDR. Wesker's *Stücke* | *Plays* were published with Volk und Welt in 1970 (Tschörtner 1987: 35). These were seen as relevant as Wesker brought working-class art to a working-class audience in the GDR, drawing attention to the 'elitism and paternalism of the assumption that working-class communities suffer from cultural deprivations in Britain' (Parlak 2011: 133-145; Dornan 1998: 137). In his plays, he offers a 'contested account' of the history of the (new) left in Britain, a reason for his popularity in the GDR (Parlak 2011: 133-145).

Similar to working-class themes, equally anti-colonial writings were popular in the GDR, and Norman Lewis was received as a typical member of a 'club' of writers with anti-colonial leanings. Lewis's works follow a social-critical and anti-imperial sentiment: he was hostile to the activities of missionaries, especially American evangelists, and he was critical about colonialism and Western influences. Since his journalistic travel writings focus attention on national-revolutionary moments, GDR scholars saw that Lewis's novels had great potential for the GDR's readership (Seehase 1986: 420). Aufbau published *Das zehnte Jahr des Schiffes* | *The Tenth Year of the Ship* in 1970, followed by *Flucht vor einem dunklen Äquator* | *Flight from a Dark Equator* in 1975 (BA DR1 2012: ARGUS). Again, there has been very little published on Lewis in the GDR. From the appraisals we conclude that his works were perceived as an artistic expression of self-understanding, addressing historical insights and moral needs in the anti-imperialist struggle. This notion is taken up by modern reviews. In a book review in *No Soap Radio Polka* Jack Sharp (2014), describes Lewis as a prolific journalist and author of travel writings, who 'had an exceptional gift for capturing the atmosphere of a country on the cusp of social or political change', and Julian Evans writes in *The Guardian* on 23 July 2003 that 'reviewers eager for a comparison mentioned Lewis in the same breath as Greene; and Greene himself had no hesitation in calling him one of the best writers, not of any particular decade, but of our century' (2003).

In 1971, a new set of British writers were introduced to the Marxist reader. Among them were Clive Barker (author of *Woche für Woche* | *Week by Week*), Arnold Bennett (who penned *The Old Wives' Tale*, published with Aufbau in the GDR as *Constance und*

Sophia oder die Geschichte der alten Damen) and Maura Laverty, whose *Irische Kindheit* | *Lift up Your Gates* (first published in 1946) appeared with St. Benno Verlag (Lembert 2008: 49).

There has been little published on Clive Barker in the GDR except an afterword accompanying his work *Woche für Woche* | *Week by Week*, published in 1971 with Aufbau. We can only speculate why this work was chosen, especially because of Barker's countercultural leanings, which was a subject seen as increasingly critical by many Marxists literary critics and scholars. According to Maria Di Cenzo (1996: 39) Clive Barker was related to countercultural groups in Britain who voiced 'the need to break away from conventional [...] stage language as it manifested itself in plays with characters talking to one another (whether middle- or working-class) in rooms.' Gunter Klotz (who wrote the *Nachwort* or afterword for the 1971 Aufbau edition of Barker's *Woche für Woche* | *Week by Week*) (Hoeft and Streller 1985a: 37) pointed to another predilection in Barker's work: 'the increased tendency to treat subjects in an objective rather than a personal subjective way' (Klotz 1971; Di Cenzo 1996: 39). Maria Di Cenzo notes that Barker 'relates objectification, in a dramaturgical sense, to the work of [...] Brecht. Brecht's work provided an important model for the debate over naturalism' (40). Klotz (1971) argued that the dramaturgy of the post-1968 period went further than Brecht's approach when it came to involving the audience. This was relevant to the debate surrounding formal innovation in theatre in the GDR and also to discussions about the contexts in which political plays were performed.

Let's turn to Arnold Bennett, an author who builds on the legacy of social-critical realistic works from the 19th century. Similar to earlier novels, he introduces a young hero who comes into conflict with the British society and becomes disillusioned with capitalism. Marxist literary critics noted that Bennett, who worked as journalist and editor of the journal *Woman*, introduced with *Riceman Steps* | *Das Laster der kleinen Leute* (first published 1923) nothing new, 'but a pale reflection of already existing works' (Seehase 1986: 357). Although Bennett would closely observe social conditions, he was accused to neglect the individual in his historical relationship. Hence it was felt that there would be no need to publish *Riceman Steps* in the GDR. And moreover, Bennett had been an important figure in the War Propaganda Bureau (WPB) that saw leading British authors debate possibilities of endorsing Britain's interests during the Second World War (BA DR-

1 ARGUS 2013). But the decision to eventually issue his work *Constance und Sophia oder die Geschichte der alten Damen* | *The Old Wives* in 1971 with Aufbau (in the GDR) becomes more understandable when we consider Bennett's changing political beliefs after he was sent to the front during the First World War. As a result of his experience of the trenches, Bennett's socialist sympathies were awakened. Hereof Robert Squillace (1997: 87) argues that Bennett 'envisioned the old authoritarian usages of the established order slowly giving way to individual freedom.' He goes on: 'In effect, the debilitating secrecy of desire Bennett so thoroughly depicted in *The Old Wives' Tale* would evaporate, since all desires, no longer posing a threat to some imposed authoritarian order, could safely be exposed [...]' (86). The author is finally described by Squillace (90) to have diverged from the 'Spencerian creed' by considering 'true self-determination', hence no authority would be needed. In this way, we speculate, Bennett's work hit the central nerve of cultural-political beliefs in the GDR. After all, when true communism was achieved authority would be superfluous.

In 1972, Seven Seas Publishing (an offshoot of Volk und Welt) issued William Morris's political writings in an English-language edition of 8,000 copies, of which 4,000 were destined for export (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). According to Bill Bayliss (2016) the political speeches and writings of Morris at the end of the 19th century were seen as indispensable to the revival of the British socialist movement. Chris Nineham (1996) explains that in the 1890's Morris warned against holding faith with partial reforms that depended on 'parliamentary agitation.' Such reforms would, he believed, 'be sucked into the tremendous stream of commercial production, and vanish into it, after having played its part as a red herring to spoil the scent of revolution' (Nineham and James 1996: 196). In his works, Morris claimed that the working-class 'must take over for the good of the community all the means of production' being 'credit, railways, mines, factories, shipping, land, machinery' (196).¹⁰⁸ His writings might therefore be said to illustrate the long history of Marxism in Britain, an influence that was important to the GDR's historians and ideologists.

Seehase (1986: 335-38) vividly describes the life of Morris, and he makes various references to the workers' movement in Britain during the 1880s. In 1881, the

¹⁰⁸ see Dennis Bartels, 'William Morris and the USSR' in *The William Morris Society*, PDF at <<http://www.morrissociety.org/JWMS/14.4Summer2002/SU02.14.4.Bartels.pdf>> (nd: 41-51)

Democratic Federation was established in Britain, becoming a stable socialist party by 1883, by which time Morris was a leading activist. Eventually he joined the anti-war movement (as a consequence of the Great War) and became one of its leading figures. Morris's socialist legacy meant that he naturally became a key addition to the club of left-wing British writers published in the GDR during the 1970s.

Barry Hines was also viewed as a writer of socially critical and class-conscious literature. He had published two major works *A Kestrel for a Knave* and *The Blinder*, which were translated and issued in the GDR. His most popular work *Und fing sich einen Falken* | *A Kestrel for a Knave* was first issued in 1973 with Volk und Welt and reprinted in 1975 and 1979 (Tschörtner 1987: 103). The novel was licensed by Michael Joseph, London (BA DR1 2012: ARGUS). *Der Champion* | *The Blinder* was published the following year in 1974 also with Volk und Welt.

In the GDR his novels were perceived as 'British working-class literature' (Seehase 1986: 437). According to Marxist reading Hines had always felt a strong sense of social injustice that stemmed from his own mining background. His novels centre on the local community in his native place, the West Riding of Yorkshire (437). Hines talks of men labouring in mines and steelworks, of women in underpaid jobs, and of the unemployed. The two early works by Hines that were published in the GDR deal with this particular community; they are realist pieces that address the ills of capitalism and inequality in the form of social dilemmas.

Set in a working-class environment within a mining community, *Und fing sich einen Falken* | *A Kestrel for a Knave* is about a miner's son Billy who lives in a dull environment. Training a kestrel would bring him to a positive spirituality, and mentally to leave behind his desperate circumstances until the death of the bird. Within the story the kestrel echoes aspects of the protagonist's life, while the novel focuses on two elements: the protagonist's inner life and his social environment. From the outside Billy's life seems desperate, and the reader perceives the protagonist's life as agonising, while from the inside the protagonist's life looks stimulating and rather interesting. The bird represents a wider world than the protagonist is able to fathom. Kres appears confident in his own power, which helps the protagonist to develop self-confidence (McMillan 2010).

Despite his politics, Hines's works are conventional in form and were seen to represent

an important critique of the politics of post-War Britain, emphasising the desperation and purposelessness in life of British workers. Seehase (1986: 437) declared that *bedrückende familiar-soziale Bedingungen* (oppressive family-social conditions) in Britain was the central idea behind Hines's narratives. His critique mirrors the publisher's motif for the choice of Hines's novel. The *Gutachter* Klaus Schulz and Karl Heinz Berger legitimised Hines novel for publication as a work that would seamlessly fit into the collection of worker's novels dedicated to address the dull and desperate lives of British miners. Again, a work that served as an impressive reminder to the shortcomings of capitalism and the miserable and poor lives the working-class endures in Britain. The *Gutachten* gave a short overview about the author and his plot laying out the argument, which Seehase (1986: 437, 523) closely followed in *Englische Literatur im Überblick*. The following list details Hines's two novels and reprints printed in the GDR.

Title Author: B. Hines	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission	Censors and Translators
Und fing sich einen Falken (Michael Joseph, London)	1973	VuW	8,000	410/73/73. 1973	Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger Translation: Günther Böhnke
Der Champion (Michael Joseph, London / Penguin)	1974	VuW	10,000	410/62/74. 1974	Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger - Translation: Rainer Rönsch
Und fing sich einen Falken	1975	VuW		reprint	
Und fing sich einen Falken	1979	VuW		reprint	

Fig. 24: Works by Barry Hines, published and reprinted in the GDR (Tschörtner 1987: 103).

Another potential member of socialist inspired writers was James Plunkett, author of *Strumpet City* (published in the GDR as *Manche, sagt man, sind verdammt*). The book, which relates to Joyce's *Dubliners*,¹⁰⁹ was issued by Aufbau in the same year as Volk und Welt's publication *Und fing sich einen Falken | A Kestrel for a Knave*

Plunkett chose The Great Lockout of 1913 as a subject for his novel, and it was his portrayal of the violence of hunger, which went along with the Great Lockout, that was most persuasive to the GDR's publishers. Literary critics saw in *Manche, sagt man, sind verdammt | Strumpet City* a connection to the socialist tradition of great working-class novels, affirming the novel's reception in the GDR as a work dedicated to the great Irish battle of working-class members for national independence from British imperialism (426).

In the following year, 1974, additional British writers were published in the GDR for the first time. Joyce Cary's *Der Pudels Kern | The Horse's Mouth* appeared with Aufbau, and the aforementioned anthology of poems by Larkin, Gunn and Hughes appeared with Volk und Welt (Tschörtner 1987). In 1975, Volk und Welt published Christopher Caudwell's detective story *Das perfekte Alibi | The Perfect Alibi* licensed by the Withy Grove Press of Manchester and London. Plays by E.A. Whitehead and Barry Hines titled (*Alpha Beta | Der Teilhaber*) were also issued (1987: 103).

Cary wrote a trilogy on art which begins with *Herself Surprised | Frau Mondays Verwandlungen*, a volume that contains the first-person narration of Sara Monday. This was followed by two books that concern the men in her life; Tom Wilcher the lawyer is at the centre of 'To Be a Pilgrim' and the artist Gully Jimson features in *Des Pudels Kern | The Horse's Mouth*. The latter was published in 1974 with Aufbau in an edition of 10,000 copies.

The works represent a portrait of an artistic temperament and a piece of metaphysical writing. Cary depicts a penniless painter named Gulley Gimson who develops a disdain for conservative modesty. Nevertheless he is a talented artist, and he is ready to bear any hardship. He only seems interested in one thing: to be a good painter (Cary 2016: vii-x). In the opening of *Der Pudels Kern | The Horse's Mouth* the author opens his work, with the protagonist talking in a language of mighty visual images and quoting from William

¹⁰⁹ *Dubliners* was first published in the GDR in 1977 by Volk und Welt in an edition of 10,000 copies (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013; Hoefft and Streller 1985a: 468).

Blake's *Europe: A Prophecy*. (Aufbau already published Blake in 1958 with a collection of his works | *Werke*) (Hoeft and Streller 1985a: 63).

In the GDR, Cary was considered an author who portrays a credible picture of everyday English life between 1890 and 1939, someone who does not seem to shy away from criticising social and political grievances. One must consider that Cary lived at a time when many had begun to despise the politicians who preferred to talk rather than to eliminate social injustice; she opposed their art of agitation, which led to war and all the suffering that went with it. A. Nirmala (2001: 150) argues that 'many started worshipping the Labour leaders and Socialists as their idols who claimed to work and die for the sake of the common man'; and many, like Cary, 'regarded themselves as representatives of the underprivileged and expected little from the mild zeal of liberal reformers but much more from radical socialist or communist methods.' Malcom Foster (1969: 479) asks and explicates Cary's aim as follows: 'Can a politician achieve that elusive balance between morality and practicality? This is the [...] subject, yet it was obscure for many readers.' Seehase (1986: 415) described *Der Pudels Kern* 'as [...] an amazingly wide image of the English everyday life between 1890 and 1939.' He claimed Cary as a critic of bourgeois society, someone who disapproved of bourgeois career politics, corruption and shattered private lives. He did not even spare the minor characters, instead making them active political reformers (415). *Der Pudels Kern* remains the only work by Cary published in the GDR. Sigrid Klotz and Helmut Findeisen (Aufbau) wrote the assessment (*Gutachten*) and Hans Erich Nossack translated the work for the domestic market.

Like Cary, Christopher Caudwell (pennname of Christopher St. John Sprigg), a British communist who had died in 1937 at the age of 30, was largely unknown in the GDR. He first became heard of when Verlag der Kunst published his *Illusion und Wirklichkeit* | *Illusion and Reality* in 1965 (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013), a Marxist critique of poetry. Seven Seas would go on to reissue the work in 1977, emphasising Caudwell's essays on ethics, love, religion, liberty, history, consciousness and reality. According to Paananen (2000: 36), these are among the most important statements of British Marxism,¹¹⁰ but, even so, Caudwell was not influential with general readers. Rather, his political work was held in high esteem by GDR scholars of literature.

¹¹⁰ Caudwell's *Illusion and Reality* is available at www.marxists.org.

Writing within the Marxist framework, Caudwell also wrote plays and short stories that argued that both poetic form and content are determined by the economic base. Caudwell knew that as a communist intellectual it was hypocritical to live apart from the proletarians. Therefore, 'he joined the popular branch of the PCGB, accepting his share of common tasks—selling the *Daily Worker*, bill-posting, chalking slogans on sidewalks, and speaking on street corners—and living in rooms shared with his British comrades. [...He] continued to write and study but preferred anonymity' (Paananen 2000: 35). Many of Caudwell's works were not printed during his lifetime, but in the 1950s the PCGB began to discuss his positions with great sincerity (33). Equally, his views corresponded with the positions of the Party, and Seehase (1986: 491) consequently praised *Illusion and Reality* by briefly citing Caudwell's views on the classification of poetry from the 1965 edition of Verlag der Kunst.

John Boynton (J.B.) Priestley was not a typical British writer we would deem to be chosen by Marxist literary critics. Owing to the fact that *Laßt das Volk doch singen* | *Let the People Sing* had appeared with Mitteldeutscher Verlag in 1958/1959 (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013), he was recognised as a free spirit among GDR's scholars, who considered both science and philosophy in his literary work. In 1976 Priestley's *Dramen* | *Drama* were issued with Aufbau in an edition of 10,000 copies (Hoeft and Streller 1985a: 473; ARGUS 2013). According to Randy LeJeune (nd) Priestley worked as an essayist, playwright, novelist, social critic and historian, and he also made contributions in the form of an opera libretto, a teleplay, a volume of poetry, many amateur paintings and several short stories. Priestley was fascinated by John William Dunne, a philosopher and theorist of time, and this influence is felt in several of his plays. At the start of World War Two, Priestley became a regular broadcaster on the BBC 'Postscript' which aired from 1940 to 1941 (Cullingford nd) when his broadcasts came to an abrupt end (Tearle 2015). It is claimed that Churchill dropped Priestley from the schedules, and we may speculate that Priestley's involvement in the foundation of a socialist party was the reason: Priestley had chaired the 1941 Committee – he hoped for a new and politically different Britain after the war – and he became a co-founder of the socialist 'Common Wealth Party' the year after.

Publishers in the GDR began to display intense interest in Priestley when the author, calling for nuclear disarmament, wrote an article in the November 1957 issue of the *New*

Statesman entitled 'Britain and the Nuclear Bombs.' Oliver Tearle (2015) notes that shortly afterwards the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was set up. In the GDR, the humanist Priestley was widely seen as a social-critical writer, exposing Britain's monopolistic capitalism in salon comedies, polished witty pieces with an elegant structure.¹¹¹ Priestley's enduring appeal in East Germany is illustrated by the fact that, in 1979, Aufbau published *Du bist ein einem alten Land* | *It's an Old Country* and *Zauber früher Jahre* | *Bright Day*. The works appeared in a hard cover edition in 1986.

We will now turn to Brian Friel. His Irish dramas *Stücke (Dramenreihe)* | *Plays* were published in the GDR in 1977 by Volk und Welt in a rather small edition of 2,000 copies (Tschörtner 1987: 84). Friel was held in high esteem by Marxist literary critics. In his plays, Friel repeatedly addressed the discrepancy between imagination and truth, dream and reality. The GDR's literary critics perceived him as a playwright who was capable of portraying the unprecedented human wealth of the Irish people, those who had slipped into social poverty. He was seen as a rebel against authority and was labelled a master of popular theatre. Seehase (1986: 528) confirms:

The stepchildren of Europe, lovingly portrayed by the playwright in his [Friel's] drama, are bizarre, mischievous, warm-hearted, rebellious against authorities and fate [...]. Friel's stories are about [...] love: [of] the [...] independent and illimitable humanity.¹¹²

On the occasion of his death on 2 October 2015 Yvonne Lysandrou (2015) claims in the review 'Obituary: Brian Friel, Playwright, January 9 1929 - October 2 2015' on Friel published on 9 October 2015 in *The People's Daily Morning Star* that:

¹¹¹ Transcript: 'He [Priestley] knows about the making of literary, about truth and veracity; he finds that in Britain, regardless of the ruling parties, tycoons and financiers, politicians and prelates, nobles, high officials, generals and entrepreneurs and managers of the entertainment industry, the press and the broadcasting combine their power to blind and manipulate the [British] people [...] The humanist Priestley exposes state controlled monopoly capitalism.' Original text: „Er weiß um die Macht der literarischen Wahrheit und Wahrhaftigkeit, wenn er feststellt, „daß sich in Großbritannien ungeachtet Parteien die Industriemagnaten und Finanziers, die Politiker und Kirchenfürsten, Adlige, hohe Beamte, Generäle und Eigentümer und Manager der Unterhaltungsindustrie, der Presse und des Rundfunks zusammenschließen, um mit der Hilfe der Staatsgewalt immer mehr Macht an sich zu reißen und das Volk zu blenden und zu manipulieren [...] Der Humanist Priestley entlarvt den staatsmonopolistischen Kapitalismus [...]“'. (Seehase 1986: 505)

¹¹² Original text: „Die Stiefkinder Europas, die der Dramatiker in seinen Dramen liebevoll porträtiert, sind skurril, kauzig, warmherzig, aufmüpfig gegen die Obrigkeit und Schicksal.[...] Friels Geschichten handeln von [...] Liebe: der endlichen privaten und der grenzenlosen Menschenliebe. Sie tun gut, so wie sie weh tun.“ (528)

Often referred to as the Irish Chekhov, Friel's work was embedded in the history and lives of Irish people, with Chekhovian themes of loss and yearning often played out in a rural landscape. Although frequently described as a dramatist of history and memory, it would be a mistake to only think of Friel in these terms. His plays do indeed revisit past traumas and anxieties, from *Making History*, set in the 16th century, to *Translations* and the linguistic confrontation with British colonisers three centuries later. (Lysandrou 2015)

Since Friel wrote of the disregarded, the vagrants, those who are hopelessly waiting for something to come up his oeuvre was compared with O'Casey's. All the same *Stücke (Dramenreihe) | Drama* remained the only work by Friel published in the GDR. The reason for the meagre number of copies printed lies in the print permission process. The allocation for paper destined for British literature was limited and part of the process of literary control. If a publisher wanted to provide a greater literary variety and would insert an additional British work in their publication list, like Friel's work, he needed to do this within the allocated paper quota designated for the very publication segment (British literature). Most of the paper quota was assigned for works stemming from socialist countries.

Eventually we need to address the Anglo-American poet Wystan Hugh (W.H.) Auden who was received by GDR's ideologists as an author making a clear distinction between conservatism and progress. In 1978, the *Poems* of Auden, dating from 1930, appeared with Volk und Welt in a volume entitled *Glück mit dem kommenden Tag (Gedichte) | Collected Poems*. The work was listed under the segment of British literature. The small edition of 2,000 copies (Tschörtner 1987: 30) was licensed by Auden's West German publisher, Bläschke Verlag, Darmstadt (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013) at an affordable amount of financial means and limited by the policy of controlled paper allocation. Auden's selected poems depicted the English industrial landscape and introduced new lyrical protagonists such as mountaineers, miners, travellers and poets; these were all personalities who represented the revolutionary hero well-known to the socialist readership.

The importance of Auden in the GDR can be seen in the manner in which GDR scholars legitimised Auden's literary conceit, drawing a distinct boundary between self and social reality, although his work was virtually unavailable to the general readership because of the small edition. All the same there were many reasons for Marxist literary critics to

emphasise the poet's relevance for the GDR's intelligentsia: Auden highlighted the difference between philosophical and political opinions, the bourgeoisie and proletarians, conservatism and progress, democracy and fascism, present and future, passivity and activity, manipulation and decision-taking, middle-class security and revolution (Seehase 1986: 401). Of particular value among the GDR's Marxists was Auden's advocacy of a progressive social position, his writings about the incompatibility of bourgeoisie and revolutionary consciousness and, finally, his attitude towards uncertainty and doubt. In the 1930 poems, the Marxist literary critics saw Auden reaching 'the nerve of the younger generation of intellectuals' in the GDR, 'heavily criticising negative human attitudes such as indifference and cowardice' (402). Conclusively, GDR scholars flagged Auden's opinions about the dangers of individualism, the distraction from social problems that is caused by 'cultural presupposition.'

Despite his homosexuality, Auden came to be accepted in the GDR as a political writer who warned against the dangers of totalitarianism (indeed, his writing was greatly influenced by his experience of the Spanish Civil War, where he favoured the socialist camp) (The Poetry Archive 2016). GDR's literary scholars portrayed Auden as a reformist author who draws a clear line between individual and social reality (401). They complimented his literary works as a demonstration of 'the controversy between the bourgeois mind-set and progressive social concepts, which reveal the incompatibility of conformist and revolutionary consciousness' (402), and they approved Auden's criticism of human attitudes, such as indifference, cowardice, and refusal of risk-taking. Auden's warning of 'the dangers of individualism' was seen in the GDR as a criticism of the bourgeois cultural politics that 'distract the individual from the true social problems', such as inequality, which, as a consequence, leads to an 'angry emotional protest' (402). If Auden's themes were important, then perhaps so too were the aural qualities of his work.

Two further British writers appeared in the following two years: in 1978, Volk und Welt issued John Collier's imaginative stories titled *Ein Männlein steht im Walde | Fancies and Goodnights* (1951) (Tschörtner 1987: 58) licensed by Rowohlt Verlag, Reibek of West Germany and in 1979 Beryl Bainbridge's *Der Ausflug | The Bottle Factory Outing*.

Beryl Bainbridge's *Der Ausflug | The Bottle Factory Outing* appeared with Spektrum-Reihe in an edition of 6,000 copies, licensed by Duckworth of London and translated by Peter Kleinhempel. Bainbridge was an author who developed a legacy as a working-class

writer. Her first novel *A Weekend with Claude* appeared in 1967 in the UK, which remained unpublished in the GDR. She was utterly unknown in both Germanys until Volk und Welt unearthed her works and managed to secure a licence for her fifth novel *Der Ausflug | The Bottle Factory Outing*.

Bainbridge descended from a working-class background and she knew the individual and societal difficulties of the disadvantaged in Britain very well. Her protagonists experience alienation without being able to change their situation (Magill 1997). According to a review on Bainbridge by Frank Northen Magill her family background encouraged her to believe that, despite the illusions of the pleasures 'of home and family, working people are alone; when they die, nothing is left but a few tattered possessions, and even the places where they were born, their rented flats, and their factories, are eventually swept away by the rich' (Magill 1997), a social-critical reminder of the capitalist British society. Her texts are about those who look for decency and tolerance but end up in despair. In fact, Bainbridge called herself a socialist, a lapsed Catholic, and 'something of a recluse' (Magill 1997). In a later work, *Young Adolf | Der junge Adolf* (1978) Bainbridge uses a gap in the Hitler biography as an opportunity to have him meet his half-brother Alois in Liverpool. Bainbridge's intention to present a warning of fascism is unmistakable. Seehase (1986: 469) interprets her work as a warning against the fascist potential within the 'petty bourgeoisie.' Marxist literary critics, however, complained the work's satirical element that strips any credibility from the novel, especially when 'psychopathological aspects are brought to the fore', probably the motive why this particular work was never published in the GDR (469-70).

As we have seen, many new contemporary British authors were published during the 1970s, all of them with left-wing leanings, anti-fascist or working-class background. Each of their works was carefully chosen according its cultural, political or social content. All of them were received as being class-conscious, pro-socialist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonial or critical of Britain's politics and society. The table in Figure 25 is the outcome of the publishers' search for British writers who possessed left-wing, class-conscious sentiments. Naturally, the list does not deliver a representative cross-section of modern British literature but instead imports a political dimension, focusing on British criticisms of the undermining effects of mass culture. Hence, the writers listed in the table reveal the efforts of East German publishers to establish British literature in the GDR that uncovers

the contradictions and short-comings of a bourgeois capitalist society, illustrating the dilemma of proletarians who are exposed to a class society. All British writers in the following table embody the articulation of working-class independence by presenting it.

Contemporary

Socialist, working-class background, social critical	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
James Aldridge				x		x	x	x		x
Alan Winington	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	
Sean O'Casey	x	x					x	x		
George Bernard Shaw				x	x					
Robert Howard Spring	x									
Grahame Greene	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Archibald Cronin										x
Alan Sillitoe			x				x			
Arthur L. Morton						x		x	x	
Clive Staples Lewis		x	x			x				
Edward Morgan Foster			x							
Sid(ney) Chaplin,	x		x							
Norman Lewis	x					x				
James Leslie Mitchell	x		x		x			x		
Charles Percy Snow	x									
Arnold Wesker	x									
Clive Barker		x								
Arnold Bennett		x								
Maura Laverty		x			x					x
William Morris			x							
Stan(ley) Barstow				x	x					x
Barry Hines				x	x	x				x
James Plunkett				x						
Joyce Cary					x					
Philip Larkin					x					
Christopher Caudwell						x		x		
Edward Anthony Whitehead						x				
John Arden							x			
James Kennaway							x		x	
John Boynton Priestley							x			x
Dylan Thomas							x			
Brian Friel								x		
Wydan Hugh Auden									x	
John Collier									x	
Beryl Bainbridge										x

Fig. 25: British writers published during the 1970s who were received as socialist, anti-imperialist or critical of Britain's politic and society, in chronological order.

Categorising British Classics

We have seen that British social realism as a mode of literary expression was subject to intense ideological debate among Marxist literary critics in the GDR. We will now examine the British classics that appeared in this era (1949-1979) against this political backdrop. The following section is a short introduction into the reception of British classics and leads us to an important subject, namely the use of British classics for a better understanding of the origin of realism, which will be examined in a case study in chapter 3. When turning back to chapter one, we may group the British classics into three main categories: the realist works of the Renaissance, consisting of the plays of Shakespeare; the literature of bourgeois realism by Defoe and Fielding; and, finally, works of social realism by Dickens and Conrad. As is often discussed, one may speculate that these distinctions are too general and that they do not properly account for all of the writers listed in the table that follows. It is therefore clear that, in order to arrive at a more refined system of categorisation, further analysis of the ideology and social-cultural politics impacting the publishing industry (in the GDR in the 1970s) is required.

The GDR longed to educate their population so that they developed into socialist personalities (Barck, Langemann and Lokatis 1996: 12). Reading British classics was therefore a means of *Bewußtseinsbildung* or inducing political beliefs. In 2003, former director of Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Friedmann Berger reflected how the state 'imputed the central role in the intellectual and emotional education of the human being to literature before all other arts' (Berger and Hanke 1978). As Annika Bautz (2007: 98) has put it, accordingly we may state, that 'the concept of critical realism and its influence on Socialist Realism came to be seen as the highpoint of pre-socialist prose literature.' Along with the Russian classics, the sole purpose of publishing British classics was to call attention to 19th century modes of social realism, linking this tradition to socialist realism within the framework of the Party's politics.

As we have seen in chapter one two factors were central to the reception of a particular work: its ideological value and its relation to realism. The cultural value of the realist tradition had always been promoted by GDR's ideologists pitting the authentic, indigenous culture of ordinary representatives of British society against a culture of decadence, capitalism and mere amusement. Because of the emphasis on realism, to varying degrees classic texts may have been regarded as quality texts simply because of

their character of a pre-socialist literature. As a consequence, British realist classics were primarily regarded as literary legacy, and were used for the substantiation and support of specific ideological Party positions. One may therefore speculate that the manner in which a particular British work was received did not depend upon its literary style born out of a particular historical moment, but rather upon a specific socio-cultural influence.

Figure 26 lists the authors of British classics published between 1970 and 1979 and Figure 27 compared the numbers of tiles published of a given author (classics) between 1949 and 1990 (number of first editions). This give us a taste for their popularity.

Classics	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Charles Dickens		x	x		x			x		
William Shakespeare	x	x	x	x		x			x	
William Makepeace Thackeray										
Daniel Defoe				x			x	x	x	
Henry Fielding		x	x	x	x		x			
Joseph Conrad	x				x	x		x	x	
George Eliot	x	x								x
Rudyard Kipling						x				
Nathaniel Hawthorne	x		x					x		x
Tom Hardy	x				x					
Tobias Smollett			x							
John Galsworthy										x
Henry James	x			x		x				x
John Millington Synge						x				
Brontë (sisters)		x	x							
William Galsworthy		x								
Robert Louis Stevenson		x		x						x
Jane Austen			x			x			x	
Samuel Johnson			x							
Sir Walter Scott			x							
Jonathan Swift			x							x
Sir Thomas Malory				x						
William Beckford				x						
Robert Burns				x						
Charlotte Lennox							x			
Oliver Goldsmith								x		
Samuel Richardson								x		
William Butler Yeats									x	
Horace Walpole										x

Fig. 26: List of British classic writers published between 1970 and 1979

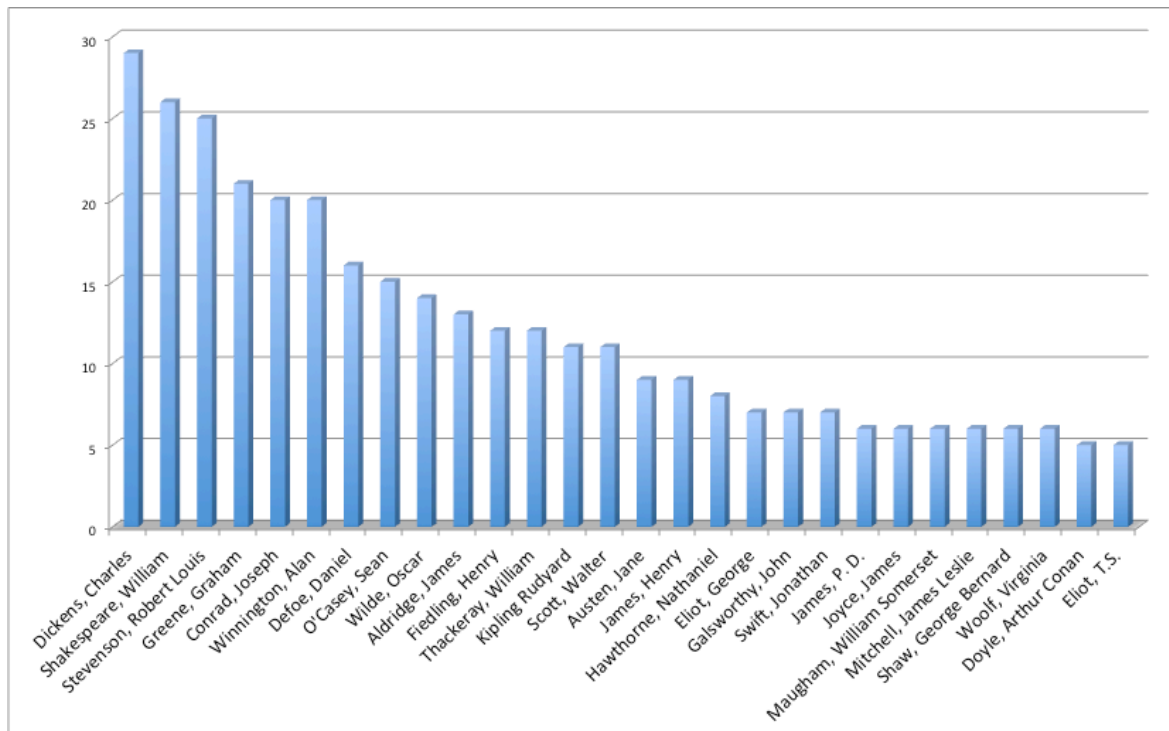


Fig. 27: Number of titles (first editions) published by the 'most popular' British and Irish writers in the GDR (1949-1990).

Resulting from a comprehensive study of British classics and the assessments that were performed upon them, the following list (figure 28) is an attempt to classify varying literary forms of realism as received in the GDR. The pros and cons of each work were comprehensively argued in the GDR, and various forms of critical realism were debated and established. This resulted in classic authors being roughly differentiated into different form of critical realism, such as imperial realism, literary realism, poetic realism, psychological realism, realistic fiction, satirical realism and social realism. However, the groupings listed below were never made official. Rather, the classifications result from my comprehensive analysis of numerous documents and pieces of literary criticism.

Author	Type of CRITICAL REALISM assigned	Religion
Rudyard Kipling	imperial realism	
Robert Louis Stevenson	literary realism	
Samuel Johnson	literary realism	
Tobias Smollett	literary realism	
William Beckford	literary realism	
John Millington Synge	poetic realism	
Sir Thomas Malory	poetic realism	
William Shakespeare	poetic realism	
Walter Scott	psychological realism	
Robert Burns	psychological realism	
Samuel Richardson	psychological realism	
William Butler Yeats	psychological realism	
Daniel Defoe	realistic fiction	Puritan
Brontë (sisters)	realistic fiction	
Henry James	realistic fiction	
Jonathan Swift	realistic fiction	
Horace Walpole	realistic fiction	
Joseph Conrad	romantic realism	
Nathaniel Hawthorne	romantic realism	Puritan
Jane Austen	romantic realism	
Charlotte Lennox	romantic realism	
Oliver Goldsmith	satiric realism	
John Galsworthy	social realism	
Thomas Hardy	social realism	
Charles Dickens	social realism	
William Makepeace Thackeray	social realism	
Henry Fielding	social realism	
George Eliot	social realism	

Fig. 28: Classifications of British classics

With regard to the information contained in Figure 27 and 28, it is important to consider that British classics were used to provide a legacy for the socialist society and may have contained a political dimension which was hidden by ideological considerations. Chapter

three will, therefore, examine to what extent British classics were used to deliver this distinct notion of socialist heritage in the GDR and to what degree did classics satisfy ideological and political claims. A case study of *Robinson Crusoe* includes a discussion of the benefits of British classics for a socialist society, as well as the dilemmas and conflicts provoked by such work. Defoe's novel has been specifically chosen as a case study for two reasons: the narrative is realist in character and it was the only British classic to be included in the GDR's school curriculum.

Particularly in their study of international trade Marxist economists often take the secluded figure of *Robinson Crusoe* as an opening for a pre-socialist economy, and this included more than just ideological aspects. The protagonist is pictured as a strong-featured individual—meticulous, smart and prudent—who masters nature through reason and accumulates wealth through hard work (Hymer 2011). Stephen Hymer (2011) asserts: 'The contrast between the economists' *Robinson Crusoe* and the social one mirrors the disparity between the mythical descriptions of international trade found in socialist economics textbooks, Marxist socio-cultural interpretations and international economy.' But, as is often highlighted by British literary critics, the actual story of *Robinson Crusoe* could also be interpreted as one of manslaughter, defeat, robbery, slavery and force (2011). Defoe's novel runs in a series of cycles. Some of the cycles occur concurrently, through which his protagonist accumulates wealth (capitalism), conquers an island (colonialism) and brings a native into subjection (imperialism). This side of the story was reinterpreted by Marxists for ideological reasons and political motives. In Chapter three we will now analyse Defoe's work from different perspectives and discuss the literary value of its realist fiction for Socialist Realism.

Chapter 3

The Role of Marxist Ideology in the Reception of Realist Literature

Daniel Defoe – A Case Study

Chapter three deals with the role of Marxist ideology in the reception of Daniel Defoe's major work *Robinson Crusoe (RC)*. For this case study two major scholarly works are included in order to compare their view in this matter. In 1962 Robert Weimann wrote a monograph on Daniel Defoe *Daniel Defoe, Eine Einführung in das Romanwerk* (Daniel Defoe, An Introduction to the Work of Fiction). His monograph undoubtedly reveals the contemporary Marxist perception of Defoe's work in the GDR and it became an influential publication for schools, universities and for the intelligentsia. Five years prior to Weimann's study, Ian Pierre Watt wrote a critical analysis on RC revealing the prevailing western (British) perception of the novel. His work titled *The Rise of the Novel, a study in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* was published in 1957 with Chatto and Windus Ltd., London. Watt's analysis and his conclusions deviate from Weimann's assertions. Weimann did not reference Watt, although he was published five years earlier, probably due to Watt's 'compromised view.' Weimann's monograph may be considered the major contemporary Marxist literary criticism on RC in German, addressing GDR's general public and educational institutions. He wrote several postscripts and afterwords for works by Defoe, as well as essays in the East German literary quarterly *Sinn & Form*. Many subsequent publications of GDR's literary critics on RC refer to his studies, and GDR's secondary schools used Weimann's monograph in their curriculum. Given the importance of the debate on RC among economists and the popularity of Defoe's work among Marxists, it is essential to study Weimann's literary criticism from a Marxist-Leninist point of view. This will allow us to tackle the ideological aspect of Defoe's reception in the GDR.

Between 1697 and 1731 Defoe published approximately 400 works on trade, economy and business, including his 'first significant work' (Weimann 162: 18) *An Essay upon Projects* (1698). Having invested in a newly invented practical diving bell, Defoe published various reports, pamphlets and a paper on this technology. He also wrote technical papers on the improvement of commercial fisheries and authored a manuscript on London's sewer system; this was followed by a series of guidebooks. In his 'political writings' (Seehase 1986: 116-17) Defoe exposed the nationalist pride of the British aristocracy as demonstrated in *The*

Trueborn Englishman (1701) followed by the ironic treatise *The Shortest Way with Dissenters* (1703). Defoe returned to his puritan roots in the 1715 work *The Family Instructor*, while his 'increasingly bourgeois standing' is represented by *Religious Courtship* (1722) and *The Great Law of Subordination* (1724). Given that Defoe was also involved with *The Projector*, the first English journal of technical writing (117), we can see that his vital imagination was accompanied by a *nüchtern-praktische Sachbezogenheit* (sober, practical, matter-of-fact style) (Weimann 1962: 18).

The aforementioned papers, tractates and pamphlets constitute Defoe's most celebrated publications before he actually embarked on his chief novels. These were to include *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), *Moll Flanders* (1721), and the *Journal of a Plague Year* (1722). It was then not until the age of fifty-nine that Defoe would write his most important work: a realist novel about an English trader and planter stranded on an isolated island. Written in a nonfictional style, the book purported to be the memoirs of the novel's protagonist, one Robinson Crusoe. Ever since *RC* has remained the author's most famous work. Therein, Defoe ventures to showcase his idea of the most basic economic concept: as leading (socialist) economists have labelled it, the 'island economy', a primeval economy (Seehase 1986: 119-20). He achieved his goal by isolating his protagonist from society and transferring him to a primordial, natural scene, disentangled from social and familial ties. To begin his primitive economy with a single man is Defoe's unique contribution to literature and social science. Defoe's idea has since been 'used by many economic theorists as a representation of *homo economicus*', including Karl Marx (1857 [1971]; 1867 [2007]) (Watt 1962: 63).

Concerning the nature of the story's hero, the critics have expressed many views. John Richetti (2005: 185) for instance suggests that 'Defoe conceives a character of archetypal significance, with deep and abiding resonances for modern European self-consciousness.' All the same, Defoe's protagonists are 'eighteen-century individualists [...] defined by their specific historical circumstances' and their particular contemporary 'self-consciousness' (186). Richetti (186) argues that Defoe's protagonists are 'not simply vehicles of a universalised humanity'; rather, his heroes 'defend truth.' His [Defoe's] stories depict the ideas of the time in social and economic respects that may 'surprise modern readers' (186).

Where Joseph Prescott (1964: 24-5) (quoting James Joyce's 1911 Trieste lectures) has contended that Crusoe represents 'an imperial prototype, the whole Anglo-Saxon spirit',

according to Richetti (2005: 185) Defoe portrays the definitive individualist. For Richetti (185), Crusoe has less of a nationalist significance; Crusoe represents the self-construed 'individual who exists (somehow) outside of the social or communal world.' Watt (1962: 60) further describes Defoe's concept of individualism as 'egocentric' and 'independent of current opinions and habits', but at the same time suggests that the 'concept of individualism involves much more than that' (60). He postulates that the novel depicts 'a whole society mainly governed by the idea of every individual's intrinsic independence both from other individuals and from multifarious allegiance to past modes of thought and action denoted by the word "tradition" - a force that is always social, not individual' (60).

Modern realism does not reside in the kind of life it presents, but in the way it presents it' (Watt 1962: 11), which 'begins from the position that truth can be discovered by the individual through his senses [...]' (12). Watt statement raises the key issue of individualism and truth in *RC*, an issue that informed Defoe's reception amongst Marxists. Just as he recognises that such a reading relies on the 'premise or primary convention, that the novel is a full and authentic report of human experience' (1962: 32). He sees *RC* as a literary work of 'total authenticity' (32) since 'the novel's imitation of human life follows the procedures adopted by philosophical realism in its attempt to ascertain and report truth' (31). The novel's pretensions towards truth might be discerned in the original, rather lengthy 1719 title: *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner: Who lived Eight and Twenty Years, all alone in an un-inhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River of Oroonoque; Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself. With An Account how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by Pirates. Written by Himself* (Defoe 1719 [2005]). The original preface also reinforces the claim of authenticity (Seehase 1986: 117). Defoe (1719 [2005]: III) writes:

The Editor believes the thing to be a just History of Fact; neither is there any Appearance of Fiction in it: And however thinks, because all such things are dispatch'd that the Improvement of it, as well as the Diversion, as to the Instruction of the Reader, will be the same; and as such he thinks, without farther Compliment to the World, he does them a great Service in the Publication.

Among Marxist literary critics in particular, it shows that Defoe's novel was regarded as *the* starting point for authentic, realist fiction. Such a view appears to be based on two

observations: firstly, Defoe's novel constitutes a departure from traditional romantic storytelling and a turn towards a realistic narrative; secondly, the book is made up of precise accounts of a tangible, everyday and bourgeois life (Seehase 186: 118).

According to Watt (1962: 33), realism in the 'strictest sense' was not 'discovered by Defoe', although he and Samuel Richardson applied it 'much more completely' than ever before. Authors from the 17th and 18th century – for example Hans Jakob Christoffel Grimmelshausen's satiric novel *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1669) or John Bunyan's allegoric book *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) – proclaimed that their fictions were literally true, but their works are of little credibility, as their literature is not dissimilar from legends or the lives of saints. As Richetti (2005: 187) confirms, undeniably, by contrast, 'Defoe is careful from the opening paragraph of the narrative to place Crusoe in exact contemporary circumstances of a mundane sort, even tracing the Crusoe family's recent origins in Germany'—a preoccupation that might also be discerned in Defoe's popular satirical poem *The True-Born Englishman* (1795).¹¹³ Defoe firmly locates Crusoe's family in English history, mentioning one of Cromwell's generals who fought against the Spanish (188). As Crusoe' puts it at the beginning of his narrative, he had 'two elder Brothers, one of which was Lieutenant Colonel to an English Regiment of Foot in Flanders, formerly commanded by the famous Col. Lockhart, and was killed at the Battle near Dunkirk against the Spaniards: What became of my second brother I never knew, any more than my Father or Mother did know what was become of me' (Defoe 1719 [2015]: 1; ctd. by Richetti 2005: 188).

Imposing an economic dimension, Defoe also tells us (at the beginning of the narrative) that the protagonist's father wished his son 'go to see a Prospect of raising [...] Fortunes by Application and Industry, with a Life of Ease and Pleasure' (Defoe 1719 [2015]: 2); and the Defoe suggests 'that superior Fortunes' come upon those 'who [go] abroad upon Adventures, to rise by Enterprize, and make themselves famous in Undertakings of a Nature out of the common Road' (2). This is highly credible since during the 17th century, the separation of young people from their family was not uncommon. Many left their homes

¹¹³ Defoe (1719 [2015]: 1) writes: 'I was born in the year 1632, in the City of York, of a good Family, tho' not of that Country, my Father being a Foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull. He got a good Estate by Merchandise, and leaving off his Trade, lived afterward at York, from whence he had married my Mother, whose Relations were named Robinson, a very good Family in that Country, and from whom I was called Robinson Kreutznaer; but by the usual Corruption of Words in England, we are now called, nay we call our selves, and write our Name, Crusoe, and so my Companions always call'd me.'

and went to sea to make a living, or they left home to look for new prospects and business propositions. The central social experience of leaving home becomes the leitmotif of Defoe's realism, which made *RC* utterly convincing. While he introduces Robinson, furnished with a plausible personality and possible history, his plot develops into realistic fiction. The shared life experiences of Defoe's contemporaries are thoroughly reflected by the protagonist. Hence the novel communicates authenticity and authority. Watt (1962: 61) recognises the foundations of the new individual in the period following the Glorious Revolution of 1689. It was the commercial and industrial classes who were bringing about the individualist order, achieving greater political and economic power.

As we have discussed in chapter one economics always performed an ideological function in Socialist Realist novels and socialist literary criticism. It is therefore only natural that the GDR's ideologists considered Defoe works to be important reading materials. His writings are rich resources when it comes to economic principles, and *RC* in particular concentrates upon the smallest unit of any economy, a *social individual*.

For Marx, Crusoe's island economy was the archetype of a pre-capitalist society: Crusoe was seen a type of materialist (economic), a man who produced goods without gaining exchange value for it (1857 [1971]; 1867 [2007]). According to Elias Khalil (1990: 24) 'similar to socialist formations, pre-capitalist societies express "unity" in the sense that "the economic concept of value does not occur" or the concept of exchange value has no need to exist.' Also, for Marx (1973: 171), 'the dominant force of coordination is not market exchange' (in the novel), but the product of labour which 'is measured by effort.'

Khalil (1990: 22-4) goes further, for him a market-coordinated production is blemished by the perception of 'commodity fetishism.' He specifies commodity in capitalism by the fact 'that it is not simply a value for use (a product), but also a value for exchange or exchange value' (22). According to Marx (1975: 197) pre-capitalist and cooperate systems are only united by 'the absence of the market', referring to the absence of monetary value. Marx asserts that every market is worker-owned, which inevitably involves the production of merchandise. The natural existence in a market is broken, when 'value' transforms a product into a 'commodity' (1976: 153-4). In the absence of value, this undoubtedly sets Defoe's narrative in a primeval, pre-capitalist economy and does not suggest any alternative form of economising. However, in particular this argument does not cover the ideological status of

labour in a socialist society. We might modify our view of a pre-capitalist society in *RC* when considering the aspect of labour in the novel; 'Crusoe's thrift and industry' (Kelsey 2009: 2) on the island represents values much respected among socialists because of the connection between individualism and labour.

A further aspect of the island economy might be considered in relation to capitalist ideas, and that is the role played by accounting and stock-taking. As Watt (1962: 63) has flagged, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, bookkeeping was recognised 'as but one aspect of a central theme in the modern social order'; therefore, presumably, it was incorporated into Defoe's novel for that reason. The need and desire for bookkeeping and 'individual contractual relationships, as opposed to unwritten, traditional and collective relationships of previous societies' (63) seems to chime with the socialist depiction of the rational man. The British scholar (63-4) suggests that bookkeeping played a crucial part in the 'theoretical development of political individualism.' This may, in turn, have made Crusoe less sympathetic to his fellow men as the common man is shaped into a rational, even political individual. He explains his notion with reference to the 'motive', something that 'logically entails a devaluation of other modes of thought, feeling and action' wherein 'group relationships, the family, the guild, the village, the sense of nationality – all are weakened' (64). This notion particularly comes to the fore when Crusoe reflects on the loss of his drowned comrades with a 'bleak enumeration of all that ever turned up' (Defoe 1719 [2015]: 53).¹¹⁴ This description appears to contradict Defoe's account of the panic that overcame Crusoe (53); instead of mourning, Crusoe occupies himself with an inventory. Richetti (2005: 191-92) argues that 'Crusoe's cryptic inventory invests this moment with an existential pathos surrounding all of Defoe's realism, whereby things and persons are linked and objects often enough survive their owners and dramatize the dispersal and essential fragility of being.' We may link Crusoe's conduct to his rationalism, and argue that his apparently dispassionate bearing is in line with his religious and therefore ethical worldview. Crusoe, in truest sense of the word becomes accountable, in alignment with his puritan belief.

¹¹⁴ Defoe (1719 [2015]: 53) writes: 'I walk'd about on the Shore, lifting up my Hands, and my whole Being, as I may say, wrapt up in the Contemplation of my Deliverance, making a Thousand Gestures and Motions which I cannot describe, reflecting upon all my Comrades that were drown'd, and that there should not be one Soul sav'd but my self; for, as for them, I never saw them afterwards, or any Sign of them, except three of their Hats, one Cap, and two Shoes that were not Fellows.'

We can now see that due to its realistic character as well as its acclaimed economic themes *RC* possessed a particular attraction for GDR scholars. Oliver Lindner (2008: 65) offers two explanations for this: from a philosophical perspective, Marx read Defoe's protagonist as an example of a bourgeois commoner striving for prosperity; from a metaphysical point of view, the novel came to be seen as a convincing representation of the (pre-socialist) relation between men and labour.

For the GDR's Marxist literary critics there was a compelling detail in Defoe's personality: the worker who succeeded in literature was a rare type in eighteenth-century England and a detail which was in accordance with the socio-cultural reflections of the *Bitterfeld* Conferences, addressing the subject of the 'writing worker.' The literary critic Kenneth Rexroth (1964: 312) asserts that Defoe's writing legacy exemplified how 'business men who succeed in literature or literary men who succeed in business commonly possess [literary] virtues found less frequently among literary men who succeed only in literature.' Here one could almost postulate a spiritual relation between Karl Marx and Daniel Defoe; Marx himself was an economist, writer and philosopher who can be placed alongside Friedrich Engels, an economist, writer and entrepreneur in his own right.

Scholars in the GDR certainly recognised Defoe's relevance to early communist theorists. However, they also approached Defoe's work from a distinctive perspective, something that involved socio-cultural positions that were specific to the GDR. Weimann (1962: 56) in particular was interested in the social and economic developments in Defoe's novel, claiming that 'capitalist accumulation tactics differ according to social class.'¹¹⁵ He reasoned that economic individualism always goes hand-in-hand with the conservative attitudes of landowners and craftsmen (56-7). Indeed, Defoe portrays his protagonist not as a pristine individual—the true, unspoiled man—but rather as a creature born of a particular civilisation at a given stage in that civilisation's development.

¹¹⁵ Original text: „Wenn wir von der natürlich berechtigten, aber als Erklärung gänzlich unzulänglichen Überlegung absehen, dass Defoe sich durch seine rasche und allzu flüchtige Arbeitsweise in Widersprüche verstrickte, bleibt zunächst der bereits angedeutete Umstand, dass das kapitalistische Erwerbsstreben in verschiedenen Schichten des Bürgertums unterschiedlich entwickelt war: Die konservative Haltung etwa der Landbesitzer und des Handwerksstandes fand sich Seite an Seite mit dem fortgeschrittenen ökonomischen Individualismus, wie er gerade im Zusammenhang mit den überhitzten Spekulationen des South Sea Bubble zum Ausdruck kam.“ (Weimann 1962: 56-7)

Even in solitude Defoe's protagonist realises that he is a socially-determined being and assigns his behaviour to the requirements of the society he belongs to (60).¹¹⁶ Such a view might be said to be affirmed by the Marxist analysis and can be seen in the way in which Crusoe's bookkeeping conscience trumps his emotions. Weimann referred to the earlier chapters of *Crusoe*, where the protagonist accumulates capital; this can be thought of as the venture capitalist phase, but for the purposes of this study we may call it the *post-feudal economy*. Prior to the island economy, Defoe's hero pursues money, a well understood and by all means realistic notion. However, he noticed that Defoe does not solely celebrate the material triumphs of society and the strength of its rational will to master the environment; according to him Defoe's novel also heralds some of the spiritual loneliness and social alienation which capitalist society has created. Crusoe's relationships with his fellow men are based primarily on their use value to him; they are commodities which exist for his economic advantage. Crusoe therefore symbolises the social economic individual, a new outlook on individualism in its commercial aspect.¹¹⁷

Seehase (1986: 199) identified three major economic stages in Defoe's works about Crusoe: firstly, there is the young adventurer who becomes the personification of human labour in *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*; next there is the merchant adventurer in *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*; and finally, there is the bourgeois capitalist in *The Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*. Furthermore, he posited three reasons for the relevance of Defoe's work to a socialist society: Marxist economic-philosophical reflections on the novel, aesthetic qualities and the combination of a new realist narrative technique with the tradition of a bourgeois realist style of story-telling (119-120).¹¹⁸ Watt (1962: 61-2)

¹¹⁶ Original text: „Robinson so zeigt sich, ist nicht das naturgemäße Individuum, ist nicht der Mensch an sich, sondern da Geschöpf einer bestimmten zivilisatorischen Entwicklungsstufe. Selbst in der Einsamkeit [...] verwirklicht er seine gesellschaftliche Bestimmung und ordnet sein Verhalten dem sozialen Gesetz seiner Existenz unter.“ (Weimann 1962: 60)

¹¹⁷ Defoe (1719 [2015]: 335) writes: 'Every thing the good Man said was full of Affection, and I could hardly refrain from Tears while he spoke: In short, I took 100 of the Moidores, and call'd for a Pen and Ink to give him a Receipt for them; then I returned him the rest, and told him, If ever I had Possession of the Plantation, I would return the other to him also, as indeed I afterwards did.'

¹¹⁸ Original text: „Die qualitative Bestimmtheit von Defoes Crusoe besteht vor allem in drei Faktoren. Zum einen tritt mit Robinson ein neuer literarischer Held auf die Szene, nämlich der junge Abenteurer und Weltenentdecker [...]. Für diesen Helden interessiert sich Karl Marx in seinen ökonomisch-philosophischen Überlegenheit ganz besonders [...]. Defoes Held ist komplex als Citoyen und als Bourgeois typisiert; in den Further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe ist er schon nicht mehr der fleißige Arbeiter wie im ersten Band, sondern der merchant adventurer, und in The Serious Refelctions of Robinson Crusoe verwandelt er sich ganz in das Idealbild eines Bourgeois.“

has also commented on the arc of Defoe's narrative. According to the British literary critic, following the bourgeois zeitgeist of the early seventeenth century Defoe shifts the focus of his realist narrative towards the 'discrete particular, the directly apprehended sensum, and the autonomous individual.' Watt (61) argues thus:

Capitalism brought a great increase of economic specialisation; and this, combined with a less rigid and homogeneous social structure, and a less absolutist and more democratic political system, enormously increased the individual's freedom of choice.

The individual alone was primarily responsible for determining his own economic, social, political and religious roles. Recognising that Defoe's philosophical outlook is in line with that of the English empiricists. He notes:

[T]he great English empiricists of the seventeenth century, expressed the diverse elements of individualism more completely than any previous writer, and his [Defoe's] work offers a unique demonstration of the connection between individualism in its many forms and the rise of the novel. (62)

Concerning the elements of individualism GDR's Marxists recognised that Johannes Becher's theory (1946) was most relevant—namely the notion of the free development of a self-determined individual into a *ganzen Menschen*, the 'whole or unbroken, unspoiled man' represented by Crusoe. They accepted that Crusoe's individualism was the result of the abolishment of all social inequalities, the beginning of all degeneracy. Through labour men were to become equals. Marxists could not see how capitalism could improve the freedom of the individual. Instead he recognised capitalism as an economic and social system that deprives men of their means of action and development.

In order to exemplify the relationship between the individual and labour, Weimann (1972: 399) transforms Defoe's protagonist into a pre-socialist entity. He builds a bridge between Defoe's novel and the literary characteristics of Socialist Realism by highlighting

Transcript: 'The qualitative determination of Defoe's Robinson Crusoe consists mainly in three factors. The first occurs with Robinson Crusoe when a new literary hero appears on the scene, namely the young bourgeois adventurer and explorer [...]. In particular for this hero, Karl Marx was interested in economic-philosophical considerations. [...][Second:] The aesthetic quality lies in an interesting ambiguity of the island episode. [...] And finally the value of the novel lies in the unique combination of a picaresque narrative technique with a materialistic (sensationalist) Enlightenment novel in the tradition of a bourgeois style of story telling.' (Seehase 1986: 119-120)

parallels wherein there is a sense of unity between man and work. He argued that Crusoe's life on the island resembles the working conditions in a socialist society by drawing a comparison between individual and work (Defoe) and individual and machine (the GDR).¹¹⁹ The reader is left with the impression that Crusoe was a pioneer of pre-socialist work; the protagonist becomes the novelist.

The GDR scholar wrote his 1962 monograph at a time when authors were encouraged to join the working classes in factories and on the fields. Factory workers were encouraged to write about their socialist life. *RC* therefore complemented the socio-cultural landscape of the 1960s; the fictional adventurer took notes about his life on the island and hence became the 'writing worker.' The author (writer) is equated with the protagonist (worker) and a dialectical-materialist analysis of Defoe's work was added. By stripping the notion of fiction from the novel, *RC* could be used solely as a means by which lay individuals could be educated and brought to class-consciousness (Lindner 2008: 69-72). The monograph supported teachers in their goal of providing students with literary-historical knowledge and socialist literary theory.

The Relevance of Defoe's Cultural Environment and Political Beliefs to Literary Reception

In order to build a bridge with East German social politics, the GDR's GDR scholars focused on Defoe's cultural environment and political beliefs. The first step was to establish aspects of Defoe's education and later life that did not conform with bourgeois English values. This was done in order to distance his character from the common capitalist conformist, to represent the author as a revolutionary individual.

The first obvious aspect of non-conformity was Defoe's entire training; his education was conducted in English, the new language of science, as opposed to Latin or Greek. Morton's Academy taught Defoe to use the English language correctly, to argue and to discuss a point properly, and while speaking English to converse with ordinary tradesmen in a simple language (Defoe 1726 [2017]: 37).¹²⁰ The monograph praises the fact that the

¹¹⁹ We may recall that the GDR fostered technical advances in order to demonstrate socialist superiority.

¹²⁰ 'It would be a very happy thing, if tradesmen had all their *leixicon technicum* at their fingers ends; I mean [...] that every tradesman would study so the terms of art of our trades, that he might be able to speak to every manufacturer or artist in his own language, and understand them when they talk'd one to another; this would make trade be a kind of universal language, and the particular marks they are oblig'd to, would be like notes of music, an universal character, in which all the tradesmen in *England* might write to one another in language

Defoe's learning was accomplished using ordinary, everyday English, and emphasised the fact that Defoe had been taught 'masculine English', 'free and plain, without foolish flourishes and ridiculous flights of jingling bombast' (Defoe 1890: 220). According to Weimann (1962: 11), the image of the conventional English gentleman, holding refined conversations in Latin or Greek, played little role in Defoe's professional life. It is true that Defoe looked back on his unorthodox education with great satisfaction in *The Compleat English Gentleman* (Di Renzo 2014). In that treatise, he opined that it would be much better to educate gentlemen in English:

If all the learn'd labours of the masters of the age were made to speak English, to be levell'd to the capacities of the more unlearn'd part of man-kind, who would be encourg'd by that means to look into those happy discoveries in Nature, which have been the study and labour of so many ages. Let us have more translations into English of works with both modern and ancient. [...] [Then] it must be granted men might be made schollars at a much easier expense as well of labour as of money than now, and might be truly learn'd and yet kno' nothing of Greek or the Latin (Defoe 1890: 308-09).

Defoe's standpoint suggests strong parallels with socialist ideology, as the workers' language is simple and free of pomposity. Here we see a connection to the general thinking in the GDR. According to the campaign of the Scientific Technological Revolution discussed in chapter 1, literature was declared to be a means of conveying information accurately in a language without bombast.

A second non-conformist aspect of Defoe's education at Morton's, and one that the GDR's ideologists deemed significant, was his acquaintance with Francis Bacon's doctrines of experimental science—this is what ultimately provoked Defoe's academic interest in economics and technology. Interested in Bacon's doctrines and unlike most merchants at the time, Defoe became both a writer and an entrepreneur; consequently, as a man of reason, realism became his literary principle. According to the GDR scholar Defoe's interest in Bacon resulted in an acquisition of knowledge that was always oriented towards the

and characters of their several trades, and be as illegible to one another as the minister is to his people, and perhaps much more. (Defoe 1726 [2017]: 37)

‘practical needs of a bourgeois life’; he was a dissenter, not a gentleman (Weimann 1962: 10-12).¹²¹

Ilse Vickers (1996: 2) asserts that Defoe is greatly indebted to the Baconian tradition. She claims that this influence makes itself known in Defoe’s empiricism, his inductive reasoning, above all, in his belief that knowledge should be useful to society, and be concerned with things, rather than words. Di Renzo (2014: 4-5) also claims that Bacon strongly influenced Defoe’s view that ‘trade, like science, reshapes the natural world to alleviate human want [...] business should be conducted with the exactitude of physics’; this is a philosophy Defoe was supposedly most willing to adopt.¹²² He concludes that the idea of business as a scientific discipline ‘was the final and the most important lesson Defoe learned from Francis Bacon’ (2014: 5). He goes on to suggest that Defoe ‘knew how to dress a proposal to make it successful’ (5). As we can see, the Baconian tradition is present in the figure of *Crusoe*. The idea of economics as science is, furthermore, in close agreement with Marx’s economic doctrines, yet another strong motive for promoting *Crusoe* as compulsory reading.

The third aspect of non-conformity that Weimann (1962: 15) spotted in Defoe’s works was the fact that the author’s ethical principles were *erstaunlich inkonsequent* (astonishingly inconsequent). In *A Poor Man’s Plea* (1698) Defoe advocates the rights of the working class and speaks of himself as a plebeian; in *A Hymn to the Mob* (1715) Defoe praises the population of London as the source of all power, of all law and all nobility, as the carrier of all states and kingdoms.¹²³ Defoe praised the masses for reasons other than a love of the working class: the masses would shape the future (33).¹²⁴ Defoe praises the people who struggled for liberty that set stage for wealth of the English bourgeoisie. (33).¹²⁵

¹²¹ Original complete text: “In der Akademie befanden sich, wie ein Zeitgenosse schrieb: ‘Air-pumps, Thermometers, and all sorts of Mathematical Instruments’, also zahlreiche naturwissenschaftliche Lehrmittel, so daß man annehmen darf, daß die aufklärerischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Impulse von der Royal Society – der damals führenden Gelehrtenakademie – hier im kleinen gepflegt wurden [...] wenn man bedenkt, daß diese kleine puritanische Schule damit der gemeineuropäischen Entwicklung um 100 bis 150 Jahre voraus war.” (Weimann 1962:10)

¹²² In the *Parasceve, or Preparative towards a Natural and Experimental History* (1620), Bacon advocates the cataloguing and explication of different branches of manufacturing, such as dyeing, smelting, glazing, and paper-making (Di Renzo 2014).

¹²³ See Daniel Defoe, *A Hymn to the Mob* (1715)

¹²⁴ Refer to Daniel Defoe: ‘The Glory of the Reformation’s thine.’ (1715; Weimann 1962: 33)

¹²⁵ Original text: „Defoe preist das Volk, das die Bischöfe verjagte, einem König von Gottes Gnaden den Prozess machte und jene große Umwälzung erkämpfte, die den Boden bereitete für Reichtum und die Freiheiten des

It might be said that Defoe contradicted or relativized his earlier statements in his later writings, for example writing in *The Great Law of Subordination* (1724) that ‘I am for no mob methods in any case whatsoever’ (34). It is claimed that Defoe’s ambivalence and his changing position was a result of his unrelenting contribution to the Great Revolution. He justified such a shift by assigning a new function to the post-revolutionary masses. Defoe’s changed attitude towards the masses was due to the transition from *anti-feudale Kampfgemeinschaft* (anti-feudal minded rebellious plebeians) into the spitefulness of the *Industrieproletariat* (industrial proletarians) (34).¹²⁶ Transforming Defoe’s fictions into important historical documents possessing vital elements of the pre-socialist legacy, he declared that the ‘fictional biography of Defoe’s unconventional protagonists’ was an outcome of Defoe being a *kämpferisch gesinntes Mitglied seiner Gesellschaft*, a rebellious member of his society (17).¹²⁷

Publication History, Social-Political Reception and the Novel’s Use in Education

To better appreciate Defoe’s popularity among the GDR’s Marxists, it is useful to examine Defoe’s publication history in East Germany and to examine the larger context of his reception there. After the Second World War, *RC* first appeared in the SBZ in 1945. This very first edition was a 32-page abridged English-language version published by Volk und Wissen in cooperation with B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft Leipzig (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013). Two years later, in 1947, Kinderbuchverlag Berlin issued two abridged textbook versions of *RC*, using the 1836 German translation, which were reissued in 1954, followed by seven reprints (until 1960).

The first full edition appeared three years after the first abridged edition, in 1948.

Published by Insel-Verlag Leipzig, this edition was a reprint of the first (1720) German

englischen Bürgertums.“ | Transcript: ‘Defoe praises the people who expelled the bishops, who condemned a king of God’s grace, who scrambled for victory of the Great Revolution and set stage for wealth and liberty of the English bourgeoisie’ (Weimann 1962: 33)

¹²⁶ Original text: „Aber der grundlegende Wandel in Defoes Verhältnis zu den arbeitenden Massen ist bedingt durch die historisch gewandelte Funktion der Volksmasse in der nachrevolutionären Epoche: Nicht länger der Bundesgenosse einer antifeudalen Kampfgemeinschaft, wurde die Masse in den Augen des Bürgers zum Pöbel, der eine häßliche Identität mit dem späteren Industrieproletariat anzunehmen begann.“ (Weimann 1962: 34)

¹²⁷ Richetti (2005: 33) claims: ‘Mostly ignored, but perhaps built into Defoe’s improvisatory brand of mercantile capitalism is the conflict between the actual difficulties of coordinating the executive as well as the will of the legislature and the free-wheeling commercial adventurism Defoe celebrates throughout his work. Defoe himself had been the victim of a patent monger and he complained that the world is full of Projects fram’d by subtle Heads, with a sort of *Deceptio Visus*, and *Legerdemain*, to bring People to ruin needless and unusual hazards.’

translation by Ludwig Friedrich Vischer (ARGUS 2013). A couple of years later, in 1950, Philip Reclam Leipzig issued an edition of the book using a late 19th century translation by A. Tuhten. The first modern language edition of *RC* did not come until 1956; Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung published the book with a new translation by Barbara Cramer-Neuhaus, and it was approved by *Gutachter* Rudolf Marx. In the following year, 1957, Verlag Neues Leben issued a children's book edition of *RC* with illustrations by Gerhard Gossmann. It was based on the 1836 German translation and revised and edited by Dorothea Rahm.

Moving into the 1960s, in 1962 Kinderbuchverlag issued a revised edition by Dorothea Rahm incorporating Gossmann's illustrations. Assessed by *Gutachter* Walter Mohrmann and Regina Hänsel, 50,000 copies of the new edition were issued, and it was reprinted ten times during the same year. The second volume of *RC* (entitled *Die späten Fahrten des Robinson Crusoe zu einer Insel und rund um die Welt*) appeared in 1972 and was reprinted in 1973, with another large print run of 30,000 copies. Kiepenheuer reissued both volumes in 1981 with a print run of 20,000 copies each (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

Despite this flurry of publishing activity, it must be remembered that *RC* wielded its greatest educational impact in schools.¹²⁸ The publication history of various textbook editions reveals an impressive record. The first basic textbook edition for schools appeared in 1950 and was incorporated into the 7th and 8th grade curricula. Volk und Wissen published a new, abridged German textbook version entitled *Auszüge* (extracts) in 1960, a leaflet of 64 pages, which was adapted to the 5th grade curriculum. Accordingly, the booklet was advertised under the slogan *Lizenzausgabe für die Schulen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (Licensed School Edition for the German Democratic Republic). In excess of 100,000 copies of the leaflet were printed, and it was eventually to be followed by a revised textbook edition in 1965 (Goebel 1992: 55). The new edition was reissued in 1971 by Volk und Wissen and reprinted several times before 1988 (Lokatis 2008a: 15-21). Volk und Wissen's textbook editions were based on Dorothea Rahm's editorial revisions and concluded with Crusoe leaving the island; these abridged versions enjoyed lasting popularity, and we can speculate that most students must have owned a copy (DDR Dokument 1968; 1972; 1976). All

¹²⁸ During the late 1940s and early 1950s textbook editions of the narrative were still published in English. The first abridged textbook edition in English, entitled *The Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, appeared in 1947. It was published by Volk und Wissen in association with Teubnerverlag and was used until the end of the 1950s for English language lessons.

textbook editions contained interpretive guidelines and political judgments in the form of an afterword.

In 1982 Volk und Wissen issued an ideologically-inspired textbook edition of *RC* with Socialist Realist illustrations by Hans Mau. The dogmatic character of the book is best demonstrated by its single-colour drawings idealising the relationship between man and labour. These was accompanied by Hanne-Lore Biester's cultural-political judgement in the afterword:

The socialist society has built conditions for a productive development of all power and has provided man with a new meaning of existence. We will always strive for prosperity for the entire society; and because each of us endeavours this goal under equal rights in community with others, our strength and our optimism is much greater than that of Robinson Crusoe and his contemporaries (Biester 1982: 207).¹²⁹

According to Biester, the didactic component of Defoe's novel lies in the exemplary role of the hero. She wrote: 'We people in the 20th century are inspired by Defoe's hero Crusoe when deploying new initiatives and when introducing our ingenuity to the daily work routine like him' (Biester 1982: 206).¹³⁰ Her view of labour was represented by Mau's pictures (1982). Many of the 28 drawings (53; 65; 66; 91; 94; 99; 113) display Crusoe experiencing pleasure during his hard work, but the illustrations do not depict his physical exhaustion and nor do they reflect themes of violence, authority, cannibalism and danger.

¹²⁹ Original text: „Die sozialistische Gesellschaftsform schuf die Voraussetzungen für eine schöpferische Entfaltung aller Kräfte und gab dem Dasein des Menschen einen neuen Inhalt. Unser ständiges Bemühen gilt dem Wohl der ganzen Gesellschaft; und weil jeder von uns in Gemeinschaft mit anderen, tatsächlich gleichberechtigten Menschen für dieses Ziel schafft, ist unsere Kraft und unser Optimismus ungleich größer als der Robinson Crusoe und seine Zeitgenossen.“ (Biester 1982: 207)

¹³⁰ Original text: „Wir Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts werden von Defoes Helden Robinson Crusoe angeregt, wie dieser immer neue Initiativen zu entwickeln und unsere Erfindungskraft in unsere tägliche Arbeit einzusetzen.“ (Biester 1982: 206)



Fig. 29: Illustration by Mau (1962: 99)

Owing to the fact that the *sozialistische Leseart* (socialist reading) required an equal relationship between Friday and Crusoe,¹³¹ Mau's illustrations portray Friday and Crusoe as socialist equals; no hierarchy can be noticed (154).



Fig. 30: Illustration by Mau (1982: 154)

Additionally, it is not surprising that the textbook lacks telling illustrations of Friday's submission after his rescue, a typical scene often taken up by British book illustrators. Mau's illustrations instead show Crusoe at work, a serene aspect of his life on the island that forms

¹³¹ 'Defoe represents ideals of the Age of Enlightenment by Crusoe's educational efforts to civilise 'savage Friday' [...]. Not only does Defoe bestow his young Caribe with a proper appearance, but he provides him with nature's benefits such keen perception, zeal and willingness [...]. He believes pagan Friday worthy of Christianity. This representation of the educational ideal [...] was later abused by the creators of the British Empire [...] through the justification of the alleged necessity and generosity of their "civilizing mission" [...]. The excuse to convert "pagans" into Christians justified oppression and violence, and made new markets and new sources of raw materials available.' (Biester 1982: 204)

a harmonious link between natives and Europeans (177; 169). While adjusting the story so that it was suitable for ten to eleven-year-olds, Mau also conformed with the desired pattern of Socialist Realist artistic interpretation. The drawings convert Crusoe into a flawless socialist personality, someone who is defined by hard work, strong character and friendship between nations—the perfect image of the socialist hero for the GDR’s children.

Until the demise of the GDR in 1989/1990, *RC* remained the first and only children’s book of non-socialist Anglophone authorship to be part of the GDR’s teaching programme. Defoe, therefore, inhabited a unique and authoritative position within the socialist educational system. The fact that *Crusoe* complied with the socialist values of the state would go unquestioned by literary scholars in the GDR and by the chief ideologists.

To fully appreciate the pedagogical dimension of *RC*, it appears reasonable to recall the socio-political objectives that underpinned the introduction of Defoe’s novel into the socialist educational system, especially during the *Bitterfeld* era. The 1966 *Lehrhandbuch Literaturunterricht* or *Teacher’s Manual* for 5th Grade literature illustrates the contemporary pattern of socialist interpretation. The teaching of literature in the GDR was heavily influenced by a dialectical materialist scheme of interpretation (Goebel 1992: 55); therefore, as Karl-Heinz Höfer ed. (1962) asserts in *Erbe und Gegenwart*,

Our teaching of literature does not aim to convey factual knowledge, but to qualify students through devotional dealing with literary works of the past, to actively participate in the political and cultural life of our socialist society, and to obtain valuable impetus through literature for the building of character and acting (Höfer, Kießling and Seibt 1962).¹³²

Although only a small number of nominated works were used as literary historical documents, the educational aspect was prioritised. It appears that this particular British classic was employed to make the socialist reality intelligible and to carry some of the most important socialist theoretical findings.

As we can see, literary teaching was attuned to the pedagogical requirements of the specific syllabus used in schools. It was deemed necessary to intensify the educational

¹³² Original text: „Unser Literaturunterricht verfolgt nicht das Ziel, Faktenwissen zu vermitteln, sondern soll die Schüler durch liebevolles Beschäftigen mit Literaturwerken der Vergangenheit befähigen, aktiv am politischen und kulturellen Leben unserer sozialistischen Gesellschaft teilzunehmen und aus der Literatur wertvolle Impulse für ihre Charakterbildung und ihr Handeln zu empfangen.“ (Höfer, Kießling and Seibt 1962)

character of a given work to develop a legitimate pattern of *sozialistische Leseart*. According to such a socialist reading, Crusoe was cast as an early pioneer of labour in a harmonious culture of equal individuals. By cunning selection and abridgement, clever translation, socialist art (drawings) and through the addition of skilfully written afterwords, *RC* was updated so as to represent a fully compliant socialist work of children's literature.

The curriculum instructed teachers to link Defoe's work to Marxism and to establish a relation between politics and trade, and between school and life (work) (DDR Dokument: 1976).¹³³ The official manual for 5th grade teachers offers detailed instructions on how teachers should treat *Crusoe*; a general portrait of the narrative was followed by didactic-methodological comments. The novel's economic significance was emphasised while Crusoe himself was characterised as a representative of the 'typical actions and behaviours of the rising bourgeoisie' (DDR Dokument 1972: 163).¹³⁴ According to the teacher's handbook (164), students' attention ought to be diverted from fictional, imaginary elements towards the 'true aspects' of the novel.¹³⁵

To this end, Lindner (2008: 71) considers three *Behandlungsschwerpunkte* (focus areas) in the curriculum: Crusoe's adventures before the island episode; Crusoe's heroic deeds while stranded on the island; and, lastly, Crusoe's friendship with Friday. Teachers were invited to highlight the role of labour on the island, particularly during Crusoe's isolation. They were asked to focus on Crusoe's planning, baking, building and yielding (DDR Dokument 1972: 166).

These areas guided the way in which the work was abridged and freed the novel from those aspects that would have inspired children's imagination beyond pedagogical zeal. By doing so, the educational focus was set on the dignity of labour, Crusoe's social environment, and his diligence and creativity. Children needed to understand the value of a useful person, and in order to demonstrate the significance of Crusoe's character, teachers were requested to ask students to prepare a booklet into which they were to write down

¹³³ Original text: „Eine Verbindung schaffen zwischen Politik und Fach, zwischen Schule und Leben.“ (DDR Ministerrat: 1976)

¹³⁴ Original text „[...] typische Handlungs- und Verhaltensweisen des aufstrebenden Bürgertums.“ (DDR Dokument 1972: 163)

¹³⁵ Original text „Sodass der Abenteuer Sinn der Schüler in richtige Bahnen gelenkt wird, das heißt, die jugendliche Phantasie anzuregen, im Abenteuer nicht Phantastisches, sondern etwas durchaus Reales zu sehen.“ (DDR Dokument 1972: 164)

comments (while reading) in respect of Crusoe's character. The comments were evaluated at the end of the school year and revised by the teacher (DDR Dokument 1972: 167). Teachers were advised to discuss Crusoe's character, but criticism of Crusoe's confrontation with Friday was only to be considered in terms of the division of labour. According to the curriculum, the relationship between Crusoe and Friday was primarily portrayed as friendship between individuals; a possible hierarchical relationship was not discussed as Crusoe's territorial claims over other islanders would have overshadowed his achievements as a hard-working man, and might have detracted from his position as a role model of socialist labour.

The *Ministerrat's* aim was to turn the GDR's educational system into a closed, well-coordinated structure, with a uniform administration and distinct socialist principles. This entailed involving students in the process of finding solutions for social issues, however this process was not aiming for the articulation of controversial ideas. Student's involvement with literature was focussed on the dignity of labour and, hence, *Crusoe* was used to foster initiative (in labour) and to raise awareness.

Despite its use in schools, the educational purpose of *Crusoe* reached out into the adult world. The large number of various editions issued between 1950 and 1990 gives an indication of how important the novel was for adult readers. The publication history of Defoe's works is listed in the following table.

Section 1 Title Author: D. Defoe	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission	Censors and translators
Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders	1954	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10,000	190/5/54; 1954;	Joachim Krehayn, Translation: Dr. Martha Erler
Die Pest in London	1956	Aufbau	10,000	120/270/56; 1956;	Joachim Krehayn, Günther Klotz; Translation: Rudolf Schaller
Leben und seltsame Abenteuer des Seefahrers Robinson Crusoe	1956	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Leipzig	10,000	190/2/56; 1956;	Rudolf Marx: Translation: Barbara Cramer
Robinson Crusoe	1957	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	20,000	305/101/57; 1957;	Georg Rahm
Robinson Crusoe	1962	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	50,000	270/270/62; 1962;	Walter Mohrmann, Regina Hänsel; Translation: Dorothea Rahm
Robinson Crusoe (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1963	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10,000	190/11/63; 1963;	Walter Apelt, R. Müller ?
Das Leben und die seltsamen, überraschenden Abenteuer des Matrosen Robinson Crusoe aus New York (...)	1964	Aufbau	30,000		NR
Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1964	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	20,000	340/32/64; 1964;	Pradel, Richli-Krause, Nachwort Weimann
Die glückliche Mätresse oder Die Geschichte des Lebens und des wechselhaften Glücks der (...) Roxana	1966	Aufbau			reprint
Roxana	1966	Aufbau	15,800		Translation: Friedrich Baadke
Roxana	1968	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15,000	190/1/68; 1968	Translation: Lore Krüger
Die glückliche Mätresse oder Die Geschichte des Lebens und des wechselhaften Glücks der (...) Roxana	1969	Aufbau			reprint
Die glückliche Mätresse oder Die Geschichte des Lebens und des wechselhaften Glücks der (...) Roxana	1973	Aufbau			reprint

Section 2					
Title Author: D. Defoe	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission	Censors and translators
Robinson Crusoe	1973	Aufbau	30,000		
Robinson Crusoe	1976	Aufbau			
Roxana	1977	Aufbau			
Die Pest in London (mit Anmerkungen)	1978	Aufbau			
Das Leben, die Abenteuer und die Piratenzüge des berühmten Kapitän Singleton	1980	Aufbau			
Robinson Crusoe	1980	Aufbau			
Die Geschichte und das ungewöhnliche Leben des sehr ehrenwerten Colonel Jacques, allgemein Oberst Jack bekannt	1981	Aufbau	58,100	120/181/81; 1981;	Ingrid Müller, Erich Fetter
Robinson Crusoe. Zwei Bände	1981	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	20,000	265/8/9/81; 1981;	Hentsch, Heide Steiner - Translation: Lore Krüger
Das Leben, die Abenteuer und die Piratenzüge des berühmten Kapitän Singleton	1982	Aufbau	20,000	120/145/84; 1984;	I. Müller, Erich Fetter - Translation: Lore Krüger
Robinson Crusoe	1983	Aufbau			
Die Geschichte des Lebens und der Abenteuer des Mr. DUNCAN CAMPELL	1984	Aufbau		120/145/84; 1984;	I. Müller, Erich Fetter
Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders	1990	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	12,000	190/5/6/90; 1990	Translation: Martha Eber
Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders	1990	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	12,000	265/5/90; 1990;	Klaus Frits – Translation: Marta Eber

Fig. 31: Defoe's works published in the GDR 1954-1990 (Hoeft and Streller 1985a; 1985b; BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013).

Ambiguities and Contradictions

We will now analyse the possible ambiguities about and contradictions towards socialist ideology contained in Defoe's novel, as well as Marxist appraisals that are concerned with the book's ambivalent nature when it comes to elements like imperialism and oppression. For the purposes of this study, some of the aspects already raised will be revisited in relation to possible ambiguities, especially the role of Friday and his relationship with Crusoe, as well as Crusoe's relationship with his family—aspects that have attracted substantial criticism from modern socialists (Hymer 2011: 63).

Concerning Crusoe's relationship to his wife and children, Seehase (1986: 118) asserts that 'Defoe sees [...] the basis of historical development [...] in the productive activities of ordinary people.'¹³⁶ Crusoe's emotional feelings towards company and love are suppressed by his endeavour to work. This includes the traditional family relationship, the community and the sorts of nationalism known to a feudal society. In fact, Defoe does not include a wife and family life for Crusoe in the novel; his family is merely mentioned. He marries only after his financial situation allows to do so. The uncorrupted economic motivation of Defoe's protagonist prevails,¹³⁷ and women seem to play only one role—an economic role (Watt 1962: 68). This sense is heightened when Crusoe gleefully informs us about his emotional distance when his colonists draw lots for five women in the *Farther Adventures*.¹³⁸

Such is also the case, for the most part, with Defoe's protagonists throughout the fiction; his protagonists tend not to have any family to care for (as with Colonel Jack or Moll Flanders) or they 'leave home at an early stage' (as with Robinson Crusoe) (65). Crusoe

¹³⁶ Original text: „Defoes gedankliche Konzeption des Romans (vor allem des ersten Bandes) ist charakteristisch für die bürgerliche Aufklärungsphilosophie. Defoe sieht die Grundlage der geschichtlichen Entwicklung nicht im Handeln von Herrschern und Heeresführern, sondern in der produktiven Tätigkeit gewöhnlicher Menschen.“ (Seehase 1986: 118)

¹³⁷ Defoe (1919 [2015]: 362) writes: 'In the mean time, I in Part settled my self here; for first of all I marry'd, and that not either to my Disadvantage or Dissatisfaction, and had three Children, two Sons and one Daughter: But my Wife dying, and my Nephew coming Home with good Success from a Voyage to Spain, my Inclination to go Abroad, and his Importunity prevailed and engag'd me to go in his Ship, as a private Trader to the East Indies: This was in the Year 1694.'

¹³⁸ Defoe (1919 [2015]: II) writes: 'Him that drew to choose first went away by himself to the hut where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he chose; and it was worth observing, that he that chose first took her that was reckoned the homeliest and oldest of the five, which made mirth enough amongst the rest; and even the Spaniards laughed at it; but the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business they were to expect assistance in, as much as in anything else; and she proved the best wife of all the parcel.'

leaves his family to improve his financial situation, and as a consequence of his 'not being satisfied with [his] station' (Defoe 1719 [2015]: 5) in life, he becomes richer than ever before.¹³⁹

Two distinct approaches to this fact of the narrative can be discerned. Watt (1962: 65) labels Crusoe's behaviour as the 'dynamic tendency of capitalism itself', whose purpose is not to sustain a given situation, but to advance, gain and adapt. According to him, leaving home seems to be 'a vital feature of the individualist pattern of life' (65; Kaene 1994: 99), and as a consequence Crusoe pays no attention to the ties of family. Crusoe's behaviour is tied to the necessity 'to better his economic situation', the 'classic reason of *homo economicus*' (Watt: 1962: 65). By contrast, Seehase (1986: 118-19) explained Crusoe's physiological status with reference to the notion of *homo economicus*, as Marx had done.

Weimann (1962: 65), however, did not specifically tackle Crusoe's family life; instead, he sees Crusoe's actions as the result of his being a *Geschöpf des Puritanismus* (creation of puritanism): 'On the one hand we note with astonishment the unexpected contrast between Puritan piety and religious admonitions and on the other the cruellest colonisation and oppression, hardly to be surpassed in its brutality' (65).¹⁴⁰ Marxists addressed Crusoe's individualism, reasoning that Crusoe's 'life and struggle with nature attract a higher, enduring meaning, and the narrative of a social individual's fate which becomes the song of praise for labour and men, for triumph of human work force and for the brave,

¹³⁹ Defoe (1719 [2015]: 5) writes: 'I mean that of not being satisfied with the station wherein God and Nature hath placed them—for, not to look back upon my primitive condition, and the excellent advice of my father, the opposition to which was, as I may call it, my *original sin*, my subsequent mistakes of the same kind had been the means of my coming into this miserable condition; for had that Providence which so happily seated me at the Brazils as a planter blessed me with confined desires, and I could have been contented to have gone on gradually, I might have been by this time—I mean in the time of my being in this island—one of the most considerable planters in the Brazils—nay, I am persuaded, that by the improvements I had made in that little time I lived there, and the increase I should probably have made if I had remained, I might have been worth a hundred thousand moidores—and what business had I to leave a settled fortune, a well-stocked plantation, improving and increasing, to turn supercargo to Guinea to fetch negroes, when patience and time would have so increased our stock at home, that we could have bought them at our own door from those whose business it was to fetch them? and though it had cost us something more, yet the difference of that price was by no means worth saving at so great a hazard.'

¹⁴⁰ Original text: „Wir bemerken hier mit Erstaunen das unvermittelte Nebeneinander von puritanischer Frömmigkeit und religiösen Ermahnungen auf der einen Seite und die grausamste, in ihrer Brutalität kaum noch zu überbietende Kolonisation und Unterdrückung auf der anderen Seite.“ (Weimann 1962: 65)

unconquerable spirit of man' (62).¹⁴¹ He declared Crusoe a 'product the Age of Enlightenment' and reiterated the fact of his puritan upbringing, both of which identities embody 'distinct qualities of the emerging post-revolutionary bourgeoisie' (62) and went on to argue that the more recent sociological criticism had completely misunderstood 'the plebeian folk elements' of the novel (62).

As previously mentioned the scholar complained in an earlier chapter of his monograph that Defoe's ethical principles were surprisingly inconsistent, and that his 'heroic honesty was found side by side with arrant sophistry' (15).¹⁴² However, in a later chapter of his study he again excuses these 'inconsistencies.' Referring to Puritanism Defoe's 'sober and practical relevancy' is complemented by his on-going, progressive and 'illuminative power of imagination, although sparked by the bourgeois pursuit of profit' (19). This indicates a higher concern for the common good of his nation and humanity.¹⁴³

By contrast, Watt (1962: 80) suggests that the heritage of Puritanism is 'too weak to supply a continuous and controlling pattern for the hero's [Crusoe's] experience.' He claims that Crusoe's religion has little effect upon his actions, and continues: 'If Crusoe's original sin was filial disobedience – leaving home in the first place – it is certain that no real retribution follows; since he does very well out of it' (80). He sets out on his voyages without distress at 'flouting Providence' (80). Hence the scholar sees in Crusoe's behaviour a neglect.

Where Providence is bring blessings – as, for instance, when he [Crusoe] finds the grains of corn and rice – things are different. Crusoe need only accept. But the trilogy as a whole certainly suggests that any of the less co-operative interventions of Providence can safely be neglected. (81)

¹⁴¹ Original text: „Sein Leben und sein Ringen mit der Natur gewinnen eine höhere, die Zeiten überdauernde Sinnggebung, und die Erzählung von dem historisch-sozial verankerten Menschen schlechthin, zum Triumph der menschlichen Arbeitskraft und des tapferen, unbesiegbaren menschlichen Geistes.“ (Weimann 1962: 62)

¹⁴² Original text: „Defoes ethische Grundsätze waren erstaunlich inkonsequent, und seine geradezu heroische Redlichkeit fand sich Seite an Seite mit arger Spitzfindigkeit.“ (Weimann 1962: 15)

¹⁴³ Original text: „Diese nüchtern-praktische Sachbezogenheit wird nun andererseits ergänzt durch ihre Zeit vorausseilende aufklärerische Vorstellungskraft, die sich zwar am bürgerlichen Gewinnstreben entzündet, aber dabei nicht stehen bleibt, sondern darüber hinausweist und ein höheres humanistisches Bemühen um das nationale und menschheitliche Gemeinwohl erkennen läßt.“ (Weimann 1962: 19)

And yet Defoe used Puritan doctrines in his work.¹⁴⁴ The events of Crusoe's life were to coincide with the didactic purpose of the novel.

Then what, for the layman, is the book's most obvious lesson? The answer comes back to the plain fact that Crusoe, the Puritan, turned to Scripture for guidance. Of course, this simple lesson could not be accepted by Marxists, who wished the book to praise labour rather than the Christian God. Marx (1976: 88) noted drily: 'Of his prayers we take no account, since they are a source of pleasure to him [Crusoe], and he looks on them as so much recreation.' Marx also mentioned inconsistencies between the religious aspects of the novel and its action. Watt (1962: 82) refers to such inconsistencies as secularisation: he sees a 'relative impotence of religion in Defoe's novels', and he argues that secularisation was a marked feature of Defoe's age.

While the conflict between religious and material values might have been pressing to earlier generations of readers, the religious dimension of *RC* was relegated in importance by the GDR's ideologists, Marxists did not further dig into the religious aspects of the story. Rather, they translated Crusoe's religious notions into ethical, even political ones. The socio-cultural characteristics of Crusoe's conduct were strongly emphasised, while his ethical, not religious, principles were questioned. The nonconformity of the *dissenters* interested Marxists in particular, and Weimann (1962) dedicated a chapter to Defoe's sufferings as a dissenter from childhood to maturity.

He did not discuss the socio-cultural dimension of the fictional *RC*; he embarked on Defoe himself, and continued to praise the author's Puritan life from a socio-cultural perspective.¹⁴⁵ To emphasise his point, he raised the issue of revolution in Defoe's life: 'He was a citizen, but not so much a rich bourgeois as a *citoyen*, that is, a conscious, if necessary, aggressively minded member of his community. It is no coincidence that we see him

¹⁴⁴ In the preface to *RC*, Defoe writes that his purpose is to report Crusoe's life 'Story (...) with Modesty, with Seriousness, and with a religious *Application* of Events to the *Uses* to which wise Men always apply them (viz.) to the Instruction of others by this *Example*, and to justify and honour the Wisdom of Providence in all the Variety of our Circumstances, let them happen how they will' (Defoe 1719 [2015]: III-IV). As Esther James has shown, the three words 'Application', 'Uses' and 'Example', were familiar words to Puritan preachers (James 1968: 69). James argues that when composing his sermon a Puritan preacher had first of all to open his text and formulate the doctrines. Then he gave proof of his doctrines. Defoe followed the Puritan example and demonstrated the truth of his doctrine with examples drawn from events in a man's life. Like a Puritan sermon, Defoe's own discourse became edifying and didactic (James 1968: 74).

¹⁴⁵ See Robert Weimann: 'Daniel Defoe, Eine Einführung in das Romanwerk', *Wege zur Literatur, Monographien*, No. 11, VEB Verlag Sprache und Literatur, Halle (1962: 15-6)

involved in the last great revolutionary movement of the 17th century. This is the uprising of the Duke of Monmouth in the year 1685' (1962: 16).¹⁴⁶ The Monmouth rebellion was received as the last great stand of anti-restoration powers (17-8). Further, Defoe's advocacy of a Protestant succession was linked to a guarantee of freedom, and Marxists acknowledged Defoe's works on projects that aimed to improve social conditions in England. The projects mentioned include road construction, expansion of the English financial system and the foundation of non-profit organisations, for instance a Women's Academy—all projects relevant to a socialist society. Unreservedly, they described Defoe as a man of practical action and sober personality, just like Crusoe. He does not suggest any possible contradiction between author and protagonist, between the capitalist motives of the writer and the protagonist's island economy:

[Defoe] does not just draw his energy from bourgeois profit mongering, but just as much from the experience of the assiduously labouring people. He bases his reasons on the experience, strength and confidence of an entire civilization – since aspiring – representative for the destiny of the whole human culture. [...] He [Defoe] defends the human dignity of European civilization. (62)

GDR's literary critics could not see the cold-hearted capitalist in Defoe. Nor would Weimann (1962) discuss the discrepancy between Defoe's island economy and Defoe himself, the 18th century entrepreneur.

Long before the formation of the GDR, Karl Mannheim (2000: 87)—one of the founders of classical sociology and the sociology of knowledge—called Marx's view of the island economy a 'utopian approach' because 'Defoe disregarded two important facts: the social nature of all human economies, and the actual psychological effects of solitude.' Mannheim's undogmatic approach is crucial as he constructed a historical typology of utopian methodologies when he analysed the various threads of utopian thought: conservative, liberal-bourgeois, and Marxist. According to Mannheim (87), the Marxist notion of Defoe's island economy represents one of the early Marxist varieties of utopian fantasy. This started when Marx used the idea of the island economy in *Das Kapital*.

¹⁴⁶ Original text: „Er war ein Bürger, aber nicht so sehr ein satter Bourgeois als ein Citoyen, d.h. ein bewußtes, wenn nötig, kämpferisch gesinntes Mitglied seiner Gesellschaft. Es ist durchaus kein Zufall, dass wir ihn in die letzte große revolutionäre Bewegung des 17. Jahrhunderts verwickelt sehen. Dies ist der Aufstand des Duke of Monmouth vom Jahre 1685.“ (Weimann 1962: 16).

By contrast, Mannheim (87-8) explains Crusoe's prosperity as a direct result of 'the original stock of tools which he loots from the shipwreck', and therefore, as Watt (1962: 87) reasons, 'Defoe's hero is not really a primitive nor proletarian but a capitalist. In the island he owns the freehold of a rich though unimproved estate.'¹⁴⁷ Naturally, the GDR's ideologists never countenanced such a view in their analysis. According to them, instead of being a capitalist, owning an unimproved estate, the story is one of triumph. As Weimann (1962) puts it, 'Crusoe turns his estate into a triumph.' This is because Crusoe 'is alone, his wants are limited and satiated before he exhausts his available labour time' (Marx 1867 [2007]: 90).¹⁴⁸

As economy seems to be the overpowering motive, love plays no role in the island economy and sexual needs are omitted from the scene.¹⁴⁹ Hence the Marxist idea of the freedom of the individual is not linked to judging social arrangements.¹⁵⁰ In Western society it might appear that freedom involves relationships between people and their decisions about their lives, but freedom does not have the same meaning in Marxism-Leninism. Weimann (1962: 60) gives the socialist interpretation of freedom stating that Crusoe's freedom on the isolated island (without his Man Friday) is defined as the freedom of a 'natural individual' as he submits to the law of nature for his existence; therefore, from a Marxist-Leninist point of view, Crusoe's greatest triumph made him a free, natural individual but not a social entity. According to a socialist reading, the natural individual is subject to constraint, has limited power and a limited number of alternative (60).

¹⁴⁷ Watt (1962: 87-88) continues: 'Its possession [...] are the miracles which fortify the faith of the supporters of the new economic creed [...]. Crusoe is in fact the lucky heir of the labours of countless other individuals.'

¹⁴⁸ Marx (1867 [2007]: 90) writes: 'Let us now picture ourselves, by way of change, a community of free individuals, carrying on their work with the means of production in common, in which the labour-power of all the different individuals is consciously applied as the combined labour-power of the community. All the characteristics of Robinson's labour are here repeated, but with this difference, that they are social, instead of individual. Everything produced by him was exclusively the result of his own personal labour, and therefore an object of use for himself. The total product of our community is a social product.'

See Defoe (1719 [2015]: 151): 'In the first Place, I was remov'd from all the Wickedness of the World here. [...] I had nothing to covet; for I had all that I was now capable of enjoying [...]. There were no Rivals. I had no Competitor [...].'

¹⁴⁹ Defoe (1719 [2015]: 151) writes: 'I had neither the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eye, or the Pride of Life (...) I was Lord of the whole Mannor; or if I pleas'd, I might call my self King, or Emperor over the whole Country which I had Possession of.'

¹⁵⁰ Weimann (1962: 62) sees in Crusoe's stay on the island no escape or kingdom; it is an exile. According to him, the tropical locale was no idyll but rather a workplace. He justifies the novel using strictly utilitarian terms

Problematically, the Marxist interpretation of Crusoe as a 'free individual' has nothing to say about what the individual does with his freedom; it is only the case that he has the freedom to obey the law of nature in order to survive.¹⁵¹ Even the isolation of the ocean does not change his attitude but challenges his existence. Crusoe became a free individual, free of social ties. While there were concerted efforts to 'solve' problematic aspects of the narrative (such as Crusoe's isolation, which he addressed by suggesting that 'one must not consider aesthetic but utilitarian aspects', the reading remains incomplete.¹⁵² Readings by figures like Weimann (1962) and Seehase (1986) represent a purely Marxist-Leninist approach (incorporating aspects specific to the GDR) and much is omitted. When Friday appears in the plot, *Crusoe* becomes more complex and challenging for Marxist-Leninist interpretations. The Western reception of Crusoe's capitalism and imperialism illustrates the fact that the GDR's scholars circumvented such possible contradictions in order to preserve Marx's view of Crusoe's island economy.

Friday, A Symbol for the Division of Labour

When the primeval economy—or as Marx called it *the island economy*—opened up to the world, this did not occur in the form of merchandise and currency. Instead, the wider world arrived in the form of the people Crusoe had to come to terms with, a group of Caribbean individuals who come ashore. The protagonist's confrontation with the cannibals becomes an essential part of Defoe's work. Richetti (2005: 208) acknowledges that the relationship between Crusoe and Friday as 'the cannibal sequence is also the beginning of a turn in Crusoe's development toward a pure heroism that takes leave of the delineation of moral-psychological states.'¹⁵³ Crusoe 'rescues' one Caribbean man, who approaches him and kneels down: he 'took him up, and made much of him, and encourag'd him' (Defoe 1719 [2015]: 241). Crusoe has a servant and with companionship a new economy is born. Stephen

¹⁵¹ Original text: „Robinson, so zeigt sich, ist nicht das naturgemäße Individuum, ist nicht der Mensch an sich, sondern das Geschöpf einer bestimmten zivilisatorischen Entwicklungsstufe. [...] Er ordnet sein Verhalten dem sozialen Gesetz seiner Existenz unter. Robinson wird erst dadurch das freie Individuum, das sowohl allen gesellschaftlichen Bindungen [...] entrückt ist.“ (Weimann 1962: 60)

¹⁵² Original text: „[...] der Inselaufenthalt [ist] für Defoes Held keine Weltfurcht. Die Abgeschiedenheit ist ihm kein Asyl, sondern eher Verbannung, die tropische Natur keine Idylle, sondern ein Arbeitsplatz, sie wird nicht unter ästhetischen, sondern utilitaristischen Gesichtspunkten betrachtet.“ (Weimann 1962: 61)

¹⁵³ Crusoe's true economic motivation cannot be ignored. Defoe writes: 'It came now very warmly upon my Thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my Time to get me a Servant, and perhaps a Companion, or Assistant; and that I was call'd plainly by Providence to save this poor Creature's Life; [...].' (Defoe 1719 [2015]: 240)

Hymer (2011: LXIII) claims that 'the relationship they are about to enter into is an unequal and violent one [...]. It requires an ideological superstructure to sustain it and make it tolerable. Friday is an independent person with his own mind and will', but 'Crusoe's rule depends upon the extent to which his head controls Friday's hand.' Again, it seems that Crusoe treats people in terms of their commodity value.¹⁵⁴ In this respect, Watt (1962: 69) asserts that 'Crusoe regards the relationship [with Friday] ideal. He is "as perfectly and completely happy if any such thing as complete happiness can be found in a sublunary state", a functional silence' (69). The liaison with Man Friday is self-centred: 'He [Crusoe] does not ask his name nor does he give him a proper one' (69).¹⁵⁵

Consequently, Crusoe is a 'strict utilitarian': he teaches Friday to call him 'Master' before even he learns the words for yes and no and the conversation between master and servant is reduced to 'Yes, Master' (69). This is of course abhorrent to modern understanding, but even under the xenophobic ethics of the 18th century it seems detestable and a damning reflection of Defoe's social environment. The unequal association between Crusoe and Friday seems to unfold into a relationship between human and pet, a mindless body that is obedient. Crusoe is in agreement with this circumstance and reports his happiness.¹⁵⁶ However, Friday, being the first non-white character in the English novel who is

¹⁵⁴ Crusoe traded Xury, the Moorish boy who helped him to escape from slavery, although at an earlier stage of the book Crusoe voiced his gratitude. Defoe (1719 [2015]:25) writes: 'Xury, if you will be faithful to me I'll make you a great Man.' But when Crusoe meets the Portuguese Captain, who offers sixty pieces of eight he cannot resist the profit and sells Xury into slavery.

Defoe (1719 [2015]: 37-38) writes: 'I told him he had been so generous to me in every thing, that I could not offer to make any Price of the Boat, but left it entirely to him, upon which he told me he would give me a Note of his Hand to pay me 80 Pieces of Eight or it at Brazil, and when it came there, if any one offer'd to give more he would make it up; he offer'd me also 60 Pieces of Eight more for my Boy Xury, which I was loath to take, not that I was not willing to let the Captain have him, but I was very loath to sell the poor Boy's Liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However when I let him know my Reason, he own'd it to be just, and offer'd me this Medium, that he would give the Boy an Obligation to set him free in ten Years, if he turn'd Christian; upon this, and Xury saying he was willing to go to him, I let the Captain have him.'

¹⁵⁵ Defoe (1719 [2015]: 244) writes: 'in a little Time I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me; and first, I made him know his Name should be Friday, which was the Day I sav'd his Life; I call'd him so for the Memory of the Time; I likewise taught him to say Master, and then let him know, that was to be my Name; I likewise taught him to say, YES, and NO, and to know the Meaning of them; I gave him some Milk, in an earthen Pot, and let him see me Drink it before him, and sop my Bread in it; and I gave him a Cake of Bread, to do the like, which he quickly comply'd with, and made Signs that it was very good for him.'

¹⁵⁶ Defoe (1719 [2015]: 261) writes: 'In this thankful Frame I continu'd all the Remainder of my Time, and the Conversation which employ'd the Hours between Friday and I, was such, as made the three Years which we liv'd there together perfectly and compleatly happy, if any such Thing as compleat Happiness can be form'd in a sublunary State.'

individualised and humanised, can also be said to be of significant literary and cultural importance.

It seems that Friday represents the natives of the colonised world and Crusoe characterises the British colonial mind. Friday becomes Crusoe's instrument, and Crusoe domesticates Friday (Richetti 2005: 208). Richetti (208) argues that 'Crusoe passes from passive reaction and adaption on the island to an active and controlling presence.' As has been the case throughout the novel, he 'retains his strategic relationship to circumstances, and he knows to watch and to wait for advantage' (209).

Marxists did not analyse Friday's role from a socio-critical perspective. They did not discuss the various stages in the evolution of the relationship between Crusoe and Friday, which might have hinted at the development of imperialism. In sum, they did not criticise Crusoe's imperialist behaviour, either from a socialist or socio-critical point of view. Instead, interestingly enough, Weimann (1976: 679) looked to Defoe's bourgeois upbringing through a historical lens.¹⁵⁷

It is only when the GDR scholar (1962: 69) turns to the second volume in the *RC* series (not a part of the GDR school curriculum) that he registers any complaint about the treatment of indigenous people by colonialists. He argues that 'the colonialists employ those savages as servants, who do not possess land', declaring that the treatment takes an even *grausamere Form* (more gruesome form) when the colonialists solely dedicate their time to accumulation (69).¹⁵⁸ However, he did not further dive into the troublesome issue of abuse and exploitation.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Original text: „Als die Eingeborenen nahen, versteht sich Robinson ebenso auf den Gebrauch der Flinte wie auf die Handhabung der Bibel. Der treue Freitag wird zum Christentum bekehrt und - gleichzeitig - zum Diener erkoren; er wird von seinem Heidentum, aber zugleich von seiner urgemeinschaftlichen Freiheit erlöst. [...]. Er ist ganz und gar ein Geschöpf seiner bürgerlichen Epoche - und ragt doch über sie hinaus.“

Transcript: 'As the natives approach, Robinson understands the use of the gun as well as the handling of the Bible. The faithful Friday is converted to Christianity and - at the same time - chosen as a servant; He is redeemed from his paganism, but at the same time withdrawn from his primordial freedom. [...] He is completely a creature of his bourgeois epoch - and yet he towers above it.' (Weimann 1976: 679)

¹⁵⁸ Defoe (1719 [2015]) writes: 'As servants maintain'd for their labour.'

¹⁵⁹ Original text: „Es ist der Widerspruch zwischen puritanischer Moral und bürgerlicher Praxis, zwischen Anspruch auf Zivilisation, und den grausamen Auswüchsen der Barbarei, zwischen den ideologischen Illusionen der ehemals revolutionären Bürgerklasse und den alten Unterdrückerpraktiken, deren sie sich befließigt. Es ist, in einem Wort, der Gegensatz zwischen den moralisch-christlichen Formen des bürgerlichen Bewußtseins und seinen tatsächlichen geschichtlichen und ökonomischen Funktionen.“

Transcript: 'It is the contradiction between Puritan morality and bourgeois practice, between the claim to civilization, and the cruel excesses of barbarism, between the ideological illusions of the formerly revolutionary

Instead, Weimann (1976) drew the reader's attention to the point in the novel when Crusoe, who does not appear to appreciate intimacy in general, expresses love for his servant Friday, the only time the protagonist admits personal appreciation for another person. Crusoe never expresses love for his family in the novel, and the fact that Crusoe professes love for an uneducated, indigenous ex-cannibal suggests the extraordinary attraction of Friday's character. Emotional warmth seems to excuse Crusoe's pursuit of gain through his servant:¹⁶⁰ According to Marxist reading, Friday gave emotional warmth to Crusoe, while Crusoe brought Friday cultural values in the form of labour and ethics, labour which improves his own character.

Robinson does not just make use of other people's labour, but he works himself, and his labour is creative in the most compassionate way [...]. He is maturing and gains property. Before he was shipwrecked, he traded humanity and the human values into goods (Xury) [...]. But now that he works himself, no longer humanity is alienated but implemented due to the might of labour (1976: 680).¹⁶¹

The British interpretation on the subject of labour follows a different view. Watt (1962: 71) discusses how the attitudes and experiences Defoe portrayed would have interested his bourgeois readers. Indeed, a rising amount of leisure time caused by economic specialisation provided a mass audience for Defoe's narrative, and quotes Thomas Hill's Green's (1862) 'general view' from 'A Estimate of The Value and Influence of Works of Fiction in Modern Times': 'In the progressive division of labour, while we become more useful as citizens, we seem to lose our completeness as men. The requirements of special study become more exacting, at the same time that the perfect organisation of modern society removes the excitement of adventure and the occasion for independent effort' (71; Green 1862: 25). Defoe must have been aware of how increasing economic specialisation rendered many

bourgeois class and the old oppressive practices of which it takes all pains. It is, in a word, the antithesis between the moral-Christian forms of bourgeois consciousness and its actual historical and economic functions.' (Weimann 1962: 70)

¹⁶⁰ Defoe (1719 [2015]: 253) writes: 'I had a singular Satisfaction in the Fellow himself; his simple unfeign'd Honesty, appear'd to me more and more every Day, and I began really to love the Creature; and on his Side, I believe he lov'd me more than it was possible for him ever to love any Thing before.'

¹⁶¹ Original text: „Robinson bedient sich nicht lediglich der Arbeitskraft anderer, sondern er selbst arbeitet, und seine Arbeit ist auf höchst menschliche Weise schöpferisch [...]. Er gewinnt an Reife und Besitz. Vor seinem Schiffbruch hatte er die Menschheit und die menschlichen Werte anderer in Ware verwandelt (Xury) [...]. Jetzt aber, da er selbst arbeitet, wird die Menschlichkeit nicht länger entfremdet, sondern Kraft dieser Arbeit verwirklicht.“ (Weimann 1976: 680)

traditional arts unfamiliar to his readers. He wrote long sections on the subject of procuring and providing, and it seems that he sought to educate his readers in the lost art of medieval yielding. During the 18th century, archaic types of providing and procuring were already unknown to the common population in the highly specialised economy. Defoe's long accounts of skills such as bread making and fishing bear witness to the fact that these types of labour were now outmoded, and Defoe's work is therefore a bountiful source of information for his readers.

We can conclude that Crusoe does not deal with the actual economy Defoe (1719 [2015]: 138-9) himself was part of, but rather with what the average individual might have found inspiring, appealing and spectacular.¹⁶² With confidence in the fact that his readers would be absorbed by his detailed descriptions, Defoe takes his protagonist into a past where labour is varied and inspiring; this is significantly different to the types of labour commonly practised in Enlightenment England. In this way, Defoe's novel functions as an ideological counterpart to the contemporary division of labour in the English economy (Watt 1962: 73).

From a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, Defoe applies dignity to labour through the character of Crusoe. This notion was successfully realised by Hans Mau's illustrations in the aforementioned illustrated schoolbook edition of 1982 (published by Kinderbuchverlag).¹⁶³ The subject of the dignity of labour inspired many Marxists, making this topic absolutely central and all encompassing for the ideology of the GDR.

¹⁶² Defoe (1719 [2015]: 138-9) writes: 'It might be truly said, that now I work'd for my Bread; 'tis a little wonderful, and what I believe few People have thought much upon, (viz.) the strange multitude of little Things necessary in the Providing, Producing, Curing, Dressing, Making and Finishing this one Article of Bread. (...) First, I had no Plow to turn up the Earth, no Spade or Shovel to dig it. Well, this I conquer'd, by making a wooden Spade, as I observ'd before;[...] However this I bore with, and was content to work it out with Patience, and bear with the badness of the Performance. When the Corn was sow'd, I had no Harrow, but was forced to go over it my self and drag a great heavy Bough of a Tree over it, to Scratch it, as it may be call'd, rather than Rake or Harrow it.[...] When it was growing and grown, I have observ'd already, how many things I wanted, to Fence it, Secure it, Mow or Reap it, Cure and Carry it Home, Thrash, Part it from the Chaff and Save it. Then I wanted a Mill to Grind it, Sieves to Dress it, Yeast and Salt to make it into Bread, and an Oven to bake it, and yet all these things I did without, as shall be observ'd; and yet the Corn was an inestimable Comfort and Advantage to me too.'

¹⁶³ See the illustrations by Hans Mau (Defoe 1982).



Fig. 32: *Dignity of Labour in 'RC'* (Mau 1982: 91)

However, in a manner that was willingly overlooked by the GDR's Marxists, the dignity of labour comes to an end about three years after Friday's arrival on the island, when an opportunity for expansion arises. Crusoe has gained property and obtained a kingdom, which he rules firmly through unchallenged leadership. Friday possesses nothing but himself, while Crusoe's materialistic fortune continues to prosper (Hymer 2012: 56). When more people reach *his* island, Crusoe takes advantage of his monopoly and makes them to submit to his rule (56). He is resourceful in his authority; he is determined and guided by his Puritan religious beliefs. He finally consolidates his leadership and establishes imperial order through the implementation of a hierarchical structure.¹⁶⁴ The colonial economy is born (56).

How could Marxists accept such a turn in the narrative? In a manner that is hardly convincing, Weimann (1962: 64) defends the story by highlighting Defoe's literary talent and historic potential:

Even during the portrayal of the events on the island, the literary supremacy stands behind the writer's ideological concerns. The historical relevance moves into the narrative's centre, so that we can fathom the work's principal historical importance and imaginative power in forthright terms. Profit mongering and the individual desire for freedom, the gain of property and collectivism, Christianisation and colonisation,

¹⁶⁴ Defoe writes: 'Having now Society enough, and our Number being sufficient to put us out of Fear of the *Savages*, if they had come, unless their Number had been very great, we went freely all over the Island, wherever we found Occasion; and as here we had our Escape or Deliverance upon our Thoughts, it was impossible, *at least for me*, to have the Means of it out of mine; to this Purpose, I mark'd out several Trees which I thought fit for our Work, and I set *Friday* and his Father to cutting them down; and then I caused the *Spaniard*, to whom I imparted my Thought on that Affair, to oversee and direct their Work.' (Defoe 1719 [2015]: 292-3)

edification and picaresque adventure—these and other motives are combined to a loosely structured novel—which [...] reveal the historic and artistic contradiction, which are associated with Defoe’s literary work.¹⁶⁵

The GDR’s Marxists did not delve into the most challenging ambiguities in *RC*; their debate followed Marxist principles. The monograph second chapter (52-63), entitled *Das Romanwerk - Robinson Crusoe (I)*, closes with these words: ‘the narrative about an uninhabited desert island becomes a song of praise to civilization and to an ever-progressing human society’ (62-3).¹⁶⁶ That this society is a capitalist one is not further examined; Defoe’s novelistic interest in reporting many little exciting facts associated with capitalist individualism was not taken up further by the GDR’s Marxist critics.

¹⁶⁵ Original text: „Schon bei der Darstellung des Inselgeschehens tritt die künstlerische Gestaltungskraft hinter dem ideologischen Anliegen des Autors zurück. Das historische Interesse tritt in den Vordergrund, so daß wir die dem Werk zugrunde liegenden geschichtlichen Kräfte und Vorstellungsweisen gänzlich unverblümt dargestellt finden. Profitstreben und individueller Freiheitsdrang, Besitzgründung und Gemeinschaftsarbeit, Bekehrung und Kolonisation, moralische Erbauung und pikareskes Abenteuer - diese und andere Motive verbinden sich zu einem allzu locker gefügten Romanganzem, das [...] den geschichtlichen, aber auch den damit verbundenen künstlerischen Grundwiderspruch von Defoes Romankunst durchblicken läßt.“ (Weimann 1962: 64)

¹⁶⁶ Original text: „So wird die Erzählung von einer unbewohnten, einsamen Insel zum Preislied auf die Zivilisation und die immer weiter vorwärtsstrebende menschliche Gesellschaft.“ (Weimann 1962: 62-3)

Chapter 4

Political Change and Ideological Uncertainty – A Changing Reality in Publishing British and Irish Literature

By the end of the 1970s, the number of socialist-inspired, social-critical British novels published in the GDR started to decrease.¹⁶⁷ Gradually, British modernist literature went through the process of assessment, interpretation and publication and seemed to replace some of the socialist-inspired titles. There is an on-going debate and much speculation regarding the causes of this development. Was it down to the political courage of individual publishers, the actions of the editors, or the influence of GDR scholars working in the field of English studies?

Such speculation is fuelled by the views of individuals like Wolfgang Wicht (2008) and Otto Brandstätter (2008) (among others) who are scholars and former GDR editors themselves. Wicht (2008: 93), for instance, presents accomplishments in modernist publishing (such as the appearance of works by T.S. Eliot, Huxley, Joyce and Woolf) as a personal achievement on the part of publishers, arguing that 'it was first and foremost the cautious and yet bold smuggling-in of modernist British, Irish and American literature by which the publishers Volk und Welt, Insel/Kiepenheuer, Aufbau and Reclam appear to have undermined the official cultural policy of the ideological post-Stalinist confidence.'¹⁶⁸ After the reunification of Germany, retrospective essays were published. Some of these pamphlets lead us to assume that individual publishers, editors and scholars positively impacted the print permission process for British and Irish works. One arrives at the impression that publishers and scholars were the actual driving force behind the legitimatisation of certain internationally renowned works of British and Irish modernism. Retrospectively this assumption is confirmed by former GDR scholars, editors and literary critics.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ See publication data at BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013

¹⁶⁸ Original text: „Es war in erster Linie die behutsam-vorsichtige und doch wagemutige Einschmuggelung der modernen britischen, irischen und amerikanischen Literatur, mit der die Verlage Volk und Welt, Insel/Kiepenheuer, Aufbau und Reclam die offizielle Kulturpolitik und die ideologische Verbarrikadierenden durch den kulturellen Spätstalinismus unterliefen. (Wicht 2008: 93)

¹⁶⁹ See: B Korte, S Schaur & S Welz (eds.), *Britische Literatur in der DDR*, ZAA Monograph Series, Vol. 8, Verlag Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg (2008) | chapters: (a) Otto Brandstätter, '200 Editionen aus der britischen Literatur in 40 Jahren - eine bescheidene oder bemerkenswerte Leistung von Lektoren des Aufbau-Verlags Berlin?' (2008: 33-40) | (b) Gabriele Bock, 'Lesen in der eingeschlossenen Gesellschaft: Zur Veröffentlichungspolitik und Rezeption britischer Literatur in der DDR' (2008: 41-47) | (c) Wolfgang Wicht, 'Woolf und Joyce - die gelungene Aktion' (2008: 93-99).

In this chapter, I evaluate the conditions under which renowned works of modernism were made legitimate by examining the political climate of the period extending from the late 1970s to 1989. Furthermore, I examine the possible influence of selected individuals on the process, for example the contribution of Wolfgang Wicht and other GDR scholars involved in the assessment of modern British and Irish literature. This chapter and the subsequent chapter in particular will (however) show that the increase in the number of publications (of most) of the modernist English writers cannot be exclusively credited to the non-conformity of individuals. Rather, it was a changing reality that heralded the shift, something that might be perceived in terms of the demise of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Moreover, such a change appears to have been the result of the unstoppable deterioration of the GDR's economy. This decline was eventually prolonged because of substantial financial backing from West Germany, but this was something that went hand-in-hand with a strong cultural stimulus of Western values (Kowalczyk 2013).

It is possible to speculate that the Central Administration of Publishing and Book Trade increasingly sanctioned the *Umfunktionierung* (reutilisation) of Anglophone modernism during the 1980s, i.e. the appropriation of such works for purposes of political critique. Since the official Marxist-Leninist ideology of the GDR had gradually become more precarious, critical thinkers had the opportunity to unlock new kinds of creative energies, for example by decoding non-socialist works of international modernism so as to make these works acceptable for socialist readers. As we have seen, this happened through the use of Marxist jargon within the existing framework of political debate.

As Michael Geyer (2001: 146) puts it: 'In the GDR the turn toward a critical Marxism permitted an incipient intellectual opposition the means by which to challenge the prevailing Marxist-Leninist dogmas concerning gender, ecology, freedom of speech, the role of science, and technological and industrial progress [...]'. This was something that took place 'within the framework of an existing socialist public sphere' (146). With this in mind, this chapter will examine to what degree publishers achieved the goal of issuing certain modernist works by shifting the boundaries of permissible dialogue. Their critiques would be grounded in the 'language of a deviant Marxism' (144).

Numerous commentators have argued that GDR scholars sought to reground their study of modernist English literature so that it was no longer based on 'the [traditional] rules of socialist discourse' (Bathrick 1995: 14). Here Bathrick (14) argues that 'they [...] sought to challenge the reading of texts simply as discrete, international documents that reflect the consciousness or political agenda of this or that social subject or grouping within the larger body politic.' Furthermore, in some instances texts could be depoliticised by highlighting their 'generic status as linguistic, literary or aesthetic phenomena' (14). This approach offered the opportunity to shift the limits of permissible political dialogue, moving the conversation towards a more theoretical methodology for the study of literature and allowing GDR scholars to access contemporary English works previously deemed formalist. Hence the works of writers such as Woolf, Huxley, Joyce, Eliot and Beckett could now be considered for assessment.

When it comes to the deterioration of the firm Marxist stance on formalist literature, the underlying cause may be found in the GDR's failing command economy: this caused the GDR to renegotiate their relationship with West Germany, forcing closer economic ties (Steiner 2010: 227). In the *Morning Star* article 'TV Brings Western Culture to East Germany' (published 13 February 1984), James Markham (1984) suggested that closer economic ties and pan-German broadcasting had fostered a growing cultural exchange between East and West. He confirmed this notion in an interview with Joachim Jauer, which was included as part of the article:

A ZDF program,¹⁷⁰ 'Emblem D,' has [...] dealt with [various] subjects [...] on East German television [...] 'We try in this program to have something like a German-German dialogue,' said Joachim Jauer, the director of 'Emblem D,' which appears to be one of the most popular [West German] programs in East Germany. 'We want the citizens of both sides to know enough about each other so that they remain capable of talking to each other'. (13 February 1984)

It is easy to imagine that West German broadcasts, which could be received in East Berlin and beyond, contributed to the GDR's ideological demise during the 1980s. However, to gain a greater understanding of the causes of the GDR's ideological change, it is necessary to

¹⁷⁰ ZDF is the abbreviation for Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (second program of German Television regulated by public law).

examine the historic background of West Germany's Eastern Policy. If Western influence stimulated new developments in East German publishing, then we need to examine that influence in more detail.

The Forces of Ideological Demise (1979 to 1989)

During the late 1970s and early 1980s there was a genuine climate of uncertainty surrounding the ideological trappings of social policy in the GDR (Schmidt 2013). West Germany's influence over the GDR had grown since the emergence of the social-liberal *Ostpolitik* in the early 1970s. At the heart of this Eastern Policy, which was initiated by West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, lay the *deutsche Frage* or German national question (Maier 2009; Bahr 2009: 113). Brandt's political objective was to 'resolve the smouldering conflict' between East and West, to ease travel restrictions between the two German states, and to spur cultural exchange (Schwan and Steininger 2009: 91-103).

Andreas Wilkens (2007: 67) confirms that, as a result of Germany's unique situation, it was natural that the German *Ostpolitik* had implications and ramifications which stretched far beyond the Eastern policies of any other Western European state. With the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the brutal shutting-off of West Berlin had produced profound effects, and contemporary West German observers felt that this constituted a new 'zero hour' in Germany (67), a halt in relations between the two systems or a line in the sand. By contrast, West German politicians like Willy Brandt and Egon Bahr (Secretary of the Chancellor's Office 1969-1972, MP and the creator of Brandt's *Ostpolitik*) endorsed a new approach that aimed to develop closer links with the SED in order to promote exchange between the two countries (Schwan and Steininger 2009: 107-12). As Wilkens (2007: 68) puts it, there was in operation 'a dialectic between the recognition of realities and their dynamic evolution.' In fact, the governing West German social-liberal coalition challenged the status quo with a view to acquiring leeway for political manoeuvring (Schwan and Steininger 2009).

After the introduction of the Four-Power Agreement in 1971 (Rush 1971), the two German states began to negotiate a new treaty: the *Vertrag über die Grundlagen der Beziehungen zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, generally known as the *Grundlagenvertrag* or 'Basic Treaty' (Hesse and Ellwein 2004). The Basic Treaty was signed on 21 December 1972 and 'aimed to establish good

neighbourly relations between both German states and granted *de facto*, albeit not *de jure*, legal recognition to the GDR' (Bahr 2009). The government of West Germany (in a text that was supplementary to the agreement) continued to stress that their objective was reunification. In order to consolidate the special relations that were outlined in the treaty, permanent legations (rather than full embassies) were established in the two German states.¹⁷¹ Egon Bahr (1972) was reassuring about West Germany's diplomatic intentions when, in a letter of 21 December 1972, he discussed the purpose of the treaty with GDR State Secretary Michael Kohl.¹⁷²

The treaty between West Germany and the GDR came into force in 1973. As a consequence of the negotiations, both states now recognised each other as sovereign countries, with the focus on the preservation of peace. The preamble of the treaty explained the notion of goodwill between the contractual partners and continued with an acknowledgement of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States in Europe within their present frontiers (GHDI 2016). It concluded with a declaration of refrain from the use of military force. The treaty also dealt with the subject of the *deutsche Frage* and affirmed the desire to create lasting 'conditions for a [fruitful] cooperation between the two German states for the benefit of its people' (Bahr 1972).

Brandt's *Ostpolitik* was the first holistic attempt on the part of West Germany at gaining broader influence in East Germany (Schwan and Steiniger 2009: 107-12). The policy entailed a political approach that was firmly set on normalising relationships between East and West. From the beginning, Brandt's political endeavour was not, however, without controversy. On 16 February 1970, Henry Kissinger expressed serious concerns about Brandt's policy in a confidential memorandum to President Nixon. He was critical about the manner in which Brandt's approach might threaten West Germany's position within the international community.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ See the commentary on the 'German History in Documents and Images' GHDI database. (2016)

¹⁷² 'In connection with today's signing of the Treaty concerning the basis of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has the honour to state that this Treaty does not conflict with the political aim of the Federal Republic of Germany to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination.' (Bahr 1972)

¹⁷³ The text of the memorandum ran as follows: 'The German Chancellor has stated the goals of his "*Ostpolitik*" in rather sober and realistic terms: he wants to normalise relations with the Communist countries and "move from confrontation to normalisation;" he is prepared in this context to accept the GDR as a separate state [...].

One of the objectives of Brandt's social-liberal politics was the improvement of living conditions in the GDR. According to Gerhard Rudolf Baum (2009: 128) (1972-1978 Parliamentary State Secretary in the social-liberal coalition and 1978-1982 Federal Minister of the Interior) the main objective of the Basic Treaty was a lasting co-existence. Eberhardt Diepgen (2009: 133) (1983-1991 Mayor of Berlin) argued that through 'Brandt's *Ostpolitik* West Germany gained an important influence on the GDR':

[The influence was gained by] contacts on economic aid, and by new opportunities to profit from liberal travel regulations [...] By this, the GDR had no way but to accept a new pan-German reality.

This was the actual aim of Brandt's policy. Approaching the question somewhat differently, Klaus von Dohnanyi (2009: 134) (1972-1974 Federal Minister, 1993-1996 special adviser on Market Economy and State to the Board of the *Treuhandgesellschaft*), points to West German broadcasting as the ultimate reason for the ideological collapse of the GDR:

[The GDR's ideology] collapsed, because you cannot distribute [...] untruth in the long run without being punished politically. And the truth was evident by the growing communication in the world. In truth, the communist system evidently stood in contradiction between a recognisable reality and the alleged reality.

Heiner Geißler (2009: 141-42) (1982-1985 Federal Minister) further posits that the political changes in the GDR were mainly due to West Germany's policy of *Wandel durch Annäherung* or 'change through rapprochement.'

It at first seems conceivable that the increased variety in the issuing of modernist British and Irish writers was a result of a liberalising policy during the seventies and eighties, something that would eventually undermine the fundamental basis of the GDR's Marxist ideology. Cultural change was accelerated by the growing consumption of Western television (Markham 1984), whereas the erosion of Marxist ideology was mostly due to a noticeable economic downturn (Schwan and Steiniger 2009). As the 'German History in

Much of the opposition within Germany and the concern among its allies stems not so much from the broad purpose which Brandt wants to achieve but from suspicions of fear that Eastern Policy is acquiring momentum and will lead Brandt into dangerous concessions. [...] Even in Europe, particularly in [...] the UK, the FRG might find its relations clouded by increased GDR commercial and other activities. [...] But their problem is to control a process which, if it results in failure could jeopardise their political lives and if it succeeds could create a momentum that may shake Germany's stability and unhinge its international position.' (Kissinger 1970: Memorandum for the President)

Documents' project suggests (Vol. 9), conflicting ideals along with an imported Western world-view challenged the socialist system and led to a coming to terms with the Western reality. East Germany's adoption of modes of Western behaviour and cultural taste was accompanied by substantial loans to the state apparatus of the GDR, loans that were allocated by the West German government (GHDI 2017).

According to my research, it cannot be disputed that an increased number of contemporary British literary works were issued during the late 1970s and 1980s, and by the late 1980s the publishers' lists also featured a small number of modernist English writers (see the tables). The creeping deterioration of Marxist-Leninist ideology—quickenened by external, political factors—paved the way for the assessment of British and Irish works previously considered formalist. We can, therefore, hypothesise that publishers selected these modernist works because of the chances of a successful publication, rather than because of the publisher's own oppositional stance.

Such developments in publication policy did not however apply to local GDR writers, and in fact things worked in the opposite direction. Many authors in the GDR had played a significant role in transforming their society into a communist society, but their world-view was informed by censorship, a suppressed opposition and serious repercussions for dissenters. This of course meant that their reality was very different to that of British or Irish writers, whose works, which were written for a different readership (Bathrick 1995: 10), were already published in the West. Bathrick (11) recognises that 'viewed from the perspective of the socialist public sphere, GDR writers were at once the creators of a new audience and a variant of the official voice' (11). He asserts: 'As spokespeople and representatives for a struggle to enlarge and enhance the freedoms of speech, their [the GDR's writers'] very existence was enabled by, indebted to, and an expression of power' (11). According to him, the GDR's writers were privileged even though they were censored. He speculates that 'in a very fundamental, if complicated, way, those writers who continued to publish and speak within the official socialist public sphere ended up functioning, perhaps oxymoronically, as reform-dedicated *Staatsdichter*' (11) who accepted their subordinate role to censorship and were trapped in the prevailing political discourse.

Bathrick (10-1) shows that the GDR's writers undoubtedly faced a different publishing reality when compared to their British and Irish counterparts. To understand this

fundamental distinction between the treatment of English and German literature in the GDR, we need to recognise that, during the mid-seventies, the development of a new style of literary appraisal for British and Irish works unfolded. The publisher's appraisal was intended to measure the feasibility of successfully issuing a given work; a tangible Marxist interpretation was therefore still necessary, although it involved a new way in dealing with Marxist reading. Hence each assessment was still written in Marxist jargon.

It seems highly conceivable that improved relations between the two German states allowed English modernist works to infiltrate the East German market: these works found their way onto publication lists owing to the weakening of certain ideological stances because of cultural exchange. Bathrick (29) puts it this way: 'Legitimation through consumerism rather than ideology, the so-called social contract, had been one way socialist regimes sought to pacify their populations' desire for more structural change and win support for Party policy.'¹⁷⁴ However, this social contract was based on the idea of industrial advancement and the desire to reverse deteriorating living standards with financial help from West Germany (Bock, Muth and Schwiesau 2004: 173). The social contract went hand-in-hand with the growth of reform-dedicated literature in the GDR, a development that enabled GDR publishers to assess as yet unknown (contemporary) British titles for the first time.

Having this development in mind we still need to remember that there was one important difference between the treatment of local works and the treatment of foreign works: namely the way in which censorship was conducted. A foreign title could be either printed or ignored, because, owing to licence agreements and the acquisition of translation rights, English works were never subject to textual change, i.e. the translation was to follow the original text, while abridgements were possible. Licences were costly, and controversial discussions within the publishing houses therefore happened prior to the application for print permission.¹⁷⁵ While the GDR's publishers never expressively gave voice to these important details, it seems likely that publishers preferred politically tangible foreign titles

¹⁷⁴ M. J. Sodaro (1982: 199) writes: '*Limits to Dissent in the GDR* where he argues that 'the SED's relative success in maintaining the social contract with GDR citizens has probably been the most decisive element preventing the development of acute social discontent'. Bathrick (1995: 247) claims what this argument fails to grasp is the extent to which the 'social contract' entailed pricing policies and structural changes that inevitably increased pressures over the long run for continued modernisation.

¹⁷⁵ This excluded authors such as Alan Winington who lived and published many works exclusively in the GDR.

which were financially available and that easily lent themselves to a positive interpretation in cultural, historical and ideological terms.

The 1980s were, all the same, primarily characterised by closer ties between publishers in the GDR and West Germany. These ties played a significant role in the publication of various British works, as most licences were acquired through West German publishers; for instance, *Joyce's Ulysses* (1980) was licensed by *Suhrkamp* in West Germany (BA DR-1 2371 1980: 704). This trend was not however necessarily long term: in the GDR, the licensing of British and Irish literature increased in the last part of the 1970s but, owing to the economic downturn, declined again in the second half of the 1980s.

The following tables list British and Irish writers from the late 19th and 20th century whose works were published between 1970 and 1990. They do not include classics. The tables, which run over four pages, display an increase in British modernist publications during the late 1970s and early 1980s, and at the same time reveal a decreased number of publications by pro-socialist, 'working class' British writers.

Contemporary 1970-1980	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1960s
Agatha Christie,										x	x
Oscar Wilde,	x	x				x				x	x
W. Somerset Maugham	x			x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Archibald Cronin,										x	x
Ian Fleming	x										
Edgar Wallace	x										
Rosemary Harris		x		x							
Anthologies		x	x	x		x				x	
William Sansom						x					
Meriol Trevor		x									
William J. Weatherby			x								
Peter Brown			x			x					
Elizabeth Goudge			x	x		x					
Shena Mackay			x								
Dorothy Sayers			x								
Peter Lovesay					x						
John Osborn					x						
Monica Dickens						x					
George Moore							x				
Evelyn Waugh							x				
Roald Dahl								x	x		
T.S.Eliot								x		x	
James Joyce								x		x	
D.H.Lawrence								x	x		
Dorothy Sayers								x			
Eric Shepard								x			
Muriel Spark								x			
Virginia Woolf								x		x	
Aldous Huxley									x		

Fig. 33: Contemporary works of British / Irish literature published between 1970 and 1979 in chronological order.

Contemporary 1980-1990 A-H	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	earlier
Roald Dahl				x			x		x			x
T.S.Eliot			x		x							x
Elizabeth Goudge			x									x
Aldous Huxley					x	x			x			x
James Joyce	x		x		x							x
D. H. Lawrence			x		x							x
[Heide Steiner]												
William Somerset Maugham				x								x
Anthologies [Petersen]		x	x		x							x
Dorothy Sayers		x										x
Edgar Wallace					x						x	x
Evelyn Waugh				x			x	x				x
Oscar Wilde			x	x	x							x
Virginia Woolf				x			x		x		x	x
Douglas Adams											x	
Joan Aiken				x								
Richard Aldington						x						
James Aldridge	x											
Phyllis Mary Ashraf	x											
Paul Bailey		x										
Clive Barker				x								
Aubrey Beardsley								x				
Samuel Beckett			(x) not published							x	x	
Neil Boyd							x					
Malcom Bradbury	x											
Taylor Caldwell								x				
William Carleton [Helmut Findeisen]							x					
Gilbert Keith Chesterton	x	x	x						x			
John Cleland								x				
Cecil Scott Forester	x											
John Fowles				x	x							
John Galsworthy						x						
William Golding	x				x	x	x					
Susan Hill			x									
Winifred Holtby				x								

Contemporary 1980-1990 J-Z	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
P. D. James				x	x	x	x	x		x	
Joan Jara							x				
Anthologies [Petersen]									x		
Joyce Marlow										x	
John Mc Grath [Günter Klotz]						x					
James Leslie Mitchell							x				
John Henry Newman											x
Norman Painting Michael Day		x									
A. Richards						x					
Tom Sharpe											x
John Desmond Sheridan						x					
Alexander Smith [Anselm Schlösser]							x				
Malcom Bradbury	x										
Dylan Thomas					x						

Fig. 34 : Modernist / contemporary works of British / Irish literature published between 1980 and 1990 in alphabetical order.

Considered left-wing 1980-1990	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	earlier
Mary Carson	x											x
Jack Mitchell	x											x
Seán O'Casey	x							x	x			x
Alan Winnington	x	x		x						x		x
Patrick Boyle		x					x					x
Doris Lessing				x	x							x
Stan(ley) Barstow					x							x
Elizabeth Goudge						x						x
George Bernard Shaw						x						x
John Boynton Priestley							x					x
C.S. Lewis								x				x
James Aldridge									x			x
Graham Greene		x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x
C.P. Snow	x			x								
Flann O'Brian		x		x	x	x						
Dorothy Thompson									x			

Fig. 35: Publication British and Irish Writers deemed Left-wing or socialists during the 1980's in chronological order

The Anglo-Marxist Study of Literature: A New Academic Approach in Marxist-Leninism under the Reality of a Waning Ideology

In this section, works by three writers are examined in relation to the cultural politics of the GDR in the 1970s and 1980s: Virginia Woolf, T.S. Eliot and Aldous Huxley. The reason for this selection lies in the literary ambiguity of these three writers; their social construction of critical realism increased the leeway available to the GDR's publishers when it came to arguing the case for print permission. Owing to the fact that Wolfgang Wicht has published extensively on the legitimisation of James Joyce in the GDR (see bibliography), Joyce will not be considered in detail in this chapter as Wolfgang Wicht has published a number of comprehensive essays (and books) concerning the assessment of James Joyce in the GDR (Wicht 1981a and 1982b). As Wicht was the major GDR scholar involved in the assessment of modernist writings by James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and T.S. Eliot his contemporary literary criticism was widely acknowledged. Hence, we will include his works in the analysis of the publication strategies of Woolf, T.S. Eliot.

By focussing on works by Woolf, T.S. Eliot and Huxley, I attempt to identify particular strategies deployed by GDR scholars: the new or different arguments contained in their literary assessments. As today's literary scholars argue along very different lines, I need to pre-empt the fact that some of these arguments may sound far-fetched. It must, however, be remembered that these assessments were written at a time when publishers struggled to obtain permission to publish a wider variety of works. Working under a political system that was still authoritarian, they looked for plausible ways to legitimise a given work within the framework of the country's cultural politics.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Marxist *Gutachten* or assessments by Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger, Wolfgang Wicht, Klaus Schulz, Günter Walch, Heide Steiner and Helmut Findeisen promoted works by Woolf, Huxley and T.S. Eliot; they suggested that such works played an important cultural and historical role, fulfilling a social function that was acceptable to socialist aesthetic thinking. The relevant documents are filed at the *Bundesarchiv* in Berlin, section DR-1. At the *Akademie-Verlag* in East Berlin in 1981, Wicht had published a scholarly work entitled *Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, T.S. Eliot: Kunstrezeptionen und Künstlergestalten*. This work initiated a wide-ranging debate about the legitimisation of these authors' literary endeavours and their relation to the GDR's cultural

and political philosophy. This discourse was possible because Marxist literary criticism and aesthetics had increasingly become the subject of debate among GDR scholars in the late 1970s. They strived 'to accurately determine the dialectical-materialist notion of contemporary English literature' (Wicht 1981b: 7).

Modernist British and Irish literature is highly diverse in its literary style and aesthetics and has often contradicted Marxist philosophy. Therefore, GDR scholars had no choice but to concentrate their research on a particular set of contemporary writers, those whose works had sparked international controversy owing to their depiction of the relationship between individuals and their environment. Several steps were necessary when dealing with works stemming from a non-socialist environment (some such works had already filtered into the GDR via West German publicity and television, representing, therefore, unwanted cultural exchange). By consulting assessments written by GDR scholars during the 1980s, we learn that the first step was to determine the political scope of the work and to measure the extent of the ideological challenge. The second step was to prepare a justification of the work's cultural or political relevance. As scholars dealt with western literature or 'formalism' in its various forms, the content of such works proved challenging. Finally, assessors needed to discover potential political and social contradictions within the work, in order to argue comprehensibly that it was worthy for publication.

As Wicht (1981b: 7) showed, Woolf and Eliot's major works were received (in the GDR) as important contributions to cultural theory and the analysis of *Monokapitalismus* (monopolistic capitalism) and therefore deemed to contribute to the GDR's cultural life. According to him, the specific Marxist meaning of these three English writers (one being Anglo-American) lies in their treatment of the global struggle between bourgeoisie and proletarians, between capitalism and society. In this context, the history and aesthetics of 20th century bourgeois literature posed a challenge. Wicht (7) claimed that '[t]he study of this problematic [history and literary aesthetics] is equally significant for dealing with imperialist ideology in its varieties and contradictions, as well as for the shaping of cultural life in a socialist society.'¹⁷⁶ To deal with the problematic of a bourgeois literary aesthetics and with the historic socio-cultural background of British and Irish modernist works, Wicht

¹⁷⁶ Original txt: „Die Beschäftigung mit dieser Problematik ist gleichermaßen bedeutungsvoll für die Auseinandersetzung mit der imperialistischen Ideologie in ihren Spielarten und Widersprüchen wie für die Gestaltung des kulturellen Lebens in einer sozialistischen Gesellschaft.“ (1981b: 7)

referred to the important role of *marxistische anglistische Literaturwissenschaft* (7).¹⁷⁷ Using the methodology of 'Anglo-Marxist Study of Literature', Marxists were able to explore, via Anglophone (formalist) writers, the modern capitalist mind in its various cultural and historical stages. This academic approach allowed critics like Wicht to treat formalist literature in a way that had previously been impossible.

There has been a long publishing history of Woolf's works in Germany before the war. However, in the GDR Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* was first published long after the second world war by Insel Verlag in 1977, the East German publisher having acquired the licence from the Woolfs' own Hogarth Press of London. Wicht praised Woolf's *Streben nach Kunsterneuerung* (pursuit of artistic innovation) and declared her literary creation to be in compliance with the Marxist-Leninist philosophy that was current in the GDR in the 1970s. Wicht (1981b: 16) emphasised the political trappings of Woolf's career, hinting at the history of the avant-garde in the West. He raised the issue of class-based society and criticised the social conditions that Woolf was exposed to, presenting her as a victim of 'mono-capitalism' (16). He asserted that,

Virginia Woolf is, next to James Joyce, certainly the most important bourgeois British novelist within a new and innovative artistic literary movement, which emerged under the conditions of the fully formed mono-capitalism [...]. In literary historical surveys her work is referred to as derogatory, benevolent and is facing differentiated judgmental considerations (16).¹⁷⁸

He further argued that Woolf's work fell under the epoch of the first general crisis of capitalism. He claimed that the deterioration of the British economy and society at large were less apparent to Woolf; progress in consciousness is foregrounded instead (7-18). Following on from the defeat of revolutionary movements in capitalist Europe, Wicht (17) portrayed Britain in the early twenties as an important historical epoch; this epoch forms the backdrop to Woolf's creative phase.

¹⁷⁷ Original text: „Der marxistischen anglistischen Literaturwissenschaft fallen in diesem Rahmen beträchtliche Aufgaben zu.“ (Wicht 1981b:7)

¹⁷⁸ Original text: “Virginia Woolf ist, neben James Joyce, gewiss die bedeutendste bürgerliche britische Romanautorin in der kunstinnovatorischen literarischen Richtung, die sich unter den Voraussetzungen des voll formierten Monokapitalismus herausbildete [...] In literaturgeschichtlichen Überblicken stehen sich abfällige, wohlwollende und differenziert urteilende Betrachtungen gegenüber“. (Wicht 1981b: 16)

According to him, this era was ridden with post-war crises, something that was caused by American loans, which pre-programmed and eventually initiated the next crisis (17). Günter Walch (1970: 90) asserts that the era was characterised by ‘the total collapse of the entire system of ethical and moral values, marked by liberalism’.¹⁷⁹ According to an Anglo-Marxist reading of the situation, Britain experienced an intensified exploitation of the English working class during this time, characterised by a ‘growing army of unemployed workers of about one million’¹⁸⁰ (Wicht 1981b: 17), the reduction of wages and the ‘deterioration of working conditions’ (Morton 1956: 595). Wicht (1981b: 18) declared that these conditions, which led to a yearning for a socialist society, triggered the philosophical movement known as logical positivism or the logical empiricism of Bertrand Russell. The movement was categorised by the opinion that science is the only kind of ‘factual knowledge’ and that ‘all metaphysical principles are meaningless’ (Russell 1926 [2016]).

With the help of Russell’s claim, Wicht was able to indirectly refer to Party politics and link his reading to socio-cultural and ideological aims of the time (Abusch 1967: 703).¹⁸¹ Wicht (1981b: 18) also discussed aspects of non-conformity with British party politics in Woolf’s works, stressing the political inspiration of her husband. According to him, Leonard Woolf developed many advanced and innovative political ideas. However, as the character of the epoch demanded, he was a member of the Labour Party, an ideologist who defied British capitalist publishers and founded his own independent publishing institution in order to pave the way for art and new ideas. The GDR scholar claimed that the crisis of liberalism outgrew the crisis of avant-gardism, characterising Woolf’s works as the product of intra-bourgeois contradictions (22-3). Because of Woolf’s social environment, her upbringing, education, and worldview, she was unable to relate to social class struggles. According to the unanimous Marxist interpretation, she inevitably had to move between contradictions that could not be solved as the capitalist society would not change by itself, but could only be transformed through revolution. In order to cement Woolf’s anti-imperial tendencies, Wicht

¹⁷⁹ [Die Epoche war gekennzeichnet] „durch den totalen Zusammenbruch des gesamten, vom Liberalismus geprägten Systems ethischer und moralischer Werte“. (Walch 1970: 90)

¹⁸⁰ Original text: „Das war nur möglich durch die verschärfte Ausbeutung der Arbeiterklasse, in England gekennzeichnet durch ein ständiges Arbeitslosenheer von etwa 1 Million und durch direkte, zum Generalstreik vom Mai 1926 führende Angriffe [...]“. (Wicht 1981b: 17)

¹⁸¹ See chapter 1.

introduced her grandfather as ‘a progressive member of Parliament’ who ran a campaign against the ‘slavery of Negroes and the slave trade in general’ (21).

Marxists acknowledged Woolf’s humanist education above average: her early emancipation was the result of her father’s atheistic liberalism (22). Wicht further declared that her submission into a woman’s disenfranchised position was a result of the English patriarchal social hierarchy (22). Accordingly, Woolf couldn’t access the English class struggle politically owing to social tradition, social class, education and belief. All the same, Marxists acknowledged Woolf as an author who recognised social contradictions and acknowledged her empathy for the underprivileged (22). As her nephew and biographer Quentin Bell summarised, she was inevitably part of the Victorian world of empire, class, and privilege (Bell 1972: 186). Bell (186) asserted that Woolf dedicated her talent to the pursuit of shadows, the mysterious whisper of spirit and Pythian incomprehensibility. But all this could reach the sensitivity of an unemployed worker or union official. Moreover, for Wicht (1981b: 23), ‘Woolf’s literary reflections stood out from the general English essay writing of the 20th century.’ The GDR scholar acknowledged her work as a *konstruktives Ringen um Lösungen für eine Literatur* (an expression of struggle to find a literary way) to depict *die Lage des Menschen unter der Herrschaft des Monokapitalismus* (the condition of men under the rule of mono-capitalism), and he argued:

When reviewing her work the development is clearly visible, which is characterized by an increasingly sharpened view of the relationship between literature and reality, work and appeal.¹⁸² (23)

In accordance with the prevailing Anglo-Marxist literary perception, introductions to Woolf’s life and works by various scholars were addressed to the socialist reader. These studies bear witness to an increased interest in Woolf’s biography and the popularity she had acquired in the GDR. Vera and Ansgar Nünning (2008: 79) claim that ‘Wicht was the first critic to stress the interrelation between the fictional world of the novels and historical reality, emphasising that Woolf’s aesthetics and her formal innovations “implement radically recast ideological consciousness of art and its functions”’ (Wicht 1985: 140). A number of further works continued to explore perennial questions for Woolf studies: namely the manner in which

¹⁸² Original text: “Beim Überblick über ihr Werk wird die Entwicklung deutlich ablesbar, die durch eine zunehmend geschärfte Sicht des Verhältnisses von Literatur und Wirklichkeit, von Werk und Wirkung gekennzeichnet ist.” (Wicht 1981b: 23)

Woolf's biography and aesthetic principles relate to the themes and formal properties of the novels.

Dismissing the idea that Woolf was simply either an 'ethereal aesthete' or a 'radical feminist', the West German literary critic Willy Erzgräber (2008: 80) has taken into account both the complex formal texture of the novels and the political implications of Woolf's modernist projects. Erzgräber (80) draws attention to the historical awareness of Woolf's novels and the social criticism that is directed against contemporary England. Given the great amount of West German scholarship on Woolf's fiction, it is hardly surprising that East German critics primarily turned their attention to Woolf's literary criticism. Wicht (1981b: 28) declared that,

Woolf's criticism is in no way a statement against the picture theory [of knowledge], as it would like to be known by some late bourgeois interpreters. Rather, at this point there is a thought included, which remained the major leitmotiv in her subsequent considerations, namely that literature and life are related to each other in a non-reciprocal manner.¹⁸³

In an attempt to conduct a sound literary assessment, he indirectly referred to Becher's notion of the *ganzen Menschen* (whole, unbroken or unspoiled man) and therefore concluded that the objective of Becher's philosophy is fully met by Woolf. He justified his outcome by declaring to his readership that 'Woolf makes the essential [of life] transparent through the connection between men and the objectivity of [his or her] environment (35).'¹⁸⁴ All told, the Anglo-Marxist method of studying literature was linked to a programmatic demand for the study of the human psyche and the complexity of social life in a capitalist society.

Between 1977 and 1988 Insel Verlag published six works by Woolf (see Figure 36). In general, censors Helmut Findeisen, Günther Walch and Heide Steiner followed the Marxist-Leninist reading methodology.

¹⁸³ Original text: "Woolfs Kritik ist in keiner Weise eine Stellungnahme gegen die Abbildtheorie, wie es einige ihrer spätbürgerlichen Interpreten wissen möchten. Vielmehr ist an dieser Stelle ein Gedanke enthalten, der für ihre nachfolgenden Überlegungen eines der großen Leitmotive blieb, nämlich dass Literatur und Leben in nichtreziproker Weise aufeinander bezogen sind." (Wicht 1981b: 28)

¹⁸⁴ Original text: „Der Roman [...] der Zukunft [...] wird die Beziehungen des Menschen zur Natur und zum Schicksal darstellen; seine Vorstellungen; seine Träume. Aber er wird auch den Hohn, die Gegensätze, die Fragen, die Geschlossenheit und die Komplexität des Lebens wiedergeben. Er wird den Schimmel von jenem merkwürdige Konglomerat von ungereimten Dingen - dem modernen Geist – wiedergeben.“ (Wicht 1981b: 35)

Author: Virginia Woolf (license acquired by)	Year of publication	Publisher	Print Permission	Censors
<i>Mrs. Dalloway</i> ; (The Hogarth Press, London)	1977	Insel-Verlag	260/8/77. 1977	Helmut Findeisen
<i>Geschichten von Rot-Hanrahan</i> ; (Macmillan and Co. Ltd. London / Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, Neuwied)	1978	Insel-Verlag	260/35/78. 1978	Helmut Findeisen
<i>Die Fahrt zum Leuchtturm</i> (Auf der Fahrt zum Leuchtturm)	1979	Insel-Verlag	260/71/79. 1979	Günter Walch
<i>Orlando</i>	1983	Insel-Verlag		
<i>Die schmale Brücke der Kunst. Ausgewählte Essays</i>	1986	Insel-Verlag	260/10/86. 1986	Heide Steiner
<i>Wellen</i>	1988	Insel-Verlag		

Fig. 36: Publications by Virginia Woolf (1977–1988), (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013)

Even more so than Virginia Woolf, T.S. Eliot was recognised as a great modernist writer in the GDR. He also posed a greater challenge for GDR scholars: how could his verse be interpreted so as to match with a socialist reading? For East German intellectuals, Eliot was synonymous with the New Criticism, and Marxists declared Eliot’s theory of impersonality to be a concession towards ‘formalism.’ They did not make mention of the considerable tension between Eliot and major New Critics.¹⁸⁵ Western literary critics have followed a different line of thinking, and according to Asher Kenneth (2004: 99), ‘the most striking evidence of dissociation [between Eliot and the New Criticism] is Eliot’s own unequivocal rejection of the notion that he helped father the New Criticism, or had any regards for it.’ In the GDR, Eliot’s critical prose was nonetheless generally perceived to have set the aesthetic standards for New Criticism.

T.S. Eliot used a ‘collage-like juxtaposition of different voices, traditions, and discourses; and its focus of form as the carrier of meaning’ (Domestic and Lewis 2010). He also attributed his early style to Rimbaud, Baudelaire, Mallarmé, and Laforgue, the French Symbolists whom he first encountered at university, in a book by Arthur Symons called *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (Lezard 2014). These aesthetic choices represented a serious barrier for Anglo-Marxist interpretations: since the works lack a ‘true hero’, a sophisticated socialist reading was required. Eliot’s poetry is not didactic; literary techniques like satire and juxtaposition force the reader to draw his or her own conclusions. This ambiguity left a certain leeway to read between the lines, which in turn called for a

¹⁸⁵ for ‘New Criticism’ see Kenneth 1998: 156-159.

unambiguous interpretation. This would be an evaluation that would prevent the socialist reader from falling into misinterpretation.

To gain a better understanding of the challenges faced by the assessor who sought to prepare a positive analysis, we need to contemplate an important fact: the *entire corpus* of an author's work was to be considered in the preparation process. Consequently, a thorough Anglo-Marxist approach rendered every single literary appraisal as an academic paper in its own right. These factors consequently affected the assessment of Eliot.

One of the challenges for instance was showcasing the variety of Eliot's poetic innovations, and Eliot's early poetry presented a particular challenge. This early work developed protagonists who, as Henry Tompkins Kirby-Smith (1998: 179-83) puts it, can be likened to 'the modern man as described by Eliot's contemporaries such as Fitzgerald and Faulkner.' Both Fitzgerald and Faulkner were, however, unpublished in the GDR. The question then remains outstanding: if these models of modern man did not fit Becher's idealistic approach, how could Eliot's work be managed?

Owing to his death in 1965, Eliot's poetic output (which had cast him as the lead protagonist of Western, modernist poetry) could be considered complete and therefore open to Marxist interpretation. But this did not conceal the fact that 'Eliot, [...], remains the most conspicuous model in English for the free verse [...]—with a certain redundancy—vers-libristic [...]' (187). Seehase (1986: 375) was, however, able to justify the reasons for these 'libristic' tendencies, calling attention to Eliot's 'scepticism towards socio-economic changes under mono-capitalism, utilitarianism, conventionality and doubt under a growing power of the exploited classes.'¹⁸⁶ He acknowledged 'Eliot breaking with English lyrical standards' merely due 'to his use of different poetic styles' (374-75), but saw *Prufrock* as acceptable owing to the fictitious protagonist, who is tired of the world. The verse, about a man who is becoming old with ineffectiveness, led him to the assumption that Eliot hints at 'the forlornness of living in a mono-capitalist society' (375). He pointed out that the continuous use of different styles corresponded to the mind-sets of contemporary young English

¹⁸⁶ Original text: „Er [Eliot] betrachtete sozialökonomischen Veränderungen unter dem Monokapitalismus, Utilitarismus, Konventionalität und den Machtzuwachs der ausgebeuteten Klassen [...] mit ‚höchster Skepsis‘.“ (Seehase 1986: 375)

intellectuals and 'therefore co-determined the enormous reverberations and influence of the poet' (375).¹⁸⁷

Neither Seehase (1986) nor Wicht (1981b) did indulge in an ideological debate about formalism. They did not delve into a discussion about alienation and decadence. We may conclude from the scholars' comments that the term 'mono-capitalism' is a mere catchword; it is a perennial part of Marxist arguments that is always present, a cliché that is reiterated whenever necessary or possible. The term serves as a diversion from the scholars' actual endeavour: to depoliticise. Depoliticization, although the idea is in dispute, seemed to lie at the heart of the 'Anglo-Marxist approach.' Such depoliticization appears to function as a subversive attempt to justify a given work by exclusively focusing on considerations like literary quality and style, and thereby neglecting ideology. Though not openly acknowledged as such by GDR scholars, the so-called 'Anglo-Marxist approach' works, *de facto*, as a mere examination of the work's generic status and aesthetic traits, something that is then garnished with a Marxist boilerplate. Understandably, therefore, the scholar's 'Anglo-Marxist' discussion of Eliot prioritised the rhythm and style of the verse, considering also the formal structure of the poems. The rhythm was considered strong, but irregular; the linguistic body of everyday conversation, the predictable remarks and analytical narrative were seen permeated by poetic elevation and idealistic generalization (Seehase 1986: 375).¹⁸⁸

In spite of the poet's 'cognizant fairness towards ideological adversaries' (375), the GDR scholar endorsed Eliot's legacy as a contribution to the cultural progress of socialism. He carefully omitted possible references to the political, social and literary scene in the GDR and to the state of its economy.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Original text: „In der Sprachgestaltung sind alle Mittel ausgeschöpft, auf die Eliot zurückgreift. Sie bedeuten den Bruch mit den bis dahin in der englischen Literatur gebräuchlichen lyrischen Normen. Dieses diskontinuierliche Verhältnis entsprach den Denkrichtungen der jungen englischen Intellektuellen und war deshalb für den gewaltigen Widerhall und Einfluss des Dichters mitbestimmend.“ (Seehase 1986: 375)

¹⁸⁸ Original text: „Eliot löste die gewohnten Strophen und Reimstrukturen auf. Regelmäßige und unregelmäßige Reimfolgen und reimlose Verse sind vermischt, [...] der Rhythmus ist stark ausgeprägt, aber unregelmäßig; die sprachliche Ebene der Alltagskonversation, der gewöhnlichen Äußerungen und der analytischen Schilderung ist von poetischer Überhöhung und ideeller Verallgemeinerung durchwirkt (375).

¹⁸⁹ In *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*, Eliot (1948 [1973]: 50) wrote that the development of culture must be organic and cannot be consciously guided: 'For if any definite conclusions emerge from this study, one of them is surely this, that culture is the one thing we cannot deliberately aim at.

Of course, certain of Eliot's works are, at least to some degree, bound up with serious political questions and therefore impossible to depoliticise. Because of this, *The Idea of a Christian Society* and *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* were never published in the GDR. The reasons for this are apparent when one considers Eliot's vision of culture. According to the poet, a culture 'requires a unity and diversity with respect to regions, religious sects, and social classes' (Eliot 1948 [1973]: 50), something which sat uncomfortably indeed with the GDR's Marxism-Leninist dialectic. Even worse, according to Eliot, 'The transmission of culture requires the persistence of social classes' (50). In his view, 'social classes and elites' seem more vital 'than egalitarian goals' (50). While these 'should not be as rigid as castes', for Eliot, 'social continuity may be more important than trying to achieve equality of opportunity' (50) as 'the culture of the individual is dependent upon the culture of a group or class and that dependent upon the culture of the society to which group or that class belongs' (2004: 501). In sum, Eliot (1948 [1973]: 49-50) felt that,

Neither a classless society, nor a society of strict and impenetrable social barriers is good; each class should have constant additions and defections; the classes, while remaining distinct, should be able to mix freely; and they should have a community of culture with each other which will give them something in common, more fundamental than the community which each class has with its counterpart in another society.

Russell Kirk (1993) speculates that Eliot was himself one of those few writers who has endeavoured to 'get at the political truth, or a more general truth in which political order is involved, and to set it forth: [Eliot is therefore one of those] men of talent who labour intellectually in what Eliot called the "pre-political" area' (1993). He claims that 'Eliot's moral imagination, his broad learning, and his poetic talents enabled him indeed to penetrate to the core of the matter, when he touched upon the civil social order and that order's relationships to a transcendent order.'

By contrast, Wicht (1981b) locates Eliot's works in the context of a capitalist society that has progressively inhibited the subjective romanticising of literature due to unregulated competition. He claimed that the 'inner voice of the author is negated which ultimately leads to a stylistic emphasis on the language's aesthetics' (1981b: 216). Apparently, in the pursuit of legitimising Eliot's and other works, Wicht appeared to have chosen the strategy of

depoliticization. He argued that Eliot considered culture and literature to be primarily intellectual; these belong to a realm beyond social and economic conditions (1981b: 215-16). He suggested that Eliot’s work is primarily dedicated to the aesthetic function of text, hence ‘any knowledge-based interpretation of reality is excluded’ (216).

Volk und Welt hesitated for a long time over the decision to submit a selection of Eliot’s poems for print permission. Eventually, after acquiring a licence from West German publisher Suhrkamp Verlag in 1977, a first collection of *Poems* or *Gedichte* (entitled *In meinem Anfang ist mein Ende*) appeared with them. Given that the volume was published in a rather small edition of 2,000 copies, at least the Party did not need to anticipate a large readership. The small number of Eliot’s works published by Volk und Welt between 1977 and 1984 runs as outlined in table 37 below:

Title Author: T.S. Eliot (licence acquired by)	Year of publication	Publisher	Print run	Print Permission	Censors
<i>In meinem Anfang ist mein Ende (Gedichte)</i> (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1977	VuW	2000	410/102/77. 1977	Karl Heinz Berger, Hans Petersen
<i>Old Possums Katzenbuch (Gedichte)</i> (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1979	VuW		410/103/79. 1979;	Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
<i>Old Possums Katzenbuch (Mappe mit 18 Blättern von DDR-Grafikern)</i>	1979	VuW	1000	410/113/79. 1979	
<i>Ausgewählte Aufsätze, Vorträge und Essays; (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)</i>	1982	VuW	3000	410/111/81. 1981	Wolfgang Wicht, Klaus Schultz
<i>Stücke</i>	1984	VuW			
<i>Stücke: Mord im Dom / Die Cocktail Party / Der Privatsekretär / Ein verdienster Staatsmann (Dramenreihe);</i> (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1984	VuW	3000	410/112/84. 1984	Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz

Fig. 37: Publications by T.S. Eliot (1977-1984), (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013)

We can finally argue that the publication of T.S. Eliot was made possible by the ‘innovative discipline’ of interpretation, and this included, at least to some degree, the exposition of stylistic elements that would previously have been dismissed as formalism. In other words, the first and most important aspect of establishing English modernism in the GDR relied on an increasingly academic approach to literary assessments, with a reduced focus on the politics of the content as viewed through the theoretical lens of Marxism-Leninism. This strategy of shifting the emphasis from the ideological and political to the literary resulted in

the production of academic papers enriched with Marxist jargon. The framework of these literary assessments differed substantially from the ideologically fuelled appraisals once produced to conform with the claims of the not-so-distant cultural policy in force during the 1960s. Bathrick (1995) calls this framework of literary assessment 'critical Marxism' and argues:

In the GDR the turn toward a critical Marxism permitted an incipient intellectual opposition the means by which to challenge the prevailing Marxist-Leninist dogmas concerning gender, ecology, freedom of speech, the role of science, and technological/industrial progress and to do so as potentially constituent of civil society and within the framework of an existing socialist public sphere. (228)

In this realm, the structure of an 'Anglo-Marxist Study of Literature' can be appreciated when comparing the new approach to earlier methodologies. A good example seems the afterword by Horst Höhne (1978) published in the first edition of Aldous Huxley's *Schöne neue Welt* | *Brave New World* with Neues Berlin compared to the afterword by Bernhard Scheller (1988) published 10 years later with Reclam. Höhne (Professor of English Literature at The University of Rostock) penned an essay with the aim to function as an ideological compass for GDR's readership. In Höhne's afterword the reader learns about Huxley's life, his literary works and his ideas followed by a dogmatic Marxist literary evaluation in the spirit of the late 1970s; the assertions are bold and assertive. The scholar declared that the success of the most significant anti-utopian text of the 20th century (Huxley's work) draws with some scientific precision a feasible picture of a possible bourgeois future society (Höhne 1978: 251). He strongly criticised the western class society and made concealed references to Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto's famous line: *Die Geschichte aller bisherigen Gesellschaft ist die Geschichte von Klassenkämpfen* or 'The history of all previous society is the story of class struggle.'¹⁹⁰ Höhne (1978: 254) accused the imperialist ideologists of manipulating the bourgeois masses through advertising and mass media in order to make them believe that their consumer society is an ideal one, the only true one. He continued his accusations towards western culture by declaring that today's bourgeois societies are more similar to Huxley's utopia than ever before (254). Eventually he claimed that the novel comprises moral, philosophical and humanist (affirmative) assertions on the petty-bourgeois

¹⁹⁰ see Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 'Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei', *mlwerke.de*, 8 March 1999, reprint of first edition 1959, Berlin DDR. (1999 [1959]: 459-93)

moral and social philosophy of the twentieth century (255). Huxley was portrayed as a proponent of a late-bourgeois moral and capitalist philosophy. The GDR scholar stressed that despite Huxley's rejection of fascism, the brutal vitality of the novel ignores the attraction it poses towards a bourgeois readership exposed to the western forlornness of life (256). As expected, Höhne followed the politically prescribed contempt for Western societies in a highly expressive manner garnished with a rich Marxist boilerplate. The diction employed a distinct choice of language to discredit western culture. Sentences and terms like: the author's *verhängnisvolle Nähe zu primitivistischen Irrlehren* (fateful closeness to primitivist heresies) or *präfaschistische Ideen* (prefascist ideas) and *Tatmenschen* (Go-getters) are just some examples. The way his appraisal was drafted shifts Huxley and western societies into the vicinity of fascism, especially when Höhne claimed that the *bürgerliche Intelligenz* (bourgeois intelligentsia) is particularly vulnerable to fascist ideas (256), hinting at a purported correlation between western societies and fascism. Here it becomes more than evident that Höhne used Huxley's work as a 'deterrent example' to reveal the shortcomings of the bourgeois society by referring to the inevitability of its fateful, gruesome future. This claim was repeated on the blurb carrying the striking headline: *Gundlagen der modernen bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* or 'Foundations of modern bourgeois society.' Höhne's strategy turned successful; his afterword passed censorship and his ideological statements sufficed for the issue of a print permission.

Scheller's (1988: 221-34) afterword titled *Gesichter und Geschichte des Aldous Huxley* was less ideological than that of Höhne's. His appraisal was drafted 10 years later for the 1988's edition of *Brave New World* and concentrated on Huxley's literary achievements, his philosophy and his warnings. It followed the characteristics of the Anglo Marxist literary approach towards British and Irish literature of the late 1980's. His appraisal was much subtler in its tone and criticism compared to earlier essays on Huxley. Scheller started with a short summary of Huxley's life and work, underlining the great literary variety of his oeuvre, and he praised the literary importance of the novel *Brave New World*. In his essay he analysed the writer's ideas referring to Huxley's adoption of a 'cynical protective skin against consumer pressure, technocracy, massification' (222). It becomes obvious that the use of Marxist boilerplate was reduced to a minimum. Instead of using the term 'fascism' he employed the word 'Nazis' (223). By doing so he did not generalise but limited his references to a German capitalist society. Finalising his Anglo Marxist approach, Scheller noted: 'Aldous

Huxley has not kept silent. He conveys his own truth, which did not have the intention to be objective or complete' (234).¹⁹¹

The text of the 1988 edition followed the translation by Eva Walch of the earlier 1978 edition. For securing the novel's print permission Huxley's work and Scheller's appraisal were assessed by Ms. Pradel and Ms. Bock (first names not published). They were assigned with the official *Gutachten* for the 1988 edition. They recognised that Huxley demonstrates the use of technology by depicting a strict birth control system that relies on medical intervention and technical applications. Conversely, the development of complex entertainment machines in the novel generates harmless leisure, overproduction and intensive consumption. As it is portrayed by Huxley, consumerism becomes the very foundation of the World State's power. The author makes a distinction between science and technology, whereby science becomes a method of creating technology that can produce a happy, superficial world (Arnold 2005). The novel discloses the terror of dictatorship through technology, and it turns out that technical progress does not mean societal advance (2005).

Pradel and Bock praised Huxley's novel on the grounds that it was a literary 'observation of different states of social development in capitalist societies' (BA DR-1 1221 1988). They disconnected Huxley's work from any possible references to the GDR's politics: the programme of the Scientific Technological Revolution, the Party's naïve faith in technology and industry and the ideologists' humble belief in progress through science were all separated from the content of the novel. They also made sure that their arguments could not be associated with socialist philosophy. We can speculate that the issue of control in Huxley's work may have been the greatest barrier to publication in the GDR, but Pradel and Bock focussed their case on capitalist, class-based societies by discussing Huxley's claim that the search for truth is the ultimate threat to State control (1988).

The editors skilfully drew the censor's mind to an imperialist future society based on class differences, declaring that '[Huxley] draws an image of a conceivable future class-society in which human relationships are governed by a separation of biological and social functions through technology and automation. [...] Already in the development state of an embryo the society decides if the individual will become an alpha or a beta and being conditioned accordingly' (1988: 184).

¹⁹¹ Original text: „Aldous Huxley hat nicht geschwiegen. Er hat seine Wahrheit gesagt, die nicht objektiv und nicht absolut sein konnte und wollte“. (Scheller 1988: 234)

Two years earlier, in 1986, Seehase had already made important arguments in this vein, arguing in *Englische Literatur im Überblick* '[that Huxley] reveals the Janus-faced technological and scientific achievements under existing [capitalist] social-economical circumstances', and the assessment (1988) followed Seehase's argument (1986: 181) by exploiting the principle that 'Huxley's protagonists [are] mere [...] carriers of opinions and theories'.

From the appraisal (BA DR-1 ARGUS 2013) it becomes apparent that the assessors actively exploited the intellectual reputation of GDR scholars in order to legitimise important modern and contemporary British works. Bradel and Bock concluded their report on the *Brave New World* by recommending publication and did not hesitate to mention Seehase's and Scheller's endorsements of the novel (BA DR-1 1221 1988: 185).¹⁹² They also complimented Eva Walch's meticulous 1978 translation and Bernhard Scheller's literary criticism, which allegedly revealed the 'contradictions of Huxley's work'.¹⁹³ Pradel asserted that '[w]ith this [essay] it is the first time that the bourgeois intellectual's work [Huxley's work] and his maturing into a writer is thoroughly analysed' (185).¹⁹⁴

Ultimately, the assessors viewed Huxley's work as a fundamental critique of the imperialist world and its values, and opined that 'in times of genetic manipulation and nuclear threat [...] the reflections of the 55-year-old humanist [Huxley] need serious consideration' (184). They also concluded that Huxley's work was a 'piece of political satire.' In short, the main aim of the appraisal was to inform socialist readers about Huxley's depiction of a manipulated capitalist society, a society that was open to the abuse of science by profiteers who were addicted to power. Regardless of any potential ambiguities concerning the political nature of the State that is portrayed in the novel, it must have seemed obvious that the book's class-society was intended to be capitalist rather than socialist. Hence the editors agreed that Huxley portrayed in his work the ultimate alienation of man in a technologically-dominated and class-ridden society which was supposed to be

¹⁹² Original text: „Herr Prof. Dr. Seehase befürwortet ausführlich die Veröffentlichung des Romans und des Kommentars von Dr. Bernhard Scheller“ (BA DR-1 1221 1988: 185)

¹⁹³ See Bernhard Scheller's afterword 'Geschichte und Gesichter des Aldous Huxley' or 'History and Faces of Aldous Huxley' in Aldous Huxley, *Schöne neue Welt*, translated by Eva Walch, Reclam (221-34: 1988).

¹⁹⁴ Original text: „Damit [by Scheller's literary examination] wird erstmals differenziert und umfassend über das Werk des bürgerlichen Intellektuellen und seine Entwicklung zum Schriftsteller geurteilt.“ (BA DR-1 1221 1988: 185).

capitalist (185). They did not mention the earlier publication with Das Neue Berlin in 1978. The Print Permission of Huxley's Brave New world is displayed in figure 38.

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Fig. 38: Print Permission 340/71/88. 1988 of Aldous Huxley's 'Brave New World' (Bundesarchiv, Berlin)

However, even the most skilfully drafted and progressive Anglo-Marxist approach had its limits. For the Party, George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was the most offensive of all works. The book was never considered for publication because it was generally perceived as an attack on the very existence of the GDR and a threat to national peace. Its author was *persona non grata* for the duration of the GDR's existence (Rodden 2012: 125).

Written in the wake of World War II and first published in the UK in 1949, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* depicts a world that is dominated by totalitarian superpowers. These have arisen in the aftermath of an atomic war, a scenario that roughly corresponds to the status of the western world, the communist world and the Third Reich. Attacked in the GDR as anti-Stalinist propaganda and promoted in West Germany as an anti-Stalinist alert, 'Nineteen Eighty-Four came to represent for many Germans a horrifying prophecy not only of what the Reich might have been—but of what the GDR, as a Soviet satellite, had actually become' (126). Indeed, Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the GDR entered the world together in 1949 (131). John Rodden (131) is convinced that The Party in Orwell's work was perceived (by GDR's ideologists) as 'the SED; the *Thought Police* was the *Stasi*; Goldstein and his *Brotherhood* were the GDR dissidents; the *child Spies* (*Späher*, Scouts) were the JP (*Junge Pioniere*, *Young Pioneers*) and *FDJ* (*Freie Deutsche Jugend*, *Free German Youth*); and *Newspeak* was the *Party mumbo-jumbo* (*Parteirotwelsch*) at SED meetings'. He goes on to say: 'Even Orwell's Two-Minute Hates and Hate Week had their analogues in Party slogans, youth rallies, and school programs.' (131). *Tragt den Hass in jedes Herz* or 'Carry Hatred in Every Heart!' was a typical propaganda slogan that was called out at the GDR's compulsory 'antifascist defence education sessions' (131).

Seehase (1986) did not write much about Orwell's work in well received and much-cited work *Englische Literatur im Überblick* (although he did mention him briefly in a paragraph on post-War literature), and nor did he make any references to the society of the GDR. We may guess that he omitted a lengthy statement, justification or opinion in order to not call too much attention to Orwell. Seehase (1986: 418) claimed that Orwell's 'anti-utopia' and his 'claim for a model society' in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* constitutes a source of disinformation on socialism in particular aimed at English intellectuals.¹⁹⁵ The Western view of Orwell's novel

¹⁹⁵ Original text „Besonders *Nineteen Eighty Four* mit seinem Anspruch als Gesellschaftsmodell wurde für weite Kreise der englischen intellektuellen Nachkriegsgeneration zur nahezu einzigen (Des-) Informationsquelle über den Sozialismus“. (Seehase 1986: 418)

has, naturally, always been different: the book does not contain disinformation about socialism as the Marxist claimed, but rather it contains valuable information about the true nature of dictatorships. As John Rodden (2011: 131) puts it:

As is 1945, so too in the 1950s in eastern Germany: the promise of collectivist utopia gave way to the fear of Orwellian anti-utopia. Ideals can be perverted, idealists can go too far. Idealism is the utopiate of the apparatchiks. The Stalinist reaction to the horrific Nazi utopia led to a communist police state itself not so different from the empire of Oceania in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

Rodden (131) finally claims that ‘the lessons of anti-utopian thinking have penetrated deeply into eastern German minds’. To conclude this section, let us remember that there could be still many reasons for vigorous suppression up until the end of 1989: works could be suppressed for criticising the GDR’s political or cultural values; for showing the class enemy in a positive, uncritical light; or for containing material offensive to Marxists or Atheists. This withholding included any work that voiced even vague criticism of the GDR or that made any reference to its political reality.

Publications and Publishers of British and Irish Literature (1980 to 1990)

During the 1980s the publisher Gustav Kiepenhauer Bücherei issued British works that were as yet unknown to the socialist reader. Among them were Thomas de Quincey’s *Bekenntnisse eines Opiumessers* | *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1981), the collection of ironic essays *Die artige Kunst sich Feinde zu machen* (1984) by the late Victorian artist James Abbott McNeill Whistler, Richard Aldington’s antimilitary novel *Heldentod* | *Death of a hero* (1985) and a selection of essays (1980) written by William Butler Yeats between 1900-1924. The early 20th century was represented by John Galsworthy’s *Forsythe Saga* published in 1985. While Dieterich’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung published Conrad’s prose, Insel-Verlag offered contemporary publications by D.H. Lawrence (1984), Aldous Huxley (1984), James Joyce (1982), Dylan Thomas (1984) and Doris Lessing (1984).¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ According to Günther Gentsch (2008: 30), who was responsible for editorial assessments at the time, the best method to legitimise politically ambivalent texts and works was to recruit reputable scholars of English literature known for their Marxist leniency to emphasise the legitimacy of a given work. According to him, ‘some applications were accepted others were rejected independent from their contents.’ He argues that much of a given application’s success depended on the individual reputation of the editor and translator and on their political legacy. Original text: “Erstaunlich war nur, dass so manches eingereichte, für DDR-Verhältnisse nicht unproblematische Werke unbeanstandet durchgingen, während zu meiner Überraschung eine von Günter

Just as publishers gained more leeway to publish a larger number of 20th century Western works, the chronic shortage of Western currency did, however, negatively influence the publishing industry. Otto Brandstätter (2008: 30) remembers the acquisition of new licences as financially challenging for GDR publishers in the mid-eighties. In order to work around financial difficulties, publishers often acquired a 'co-licence' from West German publishers that would allow for a special edition (the West German publisher having already acquired permissions for the work at hand). Above all else, the Central Administration Publishing and Book Trade (Chapter 2) coordinated publishing programmes and ensured that paper allocation was targeted towards cultural-political goals, which of course resulted in an emphasis on works of socialist origin (38). In spite of these difficulties, Volk und Welt, who were financially the strongest publisher in the GDR, managed to publish 69 British and Irish titles (including reprints) during the 1980s.

The most prominent modernist work published by Volk und Welt was of course Joyce's *Ulysses*, which appeared in 1980 in a two-volume edition that was edited by Wicht (2008: 93). During the same year, Volk und Welt published only one additional English work: C.P. Snow's *Korridore der Macht* | *Corridors of Power* (1980). Lokatis (2008a) recognises that the publication of just two English titles in 1980 stands out when compared to the much larger number of English works printed in the years before and after. He claims that the small number of English publications was a result of Volk und Welt's limited budget; in particular, Suhrkamp—the West German publisher of Joyce—claimed a considerable sum for the production rights for a special edition of *Ulysses*, which meant that little was left over for additional publications (2008a: 15). Moreover, while the special edition could be distributed to Soviet nations, distribution to West Germany or other Western countries was denied (Joyce 1980: 556). The licence fee paid by Volk und Welt covered a print run of 8,000 copies. However, according to Lokatis (2008a: 21), Volk und Welt illicitly printed (unofficially) 48,000 extra copies. This can be found out by a close examination the paper quantity allocated for the print run mentioned in the print permission documents.

In the following years Volk und Welt issued works by Yeats (1981), O'Brian (1981), Evelyn Waugh (1983), T.S. Eliot (1984) and Golding (1984). During the second half of the decade

Walch editierte Ausgabe von Shakespeares Sonetten in der Übertragung von Stefan George von der Hauptverwaltung moniert wurde. Ursache dafür war ganz offenkundig die bekannte elitär-konservative, von den Zensoren als reaktionär eingestufte Haltung Georges.“ (30)

there were hardly any new writers added to the programme (the exceptions being Roald Dahl in 1986 and 1988, P.D. James in 1986 and Beckett in 1989). Between 1980 and 1985 Volk und Welt published 47 British and Irish titles, but between 1986 and 1990 they published only 22. As outlined, this adds up to 69 titles in total.

While Volk und Welt led the way with the issuing of British and Irish titles during the 1980s, Aufbau did manage to publish 38 such works. Aufbau's publication list included Susan Hill's *Seltsame Begegnung* | *Strange Meeting* (1982), D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley - mit Anmerkungen* | *Lady Chatterley - with annotations* (1982), Malcolm Bradbury's *Der Geschichtsmensch* | *The History Man* (1980), Paul Bailey's *Unbefugte Eingriffe* | *Trespasses* (1981), Thomas Nashe's Renaissance classic *Der glücklose Reisende oder das Leben des Jack Wilton* | *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1981) and a selection of John Fowles' works (1983; 1984). However, the number of titles published by Aufbau plummeted during the second half of the 1980s (according to my own survey, there were only 7 titles). Brandstätter (2008: 33-9) suggests that this decrease was directly connected to a lack of financial means for the acquisition of new licences due to the economic downturn of the country.

The influential nature of Western mass media and avant-garde artistic movements posed a particular risk to the Party in their bid to efficiently control the cultural life of the GDR (Bathrick 1995: 177). Moreover, to fully understand the function of modern British literature in the GDR, and the literary and historical factors that governed the reception of such works, two crucial questions emerge. The first question concerns the potential threat that the publications of modernist British works implied to the *Kulturpolitik* of the GDR—as the socialist reader's interest was diverted to the world of Western societies and hence to a bourgeois discourse, untenable in the GDR. The second question concerns the negative influence of British modernist literature on the individual reader's political education and the impact on her or his ideological commitment and party mindedness. Still, according to Bathrick, for a socialist reader, such works could only be understood in the light of social-critical encodings that accorded with an understanding of the bourgeois tradition within socialist ideology and intellectual circles (1995). The function of modernist Anglophone literature and its position in the world is also important here. The publication of selected, celebrated works positively supported the GDR's attempt to gain an international reputation as a modern and cosmopolitan society.

Any understanding of what constituted an acceptable (British) work changed during the late 1970s; the acceptable work no longer had to be straightforwardly concerned with proletarian experience and industrial progressivism. The nature of literary assessment shifted gradually—these assessments came to entail a thorough analysis of the political implications of a work in a manner that relied on the assumption that a Marxist society is the ultimate goal of social struggle. According to Bathrick (1995: 104), the general politicisation of literature within the '*Kulturpolitik* [cultural policy] guaranteed the continuing role of the avant-garde as a political one [form of art], even when the target of revolt was one wing of the historical avant-garde itself.' This leads us to formulate an all-important enquiry: Did the avant-garde in its many historically recognised forms continued to function politically in the GDR, and what does this say about the publication of British modernism during the 1980s?

Two vital emphases emerged for scholars who were engaged in the business of interpretation. Firstly, there was a well-defined attempt to historicise the very notion of the avant-garde, and in so doing to prevent its application to contemporary developments. This meant that the notion of a British or Irish avant-garde could not be applied to any developments in the GDR, since it had emerged as part of a bourgeois movement in conflict with British capitalist society. However, we may speculate about a second reason for this tendency. We may argue that the rhetorical force in literary assessments was not only the expression of anti-imperialist pretentiousness but also an expression of vulnerability towards an unrecognised, illegitimate regime forced to derive its political and cultural legitimation in immediacy to West Germany, the most burgeoning capitalist economy in post-war Europe and one that moreover claimed to be the only representative of Germany as a whole.

The interest of the GDR's leading scholars (for instance Wicht, Scheller, Seehase and others) in 'irrationalist thinkers' such as Beckett connected to what Bathrick (1995: 104) calls 'failure of rationalist and objectivist approaches within Marxism to grasp basic truths about individual human behaviour and motivation.' Of course, not all works were so ambiguous and some, like *Nineteen Eight-Four*, could not be interpreted subjectively owing to the book's open criticism of socialism.

An important example of works that posed an almost insurmountable challenge to GDR scholars were those of Samuel Beckett; perceived as ambivalent and decadent, he was to become the most debated and discussed writer of the 1980s. Therefore, in the following and

final chapter, we will turn to the strategies deployed by editors and scholars in order to accomplish the publication of Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* in 1989. This is done to assess my argument, the feasibility of depoliticization in more detail.

Chapter 5

The Role of Ideology and Politics in the Reception of Modernist Literature –

Samuel Beckett – A Case Study

Samuel Beckett's works transcend the boundaries of a national literature. Therefore, it is perhaps no surprise that his work, along with the field of Irish Studies more broadly, has not yet found a fixed home in German universities, and one may now research his work in the libraries of English, French and German departments. We know that Beckett had a strong liking for the German language; indeed, according to Eckart Voigts-Virchow (2009: 97), Beckett can be considered somehow a German-language author 'although he published most of his works in English and French.' Biographically, generically and culturally speaking, Beckett became the most influential author in post-war Germany (Garforth 2000). Additionally, Beckett has been well received in theatre departments and 'has shaped the contemporary German theatre most enduringly.' (2000: 318) His works have a further resonance for critics working in the fields of narrative literature and media studies.

When Beckett arrived in Germany in September 1936, he entered a country in which the literary sphere was firmly dominated by politics. In her biography *Samuel Beckett*, Deirdre Bair (1990) notes that the writer's travels in Germany influenced him substantially with regard to his worldview, his literary style and the creation of characters for his plays. Undeniably, Beckett's German diaries support arguments in favour of specific German cultural affiliations. Mark Nixon (2011: 86) reasons that Beckett was directly exposed to Nazi ideology when he watched Karl Anton's anti-bolshevist propaganda film *Weisse Sklaven* or *White Slaves*. Beckett's experiences while travelling through the Third Reich suggests that the author objected to the dogmatic and limiting nature of the Reich's prescription of art and behaviour and political life. According to Stanley E. Gontarski (2002: 11) years later, Beckett would refer to these factors as the 'hypnosis of positivism.'

His novels *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, *Murphy* and *Molloy* come close to what today might be called collage or pastiche. Gontarski (2018: 255; 2002: 11) argues that the 'humanist idea of authorship that Beckett both epitomized and simultaneously subverted remained central to his creative makeup and output.' For the critic, Beckett remained deeply immersed in 'canonical European literature' (2002: 11).

Available archival documents illuminate Beckett's close study of German literature, psychoanalysis and Gestalt psychology, linguistic theory and philosophy. He took note of German humourists such as Joachim Ringelnatz and Karl Valentin; he had close contacts with the German expressionist Georg Trakl; and he knew Bertolt Brecht's plays (Knowlson 2001).¹⁹⁷ Beckett cherished German Romanticism and loved Beethoven and Schubert. He was 'deeply affected [by] Caspar David Friedrich's Two Men Looking at the Moon, which seems to have inspired the image at the centre of *Godot*' (Pattie 2000: 24).¹⁹⁸ In *Samuel Beckett's German Diaries 1936-1937* Mark Nixon (2011: 94) claims that Beckett's enthusiasm for German literature and art, his contact with Nazi racial ideology and literary censorship, the development of his 'quietism (94)', and, as Shane Weller (2009) adds, his 'language scepticism' are exemplified by the German diaries themselves.

Performances in Post-war Germany

Written in French between October 1948 and January 1949, *Waiting for Godot* has always been Beckett's most successful play in Germany. Published prior to its stage premiere as *En attendant Godot* in the Parisian *Editions de Minuit* series in October 1952 (Hutchings 2005: 14), *Godot* falls chronologically between the second and third novels of the *Molloy* trilogy. The work incorporates themes that Beckett had previously discussed in his writings (14): the play focuses on the suffering of being as the protagonists wait for distraction.

Beckett's experiences during the war became part of the fabric of *Godot*. According to his nephew Edward Beckett (2000: 8), Samuel and Susanne fled the clutches of the Gestapo, narrowly escaping arrest in occupied France when the resistance group Beckett worked with was betrayed. Much has been made of the biographical aspect of this period of waiting and whether or not this inspired the play; indeed, E Beckett (2000: 8) suggests that it was a contributing factor. *Godot* has been viewed as fundamentally extremist in its take on life with its protagonists continuously struggling to prove their existence, a work that is

¹⁹⁷ His links with German expressionism in literature (Georg Trakl) and art (Emil Nolde) have been extensively studied by James Knowlson in *Samuel Beckett – Eine Biographie*. (Suhrkamp: 2001) (The original English publication of his biography *Damned to Fame – The Life of Samuel Beckett* was originally published by Bloomsbury, London).

¹⁹⁸ Cited in Barrie Baker, *Theatre Censorship in Honecker's Germany. From Volker Braun to Samuel Beckett*, Peter Lang, Bern (2007: 147) and James Knowlson, *Images of Beckett*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: (2003: 53–4).

revolutionary because of what it lacks. The absurd character of Godot made Beckett famous in Germany, and it was this play that established his reputation in East and West alike.

In 1952, Beckett collaborated with Elmer Tophoven on the German translation of *Godot*. Soon after, on 8 September 1953, the first German performance was staged at West Berlin's Schloßpark Theatre during *Festwochen* or 'festival week' (Uhse 1978: 83; Hutchings 2005: 82).¹⁹⁹ Compared to the first theatrical performance in Paris on 3 January 1953, the production in Berlin was particularly dark; it aroused much interest among the audience and established Beckett's reputation as a serious representative of the Theatre of the Absurd in Germany. According to Klaus Völker (2009: 82), Beckett thought the staging very 'German', too heavy and too serious. Beckett's reaction towards the German theatre community was, however, polite and respectful, although he missed the relaxed approach that he intended for the play.

Early Reception in the GDR (1950 to 1959)

Despite Beckett's great success in West Germany, his name did not feature in the early East German Anti-Formalism debates (Uhse 1978: 84-90). Instead, it was works by James Joyce, Marcel Proust and Franz Kafka that fuelled the debate. As the prominent GDR author and political activist Bodo Uhse declared: 'In literature we have two shocking examples of how the late capitalist world destroys its major talents. This is *Ulysses* by James Joyce and the *Swann* series by Proust' (91).²⁰⁰

In the 1950s literary criticism in the GDR relied on truth to Party principles. Accurate knowledge of the work in question seemed needless; in fact, knowing the work in detail was an almost disturbing thought as this would divert attention from important questions of Socialist Realism (Emmerich 2009). The *Ministerium für Kultur* and the major SED propagandists Peter Hacks, Werner Mittenzwei and Alexander Abusch constantly laid emphasis on works from the socialist camp in debates over formalism. In the search for

¹⁹⁹ Karl Heinz Stroux directed the premiere. Klaus Völker (2009: 83) remembers how, on a hemp-lined empty stage, Alfred Schieske and Hans Hessling played Vladimir and Estragon as 'two down to earth bums, very much like Schluck and Jau are in Gerhard Hauptmann's play of the same name.' Walter Franck played Pozzo with an 'air of superiority and a demonic hue', while 'Friedrich Maurer played Lucky as a preacher saturated by intellect.' (Uhse 1978: 83)

²⁰⁰ Original text: „Wir haben in der Literatur zwei erschreckende Beispiele dafür, wie die spätkapitalistische Epoche ihre großen Begabungen zugrunde richtet. Das sind der Ulysses von James Joyce und die Swann-Serie von Proust.“ (Uhse 1978: 91)

political correctness, it seemed rather pointless to examine the decadence and avant-gardism of Western works when their own literature was still flawed; there was, therefore, no point in publishing modernist Anglophone writers during the 1950s. With this in mind, it is of no surprise that the first statement on Beckett published in East Germany was a rather brief note. The following appeared in 1954 in conjunction with an article by GDR critic Lili Leder (1954: 42) concerning the performance of *Godot* in West Berlin:

Here the really crucial question is whether the production of this play is still justified in front of people who endure the daily struggle for existence? From our viewpoint *the* decisive answer is 'no'! There is no way in which we can relate to this play, and, moreover, we will no longer seek to do so.²⁰¹

At the *Kulturkonferenz zur Durchsetzung einer ausnahmslos sozialistischen Kultur und zur Disziplinierung der Kulturschaffenden* or 'Conference on Culture for the Enforcement of an Exceptional Socialist Culture and to Discipline Cultural Workers' on 23 and 24 October 1957, former GDR culture minister Alexander Abusch repeated his demands for Socialist Realism in literature. At this conference, he confronted party members with a comparison between the antipodes of the *dekadente Fäulnis spätbürgerlicher Kunst* (decadent decay of late bourgeois art) and *das Schöpferische* (the creative power) of Socialist Realism (Herzberg 2006: 302). In addition to the rising consciousness of being a self-governing socialist nation, it was the renewed recollection of the classic, humanistic heritage of the 19th century that evoked a more holistic approach towards the debate on formalism. Party members claimed a clear line of demarcation between Socialist Realism and formalism. It was claimed that formalism occurred because of the *modische Exzesse* (fashionable excesses) of the Western *dekadenter Kultur[en]* (decadent culture[s]) (Abusch 1967b: 644).²⁰² As we have discussed in earlier chapters any form of literature and art that was not socialist in nature was discarded as decadent and erased from the Party's prescribed *Kulturbetrieb* (culture operation, here cultural life) (Bechert 1997: 83; Abusch 1967b: 625-26).²⁰³ Abusch's demand for a holistic

²⁰¹ translation by Barrie Baker used: In 'Theatre Censorship in Honecker's Germany. From Volker Braun to Samuel Beckett', in *German Linguistic and Cultural Studies*, Vol. 23, Peter Lang (2007: 147)

²⁰² Further reading recommended: See, *Das Sozialistische und das Vaterländische* (Abusch 1967b: 644).

²⁰³ Abusch (1967b: 625-26) argued [transcript]: 'It has become even more obvious that German literature worthy of its name can only be anti-imperialist. [...] But also literature from West Germany [...] must be anti-imperialist. Only as such it defends the American soullessness and barbarism [...]. From the present status of [contemporary] literature in West Germany arises a particular and urgent requirement to preserve the literary heritage of German classics.' Original text: "Es ist nun noch klarer geworden, dass eine deutsche Literatur, die

debate motivated verbal escalations. This was fuelled by the fact that contemporary literature originating in the GDR did not entirely follow Party guidelines to the extent they had hoped for (Herzberg 2006: 302). Abusch (1962: 159) argued:

For one thing the destructive, parasitic, inhospitable character of imperialism finds its expression in a culture of moral corruption, in the destruction of traditional humanist works and in the production of brutal-chauvinist and fascist ideologies suppressing entire nations and races, for another thing it finds it in ideologies of angst and in hopeless despair of the individual.²⁰⁴

Abusch (1967b: 639) saw the Party as a vital force when it came to directing working-class writers towards firmly socialist themes. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the slow progress, which he argued was a consequence of *Zersetzung* (subversion) through the *feindliche Kräfte* (hostile forces) of the GDR's West German enemies.²⁰⁵ Cultural politics became increasingly oriented towards following the Soviet example, and it was against this backdrop that literary critics reflected on Beckettian Theatre.

The actual debate on Beckett was launched by an essay published shortly before the Conference on Culture in 1957. Writing in *Theater der Zeit* (TdZ 1957 H 9)—an East German magazine on theatre studies—literary critic Lothar Ehrlich (1957: 25-31) talked about the Modern Theatre in Paris. Alongside a brief socio-cultural study concerning the French theatre community, Ehrlich provided some pertinent insights into contemporary Western theatre productions. He talked about recent French performances of plays by Jean Anouilh and Eugène Ionesco and then turned his attention to Beckett. Ehrlich (1957) had seen

den Namen würdig ist, nur eine antiimperialistische Literatur sein kann. [...] aber die Literatur in Westdeutschland muss eine antiimperialistische sein. Nur als solche wehrt sie die amerikanische Entseelung und Barbarisierung ab [...] Aus der Lage der Literatur in Westdeutschland ergibt sich besonders dringend die Forderung, das Erbe der deutschen klassischen Dichtung zu bewahren.“ (Abusch 1967b: 625-26)

²⁰⁴ Original text: „Der räuberische, parasitäre, menschenfeindliche Charakter des Imperialismus findet auf dem Gebiete der Kultur seinen Ausdruck moralischer Korruption, in der Zerstörungen der überlieferten humanistischen Werke, in der Erzeugung von brutal-chauvinistischen und faschistischen Ideologien zur Unterdrückung ganzer Völker und Rassen auf der einen Seite und von Ideologien der Lebensangst und hoffnungslosen Verzweiflung des Individuums auf der anderen Seite.“ (Abusch 1962: 159)

²⁰⁵ Abusch (1967b: 639) stated [transcript]: ‘The Party of the working class and the reader has a right to tell our writers how badly they yearn for a choice of present-day socialist themes in their novels, short stories, plays, scenarios, poems, songs and commentaries.’ Original text: „Die Partei der Arbeiterklasse und die Leser haben ein recht den Schriftstellern zu sagen, wie dringend sie von ihnen die Wahl sozialistischer Themen aus der Gegenwart für ihre Romane, Erzählungen, Schauspiele, Szenarien, Gedichte, Lieder und Romane erwarten.

Beckett's play *Fin de Partie* in Paris. He argued that the play was far from decadent and told his readers that it instead uncovers the inhumanity of capitalism:

Beckett draws in this conventionalised, abstracted form an image of the capitalist world. It is no coincidence that he is attacked by the bourgeoisie [in France], because he has destroyed the bourgeois delusion of a good, healthy capitalist world, the best of all possible worlds, and instead reveals a world sick to death and doomed, making men live in a world without meaning or hope, an inhuman world.²⁰⁶ (TdZ 1957 H 9)

In his piece, the first comprehensive essay on Beckett published in the GDR, Ehrlich went on to portray Beckett as a playwright firmly rooted in his world and unable to break free of his bourgeois background. He did, all the same, recognise Beckett as a contemporary dramatist who was critical of imperialism. Published just days before the Conference on Culture, Ehrlich's modest plea on Beckett's behalf must have alerted the party-political guardians. The extent to which Ehrlich was out of step with the official Party line is revealed by Manfred Heidicke's response (1957: 24) to this statement, published in *Theatre der Zeit* (TdZ 1957 H 11) shortly after Ehrlich's essay. Heidicke was a Marxist literary critic who strongly disapproved of 'the West German morbid interest in Beckett.' He argued that Beckett's works—full of *halben Antworten* or 'half answers'—give rise to misunderstanding (Heidicke 1957: 24).²⁰⁷ In Heidicke's opinion (26), Beckett enjoyed codifying his plays without implying possible solutions; decrypting the work becomes futile. Every hope is therefore extinguished, except the hope for death. He further accused Beckett of having no opinion and argued that the plays were subversive:

If someone comes along and defines in his plays thinking an absurd process, then such a play is not only decadent, it is dangerous. Dangerous also, because the author does not respond critically to the issues that were being communicated.²⁰⁸ (26)

²⁰⁶ Original text: „Beckett gibt in dieser stilisierten, abstrahierten Form ein Abbild der kapitalistischen Welt. Es ist kein Zufall, dass er in Frankreich von bourgeoiser Seite angegriffen wurde, denn er zerstört die bourgeoise Lebenslüge, dass die kapitalistische Welt die beste, gesündeste aller möglichen Welten sei, und zeigt, dass diese Welt vielmehr sterbenskrank und todgeweiht ist, dass der Mensch in einer Welt ohne Sinn und Hoffnung, in einer unmenschlichen Welt lebt.“ (TdZ 1957 H 9: 25)

²⁰⁷ Original text: „Ja, es kann sogar zu Missverständnissen Anlass geben. Mit halben Antworten können wir uns nicht begnügen.“ (TdZ 1957 H 11: 24)

²⁰⁸ Original text: „Wenn jemand kommt und in seinen Stücken das Denken als absurden Vorgang beschreibt, dann ist ein solches Stück nicht nur dekadent, es ist gefährlich. Gefährlich auch darum, weil der Autor sich zu den Tatbeständen nicht kritisch verhält.“ (TdZ 1957 H 11: 26)

Heidicke's problem with Beckett appears to be the lingering sense of acceptance rather than creation that he detects in the plays. In Heidicke's eyes, Beckett surrenders to the moment rather than rising up to make something new. He implies that for Beckett the inimitable moment of being in a state of receiving, of being at the receiving end of experience, is translated just as it is—in its precise, original form, without overlay or distractions. Heidicke (26) went on:

Otherwise a theatre director might say: When Beckett draws the image of the capitalist world in this play, when the bourgeois delusion of the best, healthiest of all worlds is destroyed, and then we may stage his plays? One must clearly explain to him that neither the one nor the other happens with Beckett.²⁰⁹

Heidicke saw in Beckett no advancement, no progress, no development, no viewpoint, no opinion. Fragments in Beckett stand for themselves, not as symbols or metaphors. According to Marius Bunin and Lois Oppenheim (1993: 25): 'Alien to a systematised structure in which things appear "similar" to our capitalist world cannot be compared, our feelings cannot be compared because the other term of the metaphor is lost, and because a *tertium comparationis* that fixes the term for comparison is also missing.' Such a view might explain the conclusion that Beckett's play was not an option for East German theatre, in a socialist world in which a metaphor, a socialist representation was always required.

This particular view was consolidated shortly after Heidicke's article appeared, in a piece by Erhard Etto that was published again in *Theatre der Zeit* (TdZ 1958 H 3). The former GDR literary critic and journalist published an even more dogmatic view of Beckett. He firmly disagreed with Ehrlich but generally approved of Heidicke's line of reasoning. Etto (1958: 31-2) did, however, suggest amendments and additions to Heidicke's interpretation:

With a general political justification, he [Lothar Ehrlich] tries to play down the estranged theatre of Beckett. Heidicke discusses his [Lothar Ehrlich's] inappropriate reasoning well. But the clarifications of Heidicke cannot fully satisfy. He reaches a

²⁰⁹ Original text: „Sonst könnte ein Theaterleiter sagen: Wenn der Beckett in diesem Stück ein Abbild der kapitalistischen Welt zeichnet, wenn er die bourgeoise Lebenslüge von der besten, gesündesten aller möglichen Welten zerstört, dann könnten wir seine Stücke doch spielen? Man muss ihm also eindeutig sagen, dass weder das eine, noch das andere bei Beckett stattfindet.“ (TdZ 1957: 26).

better understanding of Beckett's view, much closer than Lothar Ehrlich, albeit he does not finish the argument.²¹⁰ (31-2)

Centrally, Etto (31-2) questioned Beckett's motives for writing plays without a deeper meaning. He believed that the answer lay in Beckett's personality, his social conscience and personal mission:

Samuel Beckett's denial of life is fundamental; what he writes is his personal belief: he doesn't have any! [...] Beckett has no goal in life, thus he has no objective on stage.²¹¹ (31-2)

Beckett's lack of orientation results then, for Etto, in a theatre that challenges the audience to make sense of nonsense. A fundamental lack of communication is perceived with laughter, encouraging mental laziness.²¹²

Etto dismissed the historical precedent of the Theatre of the Absurd that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century (Seeber 2012: 424). It seems that this commentator failed to understand the appeal of the Absurd to Parisian artists. Similarly, he failed to recognise that the re-emergence of the Theatre of the Absurd in West Germany was a direct outcome of the new democracy established after the Second World War (Barner 2006). Etto (1958: 31-2) does not appear to have realised that Beckett possessed personal experience of and opinions regarding German politics, something that was expressed in his letters.²¹³ These letters offer important information about Beckett's personal political perceptions, which may have influenced his literary style. But Etto's reasoning led only to a simple, one-sided

²¹⁰ Original text: „Er versucht, das sonderbare Theater Becketts mit einer allgemein gehaltenen politischen Erklärung abzutun. Manfred Heidedicke beweist die Haltlosigkeit dieser Begründung hinlänglich. Aber auch die Erklärungen Manfred Heideckes können nicht voll befriedigen. Er kommt der Wesensart der Beckettschen Lebensauffassung [...] zwar näher als Lothar Ehrlich, führt den Gedankengang jedoch nicht bis zum Ende.“ (TdZ 1958 H3: 31-2)

²¹¹ Original text: „Samuel Beckett ist ein grundsätzlicher Verneiner des Lebens überhaupt; das was er schreibt ist persönliche Überzeugung: er hat nämlich keine! [...] Beckett hat kein Lebensziel, also kann er auf der Bühne auch kein Ziel weisen.“ (TdZ 1958 H3: 31-2)

²¹² Original text: „Wenn wir ihm [Beckett] recht geben, ist unsere Welt am Ende und das Nützlichkeitsprinzip eine Lüge. Wenn wir seine Auffassungen einfach verlachen oder ignorieren wollen, sind wir womöglich denkfaul oder Feiglinge.“ (TdZ 1958 H3: 31-2)

²¹³ See Samuel Beckett. *Weitermachen ist mehr als ich tun kann, Briefe 1929-1940*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt / Main (2013) and see letter from S. Beckett to Thomas McGreevy on 9 October 1936 (p. 450), letter to Mary Manning Howe on 18 January 1937 (p. 494), letter to Thomas McGreevy on 7 March 1937 (p. 528).

conclusion, wherein the Beckettian sense of ‘meaninglessness’ is viewed solely as a destructive force for socialism.

As a consequence of Etto’s controversial argument, Ehrlich reconsidered his original article (Bechert 1997). He relativized Etto’s accusation that Beckett was decadent and formalist. Ehrlich stated that the 5th Party Conference of the SED which proclaimed the Cultural Revolution (*V Parteitag der SED : Proklamation der sozialistischen Kulturrevolution*) in July 1958 had convinced him that Beckett was a representative of *des Dekadenten* (the decadence) (1997). He also claimed that the editor of *Theater der Zeit* had forgotten to add important comments to his previous essay, which would have prevented the reader from misunderstanding his words. He now claimed that he did not intend to write any defence of Beckett whatsoever.

Ehrlich recognised that his attempt to express a general plea in favour of the Parisian Theatre of the Absurd had failed. However, he was not prepared to give up entirely on all fronts. Despite the criticisms he had faced, he still felt that Beckett’s works represented an important impulse for French communists in their battle against the nationalist bourgeoisie.²¹⁴ The controversy may all the same have served to silence any opposition or non-conformance on the subject.

In the following decade, East German theatre moved towards a revival of the epic play of grand proportions, the so-called *historisches Zeittheater* (historic social theatre). According to Bathrick (1995: 122), two important and intricately linked characteristics existed in almost every performance and work in the GDR: ‘a thematic focus upon larger-than-life individuals and a broadening of the historical perspective.’ New plays involved legendary characters who stood as symbols for the ideological development of an entire stage of reconstruction in the GDR.²¹⁵ Seen from the perspective of Socialist Realism, the reappearance of the great individual was in part a concession to a cultural policy that emphasised emotions and

²¹⁴ Original text: „In allen Gesprächen, die ich Paris führte stand immer wieder das Problem der anti-bourgeoisen Wirkung im Mittelpunkt. Auch kommunistische Künstler bejahen Beckett [...], wobei der Kampf gegen die eigene Bourgeoisie gleichzeitig der Kampf gegen die Konzeption der NATO-Mächte sei, dem französischen Volk eine Politik aufzuzwingen, die mit seinem nationalen Interessen nichts gemein hat. So kommt es, dass beispielsweise ein kommunistischer Regisseur, der Brecht und Gorki inszeniert, ein positives Verhältnis zu Beckett hat.“ (Ehrlich 1958: 31-2)

²¹⁵ See Erwin Strittmatter’s *Die Holländerbraut* (1960), Helmut Baierl’s *Frau Flinz* (1961), Peter Hack’s *Moritz Tassow* (1961), Hartmut Lange’s *Marski* (1962) and Volker Braun’s *Kipper Paul Bauch* (1966).

characterisation. Such figures were intended to represent broad social developments within the framework of individual psychology. According to Bathrick (1995: 122):

In many cases the character portrayals stood as historical metaphors for the necessary superhuman achievement ([Kipper] Paul Bauch [by Volker Braun] or the assertion of some paradisiacal utopian future (Moritz Tassow [by Peter Hacks]) in a society of scarcity and inadequate production.

The shift towards the *historisches Zeittheater* during the early 1960s was no revolutionary act. Rather, it was the rejection of the Theatre of the Absurd and its vague, nihilistic characters.

Interest in Beckett re-emerged during the mid-1960s with a much fiercer, ideologically-led discussion on the part of cultural theorists. The debate was driven by mounting tensions between the Allies and the Soviets in the late 1950s, culminating in the Berlin Crisis of 1961. The erection of the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961 was an important turning point in the cultural life of the GDR. From then on, East German art and literature were more conspicuously driven by Soviet politics.

On 7 and 8 March 1963, Khrushchev invited the Soviet cultural intelligentsia to the Kremlin for a joint conference, where he presented a speech on cultural politics. He did not present new arguments, nor did he offer new guidelines. The meeting was convened with the sole purpose of sending a strong statement to Soviet writers who, allegedly, had gone too far with their writings (Khrushchev 1963). The Central Committee again emphasised that Socialist Realism was the compass for every writer, and Khrushchev called on the cultural community to prepare for battle against abstraction and formalism. He settled his argument with the words 'Art is Ideology' and declared socialist literature a weapon against imperialism. The East Berlin daily *Neues Deutschland* appreciated Khrushchev's statements and on 14 March 1963 published his speech with the following headline: *In hohem Ideengehalt und künstlerischer Meisterschaft liegt die Kraft der sowjetischen Literatur und Kunst* (The Artistic Mastery and Power of Soviet Art and Literature Lies in the Capacity of New Ideas).

In the GDR, Khrushchev's speech prompted the reawakening of a combative ideological debate over formalism. As initially discussed in chapter 1, the Party announced during the second *Bitterfelder Konferenz* in April 1964 the position that demanded writers and artists

should be more closely involved in the *revolutionäre Prozesse*. This meant that literature would be infiltrated by Socialist Realism to an even greater extent, and Ulbricht appealed to artists and writers to plan works that would give new momentum to cultural progress. Ulbricht was concerned with eliciting more political involvement from playwrights and artists, reengaging the public with a political mode of theatre.

Bathrick (1995: 126-27) mentions three political assumptions that were formally and thematically coupled with its system of communication: 'a belief in the *self-initiating* proletarian worker' as a protagonist for revolutionary theatre (126); 'a hope that industrial and social reality would provide the transindividual (collective) energy for a new aesthetic dynamic' (126); and 'new notions of democratic publicness that must include the coproduction of meaning and strategy of active, critical interpretation' by the audience (126-27). It is not surprising that this kind of theatre was hardly compatible with existing models of Socialist Realist drama and, accordingly, that it was censored.

Martin Esslin's (1991: 23-24) characterisation of the Theatre of the Absurd 'with its sense of metaphysical anguish due to the absurdity of the human condition' jars with both Khrushchev's conceits and Ulbricht's ideological philosophies. 'The notion of the avant-garde was', as Bathrick (1995: 127) puts it, 'no longer simply equated with a model of cultural-political forwardness (vanguardism) within which proletarian experience and an ontologized industrial progressivism could still be seen as an aesthetic and political basis for an agitational or even socially critical art.' Instead of progressivism, Beckett's main concern was the polarity of existence. Consequently, in the GDR his plays became a key symbol of Western decadence and were specifically attacked for their aspect of alienation.

Abusch's publication (1967b), *Kulturelle Probleme des sozialistischen Humanismus* gives a valuable insight in the prevailing thinking. Abusch referred to Beckett's *Endziel or Endgame*, a play that had been performed ten years earlier at the 1957 *Festwochen* in West Berlin. He cited a West German literary critic, who—in the West German daily *Die Welt* for 2 October 1957—had written a rather one-sided commentary on the performance:

Again, the same disgust, the same emptiness [...]. What remains is the empty game which has become a conversation of the absurd among four weird people passing the

emptiness [...] The garbage can, the wickedness, the nonsense in permanence, [and] as a resolution the end of human history is indicated (1967b: 298).²¹⁶

Citing the same source, Abusch (298) continued by referring to the reaction of the audience:

Obviously even then when utter nonsense was declared, they [the audience] did not dose off, they accepted quietly the exercise of this sarcastic nihilism, they waited quietly and endured.²¹⁷

For Abusch (298), Beckett's plays were founded on a substantial 'alienation from the people and contempt for the people.'²¹⁸ He acknowledged the playwright's artistic talent but—looking from a one-dimensional, socialist humanist perspective—ultimately saw Beckett as a representative of capitalism and his works as the product of decadence. In his *Kulturelle Probleme*, he might have referred indirectly to Beckett when he argued that:

Lenin taught us to recognise imperialism as parasitic or as decaying capitalism. The decay of capitalism [...] is also reflected in the nature of late-bourgeois culture, which is deprived of all humanistic ideas and perspectives. [...] Of course, writers and artists of the bourgeois world are still capable of significant artistic achievements [...] but this phenomenon does not change the fact that decadence [...] exemplifies the overall trend of spiritual development in bourgeois literature and art in the age of imperialism (298).²¹⁹

For Abusch (298), the sole purpose of Beckett's plays was to befuddle the audience through a rapid series of meaninglessness *Klamauk* (nonsense). For him, Beckett's plays mirrored the decline of Western art in bourgeois societies. His arguments illustrate the extent to which the Party implemented ideological judgements, thwarting any attempt at an apolitical or

²¹⁶ Original text: „Wieder das gleiche Grauen, die gleiche Leere...Was bleibt, ist das leere Spiel einer absurd gewordenen Unterhaltung, mit der sich vier Gruselgestalten das Nichts vertreiben...Der Müllkasten, die Lieblosigkeit, der Unsinn in Permanenz, die Auflösung als Endeffekt der Menschheitsgeschichte werden signalisiert.“ (Abusch 1967b: 298)

²¹⁷ Original text: „Auch wo scheinbar nur der absolute Quatsch sich verlautbart, brachen sie nicht weg, nahmen sie die Exerzitien dieses sarkastischen Nihilismus still entgegen und hielten durch.“ (Abusch 1967b: 298)

²¹⁸ Original text: „Entfremdung vom Volk und Verachtung für das Volk.“ (Abusch 1967b: 298)

²¹⁹ Original text: „Lenin hat uns gelehrt, den Imperialismus als parasitären oder faulenden Kapitalismus zu erkennen. Die Fäulnis des Kapitalismus [...] widerspiegelt sich auch im Wesen der spätbürgerlichen Kultur, die aller humanistischen Ideen und Perspektiven beraubt ist. [...] Natürlich sind auch Schriftsteller und Künstler der bürgerlichen Welt noch zu bedeutenden künstlerischen Leistungen fähig [...]. Diese Erscheinung ändert aber nichts daran, dass die Dekadenz [...] charakteristisch ist für die Gesamttendenz der geistigen Entwicklung in der bürgerlichen Literatur und Kunst im Zeitalter des Imperialismus.“ (Abusch 1967b: 298)

‘literary’ mode of reception. Since the general reader in the GDR had no direct access to Beckett’s plays, access to his works remained the privilege of a small group of Marxist intellectuals—a result of the official ban.

More than anything, in the GDR Beckett was officially associated with the contentious label of the ‘Theatre of the Absurd’ – a formula he never happily embraced. Regarding the American ‘Festival of the Absurd’ in 1962, Beckett wrote to Alan Schneider that the concept was to him ‘about as vague as Cubism and Fauvism’ (Harmon 1988: 121). Academic debates were contradictory at times, but among Marxist literary critics Beckett was officially viewed as a subversive writer; his plays were understood as an abstract elegy for lost freedom, capturing the idea of nonviolent resistance.

According to Thomas Irmer (2009: 91), during the 1960s the most influential dogmatic statements about Beckett originated from members of the East Berlin academy. This group discussed Beckett under the academic guidance of the prominent playwright Peter Hacks. Hacks was a Hegelian classicist who was held in high esteem as an essayist. He was also in close contact with many high-ranking GDR officials. Peter Hacks (1976) was of the opinion that the uncertainty and vagueness of Beckett is one of his principles. He stated:

We can disprove him [Beckett] over and over again because he proves *something* continuously. In this respect, of course, [Beckett] was cleverer than Brecht. But as I said, I am convinced of [Beckett’s] smartness and do not believe in [his] innocence. [...] Lessons are lessons of agreement. [...] And whatever one reads, it ends with the message: It’s hopeless and shall be so; hopeless as ordained by the Lord [...]

Therefore, I think he is worse than any other of our enemies.²²⁰ (Keck and Mehrle 2008)

Hacks’s opinion may not be wholly representative of the entire East German theatrical scene in the 1960s, but he did express the contemporary Party position.

²²⁰ See: Peter Hacks, ‘Berlinische Dramaturgie, Über Becketts „Warten auf Godot“‘ in Peter Hacks, *Marxistische Hinsichten Politische Schriften 1955-2003*, Heinz Hamm ed., Peter-Hacks-Gesellschaft, Eulenspiegel Verlag, Berlin (2018: 128-34) Original text: „Er läßt sich ununterbrochen widerlegen, weil er nämlich ununterbrochen etwas beweist. Insofern war natürlich pfiffiger als der Brecht. Aber wie gesagt, ich bestehe auf der Pfiffigkeit und glaube nicht an die Unschuld. (...) Lehrstücke sind Lehrstücke vom Einverständnis. Und welches man immer liest, es endet mit der Nachricht: So wie es ist, muß es sein, so wie es ist, ist es von Gott gewollt. Und deswegen, denke ich, ist er böser als alle, die jemals vor ihm gewaltet haben, als alle unsere Feinde“ (Peter Hacks at 10th Conference of *Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik zu Becketts »Warten auf Godot«* on 1.3.1976). (Keck and Mehrle 2008)

The vagueness and uncertain direction of Beckett's works raised serious concerns amongst leading GDR Marxists. Owing to the possibility of an undesirable or 'false' interpretation, they were afraid that the plays might provoke criticisms of real-world socialism from the audience. Indeed, this outcome was generally feared from the staging of avant-garde plays.

Concerns were fuelled in 1965 when *Godot*, was staged in Poland. The Polish audience viewed the aimless waiting of *Godot* as a sarcastic commentary on the political system, which shows that the play was capable of eliciting the very reaction the theorists most feared (Esslin 1991). In the play, there was no urgent need to connect speech to reality, and nor did the scenery need to have a realistic reference. Rather, it was the moment of imagination that gave meaning to *Godot*. It transpired that Polish audiences were yearning for greater freedom, and their endless frustrated hopes were strongly articulated via a political interpretation of the *Godot* performance.

In his study *Das Theater des Absurden*, Martin Esslin (1991) argues that *Godot* possessed a particular attraction for audiences in socialist countries. The particular attraction of *Godot*—something which did not generally apply to audiences in the West—can best be explained with reference to the meaning of waiting in a socialist society: waiting to buy a car (up to 15 years), to obtain permission to install a telephone (up to 5 years). Waiting also held a philosophical meaning in a society that was supposed to mark the transition towards full communism, the perfect society. According to Esslin (1991), the Beckettian Theatre changes [unintentionally] into a vehicle for revolutionary political content under a dictatorial and authoritarian regime.²²¹ The twists and turns of Beckett's reception in East Germany can, in this sense, be compared to the fate of Kafka throughout the 20th century, a writer whose critical fate shifted according to the changing ideologies of the Weimar Republic, the Nazi regime, the Soviet Zone and the GDR.

²²¹ Original extended text: „In der vieldiskutierten Kontroverse zwischen Ionesco und dem englischen linksradikalen Kritiker Kenneth Tyan ging es um den Vorwurf, die Dramatiker des Absurden seien an den sozialen Belangen der Menschheit uninteressiert, zutiefst unpolitisch und daher reaktionär. Doch gerade als das ideale Ausdrucksmittel für revolutionäre politische Inhalte erwies sich die Konvention des Theaters des Absurden in den unter einem diktatorische-autoritären - und daher im Grunde ultrareaktionären - Regime lebenden Ländern Osteuropas. Als Waten auf *Godot* 1965 [...] in Polen zur Aufführung zugelassen wurde, stellte sich heraus, dass dieses im Westen scheinbar so unpolitische Stück von politischer Brisanz war, da ein sich ständig nach größerer Freiheit sehndendes Publikum der ewig frustrierten Hoffnung der Personen auf der Bühne eine eindeutige politische Interpretation gab.“ (Esslin 1991)

Bertolt Brecht And Samuel Beckett

A truly literary (i.e. non-dogmatic) reading of Beckett was underway when the talent of the Irish dramatist first impressed Bertolt Brecht. The Party themselves cast Brecht as the East-German Beckett—his socialist, ideologically—correct counterpart, so-to-speak, and Barrie Baker (2007: 149) maintains that ‘the dramas of Brecht and Beckett were both in the ascendant at the same time.’ Furthermore, like Beckett’s *Godot*, Brecht’s *Mutter Courage* was seen as a play that could divulge universal truths and influence public attitudes, albeit in a different way to Beckett. The *Berliner Ensemble* (East Germany’s pioneering theatre group) was allowed to visit Paris in 1954 to perform Brecht’s plays for the first time in France (Bechert 1997). This was an important political statement at a time when Beckett was becoming increasingly popular in West Germany, more popular than Brecht himself in the GDR.

Despite the stylistic differences between the two playwrights, we cannot deny that Brecht became inspired by *Godot* after the West German publisher Suhrkamp published the play in 1953: *Godot* was performed in West Germany shortly after Brecht had first taken an interest, and Brecht felt it important to see the plays in Paris, where they had originally been staged. Brecht was not, however, fully convinced by the unexplained character backgrounds in *Godot*, the uncertain time and place of the action. Moreover, he seriously intruded on the play by rewriting it in parts. In his *Gegenentwurf* (counter-draft) he proposed adding the necessary socio-historical dimensions to the play by specifying the social class of Vladimir and Estragon. Brecht sought to locate the play in a definite society, making uncertainties disappear. Brecht’s idea was to have newsreels projected against the back of the stage. These would show the progress of revolutionary movements, while Vladimir and Estragon waited in the foreground (Huber 1993: 50). Werner Huber (50) argues that, despite Brecht’s acknowledgement of Beckett’s talent, Brecht recognised *Godot*’s ambivalence and decadence and therefore tried to rewrite it.

For Huber (50), Brecht’s involvement justifies the accusation that Beckett presents alienation and the absurd as an ‘ontological and historically irreversible condition.’ According to him, Brecht’s amendments, which he called corrections, were motivated by ideological inspiration rather than literary concerns. Despite Huber’s plausible argument (50-1), Brecht’s scribbled marginal additions to the play do not allow for a firm interpretation of

his intentions. It does, nonetheless, appear to be the case that Brecht planned a fundamental amendment to *Godot* by detailing the characters' social backgrounds.

In 1995, West German literary scholar Hans Meyer (1995: 579) declared that Brecht's imposition of 'a socialist understanding to Beckett's characters' was a 'cul de sac'; Brecht's project could never have been accomplished. Only a few sketches remain from Brecht's attempt to redesign Beckett's characters: he made Vladimir into an intellectual, Estragon into a worker, Pozzo into an aristocrat (von Pozzo), and Lucky into a madman, or, as seen in another draft, a policeman (579). He experimented by projecting the play into a 'Third World' environment but still failed in his endeavour to turn abstract figures into real people with jobs and homes. Meyer states that Brecht finally had to abandon his experiment 'because one cannot change a play by Beckett into one by Brecht' (579).

The Debate Progresses (1960 to 1979)

The tension between the critical biases of East and West might be said to have come to a head at an experimental theatre event organised by the West German Academy for the Performing Arts at Frankfurt am Main in 1968 (Huber 1993: 51). Here, the West German theatre community literally pitted Brecht against Beckett. Werner Huber remembers the staging of Brecht's *Messingkauf-Komplex* | *Messingkauf Dialogues*, an incomplete theoretical work, which was unenthusiastically reviewed by West German literary critics, while Beckett's literary and rhetorical genius was eagerly praised (50-1). The panel discussion saw East Berlin Brechtians eventually confront West German Beckettians. The debate centred around oppositions such as Social Realism vs. ahistorical abstraction; therapy vs. diagnosis; optimism vs. pessimism. The GDR's representatives followed a rather dogmatic assessment, and each side held their ground (Breuer and Huber 1994: 112).²²² The discussion dragged on and five years later no less a figure than Honecker himself took a highly dogmatic approach to Western Modernism. In his *Neues Deutschland* article *Geistig-kulturelle Entwicklung gehört zur Hauptaufgabe* or 'Spiritual and Cultural Development is Part of the Main Task' (published 29 May 1973) Honecker (1973: 778) maintained that,

Realism without bounds betrays the socialist ideology and drifts on the brackish water of the bourgeois way of thinking. We have always rejected it [the bourgeois

²²² For more information on this event see the articles by Pfelling and Rischbieter.

way of thinking] and are rejecting it. As their nature, their interests and goals, as here, the working class and bourgeoisie, socialism and imperialism remain implacable, in this respect the battle is being fought between them. We should oppose any effort whatsoever to delay our progress in culture and art by making concessions towards the modernist distortion of art.²²³

In a manner that can be traced back to Lukács's ideas in the 1950s, until the mid-1970s the Beckett debate relied on the established notion that modernism is a symptom of the mounting dissolution and decline of the bourgeois mind. It is worth remembering that—in his 1958 study *Wider den missverständlichen Realismus | Against Erroneous Realism*—Lukács had declared Beckett's *Molloy* to be 'a proof of decline', which set the tone towards Beckett for years to come (Irmer 2009: 90). Irmer (90) argues that among the GDR's Marxist propagandists and intellectuals, 'Between Lukács, Brecht and the growing admiration in the West, Beckett was assigned the role of the antisocial, inhuman and negative playwright.'²²⁴

Brecht's efforts with *Godot* were to no avail, and Beckett's plays continued to be viewed in the GDR as an apologia for late bourgeois capitalism. What irritated the guardians of Socialist Realism most was Beckett's 'lack of perspective', his 'pessimism' and his 'nihilism' (Oppenheim 1997). As Lois Oppenheim (1997) puts it, in a manner of speaking Beckett had become a class enemy in the GDR; the debate amongst scholars was regarded as settled. This fact is undoubtedly confirmed by the contribution of Marxist scholar Werner Mittenzwei (1964), who published the noteworthy article *Endspiele der Absurden in Sinn und Form* (1964 XVI H 5), the journal of the East German Academy of Arts. His article analysed the writers of the *Abstrakten und Absurdisten* (abstract and absurd) and demonstrated their lack of social understanding and political responsibility. Mittenzwei (1964: 737) polemically attacked Beckett's 'fetish-like idealisation of alienated man', concluding that 'the Absurd interlude was just that—an interlude—with no chance for a future':

²²³ Original text in *Neues Deutschland* on 21 May 1973: „Einen Realismus ohne Ufer, der die sozialistische Ideologie verrät und auf dem Brackwasser bürgerlicher Denkungsart dahintreibt, haben wir stets abgelehnt und lehnen ihn ab. Wie ihr Wesen, ihre Interessen und Ziele, so bleiben auch hier die Arbeiterklasse und Bourgeoisie, Sozialismus und Imperialismus unversöhnlich, wird auch auf diesem Gebiet der Kampf zwischen ihnen ausgetragen. Wir sollten jeglichen Bestrebungen entgegenzutreten, unseren Fortschritt auf dem Gebiet der Kultur und Kunst durch Konzessionen an die modernistische Verzerrung der Kunst beeinträchtigen.“ (Honecker 1973: 778)

²²⁴ See Frank Bechert, *Keine Versöhnung mit dem Nichts – Zur Rezeption von Samuel Beckett in der DDR*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main (1997).

Many of Beckett's works are monodramas, they characterise his style: the isolation of the individual. [...] He aims to expose the loneliness of the individual, the extinction of all human relationships. [...] The individualised, fetishized notions of alienated people make him to radically negate any structure or distinctiveness. [...] The poet demonstrates in his work *Das letzte Band* [*Krapp's Last Tape*] to which degree alienation of the individual has come; one may not only become alienated from others but also from oneself.²²⁵

Mittenzwei's (738) problem was not just that Beckett's characters lack dialectics but that they are missing the link between the individual and society. Since he recognised the alienation process in appearance but not in its very nature, for him the 'social issue is no longer intelligible' (739).²²⁶ Mittenzwei's views (1967: 9-12) were further circulated on 22 May 1967. At the conference *Sitzung der Sektion Darstellende Kunst* in East Berlin, which dealt with 'Directions and Tendencies in International Dramaturgy', he presented his take on vital literary issues in Beckett's writings. This was to lead to a new phase in the reception of Beckett in the GDR.

According to Mittenzwei (1967: 9-12), the GDR faced four vital challenges when it came to modern theatre. The first of these was the reception of modern (Western) theatre in the GDR. For Mittenzwei (9-12), modern theatre was represented by two types: the psychologically-oriented theatre and the abstract theatre. Both would lead to undesirable consequences when it came to the dialectic of the individual and society, since these two types of theatre contradicted the philosophy of socialist art, particularly when it came to the requirement for textual transparency. The second issue he raised concerned 'the ability to abstract.' Such aesthetic innovations did not derive from technical progress, nor were they influenced by technical development. Instead, abstraction had its origins in humanism. The third issue dealt with the way in which the Theatre of the Absurd combined two themes:

²²⁵ Original text: „Die Isoliertheit des Individuums macht Beckett schon dadurch kenntlich, dass viele seiner Stücke im Grunde Monodramen sind. [...] Er will die Kontaktlosigkeit des Individuums sichtbar machen, das Auslöschen aller zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen. Die individualisierten, fetischisierten Vorstellungen vom entfremdeten Menschen sind es, die Beckett alle Formen des Figurenaufbaus, [...], radikal negieren lassen. In seinem Stück "Das letzte Band" demonstriert der Dichter, in welchem Maße sich das Individuum nicht nur von den anderen, sondern auch von sich selbst entfremdet.“ (Mittenzwei 1964: 737)

²²⁶ Original extended text: „Es bedarf hier keiner weiteren Ausführungen, dass bei den Beckett-Figuren nicht nur die Dialektik, sondern auch jede mechanische Verbindung von Individuellem und Gesellschaftlichen aufgehoben ist. [...] Da der Entfremdungsprozess nur in seinen äußeren Mechanismus begreift, nicht aber in seinem eigentlichen Wesen, ist für ihn das Gesellschaftliche nicht mehr fassbar.“ (Mittenzwei 1964: 739)

‘the unveiling of the alienated man and the perpetuation of alienation as human fate’ (9-12). Fourthly and finally, Mittenzwei (12) concluded that since capitalist publishers exploited literary trends, literary developments degenerate into fashionable literary style(s). As a consequence of all this, Beckett was ‘located in a dead end of hopeless stagnation.’

Heralding the third phase of Beckett’s reception in the GDR, Mittenzwei (1978) began to strike a more conciliatory tone in the late 1970s. He acknowledged the dramatic excellence and aesthetic radicalism of *Godot* but questioned Beckett’s literary seriousness. In *Kampf der Richtungen* Mittenzwei (1978: 330) argued thus: ‘Stubborn with his idea, within the process, through descent and humiliation, to find the last resort, he [Beckett] wrote nothing but endgames.’²²⁷ Mittenzwei (330) continued by claiming that Beckett had been writing the same type of work for decades, which caused him to doubt the true gravity of Beckett’s despair.²²⁸ He resolved that the playwright was not interested in the development of the plot for any aesthetic or practical reason; the end of story was the centre of Beckett’s dramaturgy (331).²²⁹ For Mittenzwei (333) hereafter, *Godot* was synonymous with the withdrawal of human progress.²³⁰

In *Kampf der Richtungen*, Mittenzwei (1978: 335-6) included excerpts from a panel discussion (10th Conference) on *Godot* that had been held by the East German Academy of Arts on 1 March 1976 (10. Sitzung der Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik zu Becketts »Warten auf Godot«). Peter Hacks, Wolfgang Kohlhaase, Anna Elisabeth Wiede, Benito Wogatzki, Rainer Kerndl and Peter Mittenzwei were involved in the panel discussion.²³¹

²²⁷ Original text: „Verbohrt in die Idee, innerhalb des Prozesses, den Abstieg und Erniedrigung durchlaufen, die letzte Etappe ausfindig zu machen, schrieb er lauter Endspiele.“ (Mittenzwei 1978: 330)

²²⁸ Original text: „Die Inflationierung dieser Idee über mehr als zwei Jahrzehnte hinweg ließen aber auch Zweifel an der Echtheit seiner Verzweiflung aufkommen.“ (Mittenzwei 1978: 330)

²²⁹ Original text: „Ästhetisch interessant und praktikabel ist für diesen Dichter nicht die Entwicklung der Handlung, sondern ausschließlich des Endes der Entwicklung, das Ende der Handlung. Er macht den Endpunkt zum Mittelpunkt seiner Dramaturgie.“ (Mittenzwei 1978: 331)

²³⁰ Original text: „Denn Warten auf Godot bedeutet die Zurücknahme des menschlichen Fortschritts. Beckett vermag den Fortschrittsgedanken nur noch als Parodie darzustellen.“ (Mittenzwei 1978: 333)

²³¹ The protocol has been used in this thesis. See proceedings of 10. Sitzung der Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik zu Becketts »Warten auf Godot (East German Academy of Arts) on 1 March 1976, protocol in Thomas Keck and Jens Mehrle (eds.) ‘Kein Schänder ohne Gattung: Hegel, Brecht, Beckett: aus den Gesprächsprotokollen der von Peter Hacks geleiteten Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik an der Akademie der Künste der DDR’, *Junge Welt*, Berlin, issue 5 July 2008. (2008:10)

According to the protocol during the academic exchange of the panel on 1 March 1976, Kohlhaase argued that Beckett's works function like a playing field for any critic indulging in the interpretation of literature. He firmly believed that, unlike the work of realist writers, 'Beckett was a profound source for all sorts of possible interpretations' (335).²³² He suggested:

In general, I have the feeling that this play [Godot] is easy to categorise, in a way that I find it very consistent with one of the temptations of our times, namely irrationalism. (Kohlhaase according to the protocol of the panel discussion on *Godot* that had been held by the East German Academy of Arts on 1 March 1976).²³³ (Keck and Mehrle 2008)

According to Mittenzwei (1978: 335-6) Hacks countered with a firmly dogmatic statement:

I believe the fact that someone prefers Beckett to realist writers is not because one wasn't satisfied with realism, but rather that one is so insane that one comprehends the unreal only in its purest form, as irrationalism. In other words, when Wolfgang Kohlhaase says that in this country there is a need for Beckett, he states that in this country are insane people [*Krankheit in Köpfen*, sick in the head]. Let us make no mistake about it: An opinion that I share, and, considering this point as provisional, let Mittenzwei speak.'²³⁴

Mittenzwei replied:

I think that's perhaps the only thing [irrationalism] in the whole absurd development that will happen. [...] The thorough writing of the play, and above all the

²³² Original text: „Ich wollte allgemein formulieren: Das ist ein Stück, das einem Trend enorm entgegenkommt, nämlich der Interpretation von Literatur. Hier kann ungeheuer viel interpretiert werden (W. Kohlhaase) For further reading see Mittenzwei, W. (1978). *Kampf der Richtungen*, Reclam Leipzig.“ (Mittenzwei 1978: 334-37)

²³³ Original text: „Generell habe ich das Gefühl, daß dieses Stück einfach zuzuordnen ist, und zwar in einer, finde ich, doch sehr konsequent betriebenen Weise einer der Versuchungen dieser Zeit, und das ist der Irrationalismus“ (Wolfgang Kohlhaase according to the protocol of the panel discussion on *Godot* that had been held by the East German Academy of Arts on 1 March 1976). (Keck and Mehrle 2008: 10)

²³⁴ Original text: „Der Umstand, glaube ich, dass jemand wie Beckett einen realistischen Schriftsteller vorzieht, liegt nicht daran, dass er im Realismus nicht bedient worden wäre, sondern vielmehr daran, dass er im Kopf so krank ist, dass er Nicht-Rationales nur noch in Reinform, als Irrationalismus, aufzunehmen vermag. Mit anderen Worten, wenn Wolfgang Kohlhaase sagt, es gibt in diesem Land ein Bedürfnis nach Beckett, hat er gesagt, es gibt in diesem Land Krankheit in den Köpfen. Eine Meinung, die ich teile, und möchte, diesen Punkt als vorläufig erledigt betrachtend, Mittenzwei endlich reden lassen“ (Peter Hacks at 10th Conference of *Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik zu Becketts »Warten auf Godot«* on 1.3.1976). (Keck and Mehrle 2008)

consequence with which an idea has been brought to an end, both creatively and socially: this non-existence of social practice equals the absence of action. [...] Here withdrawal has been designed as consistently as, I believe, never before in literature. [...] Thus, there, where the classic drama principally ends, namely when the catastrophe happens, there it [Beckett's play] begins. The prologue is also the epilogue. [...] In my opinion [Beckett's] success [in the West] is explained by the fact that he unintentionally and accidentally arrives at an important factor [...], namely, that something inexplicable or something very simple is put on the stage, and that that gains ambivalence [...] (Mittenzwei according to the protocol of the panel discussion on *Godot* that had been held by the East German Academy of Arts on 1 March 1976).²³⁵ (Keck and Mehrle 2008)

Hacks confirmed:

[...] you've made yourself clear - and since I have to respond instantly and spontaneously to dramaturgical allusions: every drama exists from waiting, waiting for the outcome of the conflict. But this only works as long as a conflict exists [...]

(Hacks according to the protocol of the panel discussion on *Godot* that had been held by the East German Academy of Arts on 1 March 1976).²³⁶ (Keck and Mehrle 2008: 10)

Wiede agreed with Hacks and she decided:

If you think that people - here I agree with you - would indulge in this piece, because this trend towards irrationalism exists for reasons we need to analyse, that can only be because those who wanted rationalism, haven't been strong enough.

²³⁵ Original text: „Ich bin der Meinung, daß das vielleicht das einzige dieser ganzen absurden Welle ist, was mal bleiben wird. [...] Dieser sorgfältige Aufbau des Stückes, vor allem die Konsequenz, mit der hier eine Idee zu Ende geführt worden ist, und zwar in gestalterischer wie in gesellschaftlicher Hinsicht: dieses Nichtvorhandensein von gesellschaftlicher Praxis gleich Nichtvorhandensein von Handlung. [...] Hier ist eine Zurücknahme so konsequent gestaltet worden, wie, glaube ich, eben in der Literatur nie. [...] Also dort, wo das klassische Drama im Grunde genommen aufhört, bei der Katastrophe, da fängt an. Der Prolog ist zugleich der Epilog [...] Meiner Meinung nach erklärt sich der Erfolg aus folgendem, daß er unbeabsichtigt und zufällig auf einen eminenten Wirkungsfaktor des Theaters gerät, daß nämlich etwas Unerklärbares oder etwas ganz Einfaches auf die Bühne gestellt, Aussagemöglichkeiten gewinnt.“ (Werner Mittenzwei at 10th Conference of Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik zu Becketts »Warten auf Godot« on 1.3.1976). (Keck and Mehrle 2008: 10)

²³⁶ Original text: „[...] Sie haben sich klar ausgedrückt – und da ich auf dramaturgische Anspielungen sofort und spontan erwidern muß: Jedes Drama lebt vom Warten, nämlich vom Warten auf den Ausgang des Konflikts. Das funktioniert aber nur, solange ein Konflikt vorhanden ist [...]“ (Peter Hacks at 10th Conference of Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik zu Becketts »Warten auf Godot« on 1.3.1976). (Keck and Mehrle 2008: 10)

During the discussion Mittenzwei remembers Wogatzki saying, rather humbly, that in his naïve understanding not everything in *Godot* was incomprehensible or irrational; in fact, he understood some parts as real according to Beckett's earlier observations (Mittenzwei 1978: 336).²³⁷ Possibly in reference to Beckett's experiences travelling in the Third Reich, Wogatzki referred to his *schreckliche Menschheitserfahrungen* (terrible human experience) that might have inspired Beckett to pen *Godot*. In reply, Hacks declared that Wogatzki's point of view was rather bizarre. He presented Wogatzki's position *ad absurdum*, arguing 'that one may sometimes be mistaken by confusing nonsense with sense and malice with kindness.'²³⁸ The outcome of the debate at the Academy of Arts cemented in principle Hacks's reception of Beckett, and he firmly concluded this part of the discussion:

Okay. We are in agreement that he [Beckett] went beyond the *Zurücknahmestadium* [state of denial], fighting against tradition, not against Homer and Shakespeare, as Joyce and Bond did, he implies that there *is* no cultural tradition [...]. It is the merit of the fact that he [Beckett] has admitted after decades of bourgeois eclecticism: there is no art in imperialism anymore. (Hacks according to the protocol of the panel discussion on *Godot* that had been held by the East German Academy of Arts on 1 March 1976).²³⁹

²³⁷ Original text: Benito Wogatzki (1976) writes that „[n]icht alles darin [Warten auf Godot] ist so sehr unbegreiflich, ich fand – als naiver Leser – auch reales darin, mehr als mir im Moment lieb ist. Vielleicht sind hier schreckliche Menschheitserfahrungen auf einen Verallgemeinerungsgrad gebracht, der ... Also, es gibt meinerseits Beobachtungen, die lange zurückliegen, zurückführen in ein fernes, abgelegenes Dorf, also in die Kindheit. Wahrscheinlich deshalb rührt mich dieser Lucky, dieses arme Schwein, der so weit ausgebeutet wird, dass ihm nichts mehr interessiert – schrecklich, aber ich glaube so etwas selber gesehen zu haben“ (Benito Wogatzki at 10th Conference of Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik zu Becketts »Warten auf Godot« on 1 March 1976). (Mittenzwei 1978: 336)

²³⁸ Original text: „Wogatzki äußert Seltsames. Ein Mann, sagt er, den man vor seinen Augen stranguliert, sinnlos zum Krüppel schlägt und so weiter, habe ihn an die Menschheit erinnert [...] Das ist natürlich eine gutwillige Assoziation eines Menschen, der redlich genug ist, sich beim letzten Unsinn nach etwas Vernünftiges zu denken und bei der letzten Scheußlichkeit nach etwas Gutes. Vertrauen ist der Fehler der Tugendhaften“ (Peter Hacks at 10th Conference of Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik zu Becketts »Warten auf Godot« on 1 March 1976). (Mittenzwei 1978: 336)

²³⁹ Original text: „Okay. Einigkeit besteht, daß sich über das Zurücknahmestadium hinausfühlt, daß er gegen die Tradition, also nicht mehr gegen Homer und nicht mehr gegen Shakespeare, wie es also Joyce und Bond getan haben, ankämpft, sondern daß er voraussetzt: Es gibt keine kulturelle Tradition mehr (...). Die Kunst ist nicht mal mehr zum Widerlegen gut, wie sie für Dada noch war. Er geht davon aus, es lohnt gar nicht, sich mit ihr zu beschäftigen, wenn auch polemisch. (...) Es ist das Verdienst von, daß er nach hundert Jahren bürgerlichem Eklektizismus zugegeben hat: Es gibt im Imperialismus keine Kunst mehr“ (Peter Hacks at 10th Conference of Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik zu Becketts »Warten auf Godot« on 1.3.1976). (Keck and Mehrle 2008: 10)

The citations provide us some idea of the general discourse among GDR's academics, namely that irrationalism, denial of tradition and withdrawal from action would inspire the reader to derive at ambivalent and possibly unwanted interpretations.

From the mid-1970s onwards, however, a dogmatic, one-sided position would no longer suffice, and the path was cleared for an academic, literary approach to Beckett. In the first instance, this was due to the increasingly influential Western broadcasts and the continuous cultural exchange between East and West Germany. Beckett's plays were regularly aired on West German TV and radio, which East Germans could receive in East Berlin and beyond. Another factor that led the GDR's Marxist scholars to eventually abandon their one-sided dogmatic ideological approach to Beckett may have been the fact that the playwright received a great deal of international recognition and celebration. Naturally, a new approach was required accompanied by discussions amongst scholars, critics and local writers. This involuntarily aroused vivid interest from the Party's guardians of Socialist Realism. All the same, a simple ideological rejection of Beckett could no longer serve an academic approach of literary analysis.

Three Marxist studies, all PhD theses, reflect a vivid interest in Beckett among East German intellectuals during the later 1970s; these reveal an academic approach that attempted to locate Beckett's plays within their historical, cultural, and socio-economic contexts.²⁴⁰ The first of these, conducted by Michael Damian in 1977, was a materialist analysis of Beckett's and Pinter's plays. Damian investigated the subject of alienation in the wider socio-cultural context of the Theatre of the Absurd (Breuer and Huber 1994: 104). The second thesis was completed by Joachim Martini in 1979. He developed a long-winded argument through which he claimed that Beckett presents the literary form of alienation. Martini (1979) argued that the problem for Beckett and the majority of his critics was that they were under the influence of false consciousness: this made them see alienation as an ontological, and therefore irreparable, condition, rather than as a specific socio-historical

²⁴⁰ All PhD theses are published:

Michael Damian, *Zur Geschichtlichkeit des Theater des Absurden: Versuch einer materialistischen Analyse von Dramen Becketts u. Pinters unter Berücksichtigung ihrer Entstehungsbedingungen, Rezeption u. Wirkungsgeschichte*, Haag und Herchen, Hanau. (1977)

Joachim Martini, *Das Problem der Entfremdung in den Dramen Samuel Becketts*, Pahl-Rugenstein, Köln. (1979)

Dieter Schulze, 'Fluchtpunkte der Negativität: Spiegelungen der Dramatik Samuel Becketts in der marxistischen Literaturkritik', *Kasseler Arbeiten zur Sprache und Literatur*, Vol. 14, P. Lang, Frankfurt. (1982)

malady (Breuer and Huber 1994: 103). Martini (1979: 380-395) concluded that Beckett's drama functions as an apology for bourgeois society.

Moving into the early 1980s, the third thesis, produced by Dieter Schulze in 1982, analysed Marxist critical attitudes towards Beckett. Where the meaning of the plays is left empty, Schulze made an attempt to fill the blanks. In his subsequent publication *Fluchtpunkte der Negativität* or the *Vanishing of Negativity*, subtitled *Reflections on the Drama of Samuel Beckett in Marxist Literary Criticism*, Schulze (1982) examined the possible reasons why Marxist authors like Brecht and Volker Braun were attracted to Beckett. His intention was to find contradictions between Beckett and socialist ideals. Schulze (1982: 4) explored aspects of performance. According to him, parody violates truth. Parody leverages an unambiguous interpretation and creates (unwanted) options of ambiguity. The merit of Schulze's study is that he triggered the first controversial discussion among Marxist literary critics (East and West) which went far beyond the official Marxist polemic. While each of these studies still came from a socialist point of view, these dissertations were the beginning of a more open debate.

As the debate continued, Konrad Schoell (a former professor at the University of Erfurt, GDR) focussed on one particular aspect of Beckett's plays: structure. In 1982, Schoell (2008: 49-64) examined the theme of progression in the plays and argued that circularity was *the* distinctive feature of both *Godot* and *Endgame*. Several of Beckett's dramatic designs bear witness to this idea of circularity; Beckett makes use of repetitions in order to make manifest the circularity of existence (Seibert 2008). Structurally speaking, circularity is not only contained in single acts; it is also a feature of the progression from act to act (Bair 1990: 421). The re-emergence of motifs, characters, settings, concepts and central ideas is another example of Beckett's fondness for repetition and circularity (McManus 2003: 89). Some of the circularity is, unsurprisingly, thoroughly illogical. In this sense, Didi's unassuming hummed tune in *Godot* (originally a German nursery rhyme) can be considered emblematic of Beckett's overarching approach: it begins again whenever one expects it to end (Beja, Gontarski and Astier 1982: 26). The rhyme is a symptom of a story that cannot be brought to a logical conclusion (McManus 2003: 89).

In *Godot*, Act II, Vladimir clears his throat and sings loudly:

A dog came in the kitchen

And stole a crust of bread.
Then cook up with a ladle
And beat him till he was dead.
Then all the dogs came running
And dug the dog a tomb –
[...]
And wrote upon a tombstone
For the eyes of dogs to come
[the story resumes]

(Beckett 1986: 53; MacManus 2003: 89)

Tellingly, Brecht himself used the same song in *Trommeln*, which he finished in 1953 (Bartl 2008: 82). Since Tophoven's *Godot* translation appeared only in June 1953, after *Trommeln* was completed, it is unclear whether this is a direct case of literary influence or intertextual borrowing. What is certain is that both authors chose to focus on the metaphysical aspects of circularity via the same ditty (Bechert 1997: 210-11). To describe Beckett's literature, Mittenzwei (1978: 303) created the term *Zirkelliteratur* (circle literature) and eventually dismissed his works as *Ghettoliteratur* or 'ghetto literature.' In contrast, the socialist novel was, de facto, expected to demonstrate progress. Socialist novels should work like parables, illustrating how forces of spontaneity and consciousness work themselves out in history.

Among the East German population, the reception of Beckett was undoubtedly informed by Western broadcasts, and during the 1970s and 1980s, the GDR was increasingly confronted with literary criticism on West German television. Given the fact that Beckett's plays themselves were also aired on West German TV, it is not surprising that a gradual rapprochement took place, enacted through parody, parallelism, allusion, and other intertextual strategies (Buning and Oppenheim 1993: 51). Despite the absence of Beckett in the GDR's book trade, knowledge of his works was imported via broadcast media. This unleashed the final phase of Beckett's reception in the GDR.

As an example of Beckett's influence, A. Rolf Breuer and Werner Huber (1993) mention Claus Hammel's *Le Faiseur oder Warten auf Goudeau* from 1970. The play is based on the

plot of Balzac's comedy *Le Faiseur* (Breuer and Huber 1994)—Balzac being a possible source of inspiration for *Godot*. In Hammel's *Le Faiseur oder Warten of Godot, Kömödie nach Balzac*, the character Mercadet (himself something of a financial rogue who is cunning and unscrupulous) tries to save himself from bankruptcy by spreading rumours about a certain Godeau. Huber (1993: 51) recalls how 'Mercadet begins to issue Godeau shares to the general public with immense profit to himself.' According to Huber, both Beckett's *Godot* and 'the ideology of imperialism' now 'became the target of socialist satire.' They argue that 'East German dramatists taking an ambivalent view of the ruling ideology towards Beckett found themselves in confrontation with the ruling party' (51). As he finally put it, it became the speciality of the GDR's Marxists 'to work with insinuations and oblique references to the Beckett canon' (51).

Volker Braun and Samuel Beckett

Frank Bechert's *Volker Braun oder die unerwartete Ankunft Godots in der DDR* (1997: 250-75) embarks upon a comparative study of Volker Braun and Beckett. According to Bechert Braun was interested in the difference between socialism in theory and socialism in reality, and certain of Beckett's drives (his interest in the uncertain direction of change, without final resolution; his concerns about the core of life as told in different constellations of images, motives and themes) could, then, have resonated with the difficulties Braun experienced. Braun was living in a community where the attempt to build a socialist society pulled against the dawning realisation that this ideal was not achievable (Baker 2007: 153). Braun's interest in the difference between real and ideal socialism might be said to possess certain parallels with *Godot*: Beckett's 'changes in mood from stagnation to hope, and back again, as depicted in *Godot*' (153). Braun was haunted by disillusion, something that was brought home by his experiences in the GDR, the disjuncture between political ideals and actual lived experience.

Bechert (1997: 257) flags how *Godot* influenced Braun's *Simplex Deutsch* (1968), the latter being an experimental work made up of a loose combination of diverse scenes. Braun created a new, more condensed observation of social problems. *Simplex Deutsch* includes the following scenes: *Polenblut* (Polish Blood); *Trommeln der Nacht* (Drums during the Night); *Kommentar 1 – Heimatkunde* (Comment 1 – Local History); *Bebel oder Das neue Leben / muss anders werden* (Bebel or the New Life / Needs Changing); *Auftritt Godot*

(Appearance of Godot); *Ulrike Krager; Kommentar 2 – Hans im Glück* (Comment 2 – Hans in Luck); *Die Enkel fechtens besser aus oder der diskrete Charme der Arbeiterklasse* (The Grandsons Are Fighting It Out Much Better or The Discreet Charm of the Working Class); and *Befreiung* (Liberation). Braun called his work a *Spielbaukasten für Theater und Schule* (Kit for Theatre and School) (Braun 1980: 2-3). In particular, the *Auftritt Godot* naturally strongly connected to Beckett's play. The scene departs from the original in that the protagonists stop waiting, while Godot shows up. When Godot arrives W and E have waited for him since the premiere and are finished with waiting (Baker 2007: 153-54).

The parody was presented to a GDR audience in 1987, before *Godot* itself was ever staged in East Germany. In fact, a parody demeaning the original which the audience did not know was less likely to arouse harsh criticism. Braun transformed the characters E and W (who might or might not be Estragon and Vladimir) into activists (Bechert 1997: 250-75). In contrast to Beckett, in Braun's play society is omnipresent: Bechert (250-75) postulates a connection between the *Auftritt Godot* scene and student protests across Europe in 1968, and he also argues that Braun deliberately avoided making reference to the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia. While Beckett does mention some real place names, such as the Eiffel Tower or the Breisgau, these names are connected with the past and have no impact on the present or the future. In contrast, Braun (1989: 128) presents a story connected to the real and present world:

This is the mask, this is the real Godot. Your saviour. I summon Jesus, Che Guevara, Jim Hendrix, Buddha, and so on. As you wish. The symbols of time.²⁴¹

W and E become radical naysayers. The revolt and its failure have removed all illusions, as in the scene *Hans im Glück*. Denial becomes their credo. With reference to the hippy movement of the 1970s, Braun links his play to the details of history. Historical ideas are presented as facts; according to Barrie Baker (2007: 155), Braun (1989: 119) is implying that passivity cannot be ignored.

E We do not take part

W Without us²⁴²

²⁴¹ Original text: „Hier diese Maske, das ist der echte Godot. Ihr Erlöser! Die Rettung. Ich nenne Jesus, Che Guevara, Jim Hendrix, Buddha, na und so weiter. Wie sie wollen. Die Züge der Zeit“ (Braun 1989: 128).

According to Baker (2007: 155), 'Braun achieves a new balance of ambiguity and definition.' In Beckett's *Godot*, Estragon had asked Pozzo for a chicken bone. However, in Braun's version E becomes a vegetarian, W stops ingesting, and Godot resigns his role and declares his new identity to be "B" (Braun 1989). He 'is' on stage, he 'is' real. However, Godot becomes somebody else; he could be anybody. That is until the end of the play, when "B" is revealed to be Beckett.

Heiner Müller is another East German playwright who was also influenced by Beckett. During a debate about postmodernism in New York in 1978, Müller listed the great writers of the 20th century: Rimbaud, Lautréamont, Kafka, Joyce, Majakowski, Artaud, Brecht and Beckett. His catalogue of his personal literary ancestors reads (with the exception of Brecht and Majakowski) like a Who's Who of Modernism. Müller had a preference for Beckett, and his *Nachtstück*—a scene from his play *Germania, Tod in Berlin* (1977)—is a radical reworking of Beckett's *Actes sans paroles* (Huber 1993: 52). Müller was aware of the power of metaphor when he stated that '*Der Autor ist klüger als die Allegorie, die Metapher klüger als der Autor*' (Grieshop 1997: 123), which translates as 'The author is smarter than the allegory, the metaphor smarter than the author.' In Müller's grotesque play, the Marxist perspective on Beckett has disappeared.

Beckett's Specific Reception Among Playwrights in the GDR

By 1975, Beckett's plays were indisputably regarded as classics in West Germany. According to Peter Brook, West German productions of *Endgame* in 1967 (with Ernst Schröder as Hamm and Horst Bollmann as Clov); *Krapp's Last Tape* in 1969 (with Martin Held); *Happy Days* in 1971; *Godot* in 1975 (staged for a second time with Stefan Wigger as Vladimir and Horst Bollmann as Estragon); and *Damals* | *That Time* and *Tritte* | *Footfalls* both in 1976 were finally received as 'classic [modern] plays in the sense of good art' (Völker 1986: 104). This West German interest in Beckett did not go unnoticed among the GDR's theatre community. However, *Godot* was still viewed with great ambivalence in the GDR, and the bodies responsible for theatrical performances rejected categorically the play's absurd elements. Therefore, it may not have been worthwhile to get involved in an unfruitful debate, possibly with dangerous repercussions. As Irmer (2009: 90) puts it:

²⁴² Original text: „E: Wir machen nicht mit, W: Ohne uns“ (Braun 1989:119).

The more damning judgement that would have detrimental and lasting consequences was part of a larger context, in which ideological debates about function of literature and drama would not allow for intermediate, open concepts close to existentialist views of the world. Drama was supposed to be explicitly instructive and akin to a moral agenda for the great work of socialism, as was in many propagandistic new plays of the 1950s that are now long forgotten.

In 1986, Seehase still insisted that Beckett's plays were inappropriate owing to the fact that Beckettian characters lack historical points of reference. Essentially following the principles of literary criticism during the 1970s, Seehase (1986: 512) claimed that Beckett turned his parables of alienation into anthropological conditions:

The content (boredom, stagnation, cynicism, nonsense, escape into banality) does not fill an evening at the theatre and outcompetes the most mesmerising format.²⁴³

Seehase (512) continued by saying that 'every social relation among individuals has been removed by Beckett.' He construes Beckett's protagonists as 'idealistic abstractions.'

According to the scholar, in Beckett 'man was utterly alienated', and the protagonists were 'no longer linked to any socio-economic or historical context.' However,

the complete reification of the absurd characters, the consequence of exploitation, is not, as often claimed, anti-psychological. The non-dramatic roles are rather staged as subjective mental states of psychic nature or mutation, put on stage like by act of God (512-13).²⁴⁴

He equated Beckett with the *total entfremdeten Menschen* (fully-alienated man), a point which made it difficult for him to recommend the plays for performance in the GDR.

Through alienation, Beckett refuses to supply clear statements in his fictional reality, what

²⁴³ Original text: „Der Inhalt (Langeweile, Stagnation, Zynismus, Sinnlosigkeit, Flucht in Banalitäten) trägt keinen Theaterabend und holt die noch so faszinierendste Form ein.“ (Seehase 1986: 512)

²⁴⁴ Original text: „Die vollkommene Verdinglichung der absurden Figuren infolge des Zustandes der Ausbeutung ist aber nicht, wie oft behauptet, antipsychologisch: vielmehr werden die undramatischen Rollen als subjektive Seinszustände psychischer Art oder Abart einem Naturereignis gleich auf die Bühne gesetzt.“ (Seehase 1986: 512-13)

Henner Laass (1978: 4) calls 'the admission of impotence in the face of the unavailability of reality.'²⁴⁵

This unavailability of truth and clarity contradicted both the classical philosophers and the Marxist idea of Socialist Realism. The contradiction was not just a literary problem; it was a distinct product of 20th century Western philosophy and science. Beckett's inability to arrive at truth and reason reflected the larger problems associated with the West in the 20th century—'a whole new realm of vagueness, ambiguity and lack of conceptual clarity' (Russell 2004: 746).²⁴⁶

In stark contrast to notions of ambiguity, vagueness and uncertainty, a materialist world-view is a pillar of Marxist philosophy; it is in essence the belief in true knowledge and reality. Following Lenin's notion of absolute truth connected to true knowledge that will change the world for the better, any other form leads to error and conflict (Lenin 1927: 154).

Turning back to Abusch (1967a), his belief in acceptable conclusions, in works where the points of divergence were neatly tied up in the finale, reflects once more the Marxist faith in the reality of a rational world. Abusch (1967a: 299) took Lenin's view as the bedrock of Marxism-Leninism and, as a consequence, reasoned that 'Beckett's play ceases to be an artistic reflection of objective reality.' For Abusch (299), the 'people who propagate [Beckett's works] actually want to eradicate [...] socialist content from our works.' This leads to false allusions and to error.²⁴⁷

According to Martin Esslin (1965: I) 'Beckett did not intend to tell a story, he did not want the audience to go home satisfied that they knew the solution to the problem posed in the

²⁴⁵ Original text: „Eingeständnis ihrer artistischen Ohnmacht angesichts der Unverfügbarkeit der Realität.“ (Laass 1978: 4)

²⁴⁶ 'Different to the 20th century Western philosophy Marxist-Leninism was a product of the 19th century and Karl Marx, a philosopher himself, characterised truth solely from his activist 19th century point of view. This idea may contribute to a possible explanation of the popularity of British 19th century realist literature among socialists. The protagonists of the 19th century English writer were firmly rooted in society and were true products of their environment. Bertrand Russell argued that "in Marx's view all sensation or perception is an interaction between subject and object; the bare object, apart from the activity of the percipient, is mere raw material, which is transformed in the process of becoming known. Knowledge in the old sense of passive contemplation is an unreal abstraction; the process that really takes place is one of handling things. The question whether objective truth belongs to human thinking is not a question of theory but a practical question.'" (Russell 2004: 746)

²⁴⁷ Original text: „Das Kunstwerk hört auf, die besondere künstlerische Widerspiegelung der objektiven Wirklichkeit zu sein. Die Leute, die eine solche Preisgabe des Primats des Inhalts auch bei uns propagieren, wollen in Wirklichkeit den sozialistischen Inhalt unserer Werke beseitigen.“ (Abusch 1967b: 299)

play', a fact that contradicted the unlimited optimism displayed by many Marxists. Such readers were clearly not responding to Beckett on his own terms. As Esslin (I) puts it: 'Hence there is no point in reproaching him [Beckett] with not doing what he never sought to do; the only reasonable course is to try and find out what it was that he did intend.' Beckett had no answers but he was aware of errors. Consequently, he implemented no knowledge and no truth but exposed the ambivalent nature of the world by making ambivalence the structural principle of his writings.

Approaching Beckett's ambiguities in a related manner, Roman Ingarden (1960: 57-8) asserts that 'ambiguity predisposes a metaphysical category whose quality evokes *Ursprungsempfindungen*' (cradle emotions). According to him, it is left to the audience to fill voids of ambivalence with meaning, a fact that distinguishes Beckett's work from other writings (58). The drive in the plays remains constant, the destination unknown (58). Uncertainty becomes a distinct literary tool to prompt the reader to use his or her own imagination without being guided through the story by an all-pervading author (58).

Also concerned with the uniqueness of Beckett, Marek Kedzierski (1988: 251) argues that the novelty of the playwright did not lie in his repertoire of motives and images, but in his reduction and concentration of these images—achieving the 'degree zero of the literature of notations.' He suggests that the Beckettian resolution becomes that of dissolution. The final, fundamental experience is that of a sudden realisation of time 'unregained', of a gap, a void, the aforementioned *Leerstelle* (252). The awareness of the audience that there is nothing left is enriched only by the sensation that it is impossible to relive what once was; between the two moments everything is lost, disintegrated into particles of nothing. The revealed portions of nothingness are perceived as memories. In this way, Beckett's process intertwines elements of memory and imagination. Between two moments an insurmountable emptiness widens. With all the painful elements of individual memory, the emptiness of life—and the awareness of the many possibilities left untaken—leaves the spectator with an ambiguous feeling about and unique interpretation of his own past, present and future.

The development and the political reception of GDR drama can only be adequately understood when the influence of Russian and Soviet history and theatre is acknowledged. The Bolsheviks inherited a renaissance in the Russian theatre that began near the end of the

19th century. Michael Glenny (1977: 271-83) points out that, as a mass medium, the Soviet theatre was comprehensible to the not inconsiderable section of the population who were illiterate. Admittedly this was different in the GDR, however, as was the case with Soviet plays, a 'well-made play' (Esslin 1965 I) in East Germany was expected to present convincingly motivated characters. It appears, or so the Marxist line of thinking goes, that the more ambiguous and complex the play, the more complicated and absorbing will be the method of 'exposing' it. Abusch (1967b: 307) argued that performances must have mass appeal, because the purpose of a play was to contribute to the success of the socialist Cultural Revolution: 'Any deviation from the prescribed socio-cultural focus will cause *schädliche Auswirkungen* (harmful effects) *auf die kulturelle Arbeit unter der Jugend* (on the cultural work among the youth) (307). As Esslin (1965: I) put it in the introduction to his 1965 work *Absurd Drama*:

A well-made play is expected to entertain by the ding-dong of witty and logically built-up dialogue: in some of these plays dialogue seems to have degenerated into meaningless babble.

Eventually he reasoned that 'a well-made play is expected to have a beginning, a middle, and a neatly tied-up ending: these plays often start at an arbitrary point and seem to end just as arbitrarily' and concludes that 'these [Beckett's] plays are not only abominably bad, they do not even deserve the name drama.' Instead of the 'term like the Theatre of the Absurd', Beckett's plays should be seen 'as a kind of intellectual shorthand for a complex pattern of similarities in approach, method, and convention, of shared philosophical and artistic premises, whether conscious or subconscious, and of influences from a common store of tradition' (1965 I). He maintains in his *Absurd Drama*:

That is why a play like *Waiting for Godot* can generate considerable suspense and dramatic tension in spite of being a play in which literally nothing happens, a play designed to show that nothing can ever happen in human life. It is only when the last lines have been spoken and the curtain has fallen that we are in a position to grasp the total pattern of the complex poetic image we have been confronted with. (1965 I)

As the curtain drops, the multifaceted poetic image may have provoked critical or unwanted political reactions from the audience, interpretations that could have had a particular resonance within the repressive and dictatorial GDR: the protagonists cannot depart, cannot

leave, they are [literally] walled-in, nothing happens and nothing ever will happen. The time between two moments has ended. For a metaphysical writer the drive remained constant, the destination unknown, the Beckettian solution is collapsing, the waiting never stops. The moment of narration and the moment narrated, evoked, or alluded to in a narrative, once brought together, has filled the time between two moments. Having long abandoned his aspirations for the big world, the Beckettian hero gives himself both to contemplation and to descriptions of his visions (1965 I).

A measured or 'down to earth' literary evaluation of Beckett started to happen during the 1980s, characterised by two extremes. On the one hand, Beckett's plays presented a tendency towards a 'documentary' kind of art, prompting the reader to draw their own (possibly problematic and unwanted) conclusions about the deeper meaning. On the other hand, and despite the efforts of a revised literary approach, literary scholars in the GDR still came up against a deep-rooted Marxist polemic where Beckett was concerned. As Wolfgang Iser (1975: 337) stresses, this Marxist polemic originated from the requirement for an 'unmistakable socialist reception', entailing an explicit type of socialist reading. Iser (337-38) calls this type of reading a *systemkonformes Lesen* or 'politically correct reading'; it is a reading that relies on a socialist education.

According to Iser (338), if the desired *Systemkonformität* (system of political conformity) is identical to the requirements of censorship then the reception of the literary work is the result of a political decision reflecting conformity. Although a political decision cannot explicitly dictate the direction of literary reception, such political verdicts *can* influence the process of interpretation. The educational dimension of readership becomes obvious when we consider the role played by emotions, feelings and the personal experience of the individual. Socialist literature needed to possess unambiguous content that would lead to an unambiguous and true (socialist) interpretation. Baker (2006: 108) advises that statements by Party officials 'that appeared to support a flourishing of the performing arts were not necessarily followed by consistent detailed advice on how this desirable aim could be attained, save a reiteration of the need for correct ideological orientation.' He argues (108) that in 1972 Kurt Hager laid down important guidelines for cultural policy that were still deemed valid in the 1980s:

In our cultural policy, therefore, we are concerned with satisfying different cultural and artistic needs. Hence in theatre [...] we require the classic productions of *Hamlet* and *Faust*, the works of the great socialist dramatists from Gorki to Brecht, the contemporary socialist play. This is the foundation to all the arts (Hager 1982: 15; translated by Baker 2007: 108).²⁴⁸

Hager's guidelines left a vacuum; there were no definitive criteria for *Gutachter* to follow. He left theatre directors and publishers open to risk, and the same was true for the censors and officials involved in the decision-making process. Plays and books that had received official approval might turn out to be 'offensive' when viewed a few months later under a different party-political light.

Given the fact that the goalposts were so unclear, it could be argued that this 'vacuum' allowed for decisions in favour of questionable works, owing to the sheer lack of clarity in the censorship process. At the same time, the lack of clear guidelines left open the possibility of ambivalent or unpredictable interpretations, especially at times of shifting political and cultural focus. The Beckettian theatre in particular invited readers to draw their own conclusions based on personal experience. In this respect, it was virtually impossible for *Gutacher* or literary critic to completely depoliticise Beckett's works. Bechert (1997: 55) believes that the reader introduces a distinct personal meaning to Beckett, especially at moments when the text is deprived of potential significance; possible political references are, therefore, conceivably a product of the viewer's imagination. In *Godot* for instance, we are deprived of signification owing to the lack of definite entities, distinct places or a particular time. According to Bechert (55-56), this gives rise to the legitimisation of *des Habituellen* (the habitual): the individual emotion inducing personal interpretation. This emotion is brought to the fore at the end of *Godot*, when the title character finally fails to turn up (55-56).

Using my own brand of *systemkonformen Lesens*, the ambiguous revelation of meaning could have followed the pattern suggested below. Such a process was generally called *lesen zwischen den Zeilen* or 'reading between the lines.' In an exaggerated way (by me), irrespective of the author (Beckett's) true intentions or any attempt to depoliticise *Godot*, a

²⁴⁸ See original document: Kurt Hager, *Beiträge zur Kulturpolitik, Reden und Ausätze 1972 bis 1981*. (1982)

politicised interpretation of the play might run as follows (Beckett's text appears in plain roman type, whereas my interpolations appear parenthetically and are emboldened):

Vladimir: He'd [Godot] punish us **(The Politburo)**. Everything is dead **(the socialist economy)** but the tree **(the SED)**.

[...]

Estragon: Why don't we hang ourselves? **(surrender)**

Vladimir: With what? **(the Mangelwirtschaft or 'economy of scarcity')**

Estragon: You haven't got a bit of rope? **(goods)**

Vladimir: No. **(No private property, scarcity)**

Estragon: We can't. *Silence.* **(helplessness)**

Vladimir: Let's go. **(Republikflucht)**

Estragon: Wait there's my belt. **(opposition)**

Vladimir: It's too short. **(not enough supporters)**

Estragon: You could hang on to my legs.

Vladimir: And who'd hang to mine? **(no supporters)**

Estragon: True.

Vladimir: Show me all the same [...] **(no hope)**

Estragon: We'll soon see. Here.

Vladimir: Not worth a curse. **(the GDR)**

Silence.

[...]

Estragon: Yes, let's go. **(Republikflucht)**

They do not move. **(The Wall)**

(Beckett 2006: 87-8)

The piece ends as it begins. They are waiting in a walled-in country, the moment lost forever. Estragon and Vladimir do not part. They cannot. They are not allowed.

Beckett's drama does then present many difficulties for an unequivocal Marxist-Leninist reading or *systemkonformes Lesen*: there is an absence of character motivation; the values that have sustained, say, a capitalist culture may be present, but the play refuses either to lament their demise or to endorse their recovery. According to the GDR's Marxists, this contrasts starkly with realism where the plot is set in a definite locale and the narrative depicts the activities of distinct individuals. These individuals belong to a given moment in time, and they voice the social, cultural or political opinions of a particular kind of economy—all of which helped with the creation of a guaranteed and unambiguous *systemkonformes Lesen*.²⁴⁹

By achieving a level of audience participation that obliterated the line between theatre and life, *Godot* created performance spaces in places where no one suspected theatre could take place, repealing the law of audience passivity. Marxist scholars in the GDR witnessed this shift after the first performances of *Godot* in West Berlin in 1953; the Party saw that the mainstream socialist theatre was now subtext. For Beckett delivered something as yet unknown. As Khaled Besbes (2007: 305) suggests, it was 'a celebration of the negative [...] the nonsensical.'

In the GDR, theatre explored the social and personal issues that arose from the declared existence of a socialist state. It did not really explore the political impetus that underpinned the formation of such a state in the first place (Baker 2007: 108-9). During the late 1980s, however, theatre productions in the GDR veered away from drama produced by the state's own 'homegrown' playwrights and took on new directions.

²⁴⁹ For *systemkonformes Lesen* see Wolfgang Iser, 'Der Lesevorgang, Eine phänomenologische Perspektive', in R Warning (ed.), *Rezeptionsästhetik. Theorie und Praxis*, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München. (1975a: 253-276)

The Route to Publication (1980 to 1989)

During the 10th SED Party Congress of 11–16 April 1981, Honecker firmly reiterated the party-political stance with regard to Western literature and art:

The strength of the socialist position, the depth of the ideological and political confidence is vital for any existence of artist responsibility. [...] Decisively we will reject every attempt of spreading hostile ideologies under the disguise of art which is directed against the real existing socialism and against the policy of our party (Honecker 1981: 107).²⁵⁰

Despite Honecker's statement, ironically, after many decades of intense debate, Volk und Welt finally published Joyce's *Ulysses* in 1980. As previously noted, they had approval to print 8,000 copies, but according to Siegfried Lokatis (2008a), the actual number was more like 48,000 copies. We can assume that the Office sanctioned the extra prints because the Party owned the GDR's book trade and collected its revenues. In many cases (for example with contemporary English writers like P.D. James, Roald Dahl or Flann O'Brien), the official number of copies allowed did not correspond with the paper allowance given. The reason for these discrepancies may lie in licence agreements between East and West German and British publishers. Lokatis (2008a: 21) claims that East German publishers secretly printed surplus copies to maximise revenues for the Party.

Encouraged by the successful publication of Joyce, publishers now became optimistic about the possibility of publishing Beckett's plays. By the end of 1981, Johanan Trilse-Finkelstein and Hans Petersen, respectively editor and publisher at Volk und Welt, had started to prepare Beckett's plays for publication under the title of *Spiele* in 1982 (Trilse-Finkelstein 2008: 104). Trilse-Finkelstein (104) remembers events as follows:

In 1980 I finished the volume [*Spiele*] and submitted it together with an accompanying essay—and everything seemed settled: 1981. From now on, for

²⁵⁰ Original text: „Die Freiheit der sozialistischen Position, die Tiefe der weltanschaulichen und politischen Überzeugung sind für die Wahrnehmung der künstlerischen Verantwortung unentbehrlich. [...] Entschieden weisen wir alle Bestrebungen zurück, im Gewande der Kunst feindliche Ideologien zu verbreiten, die sich gegen den realen Sozialismus und die Politik unserer Partei richten.“ (Honecker 1981: 107)

publication it took until 1989 as there was no print approval given. There was anger and sadness among the ones involved.²⁵¹

Still debates about Beckett among Marxist theorists remained unproductive. Some ideologists followed Lukács's view about the fading subject in history and its questionable representation in capitalism. Many still followed Werner Mittenzwei's arguments (1964: 740) from the 1960's: 'Beckett's tragic pose of the eternally alienated man accuses those of deceit, even of deliberate lying who have radically destroyed the chains of alienation.'²⁵²

Together with his fellow editors and publishers at Volk und Welt, Trilse-Finkelstein (2008: 101-8) had, however, initiated a plea on Beckett's behalf. In fact, he saw Deputy Minister Klaus Höpcke in person to discuss the matter, as the publication date was set for 1982. Höpcke was, undeniably, a friend of literature, but he felt bound by party-political realities. Hence there was no *volte-face* in this matter. After the conversation with Höpcke, hopes of a speedy publication were shattered. A new strategy was now laid down and a new publication date planned.

As publication only seemed possible with the help of powerful allies, Volk und Welt rescheduled the volume for 1984. In early 1984, Trilse-Finkelstein (105) talked to David Hirsch, president and artistic director of the *Deutsches Theater Berlin*, about his plans. Hirsch, who was generally known by his stage name Wolfgang Heinz, was a famous actor in the GDR and well connected with the political elite. Things did not, however, go as planned, and during the interview, Hirsch made it clear that he considered Beckett a 'bad author, harmful for socialism which one must firmly reject.' Hirsch's harsh rejection of Beckett was unexpected, and Volk und Welt once again saw their plans thwarted (105).

Subsequently, Trilse-Finkelstein (105-6) again failed to persuade representatives of the Central Committee's *Abteilung Kultur* to support the publication of Beckett's *Spiele*. He remembers how 'the otherwise friendly theatre playwright, who was responsible for the release, shrugged and replied: If Comrade Heinz does say so it will have its effect with high-

²⁵¹ Original text: „1980 hatte ich den Band nebst begleitendem Essay vorgelegt – und alles schien geregelt: 1981. Von nun an dauerte es bis zur Publikation noch bis 1989, denn es gab keine Druckgenehmigung. Ärger und Trauer unter den Beteiligten war groß.“ (Trilse-Finkelstein 2008: 104)

²⁵²Original text: „Die tragische Beckett-Pose vom ewig entfremdeten Menschen sollte angesichts jener Menschen, die die Fessel der Entfremdung revolutionär zerbrochen haben, der Unwahrheit, ja der vorsätzlichen Lüge überführt werden.“ (Mittenzwei 1964: 740)

ranking leaders' (105).²⁵³ This is how it came to pass, and, if there were any hopes left, they were shattered once more.

Shortly after this incident, on 30 October 1984, Hirsch died (105). His successor Hans-Peter Minetti did not have the same standing with the Central Committee. Therefore, in order to push forward, Trilse-Finkelstein submitted his essay *Der Clown S. B. —oder Spiele einer großen Absage* | *The Clown S.B. —or Plays of Major Rejection* to *Sinn und Form*. The article was originally planned as an afterword to the 1980 edition of *Spiele* | *Plays*, and it dealt with Beckett and his reception.²⁵⁴

The editors of *Sinn und Form* (1986 4: 851-875) reworked the essay and eventually published a revised version in 1986 (Trilse-Finkelstein 1986: 814). Trilse-Finkelstein (1988: 290-311) blamed the slow recognition of Beckett's real greatness on what he saw as the wrong approach on the part of the socialist audience. He reasoned that Beckett's works needed to be understood in relation to the epic theatre, rather than in relation to traditional notions of catharsis. As he put it, another obstacle had been the label 'decadent', which had been used in a rather heavy-handed manner in the wake of Lukács's early pronouncements (290-311; Breuer and Huber 1994: 114; Huber 1993: 53).

At the 11th Party Congress on 12 April 1986, the language towards Western Literature lost some of its former one-sidedness. However, despite the new approach by Marxist scholars, the criteria for socialist literature still essentially followed Honecker's earlier vocabulary. Change was, however, once again on the way. The Party now faced a new development emanating from the Soviet Union: *Glasnost*.

Due to a restructuring of East German society, *Glasnost* initiated a turning point in Beckett's reception in the GDR. This lent a new impetus to Beckett's works, making possible a positive artistic response towards his plays. The changing attitude was encouraged by East German critics. Beckett's works were increasingly seen to convey a sincere humanism, a quality which had been lost in highly philosophical West German interpretations. If *Godot* was performed as a carnival event then it might be accepted as a *Clownspiel* or clown

²⁵³ Original text: „Wenn das Genosse Heinz so ausspricht, hat das Wirkung bei der obersten Führung.“ (Trilse-Finkelstein, J. 2008: 105)

²⁵⁴ The Afterword by Trilse-Finkelstein (1988; 290-311) was published as an article in *Sinn und Form* and followed his 1980 essay *Samuel Beckett—oder Speile einer großen Verweigerung* | *Samuel Beckett—or Plays of Great Denial*. The latter was published in *Spiele* | *Plays* in 1989.

performance, and this acknowledgement of the comic potential of Beckett's writings served to depoliticise the ambiguous content. In fact, Heiner Müller himself had used the term *Clownspiele* in 1975 to defend Beckett against charges of Western mystification (Breuer and Huber 1994: 114). However, the idea of a Clown performance to legitimise Beckett was not without criticism as Hacks (Keck and Mehrle 2008: 10) maintained on 1 March 1976:

The philosophy of a Clown performance is always dangerous. [...] The buffoon is the antithesis to the Stoic tragedy, it is the denial of the great ideal claim – I utterly do not care whether Louis the Fourteenth or Stalin – so someone says something very noble, and the whole world should be noble, and now comes the Clown and says: We all know that nothing is noble, and now we make fun of it, and therefore let's achieve a pretty, cute, small cathartic effect [...] (Peter Hacks at 10th Conference of *Arbeitsgruppe Dramatik zu Becketts »Warten auf Godot«* on 1.3.1976).²⁵⁵

Hacks would not change his view on Beckett during the following decade, the 1980s. It was Ekkehard Schall, Brecht's son-in-law, who was the first to introduce a lasting *volte-face* in Beckett's reception. Schall was an East German actor of high repute: internationally renowned for acting in Brecht's plays, he was an associate of the *Berliner Ensemble*. In 1986 Schall performed *Das letzte Band | Krapp's Last Tape* in the GDR. The play was directed by Brecht's daughter and Schall's wife, Barbara Brecht-Schall. The performance incorporated a musical version of Brecht's 1950 poem *Die Erziehung der Hirse | The Education of the Millet*, which glorified Soviet agriculture. Schall took care to drop references to Stalin into the poem. He set Brecht against Beckett by making Krapp look like a hippy instead of a clown.

According to Irmer (2009: 92), the theatre production was highly ambiguous. The performance space was also significant as Schall used the prestigious *Theater im Palast* located in the *Palast der Republik*. During an interview conducted in 1987 by Jonathan Kalb (1991: 212), an East German journalist, Schall elaborated on his reading of Beckett:

²⁵⁵ Original text: „Die Clownsphilosophie ist immer eine kritische Philosophie, also seit dem Hanswurst. Der Hanswurst ist die Antithese zur stoischen Tragödie, ist die Bestreitung des großen idealen Anspruchs – es ist mir völlig wurscht, ob Ludwig des Vierzehnten oder Stalins – also irgend jemand sagt was ganz Edles, und die ganze Welt soll edel sein, und jetzt kommt der Clown und sagt: Wir wissen alle, nichts ist edel, und jetzt machen wir Späße darüber und erzielen so eine hübsche, niedliche, kleine kathartische Wirkung. Wir holen diesen großen Anspruch also wieder auf den Teppich“ (Peter Hacks according to the protocol of the panel discussion on *Godot* that had been held by the East German Academy of Arts on 1 March 1976). (Keck and Mehrle 2008: 10)

Jonathan Kalb: Was Krapp your first Beckett role?

Ekkehard Schall: Yes my first. Until then I'd only read Beckett, his plays, his prose, and was always very impressed. Although I'd know less where to begin performing some plays than others, in general I think he's quite a marvellous dramatist, a writer-of-the-century.

Schall goes on to refer to the development of the play:

For example, here in *Krapp's Last Tape*, as in other plays, he [Beckett] depicts a condition but no development, a condition that's become stagnant. In spite of that, I find that movement still exists in his plays [...] (212).

Schall's casual approach seems to suggest that a concession was made. According to Huber (1993: 52-3), the Party organ *Junge Welt* summarised the Beckett-Brecht encounter with asperity: 'Why play Beckett, if you want to show that Brecht is closer to us?'

The most important result of Schall's performance was the fact that permission to stage Beckett had now been granted. This paved the way for the publication of the plays in the late 1980s. The new approach can be discerned in an article published in the East German magazine *Die Weltbühne*. There, actor and director at the *Akademie der Künste* Alfred Dreifuß described Beckett's plays in general and *Godot* in particular as a 'highly topical political parable' (53).

Despite Schall's success, Volk und Welt's intended edition of Beckett's *Spiele* did not progress well. Stefan Hermlin now supported the idea of Beckett being published, but Hacks was still firmly against it. Beckett's opponents now faced a growing community of Beckett supporters, and in 1987 a number of circumstances came together to create a special opportunity for a high-quality production of *Godot*.

According to Baker (2007), since 1983 (when the East German *Staatsschauspiel* managed to separate from the Opera and Music Departments and move into the redecorated *Semper Oper*) Gerhard Wolfram, the first chief of the now independent ensemble, had been working to put on modern plays (Bechert 1997: 312-312). Wolfram was a faithful party member and managed to get his highly ambitious plans accepted by party representatives. As Bechert (1997) tells us, Wolfram assembled a talented team, including the director Wolfgang Engel.

To a certain extent, Beckett's existentialist plays suited Engel's directorial style. Wolfram visited Hager in Berlin to discuss the matter and asked him to support a performance of *Godot* in Dresden. As said by Baker (2007: 156), Wolfram's request was deemed too important to be decided by Hager alone, and the matter was referred to the Central Committee. Trade union leader Harry Hirsch raised serious objections about the 'highly decadent' play, but in the end permission was granted (156-57).

Bechert (1997: 316-17) notes that the conditions of the approval restricted the artistic scope of the production, and he still feared that permission might be withdrawn. On 7 March 1987, *Godot* was at long last performed by the *Dresdner Schauspielensemble* at the *Staatsschauspiel* or 'State Theatre.' Engel's directorial ambitions had a significant impact (Baker 2007: 157) and 'clownish' elements were seen in abundance: the play's opening showed Vladimir and Estragon clambering up through a trapdoor and getting entangled in the stage curtains (Huber 1993: 54).

Where previous West German productions had emphasized the bleakness of the piece, using the idea of a circus, Engel incorporated a series of unrelated acts involving clowns. Young actors interpreted the ordeal of waiting as an active search for self-identity (Baker 2007: 158). Engel introduced GDR place names such as Breisgau-Scheißgau (amphibology: second place name refers to crap) from the Tophoven translation, and the wish to travel was limited, of course, to the Speewald (East of Berlin). Similarly, the inability to find an exit carried no psychological message, as the play was staged in a circus ring. Via an 'appropriate' introduction that was acceptable to Party officials, the play lost its anti-socialist character. One may argue that these interpretations were self-censoring to a mild degree, a legitimate way to present Beckett's works. Due to the novelty of the piece, Baker (2008: 159) informs us that:

The audience consisted mainly of men and women under thirty, the reception was rapturous, and came, no doubt, from delight at the arrival of the play in the GDR and more particularly in Dresden, as well for its own sake. A post-performance discussion with the public also took place. *Godot* was welcomed by the theatre critics who, with one or two exceptions, were generous in their praise, and conscious of the importance of the event in terms of a normalisation of theatrical experience in the GDR.

The post-performance discussions were positive, and it seemed to the editors at Volk und Welt that *Spiele* should finally appear.

Yet again, however, Trilse-Finkelstein encountered unexpected difficulties on the road to publication, this time with Suhrkamp, Beckett's West German publishers. Suhrkamp's managing director Siegfried Unseld had disagreed with Trilse-Finkelstein's earlier essay in *Sinn und Form* because of its anti-religious point of view. Because Volk und Welt insisted on including Trilse-Finkelstein's essay as an afterword, Unseld rejected Volk und Welt's request for a printing licence.

Drawing on Ireland's Christian tradition, Trilse-Finkelstein argued that Jesus is just like Godot, since he doesn't appear in person (Trilse-Finkelstein 1980: 298).²⁵⁶ To him, Beckett's protagonists work as parodies of angels, and the work represents a liberation from the bonds of Christianity. The theme of waiting in the play is linked to 'the pressure from religious and ecclesiastical education which must have been as terrible as the experiences of the religious war in Ireland, which is lasting until today' (298-99).²⁵⁷ With recourse to Beckett's biography, Trilse-Finkelstein (299) concluded by asserting that 'Beckett is atheist.' Today we can appreciate Trilse-Finkelstein's religious-critical approach as an intelligent and canny means of depoliticising the play and rendering it as legitimate in the GDR. However, at the time this line of argument was responsible for the final set of obstacles to publication.

Since Suhrkamp had rejected Volk und Welt's request, editors Petersen and Trilse-Finkelstein had no choice but to contact Beckett's agent in London, who would communicate with the playwright directly. To underline his aspirations, Trilse-Finkelstein sent his *Sinn und Form* essay to Beckett in Paris. Beckett was impressed and invited the GDR editors to see him at the Parisian *Café Cluny*, where finally an agreement was reached. Following Beckett's intervention at Suhrkamp, *Spiele* was now eventually ready for publication in the GDR.

²⁵⁶ Original text: „*Alle die da fallen* ist ein Zitat aus dem 145. Psalm. Jesus reitet auf einem Maulesel, von Himmel und Hölle ist ständig die Rede, Gebete werden gebrüllt, nach Kain und Abel gerufen, wie nach Christus, der sowenig kommt wie Godot. Die eingegrabenen oder in der Tonne lebenden Menschen erscheinen wie Parodien auf Engel, in der allgemeinen Mythologie wie im Barocktheater und Faust's Goethe.“ (Trilse-Finkelstein 1980: 298)

²⁵⁷ Original text: „Fast sein gesamtes Werk mutet an wie eine Befreiung aus den Fesseln des Christentums- die Pressionen religiös-kirchlicher Erziehung müssen so schrecklich gewesen sein wie die Erlebnisse der Glaubenskämpfe in Irland, die als politische Kämpfe mit religiöser Inbrunst bis heute andauern.“ (Trilse-Finkelstein 1980: 298-99)

There was one last hurdle to overcome. The proofs were ready by 17 May 1988 and print permission had been issued. Due to costs, however, publication was further delayed until 1989. While the book's publication date reads 1988, it was in fact printed only months before the fall of the Berlin Wall in an edition of 10,000 copies (Trilse-Finkelstein 2008: 106). The ordeal was over, and Beckett's *Spiele* stands as a late relic of unrelenting East German censorship, something that continued until the very end of the GDR's existence. As life shifted dramatically in Eastern Europe, it is claimed that a 'smile flickered across [Beckett's] lips' when he learned about Havel becoming the new president of Czechoslovakia (Knowlson 2001: 266). Beckett's popularity in the GDR was further fuelled by his death in 1989. Finally, the waiting was over. Beckett's work, life and death were to be linked to a complicated territory, where West Germany meets East Germany.

Conclusion

The research undertaken leads to the conclusion that British and Irish literature in the GDR was inseparable from ideology and party-political considerations. The latter made the process of evaluation, assessment and censorship incalculable. A literary work was not valuable in itself regardless of what literary critics, readers or scholars might have concluded. The term *value* was therefore a transitive term and stood for the significance of a literary work in relation to Marxist ideological criteria. It was understood in the context of a given political, social, educational or cultural purpose. Therefore, neither the ideological aspect nor the political dimension stood for itself. Only the combination of both made a literary work valuable.

Ideological principles were connected to modes of valuing, perceiving and believing. These political beliefs were linked to social, cultural and economic principles, which had some kind of relation to the maintenance of social power. These beliefs were by no means the result of private coincidences, and the works published served as manifestations of a GDR-specific Marxist ideology, which was subject to change (due to current politics) during the period of the Party's existence. Literary works of British and Irish origin were published because they were useful to the political system at a given time in one way or another.

Due to the ideological and political aspects of the intricate system of censorship, the British and Irish works published do not deliver a representative cross-section of English literature [see appendix] but instead represent a cultural and social mirror of the GDR's political and ideological system, focussed on British criticisms of 'the corrosive effects of mass culture'.²⁵⁸ The published works were meant for a specific GDR readership, for those who were supposed to share in the culture of resistance when it came to Western values, offering a palpable sense of class division: Us and Them.

In particular 20th century British and Irish works, which were published between 1975 and 1989, reveal the integral relationship between the re-appropriation of a proletarian-

²⁵⁸ The term 'corrosive effects of mass culture' has been introduced by Adelheit von Saldern in 'The Hidden History of Mass Culture', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, No. 37 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. (1990: 32-40)

revolutionary heritage and the struggle for a proletarian literary public sphere in the GDR. These works and their writers exemplify the articulation of working-class independence by presenting it. The works were not, as is often claimed, a reflection of the individual tastes of publishers, literary critics, scholars or editors. Instead these works referred to the assumptions by which certain social groups exercised and maintained power.

The largely concealed structure of values within literature was part of what the GDR's Marxists defined as the socio-cultural aspects of Party ideology. This particular ideology implied how one should conduct oneself, what could be said and believed, within the power structure and the society. Three main approaches to ideology can be discerned, although they intertwined and overlapped: the sociological dimension within the current system of political belief and tradition (Marxism-Leninism), the psychological perspective which controls the subconscious stream of beliefs, and the focus on language, discourse and semiotic systems as centres of ideological or philosophical expression. Using these three ideological approaches (while disregarding genre, style and historical context) the British and Irish works published were elucidated using GDR-specific Marxist-Leninist *Gutachten* (assessments) and interpretations, which informed the general literary reception.

The Sociological Dimension

As outlined at the outset of this study, in sociological terms the issuing of English works had a specific purpose in the GDR: this was for the Party to secure their self-determined power structure within the socialist framework, and to stay in power. This reduced readers to incapacitated marionettes, told what to read and how to read it. Socialist reading entailed an educational process regarding the way textual content was interpreted and understood. Readers had no freedom to choose literature according to their aspirations and individual tastes, since the works available followed ideological (Socialist Realist) and political principles (socio-cultural and pedagogical values); with Socialist Realism the readership was exposed to the 'positive hero' in fiction, regardless of the literary merit of the work. The distinctive interpretation of a given work and the placing of titles and authors into categories was subject to control by ideologists. Their literary assessments were often added as a foreword or an afterword, serving as ideological and political compasses for the reader. Print permissions also depended strongly on the changing and changeable nature party politics, economics and the overall attitude towards 'cosmopolitanism': with time, the GDR's interest in being perceived as cosmopolitan allowed for a different approach to English works and

endorsed a shift from solely publishing classics and social novels (including British literature previously published in the USSR) to the inclusion of contemporary and modernist 20th century works, in particular during the late 1970s and 1980s.

Because the arbitrary practice of censorship involved some (precarious) degree of leeway within the *Durchführung der Gutachtenerstellung* (Process of Assessment), every appraisal required an advanced, highly intellectual and centralised selection and decision-making procedure. An appraisal did not simply serve to assert that a given work satisfied the criteria of current Party politics; it also functioned as an ideological and cultural assertion, addressing how the reader could correctly interpret and classify the work. Whether the work was lowbrow or highbrow was therefore irrelevant. This aspect remained of little concern when it came to censorship, because such categories were not a part of socialist literary principles. When a renowned Anglophone work was published it was rather a question of prestige, where the Party wished to appear cosmopolitan and plural in its outlook.

The Psychological Dimension

English literature was to link the ideological potential of novels with their power to transport the reader to another world, while communicating socialist values. In this continuous dialectical interaction between consciousness and ideology, politics and culture, specific literary considerations developed hand-in-hand with political reflections. During the 40 years of the GDR's existence, there were, therefore, many ideological changes and shifts in reception. To take full advantage of a given work, an ideological / political introduction or afterword was added to the final edition, which followed the official assessment of the *Gutacher*. Literary assessors were to appraise English literature not just on the basis of textual content but also in relation to the author's intentions and ambitions, which, by and large, needed to follow the ideological and political understanding of the time. British or Irish works were not to make reference to the GDR. Such works told stories that were alienated from lived experience in the GDR, and their function was to help readers comprehend the fragmentation and isolation of the modern Western world. The ideological effect of English literature exist in its literary mechanisms such as projection, identification and denial, which enabled readers in the GDR to find illusory solutions to social, political and personal pressures.

As ideological instruments, British works were viewed with less suspicion than was the case with works that originated in the GDR. This was because the GDR's readers had no reason for reading 'between the lines' for hidden messages, as happened with their own literature. English literature stemmed from a different society, where writers aimed to address a different readership. Despite the fact that East German readers were obviously not the intended audience, they of course still had feelings and ideas when reading foreign literature. For example, they might come up with their own (undesired) interpretations. Consequently, it was necessary to deliver intellectual guidance in the form of a commentary or annotations for expounding and classifying an ambivalent text. Valentin Vološinov underlines my notion when he states that 'the logic of consciousness is the logic of ideological communication, of the semiotic interaction of a social group. If we deprive consciousness of its semiotic, ideological content, it would have absolutely nothing left' (Vološinov 1973: 13). Hence the thought control exercised by the *Gutachten*.

Based on the research undertaken, I argue that the 'different target readership' (the Anglophone readership) of British literature was the reason why some modernist works could be published, while native modernist or social critical works were banned or avoided. An analysis of the publication lists of the 1980s suggests that works by Joyce, T.S. Eliot and others (which were published) must have been held less ideological and political relevance; rather, to the GDR's readership, their value was psychological. These particular works (by Joyce, Woolf, Eliot and finally Beckett) were considered to be the cornerstones of modernist literature, conferring prestige upon the Party, who wished to appear cosmopolitan. This approach seems to have reduced British literature to a teleological textual construct chosen by editors, publishers, scholars, politicians and literary critics for specific political and commercial reasons.

This assumption is based on a comprehensive study of 570 British and Irish literary works published in the GDR between 1945 and 1990 and the literary criticism produced about the same. My analysis reveals that all of the British and Irish works published in the GDR satisfied psychological, political, ideological, social, historical, humanist and cultural criteria, i.e. the novels published met the lowest common denominator of Marxism since they (whether classic or contemporary) were realist and social critical in nature. Through the study it has become apparent that the connection between literature and Marxist ideology involved aesthetics and narrative techniques as well as the authors' biographies and

psychological and socio-economic domains together with aspects such as politics, class and society. The publication lists for Volk und Welt and Aufbau illustrate an ongoing search for British and Irish writers who possessed left-wing, class-conscious sentiments or who could be (mis-)used as a psychological means of transport for political, ideological, historical, cultural or social sentiments.

Modernist works in particular served the psychological purpose of implying an atmosphere of political diversity and openness, as the system officially repudiated the general practice of censorship. In return, the publication of British and Irish modernist literature meant that a highly academic and thoroughly depoliticised system of literary assessment was designed, wherein any possible reference to the GDR was avoided. While the notion of depoliticisation has been disputed by some scholars, I believe that we can safely argue that depoliticisation *was* employed with the aim of avoiding ambivalence and inconsistency.

I conclude that the literary *Gutachten* served a deeply psychological purpose: they made possible the publication of works that the public was longing for, which in return made the system appear less oppressive. These specific *Gutachten* were spurred by the cosmopolitical constellation of the 1980s, when the deterioration of the GDR's economy along with the infiltration of Western broadcast media served to erode the ideological foundations of the state, accelerating the progress of political and social change. As most of the modernist British writers were already known to general audiences via West German broadcasts, the GDR's leading publishers could now openly voice their interest in subjectivist thinkers.

To a certain degree, there was a genuine longing for modern English literature in the GDR, resulting in GDR scholars adopting a strategy whereby they disguised the political and literary ambivalence inherent in the literary discourse and blocked the endless struggle for control between the various discourses on a given modernist work. This strategy was called the 'Anglo-Marxist approach' and this tactic might appear to have functioned as a subversive attempt to justify a given work by exclusively focusing on considerations like literary quality and style, and thereby neglecting ideology to some degree. Based on my evaluation of the assessments gathered for this study, I hypothesise that, while this fact was not openly acknowledged, the 'Anglo-Marxist approach' worked *de facto* as a mere examination of the work's generic status and aesthetic traits, something that was then garnished with a Marxist boilerplate according to the political correctness required.

Now we may pose the all-important question: Why was a new strategy of review implemented and sanctioned when it depoliticised the contents and so allegedly undermined ideological principles? The answer involves an important psychological dimension, which informs two political elements. As we have seen, the public knew about the most prominent British and Irish modernist works from West German broadcasts. There was therefore a general curiosity about these works in the GDR and a desire to 'get hold of them'. With this in mind, we can see that it was psychosocially useful to make modernist works available, at the same time presenting an open, pluralist front. This did however mean that a further political instrument was required: it was necessary to supply a palatable interpretation for the reader in order to prevent false interpretations and misunderstandings. In order to conceal the formalism or non-conformity of certain modernist works (which had previously been rejected), the Party required smart literary interpretations. All of this was possible because the Party felt increasingly insecure and feared the loss of power. This of course leads to the second element that allowed the new strategy of reviewing British and Irish literature (*Gutachten*) to come to prominence: The Party was aware of growing public dissatisfaction with the depressed economy (especially during the 1980s), and they tried to mask their own suppression of literature, for example with the publication of (some) modernist British and Irish works.

We summarise: The strategy of depoliticising was chosen to legitimise a formalist work through the construction of a sustainable Marxist interpretation while appearing cosmopolitan and liberal. This liberal appearance was a stabilising factor for the Party.

I will now turn back to another vital question that has been on the table since the outset: did 'the bold smuggling-in of modernist British, Irish and American literature' (Wicht 2008: 93) ever happen in the GDR? Appealing legends have endured, especially those of the *good* scholar who stood against Party politics and despised the suppression conducted by the Party, courageously choosing controversial works of Anglophone modernism and heroically undermining the system by supplying highly subversive, cleverly formulated *Gutachten*. However, it is my argument that this never happened. Beckett's publication and reception history in the GDR provides ample evidence in support of my argument. Every assessment was drafted to be read by the public in the form of an introduction, blurb or afterword; an assessment – irrespectively of its nature (politicising or depoliticising) – therefore functioned as a mode of information of how to read and understand a given text, and paratextual

materials that exploited the 'Anglo-Marxist approach' continued to provide an ideological and political compass for East German readers.

Linguistic Dimension

Discursive approaches to matters of literary style, language, and the interaction between author and reader provided some intellectual leeway in socialist readings. This was because methods which were language-oriented tended to look at ideology as a rhetorical effect of language that converts the written words into truth. When it came to British and Irish literature, it was required that the language used was subject to thorough analysis prior to publication. This was because the work and its translation needed to result in a positive socialist reading, which of course meant that ambivalent meanings must be excluded. The linguistic style of the translation needed to refer to the lexical and semantic structure of the original work, but it also had to fit in with the language that was typical in the environment of the GDR.

Marxist ideology was inherent to every form of discourse and every utterance. In English novels, the protagonists were, to one degree or another, ideologues, and their words were ideologemes. The linguistic approach produced mounting difficulties with highly ambivalent modernist literature, and this required an adjustment to the Marxist method of interpretation. An affirmative assessment of the linguistic elements of such works was achieved by examining generic and aesthetic qualities, by reinterpreting the language and literary style into a progressive form of Marxist reading.

There was a well-defined attempt to historicise the notion of modernism in literary assessments, while distracting from contemporary developments in the GDR. Marxist structures of communication in the GDR became increasingly distorted in such a systematic way (related to tensions in the social economic system) that it looked as if the literary interpretation written by a GDR scholar was the true and only way. As a result, it seemed impossible to think and communicate outside of the distorted system. The dominant discourse became normative, as the GDR's readers had no direct access to opinions voiced by Western literary critics, other than those occasionally broadcast by West German radio and TV stations. During the 1980s, the understanding of an acceptable modernist work progressed towards a more open approach; an acceptable work no longer had to be totally equated with proletarian experience and industrial progressivism. Only in the light of this

changing society, with its more progressive understanding of modernism, could a new approach to literary assessments be forged. As we have seen, the results of my study suggest that the rhetorical force of literary assessments (complete with their 'Marxist boilerplate') was not just the expression of anti-imperialist posturing. I agree with Fulbrook (1995) that this posturing was also an expression of vulnerability from a 'fledging regime' that was forced to build its political and cultural legitimacy in proximity to West Germany. West Germany's comparative wealth offered many advantages in its ideological battle with socialism. For one, the wealth differential could be attributed deceptively to the merits of capitalism versus socialism. The Party was on the defensive.

As a consequence of all this, in the GDR the rhetorical paradigm of English literature provided a common framework for an approach to ideology. Reading in the GDR involved linking aspects of the text to the reader's everyday way of making sense of the world in which he or she lived. Foreign works were not subject to change; they could simply be chosen or not chosen. The thematic, psychological, historical and linguistic components of the text became the main criteria for such choices.

We finally conclude: There were no accidental publications, no avoidance of control and no circumvention of the system. Every literary choice was scrutinised, evaluated, formally authorised and officially agreed. For censors and scholars writing a literary assessment always involved using the literary scope available to them at any given time, without risking their careers or reputation. In contrast to certain popular legends, the issuing of modernist British and Irish works may then be explained as the result of a smart Marxist interpretation *in agreement with* high-ranking officials. Scholars simply clarified the exact role to be played by the text, determining how certain textual signs could be formulated into a conclusive Marxist interpretation for the public to read.

To give a final answer to the many questions raised in this study I conclude my research with the statement that the *general principle* of literary interpretation never changed its purpose, namely to maintain the (social) power of the Party through control by the Party and her state organs. The myth of the alleged abolishment of censorship on 1 December 1989 by Kurt Hager continues until today (Grünbaum 2000: 56). Fact is: literary assessments were officially required until reunification on 3 October 1990. The assessments bowed to the ideological and political zeal of the Party, until the very last day of her existence. The publication of British and Irish modernist literature made no exception to this.

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- Archival stock DR 1
- Online Archive - stock DR1, ARGUS

Key to abbreviations

- *BA = Bundesarchiv*
- *DR 1 = 1. Abteilung DDR - Deutsche Demokratische Republik mit sowjetische Besatzungszone 1949-1990*
- *DR 2 = 2. Abteilung Militärarchiv, nur nationale Volksarmee*
- *Number = Shelf or document number according to Ministry*
- *Berlin: DDR = Place of issue*
- *ARGUS = ArchivGutSuche (ARGUS is a software tool to search archives online)*
- *DRUCK = Archival material concerning print approvals (Druckgenehmigungsverfahren)*
- *Gbl = Gesetzesblatt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*

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Abbreviations

P	Print Permission Number
A	Name of the assessor (<i>Gutachter</i>)
T	Name of the translator
N	Name of the afterword's author if different from assessor
I	Name of the illustrator
NR	not recorded

Comment

The appendix includes 5 comprehensive tables which detail British and Irish literature published in East Germany between 1945 and 1990.

The tables are arranged alphabetically by author and chronologically by date. Assessors, translators and the print permission number are specified, according to archival records. In the case that no data could be obtained the publication is marked with NR (not recorded).

Table A1: Publications by author in alphabetical order

Author	Title (in German as published in the GDR) and licensor	Year of publication	Publisher	copies printed	Life	Data from censorship file
Adams, Douglas	Per Anhalter durch die Galaxis (Spektrum-Reihe). (Pan Books, London / Rogner & Bernhard, München).	1990	VuW	6000	1952-2001	P: 410/141/90. 1990 A: Manfred Küchler T: Benjamin Schwarz
Aiken, Joan	Die Kristallkrähe	1983	Aufbau		1924-2004	NR
Aldington, Richard	Heldentod	1985	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	8000	1892-1962	P: 265/55/85. 1985 A: Steenbeck, Bernard Scheller T: Dagobert von Mikusch
Aldridge, James	Der Diplomat	1952	Aufbau		1892-1963	NR
Aldridge, James	Der Seeadler	1953	Aufbau		1892-1963	NR
Aldridge, James	Der Haifisch / Der letzte Zoll	1960	Kultur und Fortschritt		1892-1963	P: 285/66/60. 1960 A: J. H. Sauter, Linde
Aldridge, James	Der letzte Zoll	1962	Aufbau		1892-1963	P: 120/82/62. 1962 A: Karl Blasche, Günther Klotz
Aldridge, James	Zuflucht am Nil (2 Bände)	1964	Aufbau		1892-1963	NR
Aldridge, James	Glühende Wüsten	1965	Aufbau		1892-1963	P: 120/193/65. 1965 A: Alfred Antkowiak, Günther Klotz, Gerhard Schie
Aldridge, James	Mein Bruder Tom	1969	Aufbau	10000	1892-1963	NR
Aldridge, James	Der letzte Flug	1973	Aufbau	12000	1892-1963	NR
Aldridge, James	Ein Pony für zwei	1975	Aufbau		1892-1963	NR
Aldridge, James	Kein hoffnungsloser Fall	1976	Aufbau	20000	1892-1963	P: 120/195/76. 1976. A: Erich Fetter, Otto Brandstädter
Aldridge, James	Der wunderbare Mongole	1977	Aufbau	47100	1892-1963	P: 120/181/77. 1977 A: Ingrid Müller, Erich Fetter. T: Utta Roy Seifert
Aldridge, James	Der unberührbare Julian	1979	Aufbau	20000	1892-1963	P: 120/168/79. 1979 A: I. Müller, Sigrid Klotz, Günther Klotz T: Fetter
Aldridge, James	Die wahre Geschichte der Lilli Stubeck	1988	Aufbau	7500	1892-1963	P: 120/177/88. 1988 A: Erich Fetter, I. Müller. T: Magit Meyer
Amis, Kingsley	Glück für Jim	1962	VuW		1922-1995	NR
Anthology. Anselm Schlösser	Englische Essays aus drei Jahrhunderten	1972	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000		P: 190/4/72. 1972 A: Rudolf Marx, Georg Seehase. T: K. U. Szudra
Anthology. Mary Ashraf (Editor)	Political Verse and Song from Britain and Ireland (Lawrence & Wishart, London)	1975	Sevens Seas Publishers	5000		P: 306/136/75. 1975 A: Joan Becker
Anthology	Moderne Prosa und Lyrik der britischen Inseln	1968	Aufbau			NR
Arden, John / D'Arcy, Margaretta	Das Erbe von Ballygombeen	1976	Aufbau		1930-2012	NR

Ashraf, Phyllis Mary	Englische Arbeiterliteratur vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zum ersten Weltkrieg	1980	Aufbau		1786-1864	NR
Auden, Wytan Hugh	Glück mit dem kommenden Tag (Gedichte) (Bläschke Verlag, Darmstadt / Europa Verlag AG, Wien)	1978	VuW	2000	1907-1973	P: 410/110/78. 1978 A: Günter Gentsch, Klaus Schultz
Austen, Jane	Pride and Prejudice (Reihe: Panther Books)	1954	Paul List Verlag		1775-1815	P: 290/35/54. 1954 A: Franke
Austen, Jane	Emma	1965	Aufbau		1775-1817	P: 120/192/65. 1965 A: Klaus Udo Szudra, Paulsen
Austen, Jane	Stolz und Vorurteil	1965	Paul List Verlag		1775-1816	P: 290/15/65. 1965. A: Regine Otto, Franke, K. Zippel
Austen, Jane	Die Liebe der Anne Elliot	1968	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	7000		P: 265/1/68. 1968 A: Friedrich Minckwitz. T: Giesela Reichel
Austen, Jane	Gefühl und Verstand	1972	Aufbau	20000	1775-1817	T: Erika Gröger
Austen, Jane	Emma. Roman	1980	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1775-1817	P: 340/54/80. 1980 A: Helgard Rost
Austen, Jane	Stolz und Vorurteil	1987	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	22000	1775-1817	P: 265/30/87. 1987 T: Werner Beyer
Austen, Jane	Mansfield Park	1989	Aufbau	15000	1775-1816	P: 120/170/89. 1989 A: Friedrich Baadke, Klaus Udo Szudra. T: Klaus Udo Szudra
Austen, Jane	Die Abtei von Northanger	1980	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15000	1775-1817	P: 190/4/80. 1980 A: Karl Heinz Berger. Christiane Agricola
Bailey, Paul	Unbefugte Eingriffe	1981	Aufbau		1937.	NR
Bainbridge, Beryl	Der Ausflug (Spektrum-Reihe). (Gerald Duckworth & Co., London)	1979	VuW	6000	1934-2010	P: 410/102/79. 1979 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Peter Kleinhemper
Barker, Clive	Woche für Woche	1971	Aufbau		1952-	NR
Barstow, Stan	Ein Hauch von Glückseligkeit	1967	VuW		1928-2011	NR
Barstow, Stan	Jenseits von Glückseligkeit	1973	VuW		1928-2011	NR
Barstow, Stan	Der Liebe wahrer Sinn (Michael Joseph, London)	1979	VuW	8000	1928-2011	P: 410/101/79. 1979 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Marianne Bretschneider. T: Giesela Petersen
Barstow, Stan	Mein Bruder, der ungebetene Gast (Michael Joseph, London)	1984	VuW	6000	1928-2011	P: 410/111/84. 1984 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Giesela Petersen

Beardsley, Aubrey	Die Geschichte von Venus und Tannhäuser	1987	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar Insel-Verlag	5000		P: 265/66/87. 1987 A: Antosch, Ursula Horn. T: Cracian
Beardsley, Aubrey [Ursula Morn (Editor)] Zeichnungen		1987			1872-1898	P: 260/45/87 (260/34/86). 1987 (1986) A: Renate Hartleb
Beckett, Samuel	Spiele (Dramenreihe). (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1988 [1989]	VuW	6000	1906-1989	P: 410/113/82 (410/98/81). 1982 (1981) A: Christoph Trilse, Norbert Krenzlin
Beckett, Samuel	Murphy	1990	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1906-1989	P: 340/68/90. 1990 A: Helgard Rost
Beckett, Samuel	Ausgewählte Erzählungen. (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1989	VuW	5000	1906-1989	P: 410/108/89. 1989 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Elmar Tophoven (BRD)
Beckford, William	Die Geschichte vom Kalifen Vathek mit den Episoden	1974	Insel-Verlag		1760-1844	P: 260/6/74. 1974
Behan, Brendan	Der Spanner (Krimi)	1968	VuW		1923-1964	NR
Belfrage, Cedric	Wenn aber das Salz dumpf wird	1951	VuW		1904-1990	NR
Belfrage, Cedric	Geschäft mit der Seligkeit	1959	VuW		1904-1990	NR
Belfrage, Cedric	Mein Herr Kolumbus	1966	VuW	8000	1904-1990	P: 410/97/66. 1966 A: Gisela Lüttig, Karl Heinz Berger, Hermann Otto-Lauterbach. T: Eduard Zak
Bennett, Arnold	Constance und Soppbia oder Die Geschichte der alten Damen	1971	Aufbau		1967-1931	NR
Blake, William	Immergrün	1957	Aufbau		1757-1827	P: 120/86/57. 1957 A: Paul Friedländer, E. S.
Blake, William	Werke	1958	Aufbau		1757-1827	NR
Borelli, Maria / Thorne, Anthony	Don Vesuvio: Der Lumpenpriester von Neapel (Herder Verlag)	1968	St. Benno Verlag			T: Helmut Baus
Boulay, Shirley du	Cicely Saunders: Ein Leben für Sterbende (Tyrolia Verlag, Innsbruck)	1990	St. Benno Verlag			T: Barnara G. Malmshemer
Boyd, Neil	Hoch lebe Hochwürden: Erzählungen (Kerle Verlag, Freiburg)	1986	St. Benno Verlag			T: Ursula Schottelius und Erwin Peters
Boyle, Patrick	Wie jeder andere auch (S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1981	VuW	8000	1905-1982	P: 410/99/81. 1981 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Marianne Seeger
Boyle, Patrick	Nachts sind alle Katzen grau (Kurzgeschichten)	1986	VuW	8000	1905-1982	P: 410/137/86. 1986 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
Bradbury, Malcom	Der Geschichtsmensch	1980	Aufbau		1932-2000	NR
Braine, John	Der Weg nach oben (Geschenkband)	1965	VuW	100000	1922-1986	P: 410/156/66. 1966 T: Herbert Schlüter
Bronte, Charlotte	Shirley	1954	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar		1818-1855	P: 265/12/54. 1954 A: Friedrich Minckwitz

Bronte, Charlotte	Jane Eyre	1958	Paul List Verlag		1818-1855	P: 290/2/58. 1958 A: Ruth Krenn
Bronte, Charlotte	Die Waise von Lowood (Reihe: Robinsons billige Bücher)	1963	Der Kinderbuch- verlag Berlin		1818-1855	P: 270/51/63. 1963 A: Ruth Krenn, Hänsel
Bronte, Charlotte	Villette	1971	Paul List Verlag	10000	1818-1855	P: 290/13/71. 1971
Bronte, Emily	Wuthering Heights (Reihe: Panther Books)	1957	Paul List Verlag		1818-1848	P: 290/25/57. 1957 A: Franke, Rudolf Dietze
Bronte, Emily	Die Sturmhöhe	1972	Aufbau	10000	1818-1848	NR
Brown, Peter	Augustinus von Hippo: Eine Biographie	1972	St. Benno Verlag		1935-	T: Johannes Bernard
Burke, Edmund	Vom Erhabenen und Schönen	1956	Aufbau		1729-1779	NR
Burns, Robert	Gedichte und Lieder	1974	Aufbau		1759-1796	NR
Butler, Samuel	Der Weg allen Fleisches	1960	Aufbau		1835-1902	NR
Butler, Samuel [Anselm Schlösser (Editor)]	Von Schwätzern, Schwärmern und Halunken. Charakterbilder und Aphorismen	1984	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	15000	1835-1902	P: 190/8/84. 1984 A: Martin Lehnert
Caldwell, Taylor	Ist niemand da, der mich hört?	1987	St. Benno Verlag		1900-1985	T: Josef Tichy
Carleton, William [Helmut Findeisen (Editor)]	Familienschlacht in Knockimdowney. Erzählungen aus dem irischen Landleben	1986	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	13000	1794-1879	P: 190/12/86. 1986 A: Bernhard Scheller T: G. Kirchner, W. Reinhard
Carleton, William / Kirchner, Gustav (Editor), Reinhardt, Waltraud (Editor)	Phelim O'Tooles Brautschau und andere Erzählungen aus dem irischen Landleben	1967	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000		P: 265/2/67. 1967 A: Friedrich Minckwitz. T: Paul Krichner, Waltraud Reinhardt
Carrol, Lewis	Alice in Wonderland (Reihe: Panther Books)	1957	Paul List Verlag		1832-1889	P: 290/37/57. 1957 A: Berger
Cary, Joyce	Des Pudels Kern	1974	Aufbau	10000	1888-1957	P: 120/192/74. 1974 A: Sigrid Klotz, Helmut Findeisen. T: Hans Erich Nossack
Caudwell, Christopher	Das perfekte Alibi (Krimi) (Whithy Grove Press, London und Manchester)	1975	VuW	10000	1907-1937	P: 410/111/75. 1975 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Giesela Peterson
Caudwell, Christopher	Illusion and Reality	1977	Sevens Seas Publishers		1907-1937	NR
Chaplin, Sid	Zu zweit ist alles anders	1970	VuW		1916-1986	NR
Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Father Brown kann nicht glauben. Detektivgeschichten	1978	St. Benno Verlag		1874-1936	T: Heinrich Fischer etc.
Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Kopfstände. Eine Auswahl aus Essays und anderen Schriften	1980	St. Benno Verlag		1874-1936	T: various
Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Wege am Rande des Abgrundes. Seltsame Detektivgeschichten (Herder Verlag)	1981	St. Benno Verlag		1874-1936	T: Gertrude Jahn, Clarisse Meitner, Rudolf Nutt
Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Nun schlägt's dreizehn: Erzählungen	1988	St. Benno Verlag		1874-1936	NR

Christie, Agatha	Die Schattenhand (Reihe: NB- Taschenbücher)	1961	Verlag Das Neue Berlin (Alfred Scher Verlag, Bern)	70000	1890-1976	P: 160/51/61. 1961 A: Reimar Dänhardt T: Anna Kathrine Rehmann
Christie, Agatha	Alibi (Krimi)	1968	Aufbau	50000	1890-1976	T: Peter Pütsch
Christie, Agatha	Mord im Pfarrhaus (Krimi)	1979	Aufbau	30000	1890-1976	P: 120/192/79. 1979 A: Erich Fetter, Klaus Schirrmeister
Christie, Agatha	Die Tote in der Bibliothek / 16.50 Uhr ab Paddington. (William Collins Sons & Co., London / Scherz Verlag, Bern und München)	1986	VuW	10000	1890-1986	P: 410/131/86. 1986 A: Sabine Teichmann, Hans-Joachim Volkert
Cleland, John	Die Abenteuer der Fanny Hill (2 Bände)	1987	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000		NR
Collier, John	Ein Männlein steht im Walde... (Erzählungen) (Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1978	VuW	10000	1901-1980	P: 410/111/78. 1978 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Susanna Rademacher
Conrad, Joseph	Nostomo	1957	Aufbau		1857-1924	P: 120/226/56. 1956 A: Günther Klotz
Conrad, Joseph	Das Herz der Finsternis	1958	Aufbau		1857-1924	P: 120/84/57. 1957 A: Joachim Krehayn, Günter Klotz
Conrad, Joseph	Lord Jim	1963	Aufbau		1857-1924	P: 120/109/63. 1963 A: Günther Klotz, Caspar, Joachim Krehayn
Conrad, Joseph	Almayers Wahn	1966	Aufbau	10000	1857-1924	NR
Conrad, Joseph	Der verdammte der Inseln	1968	Aufbau	10000	1857-1924	Übersetzer: Günther Danehl
Conrad, Joseph	Sieg	1970	Aufbau		1857-1924	NR
Conrad, Joseph	Spiel des Zufalls	1974	Aufbau	20100	1857-1924	P: 120/191/74. 1974 A: Günther Klotz, Elga Abramowitz, Sigrid Klotz. T: Lore Krüger
Conrad, Joseph	Der Nigger von der "Narcissus"	1977	Aufbau	15000	1857-1924	P: 120/180/77. 1977 A: Joachim Krehayn, Elga Abramowitz, Klotz. T: Lore Krüger
Conrad, Joseph	Bericht über mich selbst	1979	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	15000	1857-1924	P: 265/33/79. 1979 A: Elli Berger. T: Renate Berger
Conrad, Joseph	Ein Vorposten des Fortschritts. Erzählungen	1981	Insel-Verlag		1857-1924	P: 260/28/81. 1981 A: Anselm Schlösser
Conrad, Joseph	Nostromo (new translation)	1983	Aufbau	15000	1857-1924	P: 120/166/83. 1983 A: Günter Walch
Conrad, Joseph	Sieg	1986	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	10000	1857-1924	P: 190/7/85. 1985 A: Wolfgang Wicht. T: Peter Meier
Conrad, Joseph	Das Duell. Erzählungen	1988	Aufbau	10000	1857-1924	P: 120/176/88. 1988 A: Marlies Juhnke. T: Carmen Janetzki
Conrad, Joseph	Lord Jim. N.: Günther Walch	1981	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	15000	1857-1924	P: 190/7/81. 1981 A: Anselm Schlösser T: Elli Berger, Günther Riedel

Conrad, Joseph	Die Schattenlinie. Eine Beichte	1967	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	1857-1924	P: 340/34/67. 1967 A: Herzog
Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Taifun	1965	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	1857-1924	NR
Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Erzählungen I	1979	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15000 1857-1924	P: 190/8/79. 1979 T: E. Berge, Beyer, L. Krüger
Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Das Ende vom Lied / Der geheime Teilhaber / Die Schattenlinie.	1980	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	1857-1924	P: 190/6/80. 1980
Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Almayers Wahn	1982	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15000 1857-1924	P: 190/12/82. 1982 A: Helmut Findeisen. T: Heide Steiner
Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Nostromo	1988	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	12000 1857-1924	P: 190/108/88. 1988. T: Lore Krüger
Cronin, Archibald	Die Sterne blicken herab	1966	VuW	1896-1986	NR
Cronin, Archibald	Die Zitadelle	1969	VuW	1896-1986	NR
Cronin, Archibald Joseph	Die Zitadelle	1966	Aufbau	1896-1986	NR
Dahl, Roald	Lammkeule (Erzählungen) (Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1977	VuW	8000 1916-1990	P: 410/101/77. 1977 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger
Dahl, Roald	Kuschelmuschel (Erzählungen) (Michael Joseph, London / Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1986	VuW	8000 1916-1990	P: 410/120/84. 1984 A: Hans Petersen
Dahl, Roald	Lammkeule und andere Geschichten / Kuschelmuschel. Vier erotische Überraschungen. (Rowohlt Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1988	VuW	25000 1916-1990	P: 410/127/88. 1988
Darwin, Charles	Die Entstehung der Arten durch natürliche Zuchtwahl	1951	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	1809-1882	NR
Davidson, Basil	Südafrika ohne Maske	1954	VuW	1914-2010	NR
Davidson, Basil	Der Strudel	1958	VuW	1914-2010	NR
Deeping, George Warwick	Hautmann Sorrell und sein Sohn.	1954	Carl Schünemann-Verlag,	1877-1950	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	1945	Volk und Wissen	1660-1731	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	1947	Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	1660-1731	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders	1954	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000 1660-1731	P: 190/5/54. 1954 A: Joachim Krehayn, T: Dr. Martha Erler

Defoe, Daniel	Die Pest in London	1956	Aufbau	10000	1660-1731	P: 120/270/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Günther Klotz. T: Rudolf Schaller
Defoe, Daniel	Leben und seltsame Abenteuer des Seefahrers Robinson Crusoe	1956	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Leipzig	10000	1660-1731	P: 190/2/56. 1956 A: Rudolf Marx: T: Barbara Cramer
Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	1957	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	20000	1660-1731	P: 305/101/57. 1957 A: Georg Rahm
Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	1962	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	50000	1660-1731	P: 270/270/62. 1962 A: Walter Mohrmann, Günter W...?, Regina Hänsel. T: Dorothea Rahm
Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1963	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1660-1731	P: 190/11/63. 1963 A: Walter Apelt, R. Müller ?
Defoe, Daniel	Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1964	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	20000		P: 340/32/64. 1964 A: Pradel, Richli-Krause, N: Weimann
Defoe, Daniel	Das Leben und die seltsamen, überraschenden Abenteuer des Matrosen Robinson Crusoe aus New York (...)	1964	Aufbau	30000	1660-1731	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Roxana	1966	Aufbau	15800	1660-1731	T: Friedrich Baadke
Defoe, Daniel	Die glückliche Mätresse oder Die Geschichte des Lebens und des wechselhaften Glücks der (...) Roxana	1966	Aufbau		1660-1731	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Roxana	1968	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15000	1660-1731	P: 190/1/68. 1968 T: Lore Krüger
Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	1973	Aufbau	30000	1660-1731	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Das Leben, die Abenteuer und die Piratenzüge des berühmten Kapitän Singleton	1980	Aufbau		1660-1731	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Die Geschichte und das ungewöhnliche Leben des sehr ehrenwerten Colonel Jacques, allgemein Oberst Jack bekannt	1981	Aufbau	58100	1660-1731	P: 120/181/81. 1981 A: Ingrid Müller, Erich Fetter
Defoe, Daniel	Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders	1990	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar Gustav	12000		P: 265/5/90. 1990 A: Klaus Frits. T: Marta Eber
Defoe, Daniel [Friedemann Berger (Editor)]	Robinson Crusoe. Zwei Bände	1981	Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	20000	1660-1731	P: 265/8/9/81. 1981 A: Hentsch, Heide Steiner. T: Lore Krüger
Dickens, Charles	Die Pickwickier	1953	Aufbau		1812-1870	NR

Dickens, Charles	The Pickwick Papers (Reihe: Panther Books)	1955	Paul List Verlag	5000	1812-1870	P: 290/34/55. 1955
Dickens, Charles	Dombey und Sohn	1955	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/130/55. 1955 A: Chr. Höppener T: Chr. Höppener
Dickens, Charles	Leben und Abenteuer des Martin Chuzzlewit (Reihe: Romane der Weltliteratur).	1956	VuW	9000	1812-1870	P: 410/2/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn
Dickens, Charles	Klein Dorrit	1956	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/121/56. 1956 A: Elisabeth Schulz T: Dr. Färber
Dickens, Charles	Londoner Skizzen (Reihe: Gustav- Kiepenheuer-Bücherei)	1957	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000	1812-1870	P: 265/15/57. 1957 A: Friedrich Minckwitz T: Noa Kiepenheuer
Dickens, Charles	Große Erwartungen (Klassikreihe)	1957	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	12000	1812-1870	P: 305/160/57. 1957 A: Georg Rahm. T: Ruth Geruil Kardas
Dickens, Charles	Weihnachtsgeschichte (Weihnachtslied in Prosa / Die Silvesterglocken)	1959	Verlag der Nation	50000	1812-1870	P: 400/83/59. 1959
Dickens, Charles	Harte Zeiten	1959	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/122/59. 1959 A: Hanna Krogmann, H. Meinicke, O. Wilck. T: Chr. Höppener
Dickens, Charles	David Copperfield	1960	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	15000	1812-1870	P: 305/171/60. 1960 A: Josef-Hermann Sauter, Liepe, Braatz. T: Ruth Geruil Kardas
Dickens, Charles	Harte Zeiten	1961	Aufbau	30000	1812-1870	P: 120/44/61. 1961 A: S. Bachmann
Dickens, Charles	Der Antiquitätenladen	1961	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	19500	1812-1870	P: 305/162/61. 1961 A: Josef-Hermann Sauter, Jähn, T: O. Wilding
Dickens, Charles	Der Raritätenladen.	1961	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/27/61. 1961. A: E. Meißner T: Chr. Höppener
Dickens, Charles	Oliver Twist (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1963	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	10000	1812-1870	P: 190/20/63. 1963 A: Neubert. T: R. Kibel
Dickens, Charles	Reisebilder aus Italien	1968	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000		P: 265/3/68. 1968 A: Friedrich Minckwitz T: Friedrich Mickwitz
Dickens, Charles	Die Pickwickier	1971	Paul List Verlag	10000	1812-1870	P: 290/16/71 (290/17/70).1971 (1970)
Dickens, Charles	Große Erwartungen	1977	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/28/77. 1977 A: Ingrid Müller
Dickens, Charles	Notizen aus Amerika (Reisereihe)	1980	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/29/80. 1980. A: Ingrid Müller, Ingeborg Gronke
Dickens, Charles	Oliver Twist	1981	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	35000		P: 265/33/81. 1981 A: Sommer. T: Reinhard Rilbel

Dickens, Charles	Drei Weihnachtserzählungen	1987	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/55/87 (415/53/86). 1987 (1986)
Dickens, Charles	Bleak House, 2 Bände	1988	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	NR
Dickens, Charles [Joachim Krehayn (Editor)]	Londoner Skizzen	1981	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1812-1870	P: 340/128/81. 1981 A: ?
Dickens, Charles (Georg Seehase (Editor))	Gesammelte Werke. Skizzen	1965	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/31/65. 1965 A: Günther Klotz, Joachim Krehayn, Paulsen, Glatzer. T: Chr. Höppener
Dickens, Charles (Horst Wolf (Editor))	Unser gemeinsamer Freund	1961	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	7000	1812-1870	P: 265/28/61 (265/12/60). 1961 (1960) A: Friedrich Minckwitz
Dickens, Charles (Joachim Krehayn (Editor))	Die nächsten Nachbarn (Skizzen von Boz	1962	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	10000	1812-1870	P: 340/37/62. 1962 A: Richli-Krause, Georg Seehase. T: Julius Seybt
Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (Editor)]	Martin Chuzzlewit, Band I und II	1974	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/22-23/74. 1974 A: Ingrid Müller
Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (Editor)]	David Copperfield, Band 1 und 2	1984	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/27/84 (415/24/83). 1984 (1983) A: ?
Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (Editor)]	Barnaby Rudge, Band 1 und 2	1985	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/34/85. 1985
Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (Editor)]	Eine Geschichte zweier Städte. Gesammelte Werke	1987	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/31/87. 1987 A: Ingrid Müller
Dickens, Monica	Das Herz von London	1967	Aufbau	10000	1812-1870	T: Peter de Mendelssohn / Erich Fetter
Dickens, Monica	Ich werde warten	1975	Aufbau	10000	1812-1870	P: 120/300/75 (120/196/76). 1975 (1976) A: Erich Fetter, I. Müller. T: Olga und Erich Fetter
Donne, John [M. Hamburger (Editor)]	Zwar ist auch Dichtung Sünde. Gedichte. Englisch und deutsch	1982	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1571-1631	P: 340/64/82. 1982 A: Bock, Bernhard Scheller
Doyle, Arthur Conan	Der Hund von Baskerville (Reihe: NB- Romane)	1954	Verlag Das Neue Berlin	50000	1859-1930	P: 160/24/54. 1954 A: Arno Hausmann
Doyle, Arthur Conan	Die verlorene Welt (Reihe: NB-Romane)	1956	Verlag Das Neue Berlin	60000	1859-1930	P: 160/22/56. 1956 A: Klaus Gysi, Paul Friedländer
Doyle, Arthur Conan	Der Hund von Baskerville	1966	Aufbau		1859-1930	NR
Doyle, Arthur Conan [Alice Berger (Editor), Karl Heinz Berger (Editor)]	Das Notizbuch von Sherlock Holmes. Sämtliche Sherlock- Holmes-Erzählungen, Band V.	1985	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	120000	1859-1930	P: 265/16/85. 1985 T: Alice and Karl Heinz Berger
Doyle, Arthur Conan [Karl Heinz Berger (Editor)]	Die Abenteuer des Sherlock Holmes 1. und 2. Sammlung	1983	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	100000	1850-1930	P: 265/17/18/83. 1983 A: Steenbeck, Ursula Wicklein, K.-H. Berger
Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony [Karl Heinz Schwabe (Editor)]	Der gesellige Enthusiast. Philosophische Essays	1990	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	3000	1671-1713	P: 265/3-4/90. 1990 A: Gorges ?. T: L. Hölty , J.L. Benzler

Edgeworth, Maria	Meine hochgeborene Herrschaft	1957	Aufbau		1768-1849	NR
Eliot, George	Silas Marner (Reihe: Panther Books)	1956	Paul List Verlag		1819-1880	P: 290/24/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Dietze
Eliot, George	Silas Marner. Der Leinweber von Raveloe (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1963	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1819-1880	P: 340/45/63. 1963 A: Richli-Krause, Karl Blasche
Eliot, George	Die Mühle am Floss	1967	Aufbau	10000	1819-1880	T: Erich Fetter
Eliot, George	Silas Marner	1968	Aufbau	61150	1819-1880	T: Eva Schuhmann
Eliot, George	Adam Bede	1971	Aufbau	20000	1819-1880	T: Ana Maria Brock
Eliot, George [Klaus Udo Szudra (Editor)]	Middlemarch, zwei Bände.	1979	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1819-1880	P: 190/6-7/79. 1979 T: Irmgrad Nickel
Eliot, T.S.	In meinem Anfang ist mein Ende (Gedichte) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1977	VuW	2000	1888-1965	P: 410/102/77. 1977 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Hans Petersen
Eliot, T.S.	Old Possums Katzenbuch (Gedichte) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1979	VuW		1888-1965	P: 410/103/79. 1979 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
Eliot, T.S.	Ausgewählte Aufsätze, Vorträge und Essays. (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1982	VuW	3000	1888-1965	P: 410/111/81. 1981 A: Wolfgang Wicht, Klaus Schultz
Eliot, T.S.	Stücke: Mord im Dom / Die Cocktail Party / Der Privatsekretär / Ein verdienter Staatsmann (Dramenreihe). (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1984	VuW	3000	1888-1965	P: 410/112/84. 1984 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz
Eliot, T.S.	Stücke	1984	VuW		1888-1965	NR
Fiedling, Henry	Tom Jones	1951	VuW		1707-1754	NR
Fielding, Henry	Johnathan Wild der Große	1952	Aufbau		1707-1754	NR
Fielding, Henry	Joseph Andrew's Abenteuer	1955	Aufbau		1707-1754	Aufbau-Verlag Berlin und Weimar. P: 120/94/55. 1955
Fielding, Henry	Amelia	1957	Aufbau	10000	1707-1754	P: 120/68/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Günther Klotz
Fielding, Henry	Satirische Stücke / Über die Straßenräuberei	1960	Aufbau	3000	1707-1754	P: 120/57/60. 1960. A: Günther Klotz
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 3 und 4 Tom Jones (three volumes)	1964	Aufbau	20000	1707-1754	P: 120/20/64. 1964 P: 120/21/64. 1964 P: 120/21/64. 1964 A: Sigrid Klotz. T: Horst Höckendorf
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 2 Jonathan Wild der Große	1965	Aufbau	10000	1707-1754	P: 120/73/65. 1965 A: Günther Klotz, Sigrid Klotz. T: Horst Höckendorf

Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 6 Der Kaffeehauspolitiker	1965	Aufbau	2000	1707-1754	P: 120/74/65. 1965 A: Günther Klotz. T: Ingeborg Gronke
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 5 Amelia	1966	Aufbau	10000	1707-1754	P: 120/72/66 T: Rolf Schaller
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 1 Joseph Andrew's Abenteuer	1967	Aufbau	15000	1707-1754	T: Rudulf Schaller
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 3 und 4 Tom Jones	1968	Aufbau	15000	1707-1754	NR
Fielding, Henry	Tom Jones (2 Bände)	1973	Aufbau		1707-1754	NR
Fielding, Henry	Jonathan Wild der Große	1966	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig Insel-Verlag		1707-1754	P: 340/42/68. 1966
Fleming, Ian [Eberhard Haufe (Editor)]	Gedichte	1970			1908-1964	P: 260/21/70. 1970
Forester, Cecil Scott	Zahlungsaufschub	1980	Aufbau		1899-1966	NR
Forster, Eduard Morgan	Howards End (Claassen & Goverts, Hamburg)	1968	VuW		1879-1970	P: 410/58/68. 1968 A: Udo Birckholz, Karl Heinz Berger, Joachim Krehayn
Forster, Eduard Morgan	Auf der Suche nach Indien (Fischer Bücherei KG., Frankfurt a. M., Hamburg)	1972	VuW	8000	1879-1970	P: 410/55/72. 1972 A: Irmhild Brandstädter, Klaus Schultz, Joachim Krehayn. T: Wolf von Einsiedel
Fowles, John	Die Geliebte des französischen Leutnants	1983	Aufbau	10000	1926-2005	P: 120/167/83. 1983 A: Sigrid Klotz, Günther Klotz Reinhard Federmann (BRD)
Fowles, John	Der Ebenholzturm	1984	Aufbau	5000	1926-2005	P: 120/166/84. 1984 A: Günther Klotz T: Eva Bornemann
Friel, Brian	Stücke (Dramenreihe)	1977	VuW	2000	1929-	P: 410/107/77. 1977 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger
Galsworthy, John	Die Forsyte-Saga. Roman-Trilogie	1957	Paul List Verlag	10000	1967-1933	P: 290/4/57. 1957 A: Trauen ?, Dietze ? T: Luise Wolf und Leon Schalit
Galsworthy, John	Die Ersten und die Letzten (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1959	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	40000	1967-1933	P: 340/93/59. 1959 A: Karl Blasche T: Leon Schalit
Galsworthy, John	Die dunkle Blume	1971	Paul List Verlag	10000	1867-1933	P: 290/8/71. 1971 A: Ingeborg Ortloff, Ute Harz
Galsworthy, John	Die dunkle Blume	1979	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	20000	1967-1933	P: 265/11/79. 1979 T: Leon Schalit
Galsworthy, John	Fortsyte Saga 3 Bände. (Heinemann, London)	1985	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	15000	1967-1933	P: 265/13/85. 1985 A: Josef-Hermann Sauter T: Jutta Schlösser
Galsworthy, John [Anselm Schlösser (Editor)]	Eine moderne Komödie. 3 Bände	1987	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	20000	1967-1933	P: 265/28/87. 1987 A: Gorges ?, Jürgen Ronthaler T: Jutta Schlösser

Galswothy, John	Jenseits	1969	Aufbau	40000	1976-1933	NR
Golding, William	Pincher Martin. (Faber & Faber, London)	1980	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1911-1993	P: 340/55/80. 1980 A: Bock
Golding, William	Äquatortaufe (AT). (Faber and Faber, London / Bertelsmann Verlag, München)	1984	VuW	6000	1911-1993	P: 410/113/84. 1984 A: Hans Petersen, Joachim Krehayn. T: Herbert Schlüter
Golding, William	Herr der Fliegen (Faber and Faber, London / S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.).	1985	VuW	8000	1911-1993	P: 410/121/85. 1985 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Wolfgang Wicht. T: Hermann Stiehl
Golding, William	Papier-Männer. (Faber and Faber, London / C. Bertelsmann Verlag, München)	1986	VuW	10000	1911-1993	P: 410/133/86. 1986 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Sylvia Ostermann. T: Emil Bastuk
Goldsmith, Oliver	Der Weltbürger oder Briefe eines in London weilenden chinesischen Philosophen an seine Freunde im Fernen Osten	1977	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	7000	1728-1774	P: 265/4/77. 1977 A: Friedemann Berger T: Helmut von Heinrich
Goldsmith, Oliver [Friedemann Berger (Editor)]	(?)	1985	Insel-Verlag		1728-1774	P: 260/46/85. 1985
Goudge, Elizabeth	Inselzauber	1955	Verlag nicht genannt		1900-1984	NR
Goudge, Elizabeth	Der grüne Delphin	1972	St. Benno Verlag		1900-1984	T: N.O. Scarpi und Gerdrud Tschiedel
Greene, Graham	Komödien der Erotik. (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien)	1988	VuW	800	1904-1991	P: 410/124/88. 1988 A: Hans Petersen T: Hilder Spiel und Walther Puchwein
Greene, Graham	Mein Freund, der General. (The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1985	VuW	10000	1904-1991	P: 410/124/85. 1985. A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Werner Richter
Greene, Graham	Der menschliche Faktor. (The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1986	VuW	10000	1904-1991	P: 410/134/86. 1986 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz. T: Luise Wasserthal Zuccari, Hans W. Polak
Greene, Graham	Ein Mann mit vielen Namen. (Viking Penguin, New York / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Darmstadt)	1990	VuW	10000	1904-1991	P: 410/111/90. 1990 A: Klaus Schultz. T: Monika Fleiß
Greene, Grahame	Der stille Amerikaner	1957	VuW	5000	1904-1991	P: 410/14/57. 1957 A: Fritz J. Raddatz, Helle Carola Gärtner-Scholle
Greene, Grahame	Unser Mann in Havanna	1965	VuW		1904-1993	P: 410/71/65. 1965 A: Hans Petersen, Karl-Heinz Berger
Greene, Grahame	Die Stunde der Komödianten	1967	VuW		1904-1995	NR

Greene, Grahame	Spiel im Dunkeln	1970	VuW	10000	1904-1998	P: 410/52/70. 1970 A: Manfred Küchler, Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Walter Puchwein
Greene, Grahame	Billig im August (ausg. Kurzgeschichten) (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien und Hamburg)	1973	VuW	10000	1904-2000	P: 410/72/73. 1973 A: Hans Petersen, Marianne Bretschneider, Ruth Greuner
Greene, Grahame	Der Honorarkonsul (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1975	VuW	10000	1904-2001	P: 410/112/75. 1975 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz. T: Susanna Rademacher, Hans W. Polak
Greene, Grahame	Die Reisen mit meiner Tante (The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Hamburg)	1977	VuW	8000	1904-2004	P: 410/103/77. 1977 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Hans Pollak
Greene, Grahame	Ein ausgebrannter Fall (Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1981	VuW	10000	1904-2007	P: 410/96/81. 1981 A: Wolfgang Wicht, Klaus Schultz. T: Lida Winiewicz
Greene, Grahame	Dr. Fischer aus Genf oder die Bomben-Party (Spektrum-Reihe). (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1982	VuW	8000	1904-2008	P: 410/112/82. 1982 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Peter Michael, Hans Polak
Greene, Grahame	Die Stunde des Komödianten	1983	Aufbau		1904-2009	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 1 Ein ausgebrannter Fall	1984	VuW		1904-2012	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 2 Honorarkonsul	1984	VuW		1904-2013	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 3 Reisen mit meiner Tante	1984	VuW		1904-2014	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 4 Spiel im Dunkeln	1984	VuW		1904-2015	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 5 Der stille Amerikaner	1984	VuW		1904-2016	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 6 Die Stunde der Komödianten	1984	VuW		1904-2017	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 7 Unser Mann in Havanna	1984	VuW		1904-2018	NR
Greenwood, Walter	Liebe geht stempelt	1985	Aufbau		1903-1974	P: 120/193/85. 1985 A: Friedrich Baadke, Erich Fetter
Hardy, Thomas	Herzen in Aufruhr	1956	Aufbau	10000	1840-1928	P: 120/90/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Elga Abramowitz T.: Eva Schumann
Hardy, Thomas [Anselm Schlösser (Editor)]	Tess von d'Urbervilles. Eine reine Frau	1980	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	10000	1840-1928	P: 265/43/80. 1980 T: Paul Baudisch

Hardy, Thomas [Klaus Udo Szudra (Editor)]	Schabernack des Schicksals. Erzählungen (Auswahl aus mehreren Erzählungsbänden)	1970	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1840-1928	P: 190/7/70. 1970 A: Rolf Müller, Almut Giesecke, Klaus Udo Szudra, Anselm Schlösser T: Klaus Udo Szudra
Harris, Rosemary	Kein Happy-End für Miß Brenning (Michael Joseph, London)	1973	VuW	8000	1927-	P: 410/73/73. 1973 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger, Günther Böhnke
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Der scharlachrote Buchstabe	1954	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1804-1864	P: 190/1/56. 1956 A: Elli Berger. N: Prof. Dr. Hans Weyhe
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	The Scarlet Letter (Reihe: Panther Books)	1958	Paul List Verlag	5000	1804-1864	P: 290/37/54. 1954 A: Berger
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Das Haus mit den sieben Giebeln	1963	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	8000	1804-1864	P: 265/16/63. 1963 A: Joachim Krehayn, Friedrich Minckwitz. Friedrich Mickwitz, Noa Kiepenheuer
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Heinz Förster (Editor): Mr. Higginbothams Verhängnis. Ausgewählte Erzählungen	1979	Insel-Verlag		1804-1864	P: 260/8/79. 1979
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Der Marmorfaun	1972	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1804-1864	P: 190/22/72. 1972 A: Horst Ihde. T: Alice Seiffert
Hawthorne, Nathaniel [Friedrich Minckwitz (Editor)]	Der graue Beschützer und andere Erzählungen	1970	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	8000	1804-1865	P: 265/2/70. 1970 A: Walter Schnabelrauch, Wolfgang Günther T: Friedrich Mickwitz
Hawthorne, Nathaniel [Heinz Förster (Editor)]	Der schwarze Schleier. Ausgewählte Erzählungen	1980	Insel-Verlag		1804-1866	P: 260/35/80. 1980
Hawthorne, Nathaniel [Ingeburg Hucke (Editor)]	Dr. Heideggers Experiment	1977	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1804-1867	P: 340/128/77 (340/67/76). 1977 (1976)
Hewlett, Johnson	Ein Sechstel der Erde	1948	VuW		1864-1966	NR
Hill, Susan	Seltsame Begegnung	1982	Aufbau		1942-	NR
Hines, Barry	Und fing sich einen Falken (Michael Joseph, London)	1973	VuW	8000	1939-	P: 410/73/73. 1973 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Günther Böhnke
Hines, Barry	Der Champion (Michael Joseph, London / Penguin)	1974	VuW	10000	1939-	P: 410/62/74. 1974 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Rainer Rönsch
Hobbes	Grundzüge der Philosophie, Band I und II.	1951	Felix Meiner Verlag, Leipzig.		1588-1679	NR
Hogg, James	Die privaten Memoiren und Bekenntnisse eines gerechtfertigten Sünders	1984	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1770-1835	P: 340/75/84. 1984 A: Bock
Holtby, Winifred	Die Leute von Kiplington (William Collins Sons & Co., Glasgow)	1983	VuW	8000	1898-1935	P: 410/86/83 (410/97/81). 1983 (1981) A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Reinhild und Gunter Böhnke
Hume, George Basil (Cardinal)	Pilgerbuch des Lebens (Herder Verlag)	1988	St. Benno Verlag		1923-1999	T: Johanna Isenbart und Christiane Rath

Huxley, Aldous	Schöne neue Welt	1978	Neues Berlin		1894-1962	T: Eva Walch A: Host Höhne
Huxley, Aldous	Kontrapunkt des Lebens	1985	Insel-Verlag		1894-1962	P: 260/12/85. 1985
Huxley, Aldous	Das Genie und die Göttin. (Chatto and Windus, London)	1984	Insel-Verlag		1894-1962	P: 260/34/84. 1984 A: Karl Heinz Berger
Huxley, Aldous	Schöne neue Welt	1988	Philipp Reclam		1894-1962	P:340/71/88. 1988 A: Scheller /Ms. Pradel and Ms. Bock T: Eva Walch
James, Henry	Erzählungen. 2 Bände Karl. Heinz Wirzberger (Editor)	1967	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1843-1916	P: 190/7/8/67 (190/9/67). 1967 A: Anselm Schlösser
James, Henry	Das Raubtier im Dschungel. Erzählungen II	1968	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15000	1843-1916	P: 190/23/68 (190/8/67). 1968 (1967)
James, Henry	Bildnis einer Dame	1970	Aufbau	50400	1843-1916	T: Lore Krüger
James, Henry	Die Gesandten	1973	Aufbau	20000	1843-1916	P: 120/169/79. 1979 A: Jaochim Krehayn, Elga Abramowitz, Klotz. T: Ana Maria Brock
James, Henry	Die Erbin von Washington Square	1975	Aufbau	20000	1843-1916	P: 120/206/75. 1975 A: Sigrid Klotz, Elga Abramowitz, Günter Klotz T: Ana Maria Brock
James, Henry	Prinzessin Casamassima	1979	Aufbau	20000	1843-1916	T: Ana Maria Brock
James, Henry	Die Kunst des Romans. Ausgewählte Essays zur Literatur	1984	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	6000	1843-1916	P: 265/47/84. 1984 A: Utz Riese, Günter Gentsch. T: Helga Eberhard
James, Henry	Damen in Boston	1985	Aufbau	15000	1843-1916	P: 120/194/85. 1985 A: Utz Riese, Klotz, Elga Abramowitz . T: Ana Maria Brock
James, Henry	Die Flügel der Taube	1990	Aufbau	20000	1843-1916	P: 120/178/90. 1990 A: Sigrid Klotz T: Anna Maria Brock
James, P. D.	Ein unverhofftes Geständnis (Reihe: bb-Taschenbuch)	1985	Aufbau	30000	1929-	P: 120/184/85. 1985 A: Erich Fetter, Klaus Schirrmeister T: Sybille Hunzinger
James, P. D.	Der schwarze Turm (K-Reihe). (Faber and Faber, London / Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1989	VuW	15000	1929-	P: 410/107/89. 1989 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert T: Doris Kornau und Alexandra Wiegand
James, P. D.	Tod eines Sachverständigen (K-Reihe). (Faber and Faber, London / Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1987	VuW		1929-	P: 410/116/87. 1987 A: Sylvia Ostermann, Hans-Joachim Volkert
James, P.D.	Ein reizender Job für eine Frau (Krimi) (Faber & Faber, London / Rainer Wunderlich Verlag Hermann Leins & Co., Tübingen)	1983	VuW	8000	1929-	P: 410/87/83. 1983 A: Klaus Schultz T: Wolfdietrich Müller

James, P.D.	Ein reizender Job für eine Frau (Krimi)	1984	VuW		1929-	NR
James, P.D.	Ende einer Karriere. (Droemersche Verlagsanstalt Th. Knaur Nachf., München)	1985	VuW	10000	1929-	P: 410/122/85. 1985 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Sabine Teichmann. T: Gorg Auerbach
Jara, Joan	Victor. Ein unvollendetes Lied	1986	VuW		1929-	NR
Johnson, Samuel	Die Geschichte von Rasselas, Prinzen von Abessinien	1972	Insel-Verlag		1708-1784	P: 260/80/72. 1972 A: Anselm Schlösser
Johnson, Samuel	Eine Reise zu den westlichen Inseln von Schottland	1986	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1708-1784	P: 340/75/86. 1986 A: Bock
Jones, Lewis	Im Tal der schlagenden Wetter	1969	VuW	6000	1897-1939	P: 410/54/69. 1969 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger, Udo Birckholz T: Hans Löffler
Joyce, James	Dubliner (Erzählungen) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1977	VuW	10000	1882-1941	P: 410/108/77. 1977 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Joachim Krehayn. T: Dieter Zimmer
Joyce, James	Ein Portrait des Künstlers als junger Mann	1979	VuW	12000	1882-1941	P: 410/104/79. 1979 A: Erwin Pracht T: Klaus Reichert
Joyce, James	Ulysses (2 Bände) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1980	VuW	8000	1882-1941	P: 410/106/80. 1980 A: Erwin Pracht, Joachim Krehayn. T: Hans Wollschläger
Joyce, James	Stephen der Held (New Directions, New York / Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1982	VuW	6000	1882-1941	P: 410/114/82. 1982 A: Hans Petersen, Herbert Krempien, Wolfgang Wicht. T: Klaus Reichert
Joyce, James	Kammermusik (Lyriksammlung)	1982	Insel-Verlag		1882-1941	NR
Joyce, James. Wolfgang Wicht (Editor)	Ausgewählte Schriften. (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1984	VuW		1882-1941	P: 410/117/84. 1984 A: Klaus Schultz
Kartun, Derek	England zwischen Gestern und Morgen	1957	VuW		1919-2005	NR
Kennaway, James	Blutiger Winter (Spektrum-Reihe). (Jonathan Cape, London)	1976	VuW	8000	1918-1968	P: 410/106/76. 1976 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Klaus Schultz
Kipling Rudyard	Das Dschungelbuch (1. Auflage)	1948	Paul List Verlag	120000	1865-1936	NR
Kipling Rudyard	Das neue Dschungelbuch (1. Auflage)	1949	Paul List Verlag	10000	1865-1936	NR
Kipling, Rudyard	Die schönste Geschichte der Welt	1948	?	15000	1865-1936	NR
Kipling, Rudyard	Kaas Jagdtanz	1955	Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt	191000	1865-1936	P: 285/22/55. 1955

Kipling, Rudyard	Das kommt davon (Reihe: Robinsons billige Bücher)	1963	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	20000	1865-1936	P: 270/39/63. 1963 A: Jules Violet
Kipling, Rudyard	Die schönste Geschichte der Welt	1975	Paul List Verlag	25000	1865-1936	P: 290/15/75. 1975 A: Helmut Findeisen, Heinz Mode
Kipling, Rudyard	Das Dschungelbuch	1980	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	80000	1865-1936	P: 265/47/80. 1980 T: Curt Abel-Musgrave
Kipling, Rudyard	Das neue Dschungelbuch	1980	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	80000	1865-1936	P: 265/48/80. 1980 T: Curt Abel-Musgrave
Kipling, Rudyard	Nur so Märchen	1989	Der Morgen		1865-1936	P: 48/22/89. 1989 A: Dorothea Körner
Kipling, Rudyard	Der Herr der Dschungel (KAP-Reihe)	1966	VuW	12500	1865-1936	P: 285/175/66. 1966 I: Werner Ruhner. A: Lothar Grünewald. T: Curt Abel-Musgrave
Kipling, Rudyard	Rikki-Tikki-Tavi. Erzählungen aus dem Dschungelbuch	1966	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1865-1936	P: 340/27/66. 1966 A: Herzog
Kollektiv, Hans Petersen (Editor)	Erkundungen. 28 walisische Erzähler (Reihe: Erkundungen)	1988	VuW	6000		P: 410/122/88. 1988 A: Klaus Schultz, Reinhard Ulbrich
Kollektiv, Robert Weimann (Editor)	Dramen der Shakespearezeit (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1964	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung			P: 190/16/64. 1964 A: W. Apelt
Krehayn, Joachim (Hrsg)	Englische Dramen	1966	VuW			NR
Larkin, Philip / Gunn, Thom / Hughs, Ted	Gedichte	1974	VuW			NR
Larkin, Philip	Mich ruft nur meiner Glocke grober Klang-Gedichte	1988	VuW		1922-1985	A: Karl Heinz Berger P: 410/121/88 ISBN 3-353-00360-6 T: Eva Rottenberg und Gabriele C. Pallat
Laverty, Maura	Irische Kindheit	1971	St. Benno Verlag			T: Eva Rottenberg und Gabriele C. Pallat
Lawrence, D. H. [Heide Steiner (Editor)]	Chrysanthemenduft. Ausgewählte Erzählungen	1984	Insel-Verlag		1885-1930	P: 260/33/84. 1984 A: Bernhard Scheller
Lawrence, D.H.	Söhne und Liebhaber	1966	Aufbau		1885-1930	NR
Lawrence, D.H.	Lady Chatterley	1977	Aufbau	10000	1885-1930	P: 120/182/77. 1977 A: Anselm Schlösser, Klaus Schirrmeiste
Lennox, Charlotte	Der weibliche Quichotte oder Arabellas Abenteuer	1976	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000	1730-1804	P: 265/2/76. 1976 A: Friedemann Berger T: Renate berger
Lessing, Doris	Der Zauber ist nicht verkäuflich	1954	Verlag Tribüne Berlin	8000	1919-2013	P: 390/19/56. 1956 A: Paul Friedländer, Elli Schmidt T: Lore Krüger
Lessing, Doris	Afrikanische Tragödie (Michael Joseph, London / S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.).	1983	VuW	6000	1919-2013	A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Ernst Sander
Lessing, Doris	Hunger (Curtis Brown, London)	1984	Insel-Verlag		1919-2013	P: 260/35/84. 1984 A: Klaus Köhl P: 410/114/84. 1984

Lessing, Doris	Winter im Juli. Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten. (Klett- Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachf., Stuttgart / Diogenes Verlag, Zürich).	1984	VuW	8000	1911-1993	A: Klaus Schultz, Sabine Teichmann
Lewis, C.S.	Die große Scheidung oder zwischen Himmel und Hölle	1968	St. Benno Verlag		1898-1963	T: Helmut Kuhn
Lewis, C.S.	Eine Auswahl aus Werken	1976	St. Benno Verlag		1889-1963	T: Elisabeth Anthkowiak and others
Lewis, C.S.	Perelandra	1987	St. Benno Verlag		1889-1963	T: Walter Brumm
Lewis, Norman	Das zehnte Jahr des Schiffes	1970	Aufbau		1908-2003	NR
Lewis, Norman	Flucht von einem dunklen Äquator	1975	Aufbau	50000	1908-2003	P: 120/199/75. 1975 A: Klaus Schirrmeister, Erich Fette T: Klaus Schirrmeister
Liverpool, Russel Lord of	Geißel der Menschheit	1955	VuW		1895-1981	NR
Locke, John [Hermann Klenner (Editor)]	Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Staatsgewalt. Sozialphilosophische Schriften	1980	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1632-1704	P: 340/4/80. 1980 A: Karin Gurst, Helmut Seidel
Lovesey, Peter	Detektiv in Boxerhosen	1974	Aufbau		1936-	NR
Lovesey, Peter	Der Urlaub eines Übergeschnappten	1977	Aufbau		1936-	NR
MacDiarmid, Hugh	Ein Wind sprang auf (Gedichte)	1968	VuW	2000	1892-1978	P: 410/57/68. 1968 A: J. B. Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger T: Dr. J. B. Mitchell
MacInnes, Colin	Stadt der schwarzen Träume	1967	Aufbau		1982-1978	NR
Mackay, Shena	Scherbengericht (Erzählung)	1972	VuW		1914-1976	NR
Mandeville, Bernard	Die Bienenfabel	1957	Aufbau		1670-1733	NR
Marlow, Joyce	Kessie (Reihe: bb- Taschenbuch)	1989	Aufbau		1929-	P: 120/188/89. 1989 A: Erich Fetter, Marlies Juhnke
Maugham, William Somerset	Julia, du bist zauberhaft	1966	VuW	28000	1874-1965	P: 410/95/66. 1966. A: Karl Heinz Berger, Christa Grünke
Maugham, William Somerset	Silbermond und Kupfermünze	1973	Aufbau	30000	1874-1965	NR
Maugham, William Somerset	Seine erste Frau	1974	VuW		1874-1965	NR
Maugham, William Somerset	Regen (Erzählungen) (Diogenes Verlag, Zürich)	1977	VuW	10000	1874-1965	P: 410/104/77. 1977 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Marianne Bretschneider
Maugham, William Somerset	Vor der Party. Ausgewählte Erzählungen	1978	Insel-Verlag		1874-1965	P: 260/34/78. 1978
Maugham, William Somerset	Der bunte Schleier (Scherz Verlag, München)	1978	VuW	10000	1874-1965	P: 410/112/78. 1978 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Marianne Bretschneider

T: Anna Kellner

Mc Grath, John [Günter Klotz (Editor)]	Dramen	1985	Aufbau	1935-2002	P: 120/251/85 (120/146/84). 1985(1984). A: Friedrich Baadke
McEwan, Ian	Der Zementgarten	1989	Aufbau	1948-	P: 120/171/89. 1989. A: Klaus Schirrmeyer, Wolfgang Wicht
Meredith, George	Der Egoist	1965	Paul List Verlag	1828-1909	P: 290/25/66 (290/20/65). 1966 (1965)
Milne, A. A.	Pu der Bär (Methuen & Co., London / William & Co., Berlin / Atrium Verlag, Zürich)	1960	Alfred Holz Verlag	5000 1982-1956	P: 255/13/60. 1960 A: Ursula Kroszewsky-Tschesno T: E.L. Schiffer
Milton, John	Simson der Kämpfer	1958	Aufbau	1500 1608-1674	P: 120/215/58. 1958 A: Klotz. T: Hermann Ulrich
Mitchell, James Leslie	Der lange Weg durchs Gingstermoor	1970	VuW	8000 1901-1935	P: 410/53/70. 1970 A: Udo Birckholz, John B. Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Hans Petersen
Mitchell, James Leslie	Wolken über der Ebene (Jarrolds Publishers, London)	1972	VuW	8000 1901-1935	P: 410/57/72. 1972 A: Udo Birckholz, John Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Hans Petersen
Mitchell, James Leslie	Flamme in grauem Granit (Jarrolds Publishers)	1974	VuW	8000 1901-1935	P: 410/64/74. 1974 A: John Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger, Udo Birckholz. T: Hans Peterson
Mitchell, James Leslie	Wolken über der Ebene	1977	VuW	1901-1935	NR
Mitchell, James Leslie	Ein schottisches Buch (A Scots Quair) Bd 1	1986	VuW	1901-1935	NR
Moore, George	Esther Waters	1976	Paul List Verlag	10000 1852-1933	P: 290/14/76 (290/16/75). 1976 (1975) A: Werner Beyer. Schwarz
Morton, Arthur L.	Freedom in Arms. A Selection of Leveller Writings (International Publishers, New York / Lawrence & Wishart, London)	1975	Sevens Seas Publishers	10000 1914-1999	P: 306/137/75. 1975 A: Kay Pankey
Morton, Arthur L.	A People's History of England	1977	Sevens Seas Publishers	1914-1999	NR
Morton, Arthur L.	The English Utopia	1978	Sevens Seas Publishers	1914-1999	NR
Nashe, Thomas	Der glücklose reisende oder das Leben des Jack Wilton	1982	Aufbau	1567-1601	NR
Newman, John Henry	Der Traum des Gerontius	1959	St. Benno Verlag	1801-1890	NR
Newman, John Henry	Worte des Herzens (Herder Verlag)	1990	St. Benno Verlag	1801-1890	NR
Northcott, Cecil	Biblisches Lexikon für Jung und Alt (Deutsche Christliche Verlagsanstalt, Kn)	1975	St. Benno Verlag	1902-1987	NR

O'Brian, Flann	Zwei Vögel beim Schwimmen (Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1981	VuW	8000	1911-1966	P: 410/100/81. 1981 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz T: Lore Fiedler
O'Brian, Flann	Das Barmen	1983	VuW		1911-1966	NR
O'Brian, Flann	Das harte Leben (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1984	VuW	8000	1911-1966	P: 410/118/84. 1984 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Annemarie und Heinrich Böll
O'Brian, Flann	Der dritte Polizist. (Mac Gibbon & Kee, London / Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1985	VuW	6000	1911-1966	P: 410/123/85. 1985 A: Klaus Schultz. T: Harry Rowohlt
O'Casey, Sean	I knock at the Door (Reihe: Panther Books)	1955	Paul List Verlag		1880-1964	P: 290/26/55. 195 A: Berger
O'Casey, Sean	Ich klopfe an die Tür. Kurzer Rückblick auf das, was mich werden ließ	1957	Paul List Verlag	5000	1880-1964	P: 290/16/57. 1957 T: Dr. Georg Goyert (München)
O'Casey, Sean	Bilder in der Vorhalle (copyright by O'Casey 1942)	1959	Paul List Verlag	5000	1880-1964	P: 290/16/59. 1959 A: Lange, Werner Beyer, Erich Schreier. T: Dr. Georg Goyert (München)
O'Casey, Sean	Irische Trommeln	1961	Paul List Verlag	6000	1880-1964	P: 290/14/61. 1961 A: Erich Schreier, Werner Beyer
O'Casey, Sean	Rose und Krone	1962	Paul List Verlag	6000	1880-1964	P: 290/20/62. 1962 A: Werner Beyer, Helle Carola Gärtner-Scholle, Müller. T: Werner Beyer
O'Casey, Sean	Dämmerung und Abendstern.	1963	Paul List Verlag	8000	1880-1964	P: 290/16/63. 1963 A: K. Zippel, Werner Beyer. T: Dr. Werner Beyer
O'Casey, Sean	Unter einer bunten Kappe. Erzählungen, Aufsätze, Essays	1966	Paul List Verlag		1880-1964	P: 290/14/66. 1966 A: Werner Beyer. T: Werner Beyer
O'Casey, Sean	Dramen Bd 1 und 2	1966	Aufbau	2000	1880-1964	P: 120/258-259/66 T: Irmhild und Otto Brandstätter
O'Casey, Sean	Rote Rosen für mich	1966	Aufbau		1880-1964	NR
O'Casey, Sean	Irische Trommeln	1969	Paul List Verlag		1880-1964	P: 290/14/69. 1969
O'Casey, Sean	Ich klopfe an (Macmillan, London).	1980	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar Insel-Verlag	6000	1880-1964	P: 265/13/80. 1980 T: Georg Goyert
O'Casey, Sean	Juno und der Pfau. (MacMillan & Co, London)	1977	Insel-Verlag		1880-1964	P: 260/35/77. 1977
O'Casey, Sean Otto Brandstädter (Editor)	Dämmerung und Abendstern	1988	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar Paul List Verlag	6000	1880-1964	P: 265/19/88. 1988. T: Werner Beyer
O'Casey, Sean (Ronald Ayling (Editor))	Wünsche und Verwünschungen	1970	Paul List Verlag		1880-1964	P: 290/12/70. 1970 A: Franke, Lindner, Gisela Tronjeck
O'Flaherty, Liam	Das schwarze Tal	1957	VuW		1896-1984	P: 410/65/57. 1957 A: Joachim Krehayn, Schlicht

O'Casey, Sean [Manfred Nöbel (Editor)]	Ein Pfund abheben. Sechs Einakter	1977	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1880-1964	P: 340/74/77. 1977 A: Schröder
Osborne, John	Blick zurück im Zorn / Der Entertainer / Luther	1974	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1929-1994	P: 340/63/74. 1974 A: Herzog, Eva Manske
Painting, Norman / Day, Michael	Antonio, der Mann, der sich selber fand	1963	St. Benno Verlag		1924-2009	T: Willy Leson
Pepys, Samuel [Anselm Schlösser (Editor)]	Das geheime Tagebuch	1980	Insel-Verlag		1633-1703	P: 260/13/80. 1980 A: Martin Lehnert
Petersen, Hans (Hrsg.)	Erkundungen. 23 englische Erzähler	1971	VuW			NR
Petersen, Hans (Hrsg.)	Erkundungen. 30 irische Erzähler	1979	VuW			NR
Petersen, Hans (Hrsg.)	Limericks	1984	VuW			NR
Plunkett, James	Manche, sagt man, sind verdammt	1973	Aufbau		1920-2003	NR
Priestley, John Boynton	Laßt das Volk doch singen	1958	Mitteldeutsche r Verlag Halle- Leipzig	10000	1894-1984	P: 300/56/58. 1958
Priestley, John Boynton	Dramen	1976	Aufbau	10000	1894-1984	P: 120/200/75. 1975 A: Friedrich Baadke
Priestley, John Boynton	Du bist ein einem alten Land	1979	Aufbau		1894-1984	NR
Priestley, John Boynton	Zauber früher Jahre	1986	Aufbau		1894-1984	P: 120/173/86. 1986 A: Erich Fetter, Friedrich Baadke
Pritt, D.N	Unrepentant Aggressors (Nazism all over again)	1969	Sevens Seas Publishers	3000	1867-1972	P: 306/263/69. 1969 A: John Peet
Quincey, Thomas de	Bekenntnisse eines Opiumessers	1981	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar		1785-1859	P: 265/37/82. 1982 A: Klaus Sommer. T: Elfriede Mund
Richards, Alun	Schneewittchen und der Klempner (Kurzgeschichten)	1984	VuW		1929-2004	NR
Richardson, Samuel	Sittenlehre für die Jugend in den auserlesensten aesopischen Fabeln	1977	Insel-Verlag		1929-2004	P: 260/7/77. 1977
Roy, Pascal	Deutschland. Weg und Irrweg	1947	VuW		104-1980	NR
Sansom, William	Das Betriebsfest	1971	VuW		1912-1976	NR
Sansom, William	Der verbotene Leuchtturm (Kurzgeschichten)	1975	VuW	15000	1912-1976	P: 410/113/75. 1975 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger, Udo Birckholz
Sayers, Dorothy	Der Mann mit den Kupferfindern (Krimi) (Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, Tübingen / Scherz Verlag, Bern und München)	1977	VuW	10000	1897-1957	P: 410/105/77. 1977 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Erna Krause, Gerlinde Quenzer, Gabriele Taut

Sayers, Dorothy L.	Mord braucht Reklame	1972	Aufbau	1897-1957	NR
Schaffer, Gordon	Ein Engländer bereist die russische Zone	1948	VuW	1905-	NR
Scott, Walter	Old Mortality	1954	Verlag Rütten & Loening	2000	1771-1832 P: 415/61/54. 1954 A: Elisabeth Schulz. T: Rudolf Schaller
Scott, Walter	Das Herz von Midlothian	1955	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1771-1832 P: 415/112/55. 1955 A: E. Schulz. T: Walter Wilhelm Borkheide
Scott, Walter	Kenilworth (Reihe: Historische Romane)	1956	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1771-1832 P: 415/128/56. 1956 A: Christfried Coler, Elisabeth Schulz
Scott, Walter	Quentin Durward, Bd. I	1957	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	13000	1771-1832 P: 270/51/57. 1957 A: Ruth Krenn
Scott, Walter	Das Herz von Midlothian (2 Bände)	1959	Aufbau	30000	1771-1832 P: 120/209/59. 1959 A: Klaus Täubert
Scott, Walter	Das schöne Mädchen von Perth (Reihe: Spannend erzählt)	1960	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	20000	1771-1832 P: 305/111/60. 1960 A: Katrin Pieper, Hoffmann
Scott, Walter	Quentin Durward (Reihe: Spannend erzählt)	1964	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	34000	1771-1832 P: 305/122/64 (305/138/64). 1964
Scott, Walter	Die Braut von Lammermoor	1965	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	10000	1771-1832 P: 265/19/65 (265/9/64). 1965 (1964) A: Friedrich Minckwitz
Scott, Walter	Ivanhoe (Reihe: Spannend erzählt)	1965	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	25000	1771-1832 P: 305/17/65. 1965 A: Liepe, Hoffmann, Walch, Bleuel. T: Chr. Hoepfener
Scott, Walter	Ivanhoe	1968	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1771-1832 P: 415/37/68. 1968
Scott, Walter [Gisela Reichel (Editor)]	Waverley	1972	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	10000	1771-1832 P: 265/13/72 (265/4/71). 1972 (1971). A: Friedrich Minckwitz. T: Giesela Reichel
Shakespeare, William	Walther Victor (Editor). Shakespeare-Lesebuch. ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	1954	Thüringer Volksverlag	20000	1564-1616 P: 380/23 g/54. 1954
Shakespeare, William	Werke in drei Bänden Bd 1 Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung (...)	1956	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616 P: 120/76-78/55. 1955
Shakespeare, William	Werke in drei Bänden Bd 2 Der Kaufmann von Venedig (...)	1956	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616 P: 120/76-78/55. 1955
Shakespeare, William	Werke in drei Bänden Bd 3 Hamelt (...)	1956	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616 P: 120/76-78/55. 1955
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden / Bd 1 Historien	1956	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616 NR
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden / Bd 2 Komödien	1956	Aufbau		NR
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden / Bd 3 Tragödien	1956	Aufbau		NR

Shakespeare, William	Hamlet / König Lear / Macbeth. Dramatische Werke in 6 Bänden, Band 1	1960	Arion Verlag	3000	1564-1616	P: 380/8/60. 1960 T.: Rudolf Schallen
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden	1962	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616	P: 120/76-78/55. 1955 T: Elisabeth Schulz
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 1 Komödien	1964	Aufbau	7500	1564-1616	P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 2 Komödien II	1964	Aufbau	7500	1564-1616	P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 3 Historien	1964	Aufbau	7500	1564-1616	P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 4 Tragödien	1964	Aufbau	7500	1564-1616	P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf
Shakespeare, William	Sonette	1964	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	5000	1564-1616	P: 340/33/64. 1964 A: Richli-Krause T: Gottlob Regis N: Prof. Dr. Anselm Schlösser.
Shakespeare, William	Komödie der Irrungen (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1964	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	10000	1564-1616	P: 340/87/64. 1964 A: Richli-Krause. T: Wolf Graf Baudissin
Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 1 König Richard der zweite (...)	1964	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn T: Gottlob Regis N: Anselm Schlösser
Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 3 Viel Lärm um Nichts (...)	1964	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn. T: Gottlob Regis N: Anselm Schlösser
Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 4 Romeo und Julia (...)	1964	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn. T: Gottlob Regis N: Anselm Schlösser.
Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 5 Coriolanus (...)	1964	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn. T: Gottlob Regis N: Anselm Schlösser
Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 6 Timaon von Athen (...)	1964	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn. T: Gottlob Regis N: Anselm Schlösser.

Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd2 Ein Sommernachtstraum (...)	1964	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn. T: Gottlob Regis N: Anselm Schlösser.
Shakespeare, William	Ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	1964	Aufbau		1564-1616	NR
Shakespeare, William	Hamlet	1966	Aufbau	3000	1564-1616	P: 120/235/66 . 1966 T: Theodor Fontane
Shakespeare, William	Werke Bd. IV	1967	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1564-1616	P: 415/80/67. 1967 A: Klaus Schirrmeister
Shakespeare, William	Dramen (2 Bände)	1971	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616	T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin
Shakespeare, William	König Lear	1972	Insel-Verlag		1564-1616	P: 260/29/72. 1972
Shakespeare, William	Troilus und Cressida	1978	Insel-Verlag		1564-1616	P: 260/33/78. 1978 A: Anselm Schlösser
Shakespeare, William [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Sonnets. Sonette	1989	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung		1564-1616	P: 190/114/89. 1989 A: Horst Nalewski
Sharpe, Tom	Puppenmord oder Bis daß ihr Tod ihn scheidet. (Martin Secker & Warburg, London / Rogner & Bernhard, München)	1990	VuW	10000	1928-2013	P: 410/142/90. 1990 A: Manfred Küchler. T: Benjamin Schwarz
Shaw, Elizabeth	Der kleine Angsthase	1963	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	20000	1920-1992	P: 270/243/63. 1963 A: Annemarie Lesser
Shaw, Elizabeth	Gittis Tomatenpflanze	1964	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	15000	1920-1992	P: 270/18/64. 1964 A: Annemarie Lesser
Shaw, George Bernard	Dramatische Werke. eine Auswahl in vier Bänden (4 Bände)	1956	Aufbau	40000	1856-1950	P: 120/63-66/56. 1956 T: : Siegfried Trebitsch
Shaw, George Bernard	Die törichte Heirat (Gebr. Weiss Verlag, Berlin)	1958	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1856-1950	P: 415/29/58. 1958 A: Arno Hausmann T: Wilhelm Cremer
Shaw, George Bernard	Cashel Byrons Beruf	1958	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1856-1950	P: 415/80/58. 1958 A: Arno Hausmann T: Alfred Brieger
Shaw, George Bernard	7 Stücke (Reihe: Bibliothek der Weltliteratur)	1965	Aufbau	10000	1856-1950	P: 120/234/65. 1965 A: Sigrid Klotz T: : Siegfried Trebitsch (BRD)
Shaw, George Bernard	Stücke	1974	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1856-1950	P: 340/127/74 (340/54/73). 1974 (1973) A: Herzog
Shaw, George Bernard	Erste Hilfe für Kritiker (Auswahl von Schriften)	1985	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	10000	1856-1950	P: 265/51/85. 1985 A: Günter Walch. T: Siegfried Trebitsch
Shelley, Percy Bysshe [Horst Höhne (Editor)]	Ausgewählte Werke. Dichtung und Prosa	1985	Insel-Verlag		1972-1822	P: 260/11/85 (260/11/84). 1985 (1984) A: Helmut Findeisen

Shepard, Eric	Mord im Nonnenkloster	1977	St. Benno Verlag		1882-?	T: Götz Wagner
Sheridan, John Desmond	Bruder Halleluja oder Gott schuf auch kleinere Äpfel (Bitter Verlag Recklinghausen)	1985	St. Benno Verlag		1903-1980	T: Clementine Norres
Sillitoe, Alan	Schlüssel zur Tür	1966	VuW		1928-2010	NR
Sillitoe, Alan	Die Einsamkeit des Langstreckenläufers (Erzählungen)	1969	VuW		1928-2010	NR
Sillitoe, Alan	Samstagnacht und Samstagmorgen	1972	VuW	8000	1928-2010	P: 410/58/72. 1972 A: Almut Giesecke, Joachim Krehayn, John Mitchell. T: Gerda von Uslar
Sillitoe, Alan	Bilder aus Margarets Leben	1976	VuW		1928-2010	NR
Sir Thomas Malory	(Kurzgeschichten) Die Geschichten von König Artus und den Rittern seiner Tafelrunde	1973	Insel-Verlag		1405-1471	P: 260/4/73. 1973
Smith, Alexander. Anselm Schlösser (Editor)	Leben und Taten der berühmtesten Straßenräuber, Mörder und Spitzbuben	1986	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	15000		P: 265/17/86. 1986 A: Günter Gentsch, Martin Lehnert. T: J.L. Rost
Smith, Herbert	Von Freitag bis Montag	1962	VuW			NR
Smith, Herbert	Am Morgen kam der Tod	1965	VuW			NR
Smollett, Tobias	Die Abenteuer Roderichs Rands	1952	VuW		1721-1771	NR
Smollett, Tobias	Humphry Clinkers denkwürdige Reise (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1959	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1721-1771	P: 190/81/59 (190/6/58). 1959 (1958) T: Walter Batt
Smollett, Tobias	Die Abenteuer of Roderick Random	1965	Insel-Verlag	10000	1721-1771	P: 260/10/65. 1965. A: Klähn. T: W.Chr.S. Mylius
Smollett, Tobias	Die Abenteuer des Peregrine Pickle, Band I und II	1972	Insel-Verlag		1721-1771	P: 260/718/72. 1972
Snow, C.P.	Korridore der Macht (Macmillian & Co., London / Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart)	1967	VuW	13000	1905-1980	P: 410/45/67. 1967 A: Udo Birckholz, H. Findeisen, Karl Heinz Berger T: Grete Felten
Snow, C.P.	Entscheidung in Barford (Macmillan, London / Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart)	1970	VuW	13300	1905-1980	P: 410/54/70. 1970 A: Herbert Hensel, Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Gret Felten
Snow, C.P.	Salons im Zwielight (Macmillan, London)	1983	VuW		1905-1980	P: 410/89/83. 198 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
Sommerfield, John	Die Gegner	1958	VuW		1908-1991	NR
Sommerfield, John	Die Erbschaft	1959	VuW		1908-1991	NR

Spark, Muriel	Die Äbtissin von Crewe (Kurzroman) (Spektrum-Reihe). (Macmillan Ltd., London)	1977	VuW	8000	1918-2006	P: 410/106/77. 1977 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Giesela Petersen
Spring, Robert Howard	Geliebte Söhne	1957	VuW		1889-1965	NR
Sterne, Lawrence	Das Leben und die Ansichten Tristram Shandys	1952	Paul List Verlag		1713-1768	NR
Sterne, Lawrence	Eine empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien. Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch-handlung Leipzig	1955	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch-handlung	1000	1713-1768	P: 190/3/55. 1955 A: Rudolf Marx N: Helmut Fineisen
Sterne, Lawrence	Empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek).	1959	Verlag Philipp Reclams jun. Leipzig.		1713-1768	P: 340/59/59. 1959 A: Karl Blasche
Sterne, Lawrence	Das Leben und die Ansichten Tristram Shandys	1989	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch-handlung	9000	1713-1768	P: 190/101/89. 1989 T: Kristina Hering
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Die Schatzinsel	1946	Aufbau		1850-1894	NR
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Das rätselvolle Leben. Meistererzählungen	1953	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch-handlung	10000	1850-1894	T: Barbara Cramer
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Entführt	1956	Aufbau	20000	1850-1894	P: 120/551/55. 1955 A: Arno Hausmann
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Entführt	1956	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	20000	1850-1894	P: 305/122/56. 1956 A: Zander. T: Ruth Gerull-Kardas
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen	1957	Kultur und Fortschritt	180000	1850-1894	P: 285/63/57. 1957 A: ? T: Rudolf Köster
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Catriona	1957	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	20000	1850-1894	P: 305/96/57. 1957 A: Hoffmann. T: Ruth Gerull-Kardas
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Catriona	1957	Aufbau		1850-1894	NR
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Reise durch die Südsee. 16 Tafeln Kunstdruck-doppelseitig	1957	Greifenverlag Rudolstadt	10500	1850-1894	NR
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Leichenräuber (Blaulicht-Reihe)	1958	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	140000	1850-1894	P: 160/49/63. 1963 A: Ingeburg Siebenstädt
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Junker von Ballantrae (Reihe: bb-Taschenbücher)	1959	Aufbau	50000	1850-1894	P: 120/217/58. 1958. A: Elga Abramowitz. T: Lore Krüger
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Leichenräuber	1963	Das Neue Berlin	140000	1850-1894	P: 160/49/63. 1963 A: Ingeburg Siebenstädt
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Junker von Ballantrae	1963	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch-handlung	10000	1850-1894	P: 190/11/62 (190/2/61, 190/30/60, 190/27/59, 190/5/58). 1962 (1961, 1960, 1959, 1958) A: Rudolf Marx, Joachim Krehayn. T: Prof. Dr. Karl-Heinz Wirzberger
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen (Kompass-Taschenbuchreihe)	1965	Aufbau	50000	1850-1894	P: 305/74/65. 1965 A: Hoffmann, Henri Poschmann

Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen / John Nicholson, der Pechvogel (Reihe: Kompaß-Taschenbücher)	1965	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	50000	1850-1894	P: 305/74/65. 1965 A: Hoffmann, Henri Poschmann. T: G. Löffler
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen	1965	Gebr. Knabe Verlag		1850-1894	P: 500/19/65. 1965 A: Hans Malberg
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Diamant des Radschas und andere Erzählungen	1971	Insel-Verlag		1850-1894	P: 260/49/71. 1971
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Die Schatzinsel	1973	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1850-1894	P: 190/6/73. 1973 A: Klaus Udo Szudra T: Hans Seiffert
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Die Schatzinsel	1979	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar Aufbau	150000	1850-1894	P: 265/49/79. 1979 T: Karl Lerbs
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Junker von Ballantrae	1981			1850-1894	NR
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Selbstmörderklub	1982	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	50000	1850-1894	P: 265/37/82. 1982 A: Klaus Sommer
Stevenson, Robert Louis [Günther Klotz (Editor)]	Entführt	1969	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung		1850-1894	P: 190/7/69. 1969 A: Rolf Müller
Stevenson, Robert Louis (Karl-Heinz Wirzberger (Editor))	Das rätselvolle Leben. Meistererzählungen (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1963	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung		1850-1894	P: 190/12/63. 1963 A: Anselm Schlösser
Stevenson, Robert Louis [Günter Gentsch (Editor)]	Der Selbstmörderklub / Der Diamant des Radschas	1968	Insel-Verlag		1850-1894	P: 260/52/68 (260/36/67). 1968 (1967)
Stevenson, Robert Louis [Günther Klotz (Editor)]	Catriona	1969	Insel-Verlag		1850-1894	P: 260/8/69. 1969
Stevenson, Robert Louis [K. H. Wirzberger (Editor)]	Der weite Horizont	1987	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15000	1850-1894	P: 190/109/87. 1987
Swift, Jonathan	Gullivers Reisen	1958	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin Aufbau	30000	1667-1745	P: 270/41/58. 1958 A: Alice Sellin
Swift, Jonathan	Reisen in verschiedene fernegelegene Länder der Erde von Lemuel Gulliver erst Wundarzt später Kapitän mehrerer Schiffe	1960			1667-1745	NR
Swift, Jonathan	Gullivers Reisen (Reihe: Bibliothek der Weltliteratur)	1964	Verlag Rütten & Loening	15000	1667-1745	P: 415/22/64. 1964 A: Popp T: Franz Kottenkamp
Swift, Jonathan	Ausgewählte Werke in drei Bänden Bd 1 Satiren und Zeitkommentare	1967	Aufbau	3000	1667-1745	T: Wilck Graustein. Kottenkamp
Swift, Jonathan	Ausgewählte Werke in drei Bänden Bd 2 Politische Schriften	1967	Aufbau	3000	1667-1745	NR

Swift, Jonathan	Ausgewählte Werke in drei Bänden Bd 3 Gullivers Reisen	1967	Aufbau	3000	1667-1745	NR
Swift, Jonathan [Anselm Schlösser (Editor)]	Respektlose Schriften	1979	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1667-1745	P: 340/66/79. 1979 A: Bock
Synge, John Millington	Die Aran-Inseln	1975	Insel-Verlag		1871-1909	P: 260/29/75. 1975
Thackeray, William	Jahrmarkt der Eitelkeit	1967	Paul List Verlag		1811-1863	P: 290/19/67. 1967
Thackeray, William [Georg Seehase (Editor)]	Die Geschichte des Henry Esmond	1966	Insel-Verlag		1811-1863	P: 260/11/66. 1966
Thackeray, William M.	Henry Esmond	1953	Aufbau	10000	1811-1863	P: 120/73/54. 1954 A: Helle Carola Gärtner-Scholle, P. Schlicht
Thackeray, William M.	Die Memoiren des Junkers Barry Lyndon	1953	Aufbau		1811-1863	NR
Thackeray, William M.	Das Snob-Buch	1954	Paul List Verlag	10000	1811-1863	P: 290/18/54. 1954 A: Beyer
Thackeray, William M.	Die Newcomes (Reihe: Romane der Weltliteratur)	1955	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1811-1863	P: 415/131/55. 1955 A: Eva-Maria Ziegler, Charlotte Richter. T: Charlotte Richter
Thackeray, William M.	Die Memoiren des Mr. C. J. Yellowplush, ehedem Lakai in vielen vornehmen Familien	1958	Verlag Rütten & Loening	3000	1811-1863	P: 415/35/58. 1958. A: Riebau. T: Christine Hoepfener
Thackeray, William M.	Jahrmarkt der Eitelkeit, Teil I und II (Reihe: Bibliothek der Weltliteratur)	1964	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1811-1863	P: 415/8a-8b/64. 1964. A: Paulsen.
Thackeray, William M.	Die Kickleburys am Rhein (Reihe: Insel- Bücherei)	1965	Insel-Verlag	20000	1811-1863	P: 260/32/65. 1965. A: Christine Hoepfener
Thackeray, William M.	Die vier George (Reihe: Reclams Universal- Bibliothek)	1965	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	10000	1811-1863	P: 340/157/65 (340/58/65). 1965 T: J. Augspurg
Thackeray, William Makepeace	Die Rose und der Ring	1990	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	15000	1811-1863	P: 190/69/70/90. 1990. T: Peter Rau
Thackeray, William Makepeace [Anselm Schlösser (Editor)]	Humoristische Erzählungen und Skizzen	1951	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	20000	1811-1863	NR
Thomas, Dylan	Die Krümen eines Mannes Jahr	1976	VuW		1914-1953	NR
Thomas, Dylan	Und dem Tod soll kein Reich mehr bleiben (Gedichte)	1984	VuW		1914-1953	NR
Thompson, Dorothy	Antifaschistische Publizistik 1932-1942	1988	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar		1893-1961	P: 265/22/88. 1988 A: Kurt Pätzold, Klaus Fritsch
Tressell, Robert	Die Menschenfreunde und zerlumpte Hosen	1958	Aufbau		1870-1911	NR
Trevor, Meriol	Bis diese Nacht entwich: Roman um Kardinal Newman. Religiöse Gestalten, Bd. 20, 1971 (Rex Verlag)	1971	St. Benno Verlag		1919-2000	T: F von Werz

Wallace, Edgar	Die gefiederte Schlange (Krimi)	1970	Aufbau	50000	1875-1932	NR
Wallace, Edgar	Der Pfeifer (Krimi)	1984	Aufbau		1875-1932	NR
Wallace, Edgar	Der Schwarze Abt	1990	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	100000	1875-1932	P: 265/52/90. 1990 A: Gorges. T: Otto v. Bebbbers, completed by Helga Schulz
Walpole, Horace	Helmut Findeisen (Editor): Die Burg von Otranto	1979	Insel-Verlag		1717-1797	P: 260/6/79. 1979
Walther Victor (Editor)	Swift. ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	1954	Thüringer Volksverlag	20000	1667-1745	P: 380/21/54. 1954 A: Joachim Krehayn
Walther Victor (Editor)	Shakespeare-Lesebuch. ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	1954	Thüringer Volksverlag		1564-1616	P: 380/23 g/54. 1954
Waterhouse, Keith	Billy der Lügner	1964	VuW		1929-2009	NR
Waugh, Evelyn	Eine Handvoll Staub (Hundt-Verlag, Hattingen/Ruhr)	1976	VuW	8000	1903-1966	P: 410/121/76. 1976 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Lucy von Wagenheim
Waugh, Evelyn	Wiedersehen mit Brideshead. (Cahpman & Hall, London / Claassen Verlag, Düsseldorf).	1986	VuW	8000	1903-1966	P: 410/135/86. 1986 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Franz Fein
Waugh, Evelyn	Auf der schiefen Ebene. (Diogenes Verlag, Zürich)	1987	VuW	8000	1903-1966	P: 410/117/87. 1987 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Sylvia Ostermann. T: Ulrike Simon
Weatherby, William J.	Endstation für Father Wailkins (Herder Verlag)	1971	St. Benno Verlag		1930-	T: Jutta und Theodor Knust
Wesker, Arnold	Stücke	1970	VuW		1932-2016	NR
Whitehead, E.A. / Hines, Barry	Alpha Beta / Der Teilhaber (zwei Stücke)	1975	VuW	8000	1933.	P: 410/114/75. 1975 A: Edwin Orthmann, Karl Heinz Berger, Hans Petersen. T: Maria Carlsson
Wilde, Oscar	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	1958	VuW	32000	1854-1900	P: 305/133/57. 1957 A: Arno Hausmann. T: M.Preiß
Wilde, Oscar	Der glückliche Prinz (AT: Märchen) (Kleine Klassiker-Reihe)	1959	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin		1854-1900	P: 270/3/59. 1959 A: Ruth Kren
Wilde, Oscar	Das Gespenst von Canterville (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1959	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	10000	1854-1900	P: 340/201/59. 1959 A: Christfried Coler. T: Ernst sander
Wilde, Oscar	Der glückliche Prinz und andere Erzählungen	1964	Insel-Verlag	13000	1854-1900	P: 260/22/64. 1964 A: Hans Klähn. T: Franz Blei
Wilde, Oscar	Sämtliche Dramen	1975	Insel-Verlag		1854-1900	P: 260/10/75. 1975. A: Helmut Findeisen
Wilde, Oscar	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	1979	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	50000	1854-1900	P: 265/47/79. 1979 T: Christine Hoepfner
Wilde, Oscar	Lehren und Sprüche	1982	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000	1854-1900	P: 265/24/82. 1982 T: Franz Blei

Wilde, Oscar	Die Märchen und Das Gespenst von Canterville	1983	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar Aufbau	30000	1854-1900	P: 265/51/83. 1983 A: Renate Brendel
Wilde, Oscar	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	1984			1854-1900	NR
Wilde, Oscar	Das Granatapfelhaus	1966	Insel-Verlag		1854-1900	P: 260/39/66 (260/28/65). 1965
Wilde, Oscar [Günter Weise (Editor)]	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	1966	Insel-Verlag		1854-1900	P: 260/12/66 (260/28/65). 1966 (1965) A: Reichardt, Hans Klähn
Wilde, Oscar (F. W. Schulze (Editor))	Sämtliche Märchen und Erzählungen (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1959	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung		1854-1900	P: 190/35/59. 1959 A: Horst Höhne T: Prof. Dr. F.W. Schulz
Wilde, Oscar [Günter Weise (Editor)]	Erzählungen und Gedichte in Prosa	1968	Insel-Verlag		1854-1900	P: 260/33/68. 1968 A: Georg Seehase
Wilde, Oscar [Klaus Udo Szudra (Editor)]	Die Ballade vom Zuchthaus zu Reading	1970	Insel-Verlag		1854-1900	P: 260/51/70 (260/34/69). 1970 (1969) A: Helmut Findeisen
William Morris, A. L. Morton (Editor)	Political Writings of William Morris (International Publishers, New York / Lawrence & Wishart, London)	1972	Seven Seas Publishers	10000	1834-1896	P: 306/99/72. 1972 A: Kay Pankey
Wilson, Angus	Meg Eliot	1964	Aufbau		1913-1991	NR
Wilson, Angus	Späte Entdeckungen	1968	Aufbau	10000	1913-1991	T: Alexander Kovel
Winnington, Alan	Tibet	1960	VuW		1910-1983	P: 302/2/60. 1960
Winnington, Alan	Die Sklaven der kühlen Berge	1961	VuW		1910-1983	P: 302, 410/9/61. 1961
Winnington, Alan	The Slaves of the Cool Mountain	1961	Seven Seas		1910-1983	P: 306/70/62. 1962
Winnington, Alan	Der Himmel muss warten	1963	Verlag Neues Leben (Buchgemeinschaft der Freien Deutschen Jugend)		1910-1983	P: 409-160/7/63. 1963
Winnington, Alan	Silberhuf	1969	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin		1910-1983	P: 304-270/309/70. 1970
Winnington, Alan	Kopfjäger	1969	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409-160/52/69. 1969
Winnington, Alan	Der Todgegläubte	1970	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409-160/1/70. 1970
Winnington, Alan	Gullet und die Todeskurve	1974	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409/160/112/74. 1974
Winnington, Alan	Herzversagen	1974	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409/160/84/74. 1974
Winnington, Alan	Der Todgegläubte	1975	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409/160/168/75. 1975
Winnington, Alan	Silberhuf zieht in den Krieg	1976	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin		1910-1983	P: 304-270/309/83-(85). 1983
Winnington, Alan	Duell in Tschungking	1977	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409-160/154/77. 1977

Winnington, Alan	Der Doppelagent	1980	Das Neue Berlin	1910-1983	P: 409-160/166/79. 1979
Winnington, Alan	Herzversagen	1983	Das Neue Berlin	1910-1983	P: 304-270/537/83-70. 1970
Woolf, Virginia	Mrs. Dalloway. (The Hogarth Press, London)	1977	Insel-Verlag	1882-1941	P: 260/8/77. 1977 A: Helmut Findeisen
Woolf, Virginia	Orlando	1983	Insel-Verlag	1882-1941	NR
Woolf, Virginia	Wellen	1988	Insel-Verlag	1882-1941	NR
Woolf, Virginia	Ein eigenes Zimmer / Drei Guineen. Essays	1989	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	1882-1941	P: 340/75/89. 1989 A: Bock
Woolf, Virginia [Wolfgang Wicht (Editor)]	Die Fahrt zum Leuchtturm (Auf der Fahrt zum Leuchtturm)	1979	Insel-Verlag	1882-1941	P: 260/71/79. 1979 A: Günter Walch
Woolf, Virginia [Wolfgang Wicht (Editor)]	Die schmale Brücke der Kunst. Ausgewählte Essays	1986	Insel-Verlag	1882-1941	P: 260/10/86. 1986 A: Heide Steiner
Yeats, William Butler	Geschichten von Rot-Hanrahan. (Macmilan & Co. Ltd. London / Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, Neuwied)	1978	Insel-Verlag	1865-1939	P: 260/35/78. 1978 A: Helmut Findeisen
Yeats, William Butler	Ich hatte die Weisheit, die Liebe uns gibt. (Gedichte) (Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, Neuwied und Berlin)	1981	VuW	2000 1865-1939	P: 410/108/81. 1981 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
Yeats, William Butler [Wolfgang Wicht (Editor)]	Funde. Ausgewählte Essays	1980	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	1865-1939	P: 265/35/80. 1980 A: Hentsch, Helmut Findeisen
Yeats, William Butler [Wolfgang Wicht (Editor)]	Autobiographien	1984	Insel-Verlag	1865-1939	P: 260/12/84. 1984 A: Heide Steiner

Table A2: Publications in chronological order

Year of publication	Author	Title (in German as published in the GDR) and licensor	Publisher	copies printed	Life	Censorship file
1945	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	Volk und Wissen		1660-1731	NR
1946	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Die Schatzinsel	Aufbau		1850-1894	NR
1947	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	Kinderbuch-Verlag Berlin		1660-1731	NR
1947	Roy, Pascal	Deutschland. Weg und Irrweg	VuW		104-1980	NR
1948	Hewlett, Johnson	Ein Sechstel der Erde	VuW		1864-1966	NR
1948	Kipling Rudyard	Das Dschungelbuch (1. Auflage)	Paul List Verlag	120000	1865-1936	NR
1948	Kipling, Rudyard	Die schönste Geschichte der Welt	NR	15000	1865-1936	NR
1948	Schaffer, Gordon	Ein Engländer bereist die russische Zone	VuW		1905-	NR
1949	Kipling Rudyard	Das neue Dschungelbuch (1. Auflage)	Paul List Verlag	10000	1865-1936	NR
1950	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	Reclam jun. Leipzig		1660-1731	NR
1951	Belfrage, Cedric	Wenn aber das Salz dumpf wird	VuW		1904-1990	NR
1951	Darwin, Charles	Die Entstehung der Arten durch natürliche Zuchtwahl	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1809-1882	NR
1951	Fiedling, Henry	Tom Jones	VuW		1707-1754	NR
1951	Hobbes	Grundzüge der Philosophie, Band I und II.	Felix Meiner Verlag, Leipzig.		1588-1679	NR
1951	Thackeray, William Makepeace [Anselm Schlösser (ed.)]	Humoristische Erzählungen und Skizzen	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	20000	1811-1863	NR
1952	Aldridge, James	Der Diplomat	Aufbau		1892-1963	NR
1952	Fielding, Henry	Johnathan Wild der Große	Aufbau		1707-1754	NR
1952	Smollett, Tobias	Die Abenteuer Roderichs Randoms	VuW		1721-1771	NR
1952	Sterne, Lawrence	Das Leben und die Ansichten Tristram Shandys	Paul List Verlag		1713-1768	NR
1953	Aldridge, James	Der Seeadler	Aufbau		1892-1963	NR
1953	Dickens, Charles	Die Pickwickier	Aufbau		1812-1870	NR
1953	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Das rätselhafte Leben. Meistererzählungen	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1850-1894	T: Barbara Cramer
1953	Thackeray, William M.	Henry Esmond	Aufbau	10000	1811-1863	P: 120/73/54. 1954 A: Helle Carola Gärtner-Scholle, P. Schlicht
1953	Thackeray, William M.	Die Memoiren des Junkers Barry Lyndon	Aufbau		1811-1863	NR
1954	Austen, Jane	Pride and Prejudice (Reihe: Panther Books)	Paul List Verlag		1775-1815	P: 290/35/54. 1954 A: Franke

1954	Bronte, Charlotte	Shirley	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar		1818-1855	P: 265/12/54. 1954 A: Friedrich Minckwitz
1954	Davidson, Basil	Südafrika ohne Maske	VuW		1914-2010	NR
1954	Deeping, George Warwick	Hautmann Sorrell und sein Sohn.	Carl Schünemann-Verlag,		1877-1950	NR
1954	Defoe, Daniel	Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch-handlung	10000	1660-1731	P: 190/5/54. 1954 A: Joachim Krehayn, T: Dr. Martha Erler
1954	Doyle, Arthur Conan	Der Hund von Baskerville (Reihe: NB-Romane)	Verlag Das Neue Berlin	50000	1859-1930	P: 160/24/54. 1954 A: Arno Hausmann
1954	Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Der scharlachrote Buchstabe	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch-handlung	10000	1804-1864	P: 190/1/56. 1956 A: Elli Berger N: Prof. Dr. Hans Weyhe
1954	Lessing, Doris	Der Zauber ist nicht verkäuflich	Verlag Tribüne Berlin	8000	1919-2013	P: 390/19/56. 1956 A: Paul Friedländer, Elli Schmidt. T: Lore Krüger
1954	Scott, Walter	Old Mortality	Verlag Rütten & Loening	2000	1771-1832	P: 415/61/54. 1954 A: Elisabeth Schulz T: Rudlof Schaller
1954	Shakespeare, William	Walther Victor (ed.). Shakespeare-Lesebuch. ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	Thüringer Volksverlag	20000	1564-1616	P: 380/23 g/54. 1954
1954	Thackeray, William M.	Das Snob-Buch	Paul List Verlag	10000	1811-1863	P: 290/18/54. 1954 A: Beyer
1954	Walther Victor (ed.)	Swift. ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	Thüringer Volksverlag	20000	1667-1745	P: 380/21/54. 1954 A: Joachim Krehayn
1954	Walther Victor (ed.)	Shakespeare-Lesebuch. ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	Thüringer Volksverlag		1564-1616	P: 380/23 g/54. 1954
1955	Dickens, Charles	The Pickwick Papers (Reihe: Panther Books)	Paul List Verlag	5000	1812-1870	P: 290/34/55. 1955
1955	Dickens, Charles	Dombey und Sohn	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/130/55. 1955 A: Chr. Höppener T: Chr. Höppener
1955	Fielding, Henry	Joseph Andrew's Abenteuer	Aufbau		1707-1754	P: 120/94/55. 1955
1955	Goudge, Elizabeth	Inselzauber	Verlag nicht genannt		1900-1984	NR
1955	Kipling, Rudyard	Kaas Jagdtanz	Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt	191000	1865-1936	P: 285/22/55. 1955
1955	Liverpool, Russel Lord of	Geißel der Menschheit	VuW		1895-1981	NR
1955	O'Casey, Sean	I knock at the Door (Reihe: Panther Books)	Paul List Verlag		1880-1964	P: 290/26/55. 1955 A: Berger
1955	Scott, Walter	Das Herz von Midlothian	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1771-1832	P: 415/112/55. 1955 A: E. Schulz. T: Walter Wilhelm Borkheide
1955	Sterne, Lawrence	Eine empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien. Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch-handlung Leipzig	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch-handlung	1000	1713-1768	P: 190/3/55. 1955 A: Rudolf Marx N: Helmut Fineisen
1955	Thackeray, William M.	Die Newcomes (Reihe: Romane der	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1811-1863	P: 415/131/55. 1955 A: Eva-Maria Ziegler, Charlotte

		Weltliteratur)				Richter. T: Charlotte Richter NR
1956	Burke, Edmund	Vom Erhabenen und Schönen	Aufbau		1729-1779	
1956	Defoe, Daniel	Die Pest in London	Aufbau	10000	1660-1731	P: 120/270/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Günther Klotz. T: Rudolf Schaller
1956	Defoe, Daniel	Leben und seltsame Abenteuer des Seefahrers Robinson Crusoe	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Leipzig	10000	1660-1731	P: 190/2/56. 1956 A: Rudolf Marx: T: Barbara Cramer
1956	Dickens, Charles	Leben und Abenteuer des Martin Chuzzlewit (Reihe: Romane der Weltliteratur).	VuW	9000	1812-1870	P: 410/2/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn
1956	Dickens, Charles	Klein Dorrit	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/121/56. 1956 A: Elisabeth Schulz T: Dr. Färber
1956	Doyle, Arthur Conan	Die verlorene Welt (Reihe: NB-Romane)	Verlag Das Neue Berlin	60000	1859-1930	P: 160/22/56. 1956 A: Klaus Gysi, Paul Friedländer
1956	Eliot, George	Silas Marner (Reihe: Panther Books)	Paul List Verlag		1819-1880	P: 290/24/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Dietze
1956	Hardy, Thomas	Herzen in Aufruhr	Aufbau	10000	1840-1928	P: 120/90/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Elga Abramowitz T.: Eva Schumann
1956	Scott, Walter	Kenilworth (Reihe: Historische Romane)	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1771-1832	P: 415/128/56. 1956 A: Christfried Coler, Elisabeth Schulz
1956	Shakespeare, William	Werke in drei Bänden Bd 1 Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung (...)	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616	P: 120/76-78/55. 1955
1956	Shakespeare, William	Werke in drei Bänden Bd 2 Der Kaufmann von Venedig (...)	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616	P: 120/76-78/55. 1955
1956	Shakespeare, William	Werke in drei Bänden Bd 3 Hamelt (...)	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616	P: 120/76-78/55. 1955
1956	Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden / Bd 1 Historien	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616	NR
1956	Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden / Bd 2 Komödien	Aufbau			NR
1956	Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden / Bd 3 Tragödien	Aufbau			NR
1956	Shaw, George Bernard	Dramatische Werke. eine Auswahl in vier Bänden (4 Bände)	Aufbau	40000	1856-1950	P: 120/63-66/56. 1956 T: Siegfried Trebitsch
1956	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Entführt	Aufbau	20000	1850-1894	P: 120/551/55. 1955 A: Arno Hausmann
1956	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Entführt	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	20000	1850-1894	P: 305/122/56. 1956 A: Zander T: Ruth Gerull-Kardas
1957	Blake, William	Immergrün	Aufbau		1757-1827	P: 120/86/57. 1957 A: Paul Friedländer
1957	Bronte, Emily	Wuthering Heights (Reihe: Panther Books)	Paul List Verlag		1818-1848	P: 290/25/57. 1957 A: Franke, Rudolf Dietze
1957	Carrol, Lewis	Alice in Wonderland	Paul List Verlag		1832-1889	P: 290/37/57. 1957

		(Reihe: Panther Books)					A: Berger
1957	Conrad, Joseph	Nostomo	Aufbau		1857-1924		P: 120/226/56. 1956 A: Günther Klotz
1957	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	20000	1660-1731		P: 305/101/57. 1957 A: Georg Rahm
1957	Dickens, Charles	Londoner Skizzen (Reihe: Gustav- Kiepenheuer-Bücherei)	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000	1812-1870		P: 265/15/57. 1957 A: Friedrich Minckwitz. T: Noa Kiepenheuer
1957	Dickens, Charles	Große Erwartungen (Klassikreihe)	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	12000	1812-1870		P: 305/160/57. 1957 A: Georg Rahm T: Ruth Geruil Kardas
1957	Edgeworth, Maria	Meine hochgeborene Herrschaft	Aufbau		1768-1849		NR
1957	Fielding, Henry	Amelia	Aufbau	10000	1707-1754		P: 120/68/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Günther Klotz
1957	Galsworthy, John	Die Forsythe-Saga. Roman-Trilogie	Paul List Verlag	10000	1967-1933		P: 290/4/57. 1957 A: Trauen ?, Dietze ? T: Luise Wolf und Leon Schalit
1957	Greene, Grahame	Der stille Amerikaner	VuW	5000	1904-1991		P: 410/14/57. 1957 A: Fritz J. Raddatz, Helle Carola Gärtner-Scholle
1957	Kartun, Derek	England zwischen Gestern und Morgen	VuW		1919-2005		NR
1957	Mandeville, Bernard	Die Bienenfabel	Aufbau		1670-1733		NR
1957	O'Casey, Sean	Ich klopfe an die Tür. Kurzer Rückblick auf das, was mich werden ließ	Paul List Verlag	5000	1880-1964		P: 290/16/57. 1957 T: Dr. Georg Goyert (München)
1957	O'Flaherty, Liam	Das schwarze Tal	VuW		1896-1984		P: 410/65/57. 1957 A: Joachim Krehayn, Schlicht
1957	Scott, Walter	Quentin Durward, Bd. I	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	13000	1771-1832		P: 270/51/57. 1957 A: Ruth Krenn
1957	Spring, Robert Howard	Geliebte Söhne	VuW		1889-1965		NR
1957	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen	Kultur und Fortschritt	180000	1850-1894		P: 285/63/57. 1957 T: Rudolf Köster
1957	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Catriona	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	20000	1850-1894		P: 305/96/57. 1957 A: Hoffmann T: Ruth Gerull-Kardas
1957	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Catriona	Aufbau		1850-1894		NR
1957	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Reise durch die Südsee. 16 Tafeln Kunstdruck- doppelseitig	Greifenverlag Rudolstadt	10500	1850-1894		NR
1958	Blake, William	Werke	Aufbau		1757-1827		NR
1958	Bronte, Charlotte	Jane Eyre	Paul List Verlag		1818-1855		P: 290/2/58. 1958 A: Ruth Krenn
1958	Conrad, Joseph	Das Herz der Finsternis	Aufbau		1857-1924		P: 120/84/57. 1957 A: Joachim Krehayn, Günter Klotz
1958	Davidson, Basil	Der Strudel	VuW		1914-2010		NR
1958	Hawthorne, Nathaniel	The Scarlet Letter (Reihe: Panther Books)	Paul List Verlag	5000	1804-1864		P: 290/37/54. 1954 A: Berger
1958	Milton, John	Simson der Kämpfer	Aufbau	1500	1608-1674		P: 120/215/58. 1958 A: Klotz. T: Hermann Ulrich

1958	Priestley, John Boynton	Laßt das Volk doch singen	Mitteldeutscher Verlag Halle-Leipzig	10000	1894-1984	P: 300/56/58. 1958
1958	Shaw, George Bernard	Die törichte Heirat (Gebr. Weiss Verlag, Berlin)	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1856-1950	P: 415/29/58. 1958 A: Arno Hausmann T: Wilhelm Cremer
1958	Shaw, George Bernard	Cashel Byrons Beruf	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1856-1950	P: 415/80/58. 1958 A: Arno Hausmann T: Alfred Brieger
1958	Sommerfield, John	Die Gegner	VuW		1908-1991	NR
1958	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Leichenräuber (Blaulicht-Reihe)	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	140000	1850-1894	P: 160/49/63. 1963 A: Ingeburg Siebenstädt
1958	Swift, Jonathan	Gullivers Reisen	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	30000	1667-1745	P: 270/41/58. 1958 A: Alice Sellin
1958	Thackeray, William M.	Die Memoiren des Mr. C. J. Yellowplush, ehemals Lakai in vielen vornehmen Familien	Verlag Rütten & Loening	3000	1811-1863	P: 415/35/58. 1958 A: Riebau T: Christine Hoepfener
1958	Tressell, Robert	Die Menschenfreunde un zerlumpte Hosen	Aufbau		1870-1911	NR
1958	Wilde, Oscar	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	VuW	32000	1854-1900	P: 305/133/57. 1957 A: Arno Hausmann T: M.Preiß
1959	Belfrage, Cedric	Geschäft mit der Seligkeit	VuW		1904-1990	NR
1959	Dickens, Charles	Weihnachtsgeschichte (Weihnachtslied in Prosa / Die Silvesterglocken)	Verlag der Nation	50000	1812-1870	P: 400/83/59. 1959
1959	Dickens, Charles	Harte Zeiten	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/122/59. 1959 A: Hanna Krogmann, H. Meinicke, O. Wilck T: Chr. Höppener
1959	Galsworthy, John	Die Ersten und die Letzten (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	40000	1967-1933	P: 340/93/59. 1959 A: Karl Blasche. T: Leon Schalit
1959	Newman, John Henry	Der Traum des Gerontius	St. Benno Verlag		1801-1890	T: from 1938 no name
1959	O'Casey, Sean	Bilder in der Vorhalle (copyright by O'Casey 1942)	Paul List Verlag	5000	1880-1964	P: 290/16/59. 1959 A: Lange, Werner Beyer, Erich Schreier. T: Dr. Georg Goyert (München)
1959	Scott, Walter	Das Herz von Midlothian (2 Bände)	Aufbau	30000	1771-1832	P: 120/209/59. 1959 A: Klaus Täubert
1959	Smollett, Tobias	Humphry Clinkers denkwürdige Reise (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1721-1771	P: 190/81/59 (190/6/58). 1959 (1958) T: Walter Batt
1959	Sommerfield, John	Die Erbschaft	VuW		1908-1991	NR
1959	Sterne, Lawrence	Empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek).	Verlag Philipp Reclams jun. Leipzig.		1713-1768	P: 340/59/59. 1959 A: Karl Blasche
1959	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Junker von Ballantrae (Reihe: bb-	Aufbau	50000	1850-1894	P: 120/217/58. 1958 A: Elga Abramowitz

Taschenbücher)

T: Lore Krüger

1959	Wilde, Oscar	Der glückliche Prinz (AT: Märchen) (Kleine Klassiker-Reihe)	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin		1854-1900	P: 270/3/59. 1959 A: Ruth Kren
1959	Wilde, Oscar	Das Gespenst von Canterville (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	10000	1854-1900	P: 340/201/59. 1959 A: Christfried Coler T: Ernst Sander
1959	Wilde, Oscar (F. W. Schulze (ed.))	Sämtliche Märchen und Erzählungen (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung		1854-1900	P: 190/35/59. 1959 A: Horst Höhne T: Prof. Dr. F.W. Schulze
1960	Aldridge, James	Der Haifisch / Der letzte Zoll	Kultur und Fortschritt		1892-1963	P: 285/66/60. 1960 A: J. H. Sauter, Linde
1960	Butler, Samuel	Der Weg allen Fleisches	Aufbau		1835-1902	NR
1960	Dickens, Charles	David Copperfield	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	15000	1812-1870	P: 305/171/60. 1960 A: Josef-Hermann Sauter, Liepe, Braatz T: Ruth Geruil Kardas
1960	Fielding, Henry	Satirische Stücke / Über die Straßenräuberei	Aufbau	3000	1707-1754	P: 120/57/60. 1960 A: Günther Klotz
1960	Milne, A. A.	Pu der Bär (Methuen & Co., London / William & Co., Berlin / Atrium Verlag, Zürich)	Alfred Holz Verlag	5000	1982-1956	P: 255/13/60. 1960 A: Ursula Kroszewsky-Tschesno T: E.L. Schiffer
1960	Scott, Walter	Das schöne Mädchen von Perth (Reihe: Spannend erzählt)	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	20000	1771-1832	P: 305/111/60. 1960 A: Katrin Pieper, Hoffmann
1960	Shakespeare, William	Hamlet / König Lear / Macbeth. Dramatische Werke in 6 Bänden, Band 1	Arion Verlag	3000	1564-1616	P: 380/8/60. 1960 T.: Rudolf Schallen
1960	Swift, Jonathan	Reisen in verschiedene fernegelegene Länder der Erde von Lemuel Gulliver erst Wundarzt später Kapitän mehrerer Schiffe	Aufbau		1667-1745	NR
1960	Winnington, Alan	Tibet	VuW		1910-1983	P:302/2/60, 1960
1961	Christie, Agatha	Die Schattenhand (Reihe: NB-Taschenbücher)	Verlag Das Neue Berlin (Alfred Scher Verlag, Bern)	70000	1890-1976	P: 160/51/61. 1961 A: Reimar Dänhardt, T: Anna Kathrine Rehmann
1961	Dickens, Charles	Harte Zeiten	Aufbau	30000	1812-1870	P: 120/44/61. 1961 A: S. Bachmann
1961	Dickens, Charles	Der Antiquitätenladen	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	19500	1812-1870	P: 305/162/61. 1961 A: Josef-Hermann Sauter, Jähn, T: O. Wilding
1961	Dickens, Charles	Der Raritätenladen.	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/27/61. 1961 A: E. Meißner. T: Chr. Höppener
1961	Dickens, Charles (Horst Wolf (ed.))	Unser gemeinsamer Freund	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	7000	1812-1870	P: 265/28/61 (265/12/60). 1961 (1960) A: Friedrich Minckwitz
1961	O'Casey, Sean	Irische Trommeln	Paul List Verlag	6000	1880-1964	P: 290/14/61. 1961 A: Erich Schreier, Werner Beyer
1961	Winnington, Alan	Die Sklaven der kühlen Berge	VuW		1910-1983	P: 302, 410/9/61. 1961
1961	Winnington, Alan	The Slaves of the Cool Mountain	Seven Seas		1910-1983	P: 306/70/62. 1962

1962	Aldridge, James	Der letzte Zoll	Aufbau		1892-1963	P: 120/82/62. 1962 A: Karl Blasche, Günther Klotz
1962	Amis, Kingsley	Glück für Jim	VuW		1922-1995	NR
1962	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	50000	1660-1731	P: 270/270/62. 1962 A: Walter Mohrmann, Günter W...?, Regina Hänsel. T: Dorothea Rahm
1962	Dickens, Charles (Joachim Krehayn (ed.))	Die nächsten Nachbarn (Skizzen von Boz)	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	10000	1812-1870	P: 340/37/62. 1962 A: Richli-Krause, Georg Seehase. T: Julius Seybt
1962	O'Casey, Sean	Rose und Krone	Paul List Verlag	6000	1880-1964	P: 290/20/62. 1962 A: Werner Beyer, Helle Carola Gärtner-Scholle, Müller T: Werner Beyer
1962	Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616	P: 120/76-78/55. 1955 T: Elisabeth Schulz
1962	Smith, Herbert	Von Freitag bis Montag	VuW			NR
1963	Bronte, Charlotte	Die Waise von Lowood (Reihe: Robinsons billige Bücher)	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin		1818-1855	P: 270/51/63. 1963 A: Ruth Krenn, Hänsel
1963	Conrad, Joseph	Lord Jim	Aufbau		1857-1924	P: 120/109/63. 1963 A: Günther Klotz, Caspar, Joachim Krehayn
1963	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	Dieterich'sche Verlangsbuch- handlung	10000	1660-1731	P: 190/11/63. 1963 A: Walter Apelt, R. Müller ?
1963	Dickens, Charles	Oliver Twist (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	Dieterich'sche Verlangsbuch- handlung	10000	1812-1870	P: 190/20/63. 1963 A: Neubert T: R. Kibel
1963	Eliot, George	Silas Marner. Der Leinweber von Raveloe (Reclams Universal- Bibliothek)	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1819-1880	P: 340/45/63. 1963 A: Richli-Krause, Karl Blasche
1963	Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Das Haus mit den sieben Giebeln	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	8000	1804-1864	P: 265/16/63. 1963 A: Joachim Krehayn, Friedrich Minckwitz. Friedrich Mickwitz, Noa Kiepenheuer
1963	Kipling, Rudyard	Das kommt davon (Reihe: Robinsons billige Bücher)	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	20000	1865-1936	P: 270/39/63. 1963 A: Jules Violet
1963	O'Casey, Sean	Dämmerung und Abendstern.	Paul List Verlag	8000	1880-1964	P: 290/16/63. 1963 A: K. Zippel, Werner Beyer T: Dr. Werner Beyer
1963	Painting, Norman / Day, Michael	Antonio, der Mann, der sich selber fand	St. Benno Verlag		1924-2009	T: Willy Leson
1963	Shaw, Elizabeth	Der kleine Angsthase	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	20000	1920-1992	P: 270/243/63. 1963 A: Annemarie Lesser
1963	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Leichenräuber	Das Neue Berlin	140000	1850-1894	P: 160/49/63. 1963 A: Ingeburg Siebenstädt
1963	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Junker von Ballantrae	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	10000	1850-1894	P: 190/11/62; 190/2/61; 190/30/60, 190/27/59, 190/5/58; (1962, 1961, 1960, 1959, 1958) A: Rudolf Marx, Joachim Krehayn. T: Prof. Dr. Karl-Heinz Wirzberger

1963	Stevenson, Robert Louis (Karl-Heinz Wirzberger (ed.))	Das rätselvolle Leben. Meistererzählungen (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung		1850-1894	P: 190/12/63. 1963 A: Anselm Schlösser
1963	Winnington, Alan	Der Himmel muss warten	Verlag Neues Leben (Buchgemeinschaft der Freien Deutschen Jugend)		1910-1983	P: 409-160/7/63
1964	Aldridge, James	Zuflucht am Nil (2 Bände)	Aufbau		1892-1963	NR
1964	Defoe, Daniel	Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	20000		P: 340/32/64. 1964 A: Pradel, Richli-Krause, N: Weimann
1964	Defoe, Daniel	Das Leben und die seltsamen, überraschenden Abenteuer des Matrosen Robinson Crusoe aus New York	Aufbau	30000	1660-1731	NR
1964	Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 3 und 4 Tom Jones	Aufbau	20000	1707-1754	P: 120/20/64. 1964 P: 120/21/64. 1964 P: 120/21/64. 1964 A: Sigrid Klotz. T: Horst Höckendorf A: Sigrid Klotz P: 190/16/64. 1964 A: W. Apelt
1964	Kollektiv, Robert Weimann (ed.)	Dramen der Shakespearezeit (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung			
1964	Scott, Walter	Quentin Durward (Reihe: Spannend erzählt)	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	34000	1771-1832	P: 305/122/64 (305/138/64). 1964
1964	Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 1 Komödien	Aufbau	7500	1564-1616	P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz. T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf
1964	Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 2 Komödien II	Aufbau	7500	1564-1616	P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz. T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf
1964	Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 3 Historien	Aufbau	7500	1564-1616	P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz. T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf
1964	Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 4 Tragödien	Aufbau	7500	1564-1616	P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz. T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf
1964	Shakespeare, William	Sonette	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	5000	1564-1616	P: 340/33/64. 1964 A: Richli-Krause. N: von Prof. Dr. Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
1964	Shakespeare, William	Komödie der Irrungen (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	10000	1564-1616	P: 340/87/64. 1964 A: Richli-Krause. T: Wolf Graf Baudissin
1964	Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 1 König Richard der zweite (...)	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn. N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis

1964	Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 3 Viel Lärm um Nichts (...)	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
1964	Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 4 Romeo und Julia (...)	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
1964	Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 5 Coriolanus (...)	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
1964	Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 6 Timaon von Athen (...)	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn. N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
1964	Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd2 Ein Sommernachtstraum (...)	Aufbau	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn. N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
1964	Shakespeare, William	Ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	Aufbau		1564-1616	NR
1964	Shaw, Elizabeth	Gittis Tomatenpflanze	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	15000	1920-1992	P: 270/18/64. 1964 A: Annemarie Lesser
1964	Swift, Jonathan	Gullivers Reisen (Reihe: Bibliothek der Weltliteratur)	Verlag Rütten & Loening	15000	1667-1745	P: 415/22/64. 1964 A: Popp. T: Franz Kottenkamp
1964	Thackeray, William M.	Jahrmarkt der Eitelkeit, Teil I und II (Reihe: Bibliothek der Weltliteratur)	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1811-1863	P: 415/8a-8b/64. 1964 A: Paulsen.
1964	Waterhouse, Keith	Billy der Lügner	VuW		1929-2009	NR
1964	Wilde, Oscar	Der glückliche Prinz und andere Erzählungen	Insel-Verlag	13000	1854-1900	P: 260/22/64. 1964 A: Hans Klähn T: Franz Blei
1964	Wilson, Angus	Meg Eliot	Aufbau		1913-1991	NR
1965	Aldridge, James	Glühende Wüsten	Aufbau		1892-1963	P: 120/193/65. 1965 A: Alfred Antkowiak, Günther Klotz, Gerhard Schie
1965	Austen, Jane	Emma	Aufbau		1775-1817	P: 120/192/65. 1965 A: Klaus Udo Szudra, Paulsen
1965	Austen, Jane	Stolz und Vorurteil	Paul List Verlag		1775-1816	P: 290/15/65. 1965 A: Regine Otto, Franke, K. Zippel
1965	Braine, John	Der Weg nach oben (Geschenkband)	VuW	100000	1922-1986	P: 410/156/66. 1966 T: Herbert Schlüter
1965	Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch	Taifun	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung		1857-1924	NR

(ed.)]

1965	Dickens, Charles (Georg Seehase (ed.))	Gesammelte Werke. Skizzen	Verlag Rütten & Loening	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/31/65. 1965 A: Günther Klotz, Joachim Krehayn, Paulsen, Glatzer. T: Chr. Höppener
1965	Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 2 Jonathan Wild der Große	Aufbau	10000	1707-1754	P: 120/73/65. 1965 A: Günther Klotz, Sigrid Klotz. T: Horst Höckendorf
1965	Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 6 Der Kaffeehauspolitiker	Aufbau	2000	1707-1754	P: 120/74/65. 1965 A: Günther Klotz. T: Ingeborg Gronke
1965	Greene, Grahame	Unser Mann in Havanna	VuW		1904-1993	P: 410/71/65. 1965 A: Hans Petersen, Karl-Heinz Berger
1965	Meredith, George	Der Egoist	Paul List Verlag		1828-1909	P: 290/25/66 (290/20/65). 1966 (1965)
1965	Scott, Walter	Die Braut von Lammermoor	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	10000	1771-1832	P: 265/19/65 (265/9/64). 1965 (1964) A: Friedrich Minckwitz
1965	Scott, Walter	Ivanhoe (Reihe: Spannend erzählt)	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	25000	1771-1832	P: 305/17/65. 1965 A: Liebe, Hoffmann, Walch, Bleuel. T: Chr. Hoepfener
1965	Shaw, George Bernard	7 Stücke (Reihe: Bibliothek der Weltliteratur)	Aufbau	10000	1856-1950	P: 120/234/65. 1965 A: Sigrid Klotz T: : Siegfried Trebitsch (BRD)
1965	Smith, Herbert	Am Morgen kam der Tod	VuW			NR
1965	Smollett, Tobias	Die Abenteuer of Roderick Random	Insel-Verlag	10000	1721-1771	P: 260/10/65. 1965 A: Klähn T: W.Chr.S. Mylius
1965	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen (Kompass- Taschenbuchreihe)	Aufbau	50000	1850-1894	P: 305/74/65. 1965 A: Hoffmann, Henri Poschmann
1965	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen / John Nicholson, der Pechvogel (Reihe: Kompaß- Taschenbücher)	Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	50000	1850-1894	P: 305/74/65. 1965 A: Hoffmann, Henri Poschmann. T: G. Löffler
1965	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen (Reihe: Knabes Jugendbücherei)	Gebr. Knabe Verlag		1850-1894	P: 500/19/65. 1965 A: Hans Malberg
1965	Thackeray, William M.	Die Kickleburys am Rhein (Reihe: Insel- Bücherei)	Insel-Verlag	20000	1811-1863	P: 260/32/65. 1965 A: Christine Hoepfener
1965	Thackeray, William M.	Die vier George (Reihe: Reclams Universal- Bibliothek)	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	10000	1811-1863	P: 340/157/65 (340/58/65). 1965 T: J. Augsburg
1966	Belfrage, Cedric	Mein Herr Kolumbus	VuW	8000	1904-1990	P: 410/97/66. 1966. A: Gisela Lüttig, Karl Heinz Berger, Hermann Otto-Lauterbach. T: Eduard Zak
1966	Conrad, Joseph	Almayers Wahn	Aufbau	10000	1857-1924	NR
1966	Cronin, Archibald	Die Sterne blicken herab	VuW		1896-1986	NR
1966	Cronin, Archibald	Die Zitadelle	Aufbau		1896-1986	NR

1966	Defoe, Daniel	Roxana	Aufbau	15800	1660-1731	T: Friedrich Baadke
1966	Defoe, Daniel	Die glückliche Mätresse oder Die Geschichte des Lebens und des wechselhaften Glücks der (....) Roxana	Aufbau		1660-1731	NR
1966	Doyle, Arthur Conan	Der Hund von Baskerville	Aufbau		1859-1930	NR
1966	Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 5 Amelia	Aufbau	10000	1707-1754	P: 120/72/66 T: Rolf Schaller
1966	Fielding:, Henry	Jonathan Wild der Große	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1707-1754	P: 340/42/68. 1966
1966	Kipling, Rudyard	Der Herr der Dschungel (KAP-Reihe)	VuW	12500	1865-1936	P: 285/175/66. 1966 I: Werner Ruhner A: Lothar Grünewald T: Curt Abel-Musgrave
1966	Kipling, Rudyard	Rikki-Tikki-Tavi. Erzählungen aus dem Dschungelbuch	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1865-1936	P: 340/27/66. 1966 A: Herzog
1966	Krehayn, Joachim (Hrsg)	Englische Dramen	VuW			NR
1966	Lawrence, D.H.	Söhne und Liebhaber	Aufbau		1885-1930	NR
1966	Maugham, William Somerset	Julia, du bist zauberhaft	VuW	28000	1874-1965	P: 410/95/66. 1966 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Christa Grünke
1966	O'Casey, Sean	Unter einer bunten Kappe. Erzählungen, Aufsätze, Essays	Paul List Verlag		1880-1964	P: 290/14/66. 1966 A: Werner Beyer T: Werner Beyer
1966	O'Casey, Sean	Dramen Bd 1 und 2	Aufbau	2000	1880-1964	P: 120/258-259/66 T: Irmild und Otto Brandstätter
1966	O'Casey, Sean	Rote Rosen für mich	Aufbau		1880-1964	NR
1966	Shakespeare, William	Hamlet	Aufbau	3000	1564-1616	P: 120/235/66 T: Theodor Fontane
1966	Sillitoe, Alan	Schlüssel zur Tür	VuW		1928-2010	NR
1966	Thackeray, William [Georg Seehase (ed.)]	Die Geschichte des Henry Esmond	Insel-Verlag		1811-1863	P: 260/11/66. 1966
1966	Wilde, Oscar	Das Granatapfelhaus	Insel-Verlag		1854-1900	P: 260/39/66 (260/28/65). 1965
1966	Wilde, Oscar [Günter Weise (ed.)]	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	Insel-Verlag		1854-1900	P: 260/12/66 (260/28/65). 1966 (1965) A: Reichardt, Hans Klähn
1967	Barstow, Stan	Ein Hauch von Glückseligkeit	VuW		1928-2011	NR
1967	Carleton, William / Kirchner, Gustav (ed.), Reinhardt, Waltraud (ed.)	Phelim O'Tooles Brautschau und andere Erzählungen aus dem irischen Landleben	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000		P: 265/2/67. 1967 A: Friedrich Minckwitz. T: Paul Krichner, Waltraud Reinhardt
1967	Conrad, Joseph	Die Schattenlinie. Eine Beichte	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1857-1924	P: 340/34/67. 1967 A: Herzog
1967	Dickens, Monica	Das Herz von London	Aufbau	10000	1812-1870	T: Peter de Mendelssohn, Erich Fetter
1967	Eliot, George	Die Mühle am Floss	Aufbau	10000	1819-1880	T: Erich Fetter
1967	Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 1 Joseph Andrew's	Aufbau	15000	1707-1754	T: Rudolf Schaller

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1967	Greene, Grahame	Die Stunde der Komödianten	VuW		1904-1995	NR
1967	James, Henry	Erzählungen. 2 Bände Karl. Heinz Wirzberger (ed.)	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1843-1916	P: 190/7/8/67 (190/9/67). 1967 A: Anselm Schlösser
1967	MacInnes, Colin	Stadt der schwarzen Träume	Aufbau		1982-1978	NR
1967	Shakespeare, William	Werke Bd. IV	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1564-1616	P: 415/80/67. 1967 A: Klaus Schirrmeister
1967	Snow, C.P.	Korridore der Macht (Macmillan & Co., London / Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart)	VuW	13000	1905-1980	P: 410/45/67. 1967 A: Udo Birckholz, H. Findeisen, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Grete Felten
1967	Swift, Jonathan	Ausgewählte Werke in drei Bänden Bd 1 Satiren und Zeitkommentare	Aufbau	3000	1667-1745	T: Wilck Graustein. Kottenkamp
1967	Swift, Jonathan	Ausgewählte Werke in drei Bänden Bd 2 Politische Schriften	Aufbau	3000	1667-1745	NR
1967	Swift, Jonathan	Ausgewählte Werke in drei Bänden Bd 3 Gullivers Reisen	Aufbau	3000	1667-1745	NR
1967	Thackeray, William	Jahrmarkt der Eitelkeit	Paul List Verlag		1811-1863	P: 290/19/67. 1967
1968	Anthology	Moderne Prosa und Lyrik der britischen Inseln	Aufbau			NR
1968	Austen, Jane	Die Liebe der Anne Elliot	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	7000		P: 265/1/68. 1968 A: Friedrich Minckwitz T: Giesela Reichel
1968	Behan, Brendan	Der Spanner (Krimi)	VuW		1923-1964	NR
1968	Borelli, Maria / Thorne, Anthony	Don Vesuvio: Der Lumpenpriester von Neapel (Herder Verlag)	St. Benno Verlag			T: Helmut Baus
1968	Christie, Agatha	Alibi (Krimi)	Aufbau	50000	1890-1976	T: Peter Pütsch
1968	Conrad, Joseph	Der verdammte der Inseln	Aufbau	10000	1857-1924	T: Günther Danehl
1968	Defoe, Daniel	Roxana	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15000	1660-1731	P: 190/1/68. 1968 T: Lore Krüger
1968	Dickens, Charles	Reisebilder aus Italien	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000		P: 265/3/68. 1968 A: Friedrich Minckwitz T: Friedrich Mickwitz
1968	Eliot, George	Silas Marner	Aufbau	61150	1819-1880	T: Eva Schuhmann
1968	Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 3 und 4 Tom Jones	Aufbau	15000	1707-1754	NR
1968	Forster, Eduard Morgan	Howards End (Claassen & Goverts, Hamburg)	VuW		1879-1970	P: 410/58/68. 1968 A: Udo Birckholz, Karl Heinz Berger, Joachim Krehayn
1968	James, Henry	Das Raubtier im Dschungel. Erzählungen	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15000	1843-1916	P: 190/23/68 (190/8/67). 1968 (1967)

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1968	Lewis, C.S.	Die große Scheidung oder zwischen Himmel und Hölle	St. Benno Verlag		1898-1963	T: Helmut Kuhn
1968	MacDiarmid, Hugh	Ein Wind sprang auf (Gedichte)	VuW	2000	1892-1978	P: 410/57/68. 1968 A: J. B. Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Dr J. B. Mitchell
1968	Scott, Walter	Ivanhoe	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1771-1832	P: 415/37/68. 1968
1968	Stevenson, Robert Louis [Günter Gentsch (ed.)]	Der Selbstmörderklub / Der Diamant des Radschas	Insel-Verlag		1850-1894	P: 260/52/68 (260/36/67) 1968
1968	Wilde, Oscar [Günter Weise (ed.)]	Erzählungen und Gedichte in Prosa	Insel-Verlag		1854-1900	P: 260/33/68. 1968 A: Georg Seehase
1968	Wilson, Angus	Späte Entdeckungen	Aufbau	10000	1913-1991	T: Alexander Kovel
1969	Aldridge, James	Mein Bruder Tom	Aufbau	10000	1892-1963	NR
1969	Cronin, Archibald	Die Zitadelle	VuW		1896-1986	NR
1969	Galswothy, John	Jenseits	Aufbau	40000	1976-1933	NR
1969	Jones, Lewis	Im Tal der schlagenden Wetter	VuW	6000	1897-1939	P: 410/54/69. 1969 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger, Udo Birckholz T: Hans Löffler
1969	O'Casey, Sean	Irische Trommeln	Paul List Verlag		1880-1964	P: 290/14/69. 1969
1969	Pritt, D.N	Unrepentant Aggressors (Nazism all over again)	Sevens Seas Publishers	3000	1867-1972	P: 306/263/69. 1969 A: John Peet
1969	Sillitoe, Alan	Die Einsamkeit des Langstreckenläufers (Erzählungen)	VuW		1928-2010	NR
1969	Stevenson, Robert Louis [Günther Klotz (ed.)]	Entführt	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung		1850-1894	P: 190/7/69. 1969 A: Rolf Müller
1969	Stevenson, Robert Louis [Günther Klotz (ed.)]	Catriona	Insel-Verlag		1850-1894	P: 260/8/69. 1969
1969	Winnington, Alan	Silberhuf	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin		1910-1983	P: 304-270/309/70. 1970
1969	Winnington, Alan	Kopfjäger	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409-160/52/69. 1969
1970	Chaplin, Sid	Zu zweit ist alles anders	VuW		1916-1986	NR
1970	Conrad, Joseph	Sieg	Aufbau		1857-1924	NR
1970	Fleming, Ian [Eberhard Haufe (ed.)]	Gedichte	Insel-Verlag		1908-1964	P: 260/21/70. 1970
1970	Greene, Grahame	Spiel im Dunkeln	VuW	10000	1904-1998	P: 410/52/70. 1970 A: Manfred Küchler, Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Walter Puchwein
1970	Hardy, Thomas [Klaus Udo Szudra	Schabernack des Schicksals. Erzählungen (Auswahl aus mehreren	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	10000	1840-1928	P: 190/7/70. 1970 A: Rolf Müller, Almut Giesecke, Klaus Udo Szudra, Anselm

	(Herausgeber]	Erzählungsbänden)				Schlösser. T: Klaus Udo Szudra
1970	Hawthorne, Nathaniel [Friedrich Minckwitz (ed.)]	Der graue Beschützer und andere Erzählungen	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	8000	1804-1865	P: 265/2/70. 1970 A: Walter Schnabelrauch, Wolfgang Günther T: Friedrich Mickwitz
1970	James, Henry	Bildnis einer Dame	Aufbau	50400	1843-1916	T: Lore Krüger
1970	Lewis, Norman	Das zehnte Jahr des Schiffes	Aufbau		1908-2003	NR
1970	Mitchell, James Leslie	Der lange Weg durchs Gingstermoor	VuW	8000	1901-1935	P: 410/53/70. 1970 A: Udo Birckholz, John B. Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Hans Petersen
1970	O'Casey, Sean (Ronald Ayling ed.)	Wünsche und Verwünschungen	Paul List Verlag		1880-1964	P: 290/12/70. 1970 A: Franke, Lindner, Gisela Tronjeck
1970	Snow, C.P.	Entscheidung in Barford (Macmillan, London / Deutsche Verlags- Anstalt, Stuttgart)	VuW	13300	1905-1980	P: 410/54/70. 1970 A: Herbert Hensel, Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Gret Felten
1970	Wallace, Edgar	Die gefiederte Schlange (Krimi)	Aufbau	50000	1875-1932	NR
1970	Wesker, Arnold	Stücke	VuW		1932-2016	NR
1970	Wilde, Oscar [Klaus Udo Szudra (ed.)]	Die Ballade vom Zuchthaus zu Reading	Insel-Verlag		1854-1900	P: 260/51/70 (260/34/69). 1970 (1969) A: Helmut Findeisen
1970	Winnington, Alan	Der Todgeglaubte	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409-160/1/70. 1970
1971	Barker, Clive	Woche für Woche	Aufbau		1952-	NR
1971	Bennett, Arnold	Constance und Sopphia oder Die Geschichte der alten Damen	Aufbau		1967-1931	NR
1971	Bronte, Charlotte	Villette	Paul List Verlag	10000	1818-1855	P: 290/13/71. 1971 A: ?
1971	Dickens, Charles	Die Pickwickier	Paul List Verlag	10000	1812-1870	P: 290/16/71 (290/17/70) (1970) (1971)
1971	Eliot, George	Adam Bede	Aufbau	20000	1819-1880	T: Ana Maria Brock
1971	Galsworthy, John	Die dunkle Blume	Paul List Verlag	10000	1867-1933	P: 290/8/71. 1971 A: Ingeborg Ortloff, Lindner, Franke, Ute Harz
1971	Lavery, Maura	Irische Kindheit	St. Benno Verlag			T: Eva Rottenberg und Gabriele C. Pallat
1971	Petersen, Hans (Hrsg.)	Erkundungen. 23 englische Erzähler	VuW			NR
1971	Sansom, William	Das Betriebsfest	VuW		1912-1976	NR
1971	Shakespeare, William	Dramen (2 Bände)	Aufbau	15000	1564-1616	T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin
1971	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Diamant des Radschas und andere Erzählungen	Insel-Verlag		1850-1894	P: 260/49/71. 1971
1971	Trevor, Meriol	Bis diese Nacht entwich: Roman um Kardinal Newman. Religiöse Gestalten	St. Benno Verlag		1919-2000	T: F von Werz
1971	Weatherby, William J.	Endstation für Father Wailkins (Herder Verlag)	St. Benno Verlag		1930-	T: Jutta und Theodor Knust

1972	Anthology. Anselm Schlösser	Englische Essays aus drei Jahrhunderten	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	10000		P: 190/4/72. 1972 A: Rudolf Marx, Georg Seehase T: K. U. Szudra
1972	Austen, Jane	Gefühl und Verstand	Aufbau	20000	1775-1817	T: Erika Gröger
1972	Bronte, Emily	Die Sturmhöhe	Aufbau	10000	1818-1848	NR
1972	Brown, Peter	Augustinus von Hippo: Eine Biographie	St. Benno Verlag		1935-	T: Johannes Bernard
1972	Forster, Eduard Morgan	Auf der Suche nach Indien (Fischer Bücherei KG., Frankfurt a. M., Hamburg)	VuW	8000	1879-1970	P: 410/55/72. 1972 A: Irmhild Brandstädter, Klaus Schultz, Joachim Krehayn T: Wolf von Einsiedel
1972	Goudge, Elizabeth	Der grüne Delphin	St. Benno Verlag		1900-1984	T: N.O. Scarpi und Gerdrud Tschiedel
1972	Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Der Marmorfaun	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	10000	1804-1864	P: 190/22/72. 1972 A: Horst Ihde T: Alice Seiffert
1972	Johnson, Samuel	Die Geschichte von Rasselas, Prinzen von Abessinien	Insel-Verlag		1708-1784	P: 260/80/72. 1972 A: Anselm Schlösser
1972	Mackay, Shena	Scherbengericht (Erzählung)	VuW		1914-1976	NR
1972	Mitchell, James Leslie	Wolken über der Ebene (Jarrols Publishers, London)	VuW	8000	1901-1935	P: 410/57/72. 1972 A: Udo Birckholz, John Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Hans Petersen
1972	Sayers, Dorothy L.	Mord braucht Reklame	Aufbau		1897-1957	NR
1972	Scott, Walter [Gisela Reichel (ed.)]	Waverley	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	10000	1771-1832	P: 265/13/72 (265/4/71). 1972 (1971) A: Friedrich Minckwitz. T: Giesela Reichel
1972	Shakespeare, William	König Lear	Insel-Verlag		1564-1616	P: 260/29/72. 1972
1972	Sillitoe, Alan	Samstagnacht und Samstagmorgen	VuW	8000	1928-2010	P: 410/58/72. 1972 A: Almut Giesecke, Joachim Krehayn, John Mitchell. T: Gerda von Uslar
1972	Smollett, Tobias	Die Abenteuer des Peregrine Pickle, Band I und II	Insel-Verlag		1721-1771	P: 260/718/72. 1972
1972	William Morris, A. L. Morton (ed.)	Political Writings of William Morris (International Publishers, New York / Lawrence & Wishart, London)	Seven Seas Publishers	10000	1834-1896	P: 306/99/72. 1972 A: Kay Pankey
1973	Aldridge, James	Der letzte Flug	Aufbau	12000	1892-1963	NR
1973	Barstow, Stan	Jenseits von Glückseligkeit	VuW		1928-2011	NR
1973	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	Aufbau	30000	1660-1731	NR
1973	Fielding, Henry	Tom Jones (2 Bände)	Aufbau		1707-1754	NR
1973	Greene, Grahame	Billig im August (ausg. Kurzgeschichten) (Paul Zsolnay Verlag)	VuW	10000	1904-2000	P: 410/72/73. 1973 A: Hans Petersen, Marianne Bretschneider, Ruth Greuner
1973	Harris, Rosemary	Kein Happy-End für Miß Brenning (Michael Joseph, London)	VuW	8000	1927-	P: 410/73/73. 1973 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. Günther Böhnke

1973	Hines, Barry	Und fing sich einen Falken (Michael Joseph, London)	VuW	8000	1939-	P: 410/73/73. 1973 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Günther Böhnke
1973	James, Henry	Die Gesandten	Aufbau	20000	1843-1916	P: 120/169/79. 1979 A: Jaochim Krehayn, Elga Abramowitz, Klotz. T: Ana Maria Brock
1973	Maugham, William Somerset	Silbermond und Kupfermünze	Aufbau	30000	1874-1965	NR
1973	Plunkett, James	Manche, sagt man, sind verdammt	Aufbau		1920-2003	NR
1973	Sir Thomas Malory	Die Geschichten von König Artus und den Rittern seiner Tafelrunde	Insel-Verlag		1405-1471	P: 260/4/73. 1973
1973	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Die Schatzinsel	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1850-1894	P: 190/6/73. 1973 A: Klaus Udo Szudra T: Hans Seiffert
1974	Beckford, William	Die Geschichte vom Kalifen Vathek mit den Episoden	Insel-Verlag		1760-1844	P: 260/6/74. 1974
1974	Burns, Robert	Gedichte und Lieder	Aufbau		1759-1796	NR
1974	Cary, Joyce	Des Pudels Kern	Aufbau	10000	1888-1957	P: 120/192/74. 1974 A: Sigrid Klotz, Helmut Findeisen T: Hans Erich Nossack
1974	Conrad, Joseph	Spiel des Zufalls	Aufbau	20100	1857-1924	P: 120/191/74. 1974 A: Günther Klotz, Elga Abramowitz, Sigrid Klotz T: Lore Krüger
1974	Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (ed.)]	Martin Chuzzlewit, Band I und II	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/22-23/74. 1974 A: Ingrid Müller
1974	Hines, Barry	Der Champion (Michael Joseph, London / Penguin)	VuW	10000	1939-	P: 410/62/74. 1974 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Rainer Rönsch
1974	Larkin, Philip / Gunn, Thom / Hughs, Ted	Gedichte	VuW			NR
1974	Lovesey, Peter	Detektiv in Boxerhosen	Aufbau		1936-	NR
1974	Maugham, William Somerset	Seine erste Frau	VuW		1874-1965	NR
1974	Mitchell, James Leslie	Flamme in grauem Granit (Jarrols Publishers)	VuW	8000	1901-1935	P: 410/64/74. 1974 A: John Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger, Udo Birckholz T: Hans Peterson
1974	Osborne, John	Blick zurück im Zorn / Der Entertainer / Luther	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1929-1994	P: 340/63/74. 1974 A: Herzog, Eva Manske
1974	Shaw, George Bernard	Stücke	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1856-1950	P: 340/127/74 (340/54/73). 1974 (1972) A: Herzog
1974	Winnington, Alan	Gullet und die Todeskurve	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409/160/112/74. 1974
1974	Winnington, Alan	Herzversagen	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409/160/84/74. 1974
1975	Aldridge, James	Ein Pony für zwei	Aufbau		1892-1963	NR

1975	Anthology. Mary Ashraf (ed.)	Political Verse and Song from Britain and Ireland (Lawrence & Wishart, London)	Sevens Seas Publishers	5000		P: 306/136/75. 1975 A: Joan Becker
1975	Caudwell, Christopher	Das perfekte Alibi (Krimi) (Whithy Grove Press, London und Manchester)	VuW	10000	1907-1937	P: 410/111/75. 1975. A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Giesela Peterson
1975	Dickens, Monica	Ich werde warten	Aufbau	10000	1812-1870	P: 120/300/75 (120/196/76). 1975 (1976). A: Erich Fetter, I. Müller. T: Olga und Erick Fetter
1975	Greene, Grahame	Der Honorarkonsul (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	VuW	10000	1904-2001	P: 410/112/75. 1975 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz. T: Susanna Rademacher / Hans W. Polak
1975	James, Henry	Die Erbin von Washington Square	Aufbau	20000	1843-1916	P: 120/206/75. 1975 A: Sigrid Klotz, Elga Abramowitz, Günter Klotz T: Ana Maria Brock
1975	Kipling, Rudyard	Die schönste Geschichte der Welt	Paul List Verlag	25000	1865-1936	P: 290/15/75. 1975 A: Helmut Findeisen, Heinz Mode
1975	Lewis, Norman	Flucht von einem dunklen Äquator	Aufbau	50000	1908-2003	P: 120/199/75. 1975 A: Klaus Schirrmeister, Erich Fetter. T: Klaus Schirrmeister
1975	Morton, Arthur L.	Freedom in Arms. A Selection of Leveller Writings (International Publishers, New York / Lawrence & Wishart, London)	Sevens Seas Publishers	10000	1914-1999	P: 306/137/75. 1975 A: Kay Pankey
1975	Northcott, Cecil	Biblisches Lexikon für Jung und Alt (Deutsche Christliche Verlagsanstalt, Konstanz)	St. Benno Verlag		1902-1987	NR
1975	Sansom, William	Der verbotene Leuchtturm (Kurzgeschichten)	VuW	15000	1912-1976	P: 410/113/75. 1975 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger, Udo Birckholz
1975	Synge, John Millington	Die Aran-Inseln	Insel-Verlag		1871-1909	P: 260/29/75. 1975
1975	Whitehead, E.A. / Hines, Barry	Alpha Beta / Der Teilhaber (zwei Stücke)	VuW	8000	1933 -	P: 410/114/75. 1975 A: Edwin Orthmann, Karl Heinz Berger, Hans Petersen T: Maria Carlsson
1975	Wilde, Oscar	Sämtliche Dramen	Insel-Verlag		1854-1900	P: 260/10/75. 1975 A: Helmut Findeisen
1975	Winnington, Alan	Der Todgegläubte	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409/160/168/75
1976	Aldridge, James	Kein hoffnungsloser Fall	Aufbau	20000	1892-1963	P: 120/195/76. 1976 A: Erich Fetter, Otto Brandstädter
1976	Arden, John / D'Arcy, Margareta	Das Erbe von Ballygombeen	Aufbau		1930-2012	NR
1976	Kennaway, James	Blutiger Winter (Spektrum-Reihe). (Jonathan Cape, London)	VuW	8000	1918-1968	P: 410/106/76. 1976 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Klaus Schultz

1976	Lennox, Charlotte	Der weibliche Quichotte oder Arabellas Abenteuer	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000	1730-1804	P: 265/2/76. 1976 A: Friedemann Berger T: Renate berger
1976	Lewis, C.S.	Eine Auswahl aus Werken	St. Benno Verlag		1889-1963	T: Elisabeth Anthkowiak and others
1976	Moore, George	Esther Waters	Paul List Verlag	10000	1852-1933	P: 290/14/76 (290/16/75). 1976 (1975) A: Werner Beyer, Schwarz
1976	Priestley, John Boynton	Dramen	Aufbau	10000	1894-1984	P: 120/200/75. 1975 A: Friedrich Baadke
1976	Sillitoe, Alan	Bilder aus Margarets Leben (Kurzgeschichten)	VuW		1928-2010	NR
1976	Thomas, Dylan	Die Krümmen eines Mannes Jahr	VuW		1914-1953	NR
1976	Waugh, Evelyn	Eine Handvoll Staub (Hundt-Verlag, Hattingen/Ruhr)	VuW	8000	1903-1966	P: 410/121/76. 1976 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Lucy von Wagenheim
1976	Winnington, Alan	Silberhuf zieht in den Krieg	Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin		1910-1983	P: 304-270/309/83-(85)
1977	Aldridge, James	Der wunderbare Mongole	Aufbau	47100	1892-1963	P: 120/181/77. 1977 A: Ingrid Müller, Erich Fetter. T: Utta Roy Seifert NR
1977	Caudwell, Christopher	Illusion and Reality	Sevens Seas Publishers			
1977	Conrad, Joseph	Der Nigger von der "Narcissus"	Aufbau	15000	1857-1924	P: 120/180/77. 1977 A: Joachim Krehayn, Elga Abramowitz, Klotz. T: Lore Krüger
1977	Dahl, Roald	Lammkeule (Erzählungen) (Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	VuW	8000	1916-1990	P: 410/101/77. 1977 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger
1977	Dickens, Charles	Große Erwartungen	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/28/77. 1977 A: Ingrid Müller
1977	Eliot, T.S.	In meinem Anfang ist mein Ende (Gedichte) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.	VuW	2000	1888-1965	P: 410/102/77. 1977 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Hans Petersen
1977	Friel, Brian	Stücke (Dramenreihe)	VuW	2000	1929-	P: 410/107/77. 1977. A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger
1977	Goldsmith, Oliver	Der Weltbürger oder Briefe eines in London weilenden chinesischen Philosophen an seine Freunde im Fernen Osten	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	7000	1728-1774	P: 265/4/77. 1977 A: Friedemann Berger. T: Helmut von Heinrich
1977	Greene, Grahame	Die Reisen mit meiner Tante (The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Hamburg)	VuW	8000	1904-2004	P: 410/103/77. 1977 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Hans Pollak
1977	Hawthorne, Nathaniel [Ingeburg Hucke (ed.)]	Dr. Heideggers Experiment	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1804-1867	P: 340/128/77 (340/67/76). 1977 (1976)

1977	Joyce, James	Dubliner (Erzählungen) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW	10000	1882-1941	P: 410/108/77. 1977 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Joachim Krehayn. T: Dieter Zimmer
1977	Lawrence, D.H.	Lady Chatterley	Aufbau	10000	1885-1930	P: 120/182/77. 1977 A: Anselm Schlösser, Klaus Schirromeiste
1977	Lovesey, Peter	Der Urlaub eines Übergeschnappten Regen (Erzählungen)	Aufbau		1936-	NR
1977	Maugham, William Somerset	(Diogenes Verlag, Zürich)	VuW	10000	1874-1965	P: 410/104/77. 1977 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Marianne Bretschneider
1977	Mitchell, James Leslie	Wolken über der Ebene	VuW		1901-1935	NR
1977	Morton, Arthur L.	A People's History of England	Sevens Seas Publishers		1914-1999	NR
1977	O'Casey, Sean	Juno und der Pfau. (MacMillan & Co, London)	Insel-Verlag		1880-1964	P: 260/35/77. 1977
1977	O'Casey, Sean [Manfred Nöbel (ed.)]	Ein Pfund abheben. Sechs Einakter	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1880-1964	P: 340/74/77. 1977 A: Schröder
1977	Richardson, Samuel	Sittenlehre für die Jugend in den auserlesensten aesopischen Fabeln	Insel-Verlag		1929-2004	P: 260/7/77. 1977
1977	Sayers, Dorothy	Der Mann mit den Kupferfindern (Krimi) (Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, Tübingen / Scherz Verlag, Bern und München)	VuW	10000	1897-1957	P: 410/105/77. 1977 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger T: Erna Krause, Gerlinde Quenzer, Gabriele Taut
1977	Shepard, Eric	Mord im Nonnenkloster	St. Benno Verlag		1882-?	T: Götz Wagner
1977	Spark, Muriel	Die Äbtissin von Crewe (Kurzroman) (Spektrum-Reihe). (Macmillan Ltd., London)	VuW	8000	1918-2006	P: 410/106/77. 1977 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Giesela Petersen
1977	Winnington, Alan	Duell in Tschungking	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409-160/154/77
1977	Woolf, Virginia	Mrs. Dalloway. (The Hogarth Press, London)	Insel-Verlag		1882-1941	P: 260/8/77. 1977 A: Helmut Findeisen
1978	Auden, Wytan Hugh	Glück mit dem kommenden Tag (Gedichte) (Bläschke Verlag, Darmstadt / Europa Verlag AG, Wien)	VuW	2000	1907-1973	P: 410/110/78. 1978 A: Günter Gentsch, Klaus Schultz
1978	Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Father Brown kann nicht glauben. Detektivgeschichten	St. Benno Verlag		1874-1936	T: Heinrich Fischer and others
1978	Collier, John	Ein Männlein steht im Walde... (Erzählungen) (Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	VuW	10000	1901-1980	P: 410/111/78. 1978 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Susanna Rademacher
1978	Huxley, Aldous	Schöne neue Welt	Neues Berlin		1894-1962	T: Eva Walch A: Host Höhne
1978	Maugham, William Somerset	Vor der Party. Ausgewählte Erzählungen	Insel-Verlag		1874-1965	P: 260/12/85. 1985

1978	Maugham, William Somerset	Der bunte Schleier (Scherz Verlag, München)	VuW	10000	1874-1965	P: 410/112/78. 1978 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Marianne Bretschneider T: Anna Kellner
1978	Morton, Arthur L.	The English Utopia	Sevens Seas Publishers		1914-1999	NR
1978	Shakespeare, William	Troilus und Cressida	Insel-Verlag		1564-1616	P: 260/33/78. 1978 A: Anselm Schlösser
1978	Yeats, William Butler	Geschichten von Rot-Hanrahan. (Macmilan & Co. Ltd. London / Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, Neuwied)	Insel-Verlag		1865-1939	P: 260/35/78. 1978 A: Helmut Findeisen
1979	Aldridge, James	Der unberührbare Julian	Aufbau	20000	1892-1963	P: 120/168/79. 1979 A: I. Müller, Sigrid Klotz, Günther Klotz. T:Fetter
1979	Bainbridge, Beryl	Der Ausflug (Spektrum-Reihe). (Gerald Duckworth & Co., London)	VuW	6000	1934-2010	P: 410/102/79. 1979 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Peter Kleinhemper
1979	Barstow, Stan	Der Liebe wahrer Sinn (Michael Joseph, London)	VuW	8000	1928-2011	P: 410/101/79. 1979 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Marianne Bretschneider. T: Giesela Petersen
1979	Christie, Agatha	Mord im Pfarrhaus (Krimi)	Aufbau	30000	1890-1976	P: 120/192/79. 1979. A: Erich Fetter, Klaus Schirrmeister
1979	Conrad, Joseph	Bericht über mich selbst	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	15000	1857-1924	P: 265/33/79. 1979 A: Elli Berger T: Renate Berger
1979	Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (ed.)]	Erzählungen I	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15000	1857-1924	P: 190/8/79. 1979 T: Berger, Beyer, L. Krüger
1979	Eliot, George [Klaus Udo Szudra (ed.)]	Middlemarch, zwei Bände.	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1819-1880	P: 190/6-7/79. 1979 T: Irmgrad Nickel
1979	Eliot, T.S.	Old Possums Katzenbuch (Gedichte) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW		1888-1965	P: 410/103/79. 1979 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
1979	Galsworthy, John	Die dunkle Blume	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	20000	1967-1933	P: 265/11/79. 1979 T: Leon Schalit
1979	Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Heinz Förster (ed.): Mr. Higginbothams Verhängnis. Ausgewählte Erzählungen	Insel-Verlag		1804-1864	P: 260/8/79. 1979
1979	James, Henry	Prinzessin Casamassima	Aufbau	20000	1843-1916	T: Ana Maria Brock
1979	Joyce, James	Ein Portrait des Künstlers als junger Mann	VuW	12000	1882-1941	P: 410/104/79. 1979 A: Erwin Pracht T: Klaus Reichert
1979	Petersen, Hans (Hrsg.)	Erkundungen. 30 irische Erzähler	VuW			NR
1979	Priestley, John Boynton	Du bist ein einem alten Land	Aufbau		1894-1984	NR
1979	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Die Schatzinsel	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag	150000	1850-1894	P: 265/49/79. 1979 T: Karl Lerbs

1979	Swift, Jonathan [Anselm Schlösser (ed.)]	Respektlose Schriften	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1667-1745	P: 340/66/79. 1979 A: Bock
1979	Walpole, Horace	Helmut Findeisen (ed.): Die Burg von Otranto	Insel-Verlag		1717-1797	P: 260/6/79. 1979
1979	Wilde, Oscar	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	50000	1854-1900	P: 265/47/79. 1979 T: Christine Hoepfner
1979	Woolf, Virginia [Wolfgang Wicht (ed.)]	Die Fahrt zum Leuchtturm (Auf der Fahrt zum Leuchtturm)	Insel-Verlag		1882-1941	P: 260/71/79. 1979 A: Günter Walch
1980	Ashraf, Phyllis Mary	Englische Arbeiterliteratur vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zum ersten Weltkrieg	Aufbau			NR
1980	Austen, Jane	Emma. Roman	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1775-1817	P: 340/54/80. 1980 A: Helgard Rost
1980	Austen, Jane	Die Abtei von Northanger	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	15000	1775-1817	P: 190/4/80. 1980 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Christiane Agricola
1980	Bradbury, Malcom	Der Geschichtsmensch	Aufbau		1932-2000	NR
1980	Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Kopfstände. Eine Auswahl aus Essays und anderen Schriften	St. Benno Verlag		1874-1936	T: verschiedene
1980	Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (ed.)]	Das Ende vom Lied / Der geheime Teilhaber / Die Schattenlinie.	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung		1857-1924	P: 190/6/80. 1980
1980	Defoe, Daniel	Das Leben, die Abenteuer und die Piratenzüge des berühmten Kapitän Singleton	Aufbau		1660-1731	NR
1980	Dickens, Charles	Notizen aus Amerika (Reisereihe)	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/29/80. 1980 A: Ingrid Müller, Ingeborg Gronke
1980	Forester, Cecil Scott	Zahlungsaufschub	Aufbau		1899-1966	NR
1980	Golding, William	Pincher Martin. (Faber & Faber, London)	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1911-1993	P: 340/55/80. 1980 A: Bock
1980	Hardy, Thomas [Anselm Schlösser (ed.)]	Tess von d'Urbervilles. Eine reine Frau	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	10000	1840-1928	P: 265/43/80. 1980 T: Paul Baudisch
1980	Hawthorne, Nathaniel [Heinz Förster (ed.)]	Der schwarze Schleier. Ausgewählte Erzählungen	Insel-Verlag		1804-1866	P: 260/35/80. 1980
1980	Joyce, James	Ulysses (2 Bände) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW	8000	1882-1941	P: 410/106/80. 1980 A: Erwin Pracht, Joachim Krehayn T: Hans Wollschläger
1980	Kipling, Rudyard	Das Dschungelbuch	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	80000	1865-1936	P: 265/47/80. 1980 T: Curt Abel-Musgrave
1980	Kipling, Rudyard	Das neue Dschungelbuch	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	80000	1865-1936	P: 265/48/80. 1980 T: Curt Abel-Musgrave
1980	Locke, John [Hermann Klenner (ed.)]	Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Staatsgewalt. Sozialphilosophische Schriften	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1632-1704	P: 340/4/80. 1980 A: Karin Gurst, Helmut Seidel
1980	O'Casey, Sean	Ich klopfe an (Macmillan, London).	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	6000	1880-1964	P: 265/13/80. 1980 T: Georg Goyert

1980	Pepys, Samuel [Anselm Schlösser (ed.)]	Das geheime Tagebuch	Insel-Verlag		1633-1703	P: 260/13/80. 1980 A: Martin Lehnert
1980	Winnington, Alan	Der Doppelagent	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 409-160/166/79. 1979
1980	Yeats, William Butler [Wolfgang Wicht (ed.)]	Funde. Ausgewählte Essays	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar		1865-1939	P: 265/35/80. 1980 A: Hentsch, Helmut Findeisen
1981	Bailey, Paul	Unbefugte Eingriffe	Aufbau		1937.	NR
1981	Boyle, Patrick	Wie jeder andere auch (S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW	8000	1905-1982	P: 410/99/81. 1981 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Marianne Seeger
1981	Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Wege am Rande des Abgrundes. Seltsame Detektivgeschichten (Herder Verlag)	St. Benno Verlag		1874-1936	T: Gertrude Jahn, Clarisse Meitner, Rudolf Nutt
1981	Conrad, Joseph	Ein Vorposten des Fortschritts. Erzählungen	Insel-Verlag		1857-1924	P: 260/28/81. 1981 A: Anselm Schlösser
1981	Conrad, Joseph	Lord Jim. N.: Günther Walch	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	15000	1857-1924	P: 190/7/81. 1981 A: Anselm Schlösser T: Elli Berger, Günther Riedel
1981	Defoe, Daniel	Die Geschichte und das ungewöhnliche Leben des sehr ehrenwerten Colonel Jacques, allgemein Oberst Jack bekannt	Aufbau	58100	1660-1731	P: 120/181/81. 1981. A: Ingrid Müller, Erich Fetter
1981	Defoe, Daniel [Friedemann Berger (ed.)]	Robinson Crusoe. Zwei Bände	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	20000	1660-1731	P: 265/8/9/81. 1981 A: Hentsch, Heide Steiner. T: Lore Krüger
1981	Dickens, Charles	Oliver Twist	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	35000		P: 265/33/81. 1981 A: Sommer T: Reinhard Rilbel
1981	Dickens, Charles [Joachim Krehayn (ed.)]	Londoner Skizzen	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1812-1870	P: 340/128/81. 1981 A: ?
1981	Greene, Grahame	Ein ausgebrannter Fall (Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	VuW	10000	1904-2007	P: 410/96/81. 1981. A: Wolfgang Wicht, Klaus Schultz. T: Lida Winiewicz
1981	O'Brian, Flann	Zwei Vögel beim Schwimmen (Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	VuW	8000	1911-1966	P: 410/100/81. 1981. A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz. T: Lore Fiedler
1981	Quincey, Thomas de	Bekenntnisse eines Opiumessers	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar		1785-1859	P: 265/37/82. 1982. A: Klaus Sommer. T: Elfriede Mund
1981	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Junker von Ballantrae	Aufbau		1850-1894	NR
1981	Yeats, William Butler	Ich hatte die Weisheit, die Liebe uns gibt. (Gedichte) (Hermann Luchterhand Verlag)	VuW	2000	1865-1939	P: 410/108/81. 1981 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
1982	Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (ed.)]	Almayers Wahn	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	15000	1857-1924	P: 190/12/82. 1982 A: Helmut Findeisen. T: Heide Steiner
1982	Donne, John [M. Hamburger (ed.)]	Zwar ist auch Dichtung Sünde. Gedichte. Englisch und deutsch	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1571-1631	P: 340/64/82. 1982 A: Bock, Bernhard Scheller

1982	Eliot, T.S.	Ausgewählte Aufsätze, Vorträge und Essays. (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW	3000	1888-1965	P: 410/111/81. 1981 A: Wolfgang Wicht, Klaus Schultz
1982	Greene, Grahame	Dr. Fischer aus Genf oder die Bomben-Party (Spektrum-Reihe). (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	VuW	8000	1904-2008	P: 410/112/82. 1982 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger T: Peter Michael, Hans Polak
1982	Hill, Susan	Seltsame Begegnung	Aufbau		1942-	NR
1982	Joyce, James	Stephen der Held (New Directions, New York / Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW	6000	1882-1941	P: 410/114/82. 1982 A: Hans Petersen, Herbert Krempien, Wolfgang Wicht T: Klaus Reichert
1982	Joyce, James	Kammermusik (Lyriksammlung)	Insel-Verlag		1882-1941	NR
1982	Nashe, Thomas	Der glücklose reisende oder das Leben des Jack Wilton	Aufbau		1567-1601	NR
1982	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Selbstmörderklub	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	50000	1850-1894	P: 265/37/82. 1982 A: Klaus Somm
1982	Wilde, Oscar	Lehren und Sprüche	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000	1854-1900	P: 265/24/82. 1982. T: Franz Blei
1983	Aiken, Joan	Die Kristallkrähe	Aufbau		1924-2004	NR
1983	Conrad, Joseph	Nostromo (new translation)	Aufbau	15000	1857-1924	P: 120/166/83. 1983 A: Günter Walch
1983	Doyle, Arthur Conan [Karl Heinz Berger (ed.)]	Die Abenteuer des Sherlock Holmes 1. und 2. Sammlung	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	100000	1850-1930	P: 265/17/18/83. 1983 A: Steenbeck, Ursula Wicklein. K.-H. Berger
1983	Fowles, John	Die Geliebte des französischen Leutnants	Aufbau	10000	1926-2005	P: 120/167/83. 1983 A: Sigrid Klotz, Günther Klotz. Reinhard Federmann (BRD)
1983	Greene, Grahame	Die Stunde des Komödianten	Aufbau		1904-2009	NR
1983	Holtby, Winifred	Die Leute von Kiplington (William Collins Sons & Co., Glasgow)	VuW	8000	1898-1935	P: 410/86/83 (410/97/81). 1983 (1981) A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Reinhild und Gunter Böhnke
1983	James, P.D.	Ein reizender Job für eine Frau (Krimi) (Faber & Faber, London / Rainer Wunderlich Verlag Hermann Leins & Co., Tübingen)	VuW	8000	1929-	P: 410/87/83. 1983 A: Klaus Schultz. T: Wolfdietrich Müller
1983	Lessing, Doris	Afrikanische Tragödie (Michael Joseph, London / S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.).	VuW	6000	1919-2013	A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Ernst Sander
1983	O'Brian, Flann	Das Barmen	VuW		1911-1966	NR
1983	Snow, C.P.	Salons im Zwielicht (Macmillan, London)	VuW		1905-1980	P: 410/89/83. 1983 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
1983	Wilde, Oscar	Die Märchen und Das Gespenst von Canterville	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	30000	1854-1900	P: 265/51/83. 1983 A: Renate Brendel
1983	Winnington, Alan	Herzversagen	Das Neue Berlin		1910-1983	P: 304-270/537/83-70. 1983 (1970)
1983	Woolf, Virginia	Orlando	Insel-Verlag		1882-1941	NR

1984	Barstow, Stan	Mein Bruder, der ungebetene Gast (Michael Joseph, London)	VuW	6000	1928-2011	P: 410/111/84. 1984 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger T: Giesela Petersen
1984	Butler, Samuel [Anselm Schlösser (ed.)]	Von Schwätzern, Schwärmern und Halunken. Charakterbilder und Aphorismen	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	15000	1835-1902	P: 190/8/84. 1984. A: Martin Lehnert
1984	Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (ed.)]	David Copperfield, Band 1 und 2	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/27/84 (415/24/83). 1984 (1983) A: ?
1984	Eliot, T.S.	Stücke: Mord im Dom / Die Cocktail Party / Der Privatsekretär / Ein verdienter Staatsmann (Dramenreihe). (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW	3000	1888-1965	P: 410/112/84. 1984 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz
1984	Eliot, T.S.	Stücke	VuW		1888-1965	NR
1984	Fowles, John	Der Ebenholzturm	Aufbau	5000	1926-2005	P: 120/166/84. 1984 A: Günther Klotz T: Eva Bornemann
1984	Golding, William	Äquatortaufe (AT). (Faber and Faber, London / Bertelsmann Verlag, München)	VuW	6000	1911-1993	P: 410/113/84. 1984 A: Hans Petersen, Joachim Krehayn T: Herbert Schlüter
1984	Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 1 Ein ausgebrannter Fall	VuW		1904-2012	NR
1984	Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 2 Honorarkonsul	VuW		1904-2013	NR
1984	Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 3 Reisen mit meiner Tante	VuW		1904-2014	NR
1984	Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 4 Spiel im Dunkeln	VuW		1904-2015	NR
1984	Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 5 Der stille Amerikaner	VuW		1904-2016	NR
1984	Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 6 Die Stunde der Komödianten	VuW		1904-2017	NR
1984	Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 7 Unser Mann in Havanna	VuW		1904-2018	NR
1984	Hogg, James	Die privaten Memoiren und Bekenntnisse eines gerechtfertigten Sünders	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1770-1835	P: 340/75/84. 1984 A: Bock
1984	Huxley, Aldous	Das Genie und die Göttin. (Chatto and Windus, London)	Insel-Verlag		1894-1962	P: 260/34/84. 1984 A: Karl Heinz Berger
1984	James, Henry	Die Kunst des Romans. Ausgewählte Essays zur	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	6000	1843-1916	P: 265/47/84. 1984 A: Utz Riese, Günter Gentsch

Literatur

T: Helga Eberhard

1984	James, P.D.	Ein reizender Job für eine Frau (Krimi)	VuW		1929-	NR
1984	Joyce, James. Wolfgang Wicht (ed.)	Ausgewählte Schriften. (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW		1882-1941	P: 410/117/84. 1984 A: Klaus Schultz
1984	Lawrence, D. H. [Heide Steiner (ed.)]	Chrysanthemenduft. Ausgewählte Erzählungen	Insel-Verlag		1885-1930	P: 260/33/84. 1984 A: Bernhard Scheller
1984	Lessing, Doris	Hunger (Curtis Brown, London)	Insel-Verlag		1919-2013	P: 260/35/84. 1984 A: Klaus Köhl
1984	Lessing, Doris	Winter im Juli. Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten. (Klett-Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachf., Stuttgart / Diogenes Verlag, Zürich).	VuW	8000	1911-1993	P: 410/114/84. 1984 A: Klaus Schultz, Sabine Teichmann
1984	O'Brian, Flann	Das harte Leben (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW	8000	1911-1966	P: 410/118/84. 1984 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Annemarie und Heinrich Böll
1984	Petersen, Hans (Hrsg.)	Limericks	VuW			NR
1984	Richards, Alun	Schneewittchen und der Klempner (Kurzgeschichten)	VuW		1929-2004	NR
1984	Thomas, Dylan	Und dem Tod soll kein Reich mehr bleiben (Gedichte)	VuW		1914-1953	NR
1984	Wallace, Edgar	Der Pfeifer (Krimi)	Aufbau		1875-1932	NR
1984	Wilde, Oscar	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	Aufbau		1854-1900	NR
1984	Yeats, William Butler [Wolfgang Wicht (ed.)]	Autobiographien	Insel-Verlag		1865-1939	P: 260/12/84. 1984 A: Heide Steiner
1985	Aldington, Richard	Heldentod	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	8000	1892-1962	P: 265/55/85. 1985 A: Steenbeck, Bernard Scheller T: Dagobert von Mikusch
1985	Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (ed.)]	Barnaby Rudge, Band 1 und 2	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/34/85. 1985
1985	Doyle, Arthur Conan [Alice Berger (ed.), Karl Heinz Berger (ed.)]	Das Notizbuch von Sherlock Holmes. Sämtliche Sherlock-Holmes-Erzählungen, Band V.	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	120000	1859-1930	P: 265/16/85. 1985 T: Alice un Karl Heinz Berger
1985	Galsworthy, John	Fortsyte Saga 3 Bände. (Heinemann, London)	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	15000	1967-1933	P: 265/13/85. 1985 A: Josef-Hermann Sauter T: Jutta Schlösser
1985	Golding, William	Herr der Fliegen (Faber and Faber, London / S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.).	VuW	8000	1911-1993	P: 410/121/85. 1985 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Wolfgang Wicht. T: Hermann Stiehl
1985	Goldsmith, Oliver [Friedemann Berger (ed.)]	NR	Insel-Verlag		1728-1774	P: 260/46/85. 1985

1985	Greene, Graham	Mein Freund, der General. (The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	VuW	10000	1904-1991	P: 410/124/85. 1985 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Werner Richter
1985	Greenwood, Walter	Liebe geht stempelt	Aufbau		1903-1974	P: 120/193/85. 1985 A: Friedrich Baadke, Erich Fetter
1985	Huxley, Aldous	Kontrapunkt des Lebens	Insel-Verlag		1894-1962	P: 260/12/85. 1985
1985	James, Henry	Damen in Boston	Aufbau	15000	1843-1916	P: 120/194/85. 1985 A: Utz Riese, Klotz, Elga Abramowitz T: Ana Maria Brock
1985	James, P. D.	Ein unverhofftes Geständnis (Reihe: bb-Taschenbuch)	Aufbau	30000	1929-	P: 120/184/85. 1985 A: Erich Fetter, Klaus Schirrmeister. T: Sybille Hunzinger
1985	James, P.D.	Ende einer Karriere. (Droemersche Verlagsanstalt Th. Knaur Nachf., München)	VuW	10000	1929-	P: 410/122/85. 1985 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Sabine Teichmann. T: Georg Auerbach
1985	Mc Grath, John [Günter Klotz (ed.)]	Dramen	Aufbau		1935-2002	P: 120/251/85 (120/146/84). 1985 (1984) A: Friedrich Baadke
1985	O'Brian, Flann	Der dritte Polizist. (Mac Gibbon & Kee, London / Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW	6000	1911-1966	P: 410/123/85. 1985 A: Klaus Schultz. T: Harry Rowohlt
1985	Shaw, George Bernard	Erste Hilfe für Kritiker (Auswahl von Schriften)	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	10000	1856-1950	P: 265/51/85. 1985 A: Günter Walch. T: Siegfried Trebitsch
1985	Shelley, Percy Bysshe [Horst Höhne (ed.)]	Ausgewählte Werke. Dichtung und Prosa	Insel-Verlag		1972-1822	P: 260/11/85 (260/11/84). 1985 (1984) A: Helmut Findeisen
1985	Sheridan, John Desmond	Bruder Halleluja oder Gott schuf auch kleinere Äpfel (Bitter Verlag Recklinghausen)	St. Benno Verlag		1903-1980	T: Clementine Norres
1986	Boyd, Neil	Hoch lebe Hochwürden: Erzählungen (Kerle Verlag, Freiburg)	St. Benno Verlag			T: Ursula Schottelius und Erwin Peters
1986	Boyle, Patrick	Nachts sind alle Katzen grau (Kurzgeschichten)	VuW	8000	1905-1982	P: 410/137/86. 1986 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
1986	Carleton, William [Helmut Findeisen (ed.)]	Familienschlacht in Knockimdowney. Erzählungen aus dem irischen Landleben	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	13000	1794-1879	P: 190/12/86. 1986 A: Bernhard Scheller T: G. Kirchner, W. Reinhard
1986	Christie, Agatha	Die Tote in der Bibliothek / 16.50 Uhr ab Paddington. (William Collins Sons & Co., London / Scherz Verlag)	VuW	10000	1890-1986	P: 410/131/86. 1986 A: Sabine Teichmann, Hans-Joachim Volkert
1986	Conrad, Joseph	Sieg	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	10000	1857-1924	P: 190/7/85. 1985 A: Wolfgang Wicht. T: Peter Meier
1986	Dahl, Roald	Kuschelmuschel (Erzählungen) (Michael Joseph, London / Rowohlt Verlag,	VuW	8000	1916-1990	P: 410/120/84. 1984 A: Hans Petersen

		Reinbek bei Hamburg)				
1986	Golding, William	Papier-Männer. (Faber and Faber, London / C. Bertelsmann Verlag, München)	VuW	10000	1911-1993	P: 410/133/86. 1986 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Sylvia Ostermann T: Emil Bastuk
1986	Greene, Graham	Der menschliche Faktor. (The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	VuW	10000	1904-1991	P: 410/134/86. 1986 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz T: Luise Wasserthal Zuccari, Hans W. Polak
1986	Jara, Joan	Victor. Ein unvollendetes Lied	VuW		1929-	NR
1986	Johnson, Samuel	Eine Reise zu den westlichen Inseln von Schottland	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1708-1784	P: 340/75/86. 1986 A: Bock
1986	Mitchell, James Leslie	Ein schottisches Buch (A Scots Quair) Bd 1	VuW		1901-1935	NR
1986	Priestley, John Boynton	Zauber früher Jahre	Aufbau		1894-1984	P: 120/173/86. 1986 A: Erich Fetter, Friedrich Baadke
1986	Smith, Alexander. Anselm Schlösser (ed.)	Leben und Taten der berühmtesten Straßenräuber, Mörder und Spitzbuben	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	15000		P: 265/17/86. 1986 A: Günter Gentsch, Martin Lehnert. T: J.L. Rost
1986	Waugh, Evelyn	Wiedersehen mit Brideshead. (Cahpman & Hall, London / Claassen Verlag, Düsseldorf).	VuW	8000	1903-1966	P: 410/135/86. 1986 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Franz Fein
1986	Woolf, Virginia [Wolfgang Wicht (ed.)]	Die schmale Brücke der Kunst. Ausgewählte Essays	Insel-Verlag		1882-1941	P: 260/10/86. 1986 A: Heide Steiner
1987	Austen, Jane	Stolz und Vorurteil	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	22000	1775-1817	P: 265/30/87. 1987 T: Werner Beyer
1987	Beardsley, Aubrey	Die Geschichte von Venus und Tannhäuser	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000		P: 265/66/87. 1987 A: Antosch, Ursula Horn T: Cracian
1987	Beardsley, Aubrey [Ursula Morn (ed.)]	Zeichnungen	Insel-Verlag		1872-1898	P: 260/45/87 (260/34/86) 1987 (1986). A: Renate Hartleb
1987	Caldwell, Taylor	Ist niemand da, der mich hört?	St. Benno Verlag		1900-1985	T: Josef Tichy
1987	Cleland, John	Die Abenteuer der Fanny Hill (2 Bände)	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	5000		NR
1987	Dickens, Charles	Drei Weihnachtserzählungen	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/55/87 (415/53/86). 1987 (1986)
1987	Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (ed.)]	Eine Geschichte zweier Städte. Gesammelte Werke	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	P: 415/31/87. 1987 A: Ingrid Müller
1987	Galsworthy, John [Anselm Schlösser (ed.)]	Eine moderne Komödie. 3 Bände	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	20000	1967-1933	P: 265/28/87. 1987 A: Gorges ?, Jürgen Ronthaler T: Jutta Schlösser
1987	James, P. D.	Tod eines Sachverständigen (K-Reihe). (Faber and Faber, London /	VuW		1929-	P: 410/116/87. 1987 A: Sylvia Ostermann, Hans-Joachim Volkert

Rowohlt Verlag,
Reinbek bei Hamburg)

1987	Lewis, C.S.	Perelandra	St. Benno Verlag		1889-1963	T: Walter Brumm
1987	Stevenson, Robert Louis [K. H. Wirzberger (ed.)]	Der weite Horizont	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	15000	1850-1894	P: 190/109/87. 1987
1987	Waugh, Evelyn	Auf der schiefen Ebene. (Diogenes Verlag, Zürich)	VuW	8000	1903-1966	P: 410/117/87. 1987 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Sylvia Ostermann. T: Ulrike Simon
1988	Aldridge, James	Die wahre Geschichte der Lilli Stubeck	Aufbau	7500	1892-1963	P: 120/177/88. 1988 A: Erich Fetter, I. Müller T: Magit Meyer
1988	Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Nun schlägt's dreizehn: Erzählungen	St. Benno Verlag		1874-1936	NR
1988	Conrad, Joseph	Das Duell. Erzählungen	Aufbau	10000	1857-1924	P: 120/176/88. 1988 A: Marlies Juhnke T: Carmen Janetzki
1988	Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (ed.)]	Nostromo	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	12000	1857-1924	P: 190/108/88. 1988 T: Lore Krüger
1988	Dahl, Roald	Lammkeule und andere Geschichten / Kuschelmuschel. Vier erotische Überraschungen. (Rowohlt Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW	25000	1916-1990	P: 410/127/88. 1988
1988	Dickens, Charles	Bleak House, 2 Bände	Verlag Rütten & Loening		1812-1870	NR
1988	Greene, Graham	Komödien der Erotik. (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien)	VuW	800	1904-1991	P: 410/124/88. 1988 A: Hans Petersen. T: Hilder Spiel und Walther Puchwein
1988	Hume, George Basil (Cardinal)	Pilgerbuch des Lebens (Herder Verlag)	St. Benno Verlag		1923-1999	T: Johanna Isenbart und Christiane Rath
1988	Kollektiv, Hans Petersen (ed.)	Erkundungen. 28 walisische Erzähler (Reihe: Erkundungen)	VuW	6000		P: 410/122/88. 1988 A: Klaus Schultz, Reinhard Ulbrich
1988	Larkin, Philip	Mich ruft nur meiner Glocke grober Klang- Gedichte	VuW		1922-1985	A: Karl Heinz Berger P: 410/121/88 ISBN 3-353-00360-6
1988	O'Casey, Sean Otto Brandstädter (ed.)	Dämmerung und Abendstern	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	6000	1880-1964	P: 265/19/88. 1988 T: Werner Beyer
1988	Thompson, Dorothy	Antifaschistische Publizistik 1932-1942	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar		1893-1961	P: 265/22/88. 1988 A: Kurt Pätzold, Klaus Fritsch
1988	Woolf, Virginia	Wellen	Insel-Verlag		1882-1941	NR
1988	Huxley, Aldous	Schöne neue Welt	Reclam Verlag		1894-1962	P:340/71/88. 1988 A: Pradel and Bock T: Eva Walch
1988 [1989]	Beckett, Samuel	Spiele	VuW	6000	1906-1989	P: 410/113/82 (410/98/81). 1982 (1981) A: Christoph Trilse, Norbert Krenzlin

1989	Austen, Jane	Mansfield Park	Aufbau	15000	1775-1816	P: 120/170/89. 1989 A: Friedrich Baadke, Klaus Udo Szudra. T: Klaus Udo Szudra
1989	Beckett, Samuel	Ausgewählte Erzählungen. (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	VuW	5000	1906-1989	P: 410/108/89. 1989 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger. T: Elmar Tophoven (BRD)
1989	James, P. D.	Der schwarze Turm (K-Reihe). (Faber and Faber, London / Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	VuW	15000	1929-	P: 410/107/89. 1989. A: Hans-Joachim Volkert. T: Doris Kornau und Alexandra Wiegand
1989	Kipling, Rudyard	Nur so Märchen	Der Morgen		1865-1936	P: 48/22/89. 1989 A: Dorothea Körner
1989	Marlow, Joyce	Kessie (Reihe: bb-Taschenbuch)	Aufbau		1929-	P: 120/188/89. 1989 A: Erich Fetter, Marlies Juhnke
1989	McEwan, Ian	Der Zementgarten	Aufbau		1948-	P: 120/171/89. 1989 A: Klaus Schirrmeister, Wolfgang Wicht
1989	Shakespeare, William [Günter Walch (ed.)]	Sonnets. Sonette	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung		1564-1616	P: 190/114/89. 1989 A: Horst Nalewski
1989	Sterne, Lawrence	Das Leben und die Ansichten Tristram Shandys	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	9000	1713-1768	P: 190/101/89. 1989 T: Kristina Hering
1989	Woolf, Virginia	Ein eigenes Zimmer / Drei Guineen. Essays	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1882-1941	P: 340/75/89. 1989 A: Bock
1990	Adams, Douglas	Per Anhalter durch die Galaxis (Spektrum-Reihe). (Pan Books, London / Rogner & Bernhard, München).	VuW	6000	1952-2001	P: 410/141/90. 1990 A: Manfred Küchler T: Benjamin Schwarz
1990	Beckett, Samuel	Murphy	Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig		1906-1989	P: 340/68/90. 1990 A: Helgard Rost T: Barnara G. Malmshemer
1990	Boulay, Shirley du	Cicely Saunders: Ein Leben für Sterbende (Tyrolia Verlag, Innsbruck)	St. Benno Verlag			
1990	Defoe, Daniel	Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	12000		P: 265/5/90. 1990 A: Klaus Frits T: Marta Eber
1990	Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony [Karl Heinz Schwabe (ed.)]	Der gesellige Enthusiast. Philosophische Essays	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	3000	1671-1713	P: 265/3-4/90. 1990 A: Gorges ? T: L. Hölty, J.L. Benzler
1990	Greene, Graham	Ein Mann mit vielen Namen. (Viking Penguin, New York / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Darmstadt)	VuW	10000	1904-1991	P: 410/111/90. 1990 A: Klaus Schultz T: Monika Fleiß
1990	James, Henry	Die Flügel der Taube	Aufbau	20000	1843-1916	P: 120/178/90. 1990 A: Sigrid Klotz T: Anna Maria Brock
1990	Newman, John Henry	Worte des Herzens (Herder Verlag)	St. Benno Verlag		1801-1890	NR

1990	Sharpe, Tom	Puppenmord oder Bis daß ihr Tod ihn scheidet. (Martin Secker & Warburg, London / Rogner & Bernhard, München)	VuW	10000	1928-2013	P: 410/142/90. 1990 A: Manfred Küchler T: Benjamin Schwarz
1990	Thackeray, William Makepeace	Die Rose und der Ring	Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch- handlung	15000	1811-1863	P: 190/69/70/90. 1990 T: Peter Rau
1990	Wallace, Edgar	Der Schwarze Abt	Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	100000	1875-1932	P: 265/52/90. 1990 A: Gorges. T: Otto v. Bebbers, completed by Helga Schulz

Table A 3: Publications by Aufbau-Verlag in chronological order

Author	Title (in German as published in the GDR) and licensor	Year of publication	copies printed	Life	Censorship file
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Die Schatzinsel	1946		1850-1894	NR
Aldridge, James	Der Diplomat	1952		1892-1963	NR
Fielding, Henry	Johnathan Wild der Große	1952		1707-1754	NR
Aldridge, James	Der Seeadler	1953		1892-1963	NR
Dickens, Charles	Die Pickwickier	1953		1812-1870	NR
Thackeray, William M.	Henry Esmond	1953	10000	1811-1863	P: 120/73/54. 1954 A: Helle Carola Gärtner-Scholle, P. Schlicht
Thackeray, William M.	Die Memoiren des Junkers Barry Lyndon	1953		1811-1863	NR
Fielding, Henry	Joseph Andrew's Abenteuer	1955		1707-1754	P: 120/94/55. 1955
Burke, Edmund	Vom Erhabenen und Schönen	1956		1729-1779	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Die Pest in London	1956	10000	1660-1731	P: 120/270/56, 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Günther Klotz, T: Rudolf Schaller
Hardy, Thomas	Herzen in Aufruhr	1956	10000	1840-1928	P: 120/90/56, 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Elga Abramowitz T: Eva Schumann
Shakespeare, William	Werke in drei Bänden Bd 1 Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung (...)	1956	15000	1564-1616	P: 120/76-78/55. 1955
Shakespeare, William	Werke in drei Bänden Bd 2 Der Kaufmann von Venedig (...)	1956	15000	1564-1616	P: 120/76-78/55. 1955
Shakespeare, William	Werke in drei Bänden Bd 3 Hamlet (...)	1956	15000	1564-1616	P: 120/76-78/55. 1955
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden / Bd 1 Historien	1956	15000	1564-1616	NR
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden / Bd 2 Komödien	1956			NR
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden / Bd 3 Tragödien	1956			NR
Shaw, George Bernard	Dramatische Werke - eine Auswahl in vier Bänden (4 Bände)	1956	40000	1856-1950	P: 120/63-66/56. 1956 T: Siegfried Trebitsch
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Entführt	1956	20000	1850-1894	P: 120/551/55. 1955 A: Arno Hausmann
Blake, William	Immergrün	1957		1757-1827	P: 120/86/57. 1957 A: Paul Friedländer
Conrad, Joseph	Nostromo	1957		1857-1924	P: 120/226/56. 1956 A: Günther Klotz
Edgeworth, Maria	Meine hochgeborene Herrschaft	1957		1768-1849	NR
Fielding, Henry	Amelia	1957	10000	1707-1754	P: 120/68/56, 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn, Günther Klotz
Mandeville, Bernard	Die Bienenfabel	1957		1670-1733	NR
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Catriona	1957		1850-1894	NR

Blake, William	Werke	1958		1757-1827	NR
Conrad, Joseph	Das Herz der Finsternis	1958		1857-1924	P: 120/84/57. 1957 A: Joachim Krehayn, Günter Klotz
Milton, John	Simson der Kämpfer	1958	1500	1608-1674	P: 120/215/58. 1958 A: Klotz T: Hermann Ulrich
Tressell, Robert	Die Menschenfreunde un zerlumpte Hosen	1958		1870-1911	NR
Scott, Walter	Das Herz von Midlothian (2 Bände)	1959	30000	1771-1832	P: 120/209/59. 1959 A: Klaus Täubert
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Junker von Ballantrae (Reihe: bb- Taschenbücher)	1959	50000	1850-1894	P: 120/217/58. 1958 A: Elga Abramowitz T: Lore Krüger
Butler, Samuel	Der Weg allen Fleisches	1960		1835-1902	NR
Fielding, Henry	Satirische Stücke / Über die Straßenräuberei	1960	3000	1707-1754	P: 120/57/60. 1960 A: Günther Klotz
Swift, Jonathan	Reisen in verschiedene ferngelegene Länder der Erde von Lemuel Gulliver erst Wundarzt später Kapitän mehrerer Schiffe	1960		1667-1745	NR
Dickens, Charles	Harte Zeiten	1961	30000	1812-1870	P: 120/44/61. 1961 A: S. Bachmann
Aldridge, James	Der letzte Zoll	1962		1892-1963	P: 120/82/62,. 1962 A: Karl Blasche, Günther Klotz
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden	1962	15000	1564-1616	P: 120/76-78/55. 1955 T: Elisabeth Schulz
Conrad, Joseph	Lord Jim	1963		1857-1924	P: 120/109/63. 1963 A: Günther Klotz, Caspar, Joachim Krehayn
Aldridge, James	Zuflucht am Nil (2 Bände)	1964		1892-1963	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Das Leben und die seltsamen, überraschenden Abenteuer des Matrosen Robinson Crusoe aus New York (...)	1964	30000	1660-1731	NR
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 3 und 4 Tom Jones	1964	20000	1707-1754	P: 120/20/64. 1964 P: 120/21/64. 1964 P: 120/21/64. 1964 A: Sigrid Klotz T: Horst Höckendorf
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 1 Komödien	1964	7500	1564-1616	P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 2 Komödien II	1964	7500	1564-1616	T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 3 Historien	1964	7500	1564-1616	T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz
Shakespeare, William	Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden, Bd 4 Tragödien	1964	7500	1564-1616	T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf P: 120/22-25/64. 1964 A: Günther Klotz T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin, Graf

Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 1 König Richard der zweite (...)	1964	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn - N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 3 Viel Lärm um Nichts (...)	1964	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 4 Romeo und Julia (...)	1964	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 5 Coriolanus (...)	1964	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd 6 Timon von Athen (...)	1964	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
Shakespeare, William	Dramatische Werke in sechs Bänden Bd2 Ein Sommernachtstraum (...)	1964	5000	1564-1616	P: 380/60-65a/64 (120/60a-65a/64). 1964 A: Anselm Schösser, Joachim Krehayn N: Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
Shakespeare, William	Ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	1964		1564-1616	NR
Wilson, Angus	Meg Eliot	1964		1913-1991	NR
Aldridge, James	Glühende Wüsten	1965		1892-1963	P: 120/193/65. 1965 A: Alfred Antkowiak, Günther Klotz, Gerhard Schie
Austen, Jane	Emma	1965		1775-1817	P: 120/192/65. 1965 A: Klaus Udo Szudra, Paulsen
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 2 Jonathan Wild der Große	1965	10000	1707-1754	P: 120/73/65. 1965 A: Günther Klotz, Sigrid Klotz T: Horst Höckendorf
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 6 Der Kaffeehauspolitiker	1965	2000	1707-1754	P: 120/74/65. 1965 A: Günther Klotz T: Ingeborg Gronke
Shaw, George Bernard	7 Stücke (Reihe: Bibliothek der Weltliteratur)	1965	10000	1856-1950	P: 120/234/65. 1965 A: Sigrid Klotz T: Siegfried Trebitsch (BRD)
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen (Kompass-Taschenbuchreihe)	1965	50000	1850-1894	P: 305/74/65. 1965 A: Hoffmann, Henri Poschmann
Conrad, Joseph	Almayers Wahn	1966	10000	1857-1924	NR

Cronin, Archibald Joseph	Die Zitadelle	1966		1896-1986	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Roxana	1966	15800	1660-1731	T: Friedrich Baadke
Defoe, Daniel	Die glückliche Mätresse oder Die Geschichte des Lebens und des wechselhaften Glücks der (...) Roxana	1966		1660-1731	NR
Doyle, Arthur Conan	Der Hund von Baskerville	1966		1859-1930	NR
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 5 Amelia	1966	10000	1707-1754	P: 120/72/66. 1966 T: Rolf Schaller
Lawrence, D.H.	Söhne und Liebhaber	1966		1885-1930	NR
O'Casey, Sean	Dramen Bd 1 und 2	1966	2000	1880-1964	T: Irmhild und Otto Brandstätter Druck Nr. 120/258-259/66. 1966
O'Casey, Sean	Rote Rosen für mich	1966		1880-1964	NR
Shakespeare, William	Hamlet	1966	3000	1564-1616	P: 120/235/66. 1966 T: Theodor Fontane
Dickens, Monica	Das Herz von London	1967	10000	1812-1870	T: Peter de Mendelssohn, Erich Fetter
Eliot, George	Die Mühle am Floss	1967	10000	1819-1880	T: Erich Fetter
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 1 Joseph Andrew's Abenteuer	1967	15000	1707-1754	T: Rudolf Schaller
MacInnes, Colin	Stadt der schwarzen Träume	1967		1982-1978	NR
Swift, Jonathan	Ausgewählte Werke in drei Bänden Bd 1 Satiren und Zeitkommentare	1967	3000	1667-1745	T: Wilck Graustein - Kottenkamp
Swift, Jonathan	Ausgewählte Werke in drei Bänden Bd 2 Politische Schriften	1967	3000	1667-1745	NR
Swift, Jonathan	Ausgewählte Werke in drei Bänden Bd 3 Gullivers Reisen	1967	3000	1667-1745	NR
Anthology	Moderne Prosa und Lyrik der britischen Inseln	1968			NR
Christie, Agatha	Alibi (Krimi)	1968	50000	1890-1976	T: Peter Pütsch
Conrad, Joseph	Der verdammte der Inseln	1968	10000	1857-1924	T: Günther Danehl
Eliot, George	Silas Marner	1968	61150	1819-1880	T: Eva Schuhmann
Fielding, Henry	Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden / Band 3 und 4 Tom Jones	1968	15000	1707-1754	NR
Wilson, Angus	Späte Entdeckungen	1968	10000	1913-1991	T: Alexander Kovel
Aldridge, James	Mein Bruder Tom	1969	10000	1892-1963	NR
Galswothy, John	Jenseits	1969	40000	1976-1933	NR
Conrad, Joseph	Sieg	1970		1857-1924	NR

James, Henry	Bildnis einer Dame	1970	50400	1843-1916	T: Lore Krüger
Lewis, Norman	Das zehnte Jahr des Schiffes	1970		1908-2003	NR
Wallace, Edgar	Die gefiederte Schlange (Krimi)	1970	50000	1875-1932	NR
Barker, Clive	Woche für Woche	1971		1952-	NR
Bennett, Arnold	Constance und Soppbia oder Die Geschichte der alten Damen	1971		1967-1931	NR
Eliot, George	Adam Bede	1971	20000	1819-1880	T: Ana Maria Brock
Shakespeare, William	Dramen (2 Bände)	1971	15000	1564-1616	T: Schlegel, Tieck, Baudissin
Austen, Jane	Gefühl und Verstand	1972	20000	1775-1817	T: Erika Gröger
Bronte, Emily	Die Sturmhöhe	1972	10000	1818-1848	NR
Sayers, Dorothy L.	Mord braucht Reklame	1972		1897-1957	NR
Aldridge, James	Der letzte Flug	1973	12000	1892-1963	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	1973	30000	1660-1731	NR
Fielding, Henry	Tom Jones (2 Bände)	1973		1707-1754	NR
James, Henry	Die Gesandten	1973	20000	1843-1916	P: 120/169/79. 1979 A: Joachim Krehayn, Elga Abramowitz, Klotz T: Ana Maria Brock
Maugham, William Somerset	Silbermond und Kupfermünze	1973	30000	1874-1965	NR
Plunkett, James	Manche, sagt man, sind verdammt	1973		1920-2003	NR
Burns, Robert	Gedichte und Lieder	1974		1759-1796	NR
Cary, Joyce	Des Pudels Kern	1974	10000	1888-1957	P: 120/192/74. 1974 A: Sigrid Klotz, Helmut Findeisen T: Hans Erich Nossack
Conrad, Joseph	Spiel des Zufalls	1974	20100	1857-1924	P: 120/191/74. 1974 A: Günther Klotz, Elga Abramowitz, Sigrid Klotz T: Lore Krüger
Lovesey, Peter	Detektiv in Boxerhosen	1974		1936-	NR
Aldridge, James	Ein Pony für zwei	1975		1892-1963	NR
Dickens, Monica	Ich werde warten	1975	10000	1812-1870	P: 120/300/75 (120/196/76). 1975 (1976) A: Erich Fetter, I. Müller T: Olga und Erick Fetter
James, Henry	Die Erbin von Washington Square	1975	20000	1843-1916	P: 120/206/75. 1975 A: Sigrid Klotz, Elga Abramowitz, Günter Klotz T: Ana Maria Brock
Lewis, Norman	Flucht von einem dunklen Äquator	1975	50000	1908-2003	P: 120/199/75. 1975 A: Klaus Schirrmeister, Erich Fetter T: Klaus Schirrmeister
Aldridge, James	Kein hoffnungsloser Fall	1976	20000	1892-1963	P: 120/195/76. 1976 A: Erich Fetter, Otto Brandstädter
Arden, John / D'Arcy, Margaretta	Das Erbe von Ballygombeen	1976		1930-2012	NR
Priestley, John Boynton	Dramen	1976	10000	1894-1984	P: 120/200/75. 1975 A: Friedrich Baadke

Aldridge, James	Der wunderbare Mongole	1977	47100	1892-1963	P: 120/181/77. 1977 A: Ingrid Müller, Erich Fetter T: Utta Roy Seifert
Conrad, Joseph	Der Nigger von der "Narcissus"	1977	15000	1857-1924	P: 120/180/77, 1977 A: Joachim Krehayn, Elga Abramowitz, Klotz T: Lore Krüger
Lawrence, D.H.	Lady Chatterley	1977	10000	1885-1930	P: 120/182/77. 1977 A: Anselm Schlösser, Klaus Schirrmeiste
Lovesey, Peter	Der Urlaub eines Übergeschnapten	1977		1936-	NR
Aldridge, James	Der unberührbare Julian	1979	20000	1892-1963	P: 120/168/79. 1979 A: I. Müller, Sigrid Klotz, Günther Klotz
Christie, Agatha	Mord im Pfarrhaus (Krimi)	1979	30000	1890-1976	P: 120/192/79. 1979 A: Erich Fetter, Klaus Schirrmeister
James, Henry	Prinzessin Casamassima	1979	20000	1843-1916	T: Ana Maria Brock
Priestley, John Boynton	Du bist ein einem alten Land	1979		1894-1984	NR
Ashraf, Phyllis Mary	Englische Arbeiterliteratur vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zum ersten Weltkrieg	1980			NR
Bradbury, Malcom	Der Geschichtsmensch	1980		1932-2000	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Das Leben, die Abenteuer und die Piratenzüge des berühmten Kapitän Singleton	1980		1660-1731	NR
Forester, Cecil Scott	Zahlungsaufschub	1980		1899-1966	NR
Bailey, Paul	Unbefugte Eingriffe	1981		1937 -	NR
Defoe, Daniel	Die Geschichte und das ungewöhnliche Leben des sehr ehrenwerten Colonel Jacques, allgemein Oberst Jack bekannt	1981	58100	1660-1731	P: 120/181/81. 1981 A: Ingrid Müller, Erich Fetter
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Junker von Ballantrae	1981		1850-1894	NR
Hill, Susan	Seltene Begegnung	1982		1942-	NR
Nashe, Thomas	Der glücklose reisende oder das Leben des Jack Wilton	1982		1567-1601	NR
Aiken, Joan	Die Kristallkrähe	1983		1924-2004	NR
Conrad, Joseph	Nostromo (new translation)	1983	15000	1857-1924	P: 120/166/83. 1983 A: Günter Walch
Fowles, John	Die Geliebte des französischen Leutnants	1983	10000	1926-2005	P: 120/167/83. 1983 A: Sigrid Klotz, Günther Klotz - Reinhard Federmann (BRD)
Greene, Grahame	Die Stunde des Komödianten	1983		1904-2009	NR
Fowles, John	Der Ebenholzturm	1984	5000	1926-2005	P: 120/166/84. 1984 A: Günther Klotz T: Eva Bornemann
Wallace, Edgar	Der Pfeifer (Krimi)	1984		1875-1932	NR

Wilde, Oscar	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	1984		1854-1900	NR
Greenwood, Walter	Liebe geht stempelt	1985		1903-1974	P: 120/193/85. 1985 A: Friedrich Baadke, Erich Fetter
James, Henry	Damen in Boston	1985	15000	1843-1916	P: 120/194/85. 1985 A: Utz Riese, Klotz, Elga Abramowitz T: Ana Maria Brock
James, P. D.	Ein unverhofftes Geständnis (Reihe: bb-Taschenbuch)	1985	30000	1929-	P: 120/184/85. 1985 A: Erich Fetter, Klaus Schirrmeister - T: Sybille Hunzinger
Mc Grath, John [Günter Klotz (Herausgeber)]	Dramen	1985		1935-2002	P: 120/251/85 (120/146/84). 1985 (1984) A: Friedrich Baadke
Priestley, John Boynton	Zauber früher Jahre	1986		1894-1984	P: 120/173/86. 1986 A: Erich Fetter, Friedrich Baadke
Aldridge, James	Die wahre Geschichte der Lilli Stubeck	1988	7500	1892-1963	P: 120/177/88. 1988 A: Erich Fetter, I. Müller T: Magit Meyer
Conrad, Joseph	Das Duell. Erzählungen	1988	10000	1857-1924	P: 120/176/88, 1988 A: Marlies Juhnke - T: Carmen Janetzki
Austen, Jane	Mansfield Park	1989	15000	1775-1816	P: 120/170/89. 1989 A: Friedrich Baadke, Klaus Udo Szudra T: Klaus Udo Szudra
Marlow, Joyce	Kessie (Reihe: bb-Taschenbuch)	1989		1929-	P: 120/188/89. 1989 A: Erich Fetter, Marlies Juhnke
McEwan, Ian	Der Zementgarten	1989		1948-	P: 120/171/89. 1989 A: Klaus Schirrmeister, Wolfgang Wicht
James, Henry	Die Flügel der Taube	1990	20000	1843-1916	P: 120/178/90. 1990 A: Sigrid Klotz T: Anna Maria Brock

Table A4: Publications by Volk and Welt in chronological order

Author	Title (in German as published in the GDR) and licensor	Year of publication	copies printed	Life	Censorship file
Roy, Pascal	Deutschland - Weg und Irrweg	1947		104-1980	NR
Hewlett, Johnson	Ein Sechstel der Erde	1948		1864-1966	NR
Schaffer, Gordon	Ein Engländer bereist die russische Zone	1948		1905-	NR
Belfrage, Cedric	Wenn aber das Salz dumpf wird	1951		1904-1990	NR
Fiedling, Henry	Tom Jones	1951		1707-1754	NR
Smollett, Tobias	Die Abenteuer Roderichs Randoms	1952		1721-1771	NR
Davidson, Basil	Südafrika ohne Maske	1954		1914-2010	NR
Liverpool, Russel Lord of	Geißel der Menschheit	1955		1895-1981	NR
Dickens, Charles	Leben und Abenteuer des Martin Chuzzlewit (Reihe: Romane der Weltliteratur),	1956	9000	1812-1870	P: 410/2/56. 1956 A: Joachim Krehayn
Greene, Grahame	Der stille Amerikaner	1957	5000	1904-1991	P: 410/14/57. 1957 A: Fritz J. Raddatz, Helle Carola Gärtner-Scholle
Kartun, Derek	England zwischen Gestern und Morgen	1957		1919-2005	NR
O'Flaherty, Liam	Das schwarze Tal	1957		1896-1984	P: 410/65/57. 1957 A: Joachim Krehayn, Schlicht
Spring, Robert Howard	Geliebte Söhne	1957		1889-1965	NR
Davidson, Basil	Der Strudel	1958		1914-2010	NR
Sommerfield, John	Die Gegner	1958		1908-1991	NR
Wilde, Oscar	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	1958	32000	1854-1900	P: 305/133/57. 1957 A: Arno Hausmann T: M. Preiß
Belfrage, Cedric	Geschäft mit der Seligkeit	1959		1904-1990	NR
Sommerfield, John	Die Erbschaft	1959		1908-1991	NR
Winnington, Alan	Tibet	1960		1910-1983	P:302/2/60. 1960
Winnington, Alan	Die Sklaven der kühlen Berge	1961		1910-1983	P:410/9/61. 1961
Amis, Kingsley	Glück für Jim	1962		1922-1995	NR
Smith, Herbert	Von Freitag bis Montag	1962			NR
Waterhouse, Keith	Billy der Lügner	1964		1929-2009	NR
Braine, John	Der Weg nach oben (Geschenkband)	1965	100000	1922-1986	P: 410/156/65. 1965 T: Herbert Schlüter

Greene, Grahame	Unser Mann in Havanna	1965		1904-1993	P: 410/71/65. 1965 A: Hans Petersen, Karl-Heinz Berger
Smith, Herbert	Am Morgen kam der Tod	1965			NR
Belfrage, Cedric	Mein Herr Kolumbus	1966	8000	1904-1990	P: 410/97/66. 1966 A: Gisela Lüttig, Karl Heinz Berger, Hermann Otto-Lauterbach T: Eduard Zak
Cronin, Archibald	Die Sterne blicken herab	1966		1896-1986	NR
Kipling, Rudyard	Der Herr der Dschungel (KAP-Reihe)	1966	12500	1865-1936	(Lizenz von Paul List Verlag, Leipzig), P: 285/175/66. 1966 I: Werner Ruhner A: Lothar Grünwald T: Curt Abel-Musgrave
Krehayn, Joachim (ed.)	Englische Dramen	1966			NR
Maugham, William Somerset	Julia, du bist zauberhaft	1966	28000	1874-1965	P: 410/95/66. 1966 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Christa Grünke
Sillitoe, Alan	Schlüssel zur Tür	1966		1928-2010	NR
Barstow, Stan	Ein Hauch von Glückseligkeit	1967		1928-2011	NR
Greene, Grahame	Die Stunde der Komödianten	1967		1904-1995	NR
Snow, C.P.	Korridore der Macht (Macmillian & Co., London / Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart)	1967	13000	1905-1980	P: 410/45/6., 1967 A: Udo Birckholz, H. Findeisen, Karl Heinz Berger T: Grete Felten
Behan, Brendan	Der Spanner (Krimi)	1968		1923-1964	NR
Forster, Eduard Morgan	Howards End (Claassen & Goverts, Hamburg)	1968		1879-1970	P: 410/58/68. 1968 A: Udo Birckholz, Karl Heinz Berger, Joachim Krehayn
MacDiarmid, Hugh	Ein Wind sprang auf (Gedichte)	1968	2000	1892-1978	P: 410/57/68. 1968 A: J. B. Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger T: Dr. J. B. Mitchell Interlinearübersetzung
Cronin, Archibald	Die Zitadelle	1969		1896-1986	NR
Jones, Lewis	Im Tal der schlagenden Wetter	1969	6000	1897-1939	P: 410/54/69. 1969 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger, Udo Birckholz T: Hans Löffler
Sillitoe, Alan	Die Einsamkeit des Langstreckenläufers (Erzählungen)	1969		1928-2010	NR
Chaplin, Sid	Zu zweit ist alles anders	1970		1916-1986	NR
Greene, Grahame	Spiel im Dunkeln	1970	10000	1904-1998	P: 410/52/70. 1970 A: Manfred Küchler, Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger T: Walter Puchwein
Mitchell, James Leslie	Der lange Weg durchs Gingstermoor	1970	8000	1901-1935	P: 410/53/70. 1970 A: Udo Birckholz, John B. Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger T: Hans Petersen

Snow, C.P.	Entscheidung in Barford (Macmillan, London / Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart)	1970	13300	1905-1980	P: 410/54/70. 1970 A: Herbert Hensel, Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Gret Felten
Wesker, Arnold	Stücke	1970		1932-2016	NR
Petersen, Hans (Hrsg.)	Erkundungen. 23 englische Erzähler	1971			NR
Sansom, William	Das Betriebsfest	1971		1912-1976	NR
Forster, Eduard Morgan	Auf der Suche nach Indien (Fischer Bücherei KG., Frankfurt a. M., Hamburg)	1972	8000	1879-1970	P: 410/55/72. 1972 A: Irmhild Brandstädter, Klaus Schultz, Joachim Krehayn T: Wolf von Einsiedel
Mackay, Shena	Scherbengericht (Erzählung)	1972		1914-1976	NR
Mitchell, James Leslie	Wolken über der Ebene (Jarrols Publishers, London)	1972	8000	1901-1935	P: 410/57/72. 1972 A: Udo Birckholz, John Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger T: Hans Petersen
Sillitoe, Alan	Samstagnacht und Samstagmorgen	1972	8000	1928-2010	P: 410/58/72, 1972 A: Almut Giesecke, Joachim Krehayn, John Mitchell T: Gerda von Uslar
Barstow, Stan	Jenseits von Glückseligkeit	1973		1928-2011	NR
Greene, Grahame	Billig im August (ausg. Kurzgeschichten) (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien und Hamburg)	1973	10000	1904-2000	P: 410/72/73. 1973 A: Hans Petersen, Marianne Bretschneider, Ruth Greuner
Harris, Rosemary	Kein Happy-End für Miß Brenning (Michael Joseph, London)	1973	8000	1927-	P: 410/73/73. 1973 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger - Günther Böhnke
Hines, Barry	Und fing sich einen Falken (Michael Joseph, London)	1973	8000	1939-	P: 410/73/73. 1973 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Günther Böhnke
Hines, Barry	Der Champion (Michael Joseph, London / Penguin)	1974	10000	1939-	P: 410/62/74. 1974 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Rainer Rönsch
Larkin, Philip / Gunn, Thom / Hughs, Ted	Gedichte	1974			NR
Maugham, William Somerset	Seine erste Frau	1974		1874-1965	NR
Mitchell, James Leslie	Flamme in grauem Granit (Jarrols Publishers)	1974	8000	1901-1935	P: 410/64/74. 1974 A: John Mitchell, Karl Heinz Berger, Udo Birckholz T: Hans Peterson
Caudwell, Christopher	Das perfekte Alibi (Krimi) (Whithy Grove Press, London und Manchester)	1975	10000	1907-1937	P: 410/111/75. 1975 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger T: Giesela Peterson
Greene, Grahame	Der Honorarkonsul (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1975	10000	1904-2001	P: 410/112/75. 1975 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz T: Susanna Rademacher, Hans W. Polak
Sansom, William	Der verbotene Leuchtturm (Kurzgeschichten)	1975	15000	1912-1976	P: 410/113/75. 1975 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger, Udo Birckholz

Whitehead, E.A. / Hines, Barry	Alpha Beta / Der Teilhaber (zwei Stücke)	1975	8000	1933 -	P: 410/114/75. 1975 A: Edwin Orthmann, Karl Heinz Berger, Hans Petersen T: Maria Carlsson
Kennaway, James	Blutiger Winter (Spektrum-Reihe), (Jonathan Cape, London)	1976	8000	1918-1968	P: 410/106/76. 1976 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Klaus Schultz
Sillitoe, Alan	Bilder aus Margarets Leben (Kurzgeschichten)	1976		1928-2010	NR
Thomas, Dylan	Die Krümen eines Mannes Jahr	1976		1914-1953	NR
Waugh, Evelyn	Eine Handvoll Staub (Hundt-Verlag, Hattingen/Ruhr)	1976	8000	1903-1966	P: 410/121/76. 1976 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Lucy von Wagenheim
Dahl, Roald	Lammkeule (Erzählungen) (Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1977	8000	1916-1990	P: 410/101/77. 1977 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger
Eliot, T.S.	In meinem Anfang ist mein Ende (Gedichte) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1977	2000	1888-1965	P: 410/102/77. 1977 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Hans Petersen
Friel, Brian	Stücke (Dramenreihe)	1977	2000	1929-	P: 410/107/77. 1977 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger
Greene, Grahame	Die Reisen mit meiner Tante (The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Hamburg)	1977	8000	1904-2004	P: 410/103/77. 1977 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Hans Pollak
Joyce, James	Dubliner (Erzählungen) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1977	10000	1882-1941	P: 410/108/77. 1977 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Joachim Krehayn - T: Dieter Zimmer
Maugham, William Somerset	Regen (Erzählungen) (Diogenes Verlag, Zürich)	1977	10000	1874-1965	P: 410/104/77. 1977 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Marianne Bretschneider
Mitchell, James Leslie	Wolken über der Ebene	1977		1901-1935	NR
Sayers, Dorothy	Der Mann mit den Kupferfindern (Krimi) (Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, Tübingen / Scherz Verlag, Bern und München)	1977	10000	1897-1957	P: 410/105/77. 1977 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger T: Erna Krause, Gerlinde Quenzer, Gabriele Taut
Spark, Muriel	Die Äbtissin von Crewe (Kurzroman) (Spektrum-Reihe), (Macmillan Ltd., London)	1977	8000	1918-2006	P: 410/106/77. 1977 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Giesela Petersen
Auden, Wytan Hugh	Glück mit dem kommenden Tag (Gedichte) (Bläschke Verlag, Darmstadt / Europa Verlag AG, Wien)	1978	2000	1907-1973	P: 410/110/78. 1978 A: Günter Gentsch, Klaus Schultz
Collier, John	Ein Männlein steht im Walde... (Erzählungen) (Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1978	10000	1901-1980	P: 410/111/78. 1978 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger – T: Susanna Rademacher
Maugham, William Somerset	Der bunte Schleier (Scherz Verlag, München)	1978	10000	1874-1965	P: 410/112/78. 1978 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Marianne Bretschneider T: Anna Kellner

Bainbridge, Beryl	Der Ausflug (Spektrum-Reihe), (Gerald Duckworth & Co., London)	1979	6000	1934-2010	P: 410/102/79. 1979 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Peter Kleinhemper
Barstow, Stan	Der Liebe wahrer Sinn (Michael Joseph, London)	1979	8000	1928-2011	P: 410/101/79. 1979 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Marianne Bretschneider T: Giesela Petersen
Eliot, T.S.	Old Possums Katzenbuch (Gedichte) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1979		1888-1965	P: 410/103/79. 1979 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
Joyce, James	Ein Portrait des Künstlers als junger Mann	1979	12000	1882-1941	P: 410/104/79. 1979, A: Erwin Pracht T: Klaus Reichert
Petersen, Hans (Hrsg.)	Erkundungen. 30 irische Erzähler	1979			NR
Joyce, James	Ulysses (2 Bände) (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1980	8000	1882-1941	P: 410/106/80. 1980 A: Erwin Pracht, Joachim Krehayn T: Hans Wollschläger
Boyle, Patrick	Wie jeder andere auch (S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1981	8000	1905-1982	P: 410/99/81. 1981 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Marianne Seeger
Greene, Grahame	Ein ausgebrannter Fall (Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1981	10000	1904-2007	P: 410/96/81. 1981 A: Wolfgang Wicht, Klaus Schultz T: Lida Winiewicz
O'Brian, Flann	Zwei Vögel beim Schwimmen (Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1981	8000	1911-1966	P: 410/100/81. 1981 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz T: Lore Fiedler
Yeats, William Butler	Ich hatte die Weisheit, die Liebe uns gibt. (Gedichte) (Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, Neuwied und Berlin)	1981	2000	1865-1939	P: 410/108/81. 1981 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
Eliot, T.S.	Ausgewählte Aufsätze, Vorträge und Essays, (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1982	3000	1888-1965	P: 410/111/81. 1981 A: Wolfgang Wicht, Klaus Schultz
Greene, Grahame	Dr. Fischer aus Genf oder die Bomben-Party (Spektrum-Reihe), (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1982	8000	1904-2008	P: 410/112/82. 1982 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger T: Peter Michael, Hans Polak
Joyce, James	Stephen der Held (New Directions, New York / Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1982	6000	1882-1941	P: 410/114/82. 1982 A: Hans Petersen, Herbert Krempien, Wolfgang Wicht T: Klaus Reichert
Holtby, Winifred	Die Leute von Kiplington (William Collins Sons & Co., Glasgow)	1983	8000	1898-1935	P: 410/86/83 (410/97/81). 1983 (1981), A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Reinhild und Gunter Böhnke
James, P.D.	Ein reizender Job für eine Frau (Krimi) (Faber & Faber, London / Rainer Wunderlich Verlag Hermann Leins & Co., Tübingen)	1983	8000	1929-	P: 410/87/83. 1983 A: Klaus Schultz T: Wolfdietrich Müller
Lessing, Doris	Afrikanische Tragödie (Michael Joseph, London / S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.),	1983	6000	1919-2013	A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Ernst Sander
O'Brian, Flann	Das Barmen	1983		1911-1966	NR
Snow, C.P.	Salons im Zwielficht (Macmillan, London)	1983		1905-1980	P: 410/89/83. 1983 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger

Barstow, Stan	Mein Bruder, der ungebetene Gast (Michael Joseph, London)	1984	6000	1928-2011	P: 410/111/84. 1984 A: Marianne Bretschneider, Karl Heinz Berger T: Giesela Petersen
Eliot, T.S.	Stücke: Mord im Dom / Die Cocktail Party / Der Privatsekretär / Ein verdienter Staatsmann (Dramenreihe), (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1984	3000	1888-1965	P: 410/112/84. 1984 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz
Eliot, T.S.	Stücke	1984		1888-1965	NR
Golding, William	Äquatortaufe (AT), (Faber and Faber, London / Bertelsmann Verlag, München)	1984	6000	1911-1993	P: 410/113/84. 1984 A: Hans Petersen, Joachim Krehayn T: Herbert Schlüter
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 1 Ein ausgebrannter Fall	1984		1904-2012	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 2 Honorarkonsul	1984		1904-2013	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 3 Reisen mit meiner Tante	1984		1904-2014	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 4 Spiel im Dunkeln	1984		1904-2015	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 5 Der stille Amerikaner	1984		1904-2016	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 6 Die Stunde der Komödianten	1984		1904-2017	NR
Greene, Grahame	Broschurausgabe in 7 Bänden Bd. 7 Unser Mann in Havanna	1984		1904-2018	NR
James, P.D.	Ein reizender Job für eine Frau (Krimi)	1984		1929-	NR
Joyce, James - Wolfgang Wicht (Herausgeber)	Ausgewählte Schriften, (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1984		1882-1941	P: 410/117/84. 1984 A: Klaus Schultz
Lessing, Doris	Winter im Juli - Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten, (Klett-Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachf., Stuttgart / Diogenes Verlag, Zürich),	1984	8000	1911-1993	P: 410/114/84. 1984 A: Klaus Schultz, Sabine Teichmann
O'Brian, Flann	Das harte Leben (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1984	8000	1911-1966	P: 410/118/84. 1984 A: Klaus Schutlz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Annemarie und heinrich Böll
Petersen, Hans (Hrsg.)	Limericks	1984			NR
Richards, Alun	Schneewittchen und der Klempner (Kurzgeschichten)	1984		1929-2004	NR
Thomas, Dylan	Und dem Tod soll kein Reich mehr bleiben (Gedichte)	1984		1914-1953	NR
Golding, William	Herr der Fliegen (Faber and Faber, London / S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.),	1985	8000	1911-1993	P: 410/121/85. 1985 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Wolfgang Wicht T: Hermann Stiehl
Greene, Graham	Mein Freund, der General, (The Bodley Head, London /	1985	10000	1904-1991	P: 410/124/85. 1985 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger

James, P.D.	Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg) Ende einer Karriere, (Droemersch Verlag, München)	1985	10000	1929-	T: Werner Richter P: 410/122/85. 1985 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Sabine Teichmann T: Gorg Auerbach
O'Brian, Flann	Der dritte Polizist, (Mac Gibbon & Kee, London / Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1985	6000	1911-1966	P: 410/123/85. 1985, A: Klaus Schultz T: Harry Rowohlt
Boyle, Patrick	Nachts sind alle Katzen grau (Kurzgeschichten)	1986	8000	1905-1982	P: 410/137/86. 1986 A: Hans Petersen, Karl Heinz Berger
Christie, Agatha	Die Tote in der Bibliothek / 16.50 Uhr ab Paddington, (William Collins Sons & Co., London / Scherz Verlag, Bern und München)	1986	10000	1890-1986	P: 410/131/86. 1986 A: Sabine Teichmann, Hans-Joachim Volkert
Dahl, Roald	Kuschelmuschel (Erzählungen) (Michael Joseph, London / Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1986	8000	1916-1990	P: 410/120/84. 1984 A: Hans Petersen
Golding, William	Papier-Männer, (Faber and Faber, London / C. Bertelsmann Verlag, München)	1986	10000	1911-1993	P: 410/133/86. 1986 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Sylvia Ostermann T: Emil Bastuk
Greene, Graham	Der menschliche Faktor, (The Bodley Head, London / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Hamburg)	1986	10000	1904-1991	P: 410/134/86. 1986 A: Karl Heinz Berger, Klaus Schultz T: Luise Wasserthal – Zuccari, Hans W. Polak
Jara, Joan	Victor. Ein unvollendetes Lied	1986		1929-	NR
Mitchell, James Leslie	Ein schottisches Buch (A Scots Quair) Bd 1	1986		1901-1935	NR
Waugh, Evelyn	Wiedersehen mit Brideshead, (Cahpman & Hall, London / Claassen Verlag, Düsseldorf),	1986	8000	1903-1966	P: 410/135/86. 1986 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Karl Heinz Berger T: Franz Fein
James, P. D.	Tod eines Sachverständigen (K-Reihe), (Faber and Faber, London / Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1987		1929-	P: 410/116/87. 1987 A: Sylvia Ostermann, Hans-Joachim Volkert
Waugh, Evelyn	Auf der schiefen Ebene, (Diogenes Verlag, Zürich)	1987	8000	1903-1966	P: 410/117/87. 1987 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert, Sylvia Ostermann T: Ulrike Simon
Dahl, Roald	Lammkeule und andere Geschichten / Kuschelmuschel. Vier erotische Überraschungen, (Rowohlt Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1988	25000	1916-1990	P: 410/127/88. 1988
Greene, Graham	Komödien der Erotik, (Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien)	1988	800	1904-1991	P: 410/124/88. 1988 A: Hans Petersen T: Hilder Spiel und Walther Puchwein
Kollektiv, Hans Petersen	Erkundungen. 28 walisische Erzähler (Reihe:	1988	6000		P: 410/122/88. 1988 A: Klaus Schultz, Reinhard Ulbrich

(Herausgeber)	Erkundungen)				
Beckett, Samuel	Siele (Dramenreihe), (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1988 [1989]	6000	1906-1989	P: 410/113/82 (410/98/81). 1982 (1981) A: Christoph Trilse, Norbert Krenzlin
Larkin, Philip	Mich ruft nur meiner Glocke grober Klang-Gedichte	1988		1922-1985	A: Karl Heinz Berger P: 410/121/88 ISBN 3-353-00360-6
Beckett, Samuel	Ausgewählte Erzählungen, (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. M.)	1989	5000	1906-1989	P: 410/108/89.1989 A: Klaus Schultz, Karl Heinz Berger T: Elmar Tophoven (BRD)
James, P. D.	Der schwarze Turm (K-Reihe), (Faber and Faber, London / Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg)	1989	15000	1929-	P: 410/107/89. 1989 A: Hans-Joachim Volkert T: Doris Kornau und Alexandra Wiegand
Greene, Graham	Ein Mann mit vielen Namen, (Viking Penguin, New York / Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien / Darmstadt)	1990	10000	1904-1991	P: 410/111/90. 1990 A: Klaus Schultz T: Monika Fleiß
Adams, Douglas	Per Anhalter durch die Galaxis (Spektrum-Reihe), (Pan Books, London / Rogner & Bernhard, München),	1990	6000	1952-2001	P: 410/141/90. 1990 A: Manfred Küchler T: Benjamin Schwarz
Sharpe, Tom	Puppenmord oder Bis daß ihr Tod ihn scheidet, (Martin Secker & Warburg, London / Rogner & Bernhard, München)	1990	10000	1928-2013	P: 410/142/90. 1990 A: Manfred Küchler T: Benjamin Schwarz

Table A5: Publications by miscellaneous publishers in alphabetical order and in chronological order

[Table A5]	Author	Title (in German as published in the GDR) and licensor	Year of publication	copies printed	Life	Censorship file
NC	Kipling, Rudyard	Die schönste Geschichte der Welt	1948	15000	1865-1936	NR
NC	Goudge, Elizabeth	Inselzauber	1955		1900-1984	NR
Alfred Holz Verlag	Milne, A. A.	Pu der Bär (Methuen & Co., London / William & Co., Berlin / Atrium Verlag, Zürich)	1960	5000	1982-1956	P: 255/13/60. 1960 A: Ursula Kroszewsky-Tschesno T: E.L. Schiffer
Arion Verlag	Shakespeare, William	Hamlet / König Lear / Macbeth. Dramatische Werke in 6 Bänden, Band 1	1960	3000	1564-1616	P: 380/8/60. 1960 T: Rudolf Schallen
Carl Schünemann-Verlag,	Deeping, George Warwick	Hautmann Sorrell und sein Sohn.	1954		1877-1950	NR
Das Neue Berlin	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Leichenräuber	1963	140000	1850-1894	P: 160/49/63. 1963 A: Ingeburg Siebenstädt
Das Neue Berlin	Winnington, Alan	Kopffjäger	1969		1910-1983	P: 409-160/52/69. 1969
Das Neue Berlin	Winnington, Alan	Der Todgeglaubte	1970		1910-1983	P: 409-160/1/70. 1970
Das Neue Berlin	Winnington, Alan	Gullet und die Todeskurve	1974		1910-1983	P: 409/160/112/74. 1974
Das Neue Berlin	Winnington, Alan	Herzversagen	1974		1910-1983	P: 409/160/84/74. 1974
Das Neue Berlin	Winnington, Alan	Der Todgeglaubte	1975		1910-1983	P: 409/160/168/75. 1975
Das Neue Berlin	Winnington, Alan	Duell in Tschungking	1977		1910-1983	P: 409-160/154/77. 1977
Das Neue Berlin	Huxley, Aldous	Schöne neue Welt	1978		1894-1962	A: Host Höhne, T: Eva Walch
Das Neue Berlin	Winnington, Alan	Der Doppelagent	1980		1910-1983	P: 409-160/166/79. 1979
Das Neue Berlin	Winnington, Alan	Herzversagen	1983		1910-1983	P: 304-270/537/83-70. 1983
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	1947		1660-1731	NR
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Scott, Walter	Quentin Durward, Bd. I	1957	13000	1771-1832	P: 270/51/57. 1957 A: Ruth Krenn
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Swift, Jonathan	Gullivers Reisen	1958	30000	1667-1745	P: 270/41/58. 1958 A: Alice Sellin
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Wilde, Oscar	Der glückliche Prinz (AT: Märchen) (Kleine Klassiker-Reihe)	1959		1854-1900	P: 270/3/59. 1959 A: Ruth Krenn
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	1962	50000	1660-1731	P: 270/270/62. 1962 A: Walter Mohrmann, Günter W...?, Regina Hänsel T: Dorothea Rahm
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Bronte, Charlotte	Die Waise von Lowood (Reihe: Robinsons billige Bücher)	1963		1818-1855	P: 270/51/63. 1963 A: Ruth Krenn, Hänsel
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Kipling, Rudyard	Das kommt davon (Reihe: Robinsons billige Bücher)	1963	20000	1865-1936	P: 270/39/63. 1963 A: Jules Violet
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Shaw, Elithabeth	Der kleine Angsthase	1963	20000	1920-1992	P: 270/243/63. 1963 A: Annemarie Lesser
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Shaw, Elithabeth	Gittis Tomatenpflanze	1964	15000	1920-1992	P: 270/18/64. 1964 A: Annemarie Lesser
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Winnington, Alan	Silberhuf	1969		1910-1983	P: 304-270/309/70
Der Kinderbuchverlag Berlin	Winnington, Alan	Silberhuf zieht in den Krieg	1976		1910-1983	P: 304-270/309/83-(85)
Der Morgen	Kipling, Rudyard	Nur so Märchen	1989		1865-1936	P: 48/22/89. 1989 A: Dorothea Körner
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Thackeray, William Makepeace [Anselm Schlösser (Editor)]	Humoristische Erzählungen und Skizzen	1951	20000	1811-1863	NR
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Das rätselvolle Leben. Meistererzählungen	1953	10000	1850-1894	T: Barbara Cramer

Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Der scharlachrote Buchstabe	1954	10000	1804-1864	P: 190/1/56. 1956 A: Elli Berger N: Prof. Dr. Hans Weyhe
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Sterne, Lawrence	Eine empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien. Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Leipzig	1955	1000	1713-1768	P: 190/3/55. 1955 A: Rudolf Marx N: Helmut Fineisen
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Smollett, Tobias	Humphry Clinkers denkwürdige Reise (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1959	10000	1721-1771	P: 190/81/59 (190/6/58). 1959 (1958) T: Walter Batt
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Wilde, Oscar (F. W. Schulze (Editor))	Sämtliche Märchen und Erzählungen (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1959		1854-1900	P: 190/35/59. 1959 A: Horst Höhne T: Prof. Dr. F.W. Schulze
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1963	10000	1660-1731	P: 190/11/63. 1963 A: Walter Apelt, R. Müller ?
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Junker von Ballantrae	1963	10000	1850-1894	P: 190/11/62 A: Rudolf Marx, Joachim Krehayn T: Prof. Dr. Karl-Heinz Wirzberger
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Stevenson, Robert Louis (Karl-Heinz Wirzberger (Editor))	Das rätselhafte Leben. Meistererzählungen (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1963		1850-1894	P: 190/12/63. 1963 A: Anselm Schlösser
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Kollektiv, Robert Weimann (Editor)	Dramen der Shakespearezeit (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1964			P: 190/16/64. 1964 A: W. Apelt
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Taifun	1965		1857-1924	NR
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	James, Henry	Erzählungen. 2 Bände Karl - Heinz Wirzberger (Editor)	1967	10000	1843-1916	P: 190/7/8/67 (190/9/67). 1967. A: Anselm Schlösser
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Defoe, Daniel	Roxana	1968	15000	1660-1731	P: 190/1/68. 1968 T: Lore Krüger
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	James, Henry	Das Raubtier im Dschungel. Erzählungen II	1968	15000	1843-1916	P: 190/23/68 (190/8/67). 1968 (1967)
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Stevenson, Robert Louis [Günther Klotz (Editor)]	Entführt	1969		1850-1894	P: 190/7/69. 1969 A: Rolf Müller
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Hardy, Thomas [Klaus Udo Szudra (Editor)]	Schabernack des Schicksals. Erzählungen (Auswahl aus mehreren Erzählungsbänden)	1970	10000	1840-1928	P: 190/7/70. 1970 A: Rolf Müller, Almut Giesecke, Klaus Udo Szudra, Anselm Schlösser T: Klaus Udo Szudra
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Anthology - Anselm Schlösser	Englische Essays aus drei Jahrhunderten	1972	10000		P: 190/4/72. 1972 A: Rudolf Marx, Georg Seehase - T: K. U. Szudra
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Der Marmorfaun	1972	10000	1804-1864	P: 190/22/72. 1972 A: Horst Ihde T: Alice Seiffert
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Die Schatzinsel	1973	10000	1850-1894	P: 190/6/73. 1973 A: Klaus Udo Szudra T: Hans Seiffert
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Erzählungen I	1979	15000	1857-1924	P: 190/8/79. 1979 T: E. Berger, Beyer, L. Krüger
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Eliot, George [Klaus Udo Szudra, Hrsg.]	Middlemarch, zwei Bände.	1979	10000	1819-1880	P: 190/6-7/79. 1979 T: Irmgrad Nickel
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Austen, Jane	Die Abtei von Northanger	1980	15000	1775-1817	P: 190/4/80. 1980 A: Karl Heinz Berger - Christiane Agricola P: 190/6/80. 1980
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Das Ende vom Lied / Der geheime Teilhaber / Die Schattenlinie.	1980		1857-1924	
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Conrad, Joseph	Lord Jim - N.: Günther Walch	1981	15000	1857-1924	P: 190/7/81. 1981 A: Anselm Schlösser T: Elli Berger, Günther Riedel
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Almayers Wahn	1982	15000	1857-1924	P: 190/12/82. 1982 A: Helmut Findeisen T: Heide Steiner

Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Butler, Samuel [Anselm Schlösser (Editor)]	Von Schwätzern, Schwärmern und Halunken. Charakterbilder und Aphorismen	1984	15000	1835-1902	P: 190/8/84. 1984 A: Martin Lehnert
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Carleton, William [Helmut Findeisen (Editor)]	Familienschlacht in Knockimdowney. Erzählungen aus dem irischen Landleben	1986	13000	1794-1879	P: 190/12/86. 1986 A: Bernhard Scheller T: G. Kirchner, W. Reinhard
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Conrad, Joseph	Sieg	1986	10000	1857-1924	P: 190/7/85. 1985 A: Wolfgang Wicht T: Peter Meier
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Stevenson, Robert Louis [K. H. Wirzberger (Editor)]	Der weite Horizont	1987	15000	1850-1894	P: 190/109/87. 1987
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Conrad, Joseph [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Nostromo	1988	12000	1857-1924	P: 190/108/88. 1988 T: Lore Krüger
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Shakespeare, William [Günter Walch (Editor)]	Sonnets - Sonette	1989		1564-1616	P: 190/114/89. 1989 A: Horst Nalewski
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Sterne, Lawrence	Das Leben und die Ansichten Tristram Shandys	1989	9000	1713-1768	P: 190/101/89. 1989 T: Kristina Hering
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Thackeray, William Makepeace	Die Rose und der Ring	1990	15000	1811-1863	P: 190/69/70/90. 1990 T: Peter rau
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Defoe, Daniel	Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders	1954	10000	1660-1731	P: 190/5/54. 1954 A: Joachim Krehayn T: Dr. Martha Erler
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung	Dickens, Charles	Oliver Twist (Reihe: Sammlung Dieterich)	1963	10000	1812-1870	P: 190/20/63. 1963 A: Neubert. T: R. Kibel
Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Leipzig	Defoe, Daniel	Leben und seltsame Abenteuer des Seefahrers Robinson Crusoe	1956	10000	1660-1731	P: 190/2/56. 1956 A: Rudolf Marx: T: Barbara Cramer
Felix Meiner Verlag, Leipzig.	Hobbes	Grundzüge der Philosophie, Band I und II.	1951		1588-1679	NR
Gebr. Knabe Verlag	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen (Reihe: Knabes Jugendbücherei)	1965		1850-1894	P: 500/19/65. 1965. A: Hans Malberg
Greifenverlag Rudolstadt	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Reise durch die Südsee - 16 Tafeln Kunstdruck-doppelseitig	1957	10500	1850-1894	NR
Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Bronte, Charlotte	Shirley	1954		1818-1855	P: 265/12/54. 1954 A: Friedrich Minckwitz
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Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Dickens, Charles (Horst Wolf (Editor))	Unser gemeinsamer Freund	1961	7000	1812-1870	P: 265/28/61 (265/12/60). 1961 (1960) A: Friedrich Minckwitz
Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Das Haus mit den sieben Giebeln	1963	8000	1804-1864	P: 265/16/63. 1963 A: Joachim Krehayn, Friedrich Minckwitz. Friedrich Mickwitz, Noa Kiepenheuer
Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Scott, Walter	Die Braut von Lammermoor	1965	10000	1771-1832	P: 265/19/65 (265/9/64). 1965 (1964) A: Friedrich Minckwitz
Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Carleton, William / Kirchner, Gustav (Editor), Reinhardt, Waltraud (Editor)	Phelim O'Tooles Brautschau und andere Erzählungen aus dem irischen Landleben	1967	5000		P: 265/2/67. 1967 A: Friedrich Minckwitz T: Paul Krichner, Waltraud Reinhardt
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Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Dickens, Charles	Reisebilder aus Italien	1968	5000		P: 265/3/68. 1968 A: Friedrich Minckwitz T: Friedrich Mickwitz
Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Hawthorne, Nathaniel [Friedrich Minckwitz (Editor)]	Der graue Beschützer und andere Erzählungen	1970	8000	1804-1865	P: 265/2/70. 1970 A: Walter Schnabelrauch, Wolfgang Günther T: Friedrich Mickwitz

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Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Yeats, William Butler [Wolfgang Wicht (Editor)]	Funde. Ausgewählte Essays	1980		1865-1939	P: 265/35/80. 1980 A: Hentsch, Helmut Findeisen
Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Defoe, Daniel [Friedemann Berger (Editor)]	Robinson Crusoe. Zwei Bände	1981	20000	1660-1731	P: 265/8/9/81. 1981 A: Hentsch, Heide Steiner T: Lore Krüger
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Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Selbstmörderklub	1982	50000	1850-1894	P: 265/37/82. 1982 A: Klaus Sommer
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Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Doyle, Arthur Conan [Alice Berger (Editor), Karl Heinz Berger (Editor)]	Das Notizbuch von Sherlock Holmes. Sämtliche Sherlock-Holmes-Erzählungen, Band V.	1985	120000	1859-1930	P: 265/16/85. 1985 T: Alice and Karl Heinz Berger
Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Galsworthy, John	Fortsetze Saga 3 Bände. (Heinemann, London)	1985	15000	1967-1933	P: 265/13/85. 1985 A: Josef-Hermann Sauter T:: Jutta Schlösser

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Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Galsworthy, John [Anselm Schlösser (Editor)]	Eine moderne Komödie. 3 Bände	1987	20000	1967-1933	P: 265/28/87. 1987 A: Gorges ?, Jürgen Ronthaler T: Jutta Schlösser
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Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Thompson, Dorothy	Antifaschistische Publizistik 1932-1942	1988		1893-1961	P: 265/22/88. 1988 A: Kurt Pätzold, Klaus Fritsch
Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Defoe, Daniel	Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders	1990	12000		P: 265/5/90. 1990 A: Klaus Frits T: Marta Eber
Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony [Karl Heinz Schwabe (Editor)]	Der gesellige Enthusiast. Philosophische Essays	1990	3000	1671-1713	P: 265/3-4/90. 1990 A: Gorges ? – T: L. Hölty, J.L. Benzler
Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag Leipzig und Weimar	Wallace, Edgar	Der Schwarze Abt	1990	100000	1875-1932	P: 265/52/90. 1990 A: Gorges T: Otto v. Bebbbers, completed by Helga Schulz
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Insel-Verlag	Wilde, Oscar [Günter Weise (Editor)]	Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray	1966		1854-1900	P: 260/12/66 (260/28/65). 1966 (1965) A: Reichardt, Hans Klähn
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Insel-Verlag	Johnson, Samuel	Die Geschichte von Rasselas, Prinzen von Abessinien	1972		1708-1784	P: 260/80/72. 1972 A: Anselm Schlösser
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Insel-Verlag	Yeats, William Butler	Geschichten von Rot-Hanrahan. (Macmillan & Co. Ltd. London / Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, Neuwied)	1978	1865-1939	P: 260/35/78. 1978 A: Helmut Findeisen
Insel-Verlag	Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Heinz Förster (Editor): Mr. Higginbothams Verhängnis. Ausgewählte Erzählungen	1979	1804-1864	P: 260/8/79. 1979
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Insel-Verlag	Hawthorne, Nathaniel [Heinz Förster (Editor)]	Der schwarze Schleier. Ausgewählte Erzählungen	1980	1804-1866	P: 260/35/80. 1980
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Kultur und Fortschritt	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen	1957	180000	1850-1894	P: 285/63/57. 1957 A: T: Rudolf Köster
Kultur und Fortschritt	Aldridge, James	Der Haifisch / Der letzte Zoll	1960		1892-1963	P: 285/66/60. 1960 A: J. H. Sauter, Linde
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Paul List Verlag	Kipling, Rudyard	Die schönste Geschichte der Welt	1975	25000	1865-1936	P: 290/15/75. 1975 A: Helmut Findeisen, Heinz Mode
Paul List Verlag	Moore, George	Esther Waters	1976	10000	1852-1933	P: 290/14/76 (290/16/75). 1976 (1975) A: Werner Beyer. Schwarz
Seven Seas Publishers	Winnington, Alan	The Slaves of the Cool Mountain	1961		1910-1983	P: 306/70/62
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St. Benno Verlag	Lewis, C.S.	Die große Scheidung oder zwischen Himmel und Hölle	1968		1898-1963	T: Helmut Kuhn
St. Benno Verlag	Laverty, Maura	Irische Kindheit	1971			T: Eva Rottenberg, Gabriele C. Pallat
St. Benno Verlag	Trevor, Meriol	Bis diese Nacht entwich: Roman um Kardinal Newman - Religiöse Gestalten, Bd. 20, 1971 (Rex Verlag)	1971		1919-2000	T: F von Werz
St. Benno Verlag	Weatherby, William J.	Endstation für Father Wailkins (Herder Verlag)	1971		1930-	T: Jutta and Theodor Knust
St. Benno Verlag	Brown, Peter	Augustinus von Hippo: Eine Biographie	1972		1935-	T: Johannes Bernard
St. Benno Verlag	Goudge, Elizabeth	Der grüne Delphin	1972		1900-1984	T: N.O. Scarpì and Gerdrud Tschiedel
St. Benno Verlag	Northcott, Cecil	Biblisches Lexikon für Jung und Alt (Deutsche Christliche Verlagsanstalt, Konstanz)	1975		1902-1987	NR
St. Benno Verlag	Carson, Mary	Ginny: Eine Mutter gibt nicht auf	1976			T: Isabella Nadolny
St. Benno Verlag	Lewis, C.S.	Eine Auswahl aus Werken	1976		1889-1963	T: Elisabeth Anthkowiak and others
St. Benno Verlag	Shepard, Eric	Mord im Nonnenkloster	1977		1882-?	T: Götz Wagner

St. Benno Verlag	Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Father Brown kann nicht glauben - Detektivgeschichten	1978		1874-1936	T: Heinrich Fischer and others
St. Benno Verlag	Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Kopfstände -eine Auswahl aus Essays und anderen Schriften	1980		1874-1936	T: NR
St. Benno Verlag	Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Wege am Rande des Abgrundes. Seltsame Detektivgeschichten (Herder Verlag)	1981		1874-1936	T: Gertrude Jahn, Clarisse Meitner, Rudolf Nutt
St. Benno Verlag	Sheridan, John Desmond	Bruder Halleluja oder Gott schuf auch kleinere Äpfel (Bitter Verlag Recklinghausen)	1985		1903-1980	T: Clementine Norres
St. Benno Verlag	Boyd, Neil	Hoch lebe Hochwürden: Erzählungen (Kerle Verlag, Freiburg)	1986			T: Ursula Schottelius und Erwin Peters
St. Benno Verlag	Caldwell, Taylor	Ist niemand da, der mich hört?	1987		1900-1985	T: Josef Tichy
St. Benno Verlag	Lewis, C.S.	Perelandra	1987		1889-1963	T: Walter Brumm
St. Benno Verlag	Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	Nun schlägt's dreizehn: Erzählungen	1988		1874-1936	NR
St. Benno Verlag	Hume, George Basil (Cardinal)	Pilgerbuch des Lebens (Herder Verlag)	1988		1923-1999	T: Johanna Isenbart, Christiane Rath
St. Benno Verlag	Boulay, Shirley du	Cicely Saunders: Ein Leben für Sterbende (Tyrolia Verlag, Innsbruck)	1990			T: Barnara G. Malmshemer
St. Benno Verlag	Newman, John Henry	Worte des Herzens (Herder Verlag)	1990		1801-1890	NR
Thüringer Volksverlag	Shakespeare, William	Walther Victor (Editor) - Shakespeare-Lesebuch - ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	1954	20000	1564-1616	P: 380/23 g/54. 1954
Thüringer Volksverlag	Walther Victor (Editor)	Swift - ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	1954	20000	1667-1745	P: 380/21/54. 1954 A: Joachim Krehayn
Thüringer Volksverlag	Walther Victor (Editor)	Shakespeare-Lesebuch - ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit	1954		1564-1616	P: 380/23 g/54. 1954
Verlag Das Neue Berlin	Doyle, Arthur Conan	Der Hund von Baskerville (Reihe: NB-Romane)	1954	50000	1859-1930	P: 160/24/54. 1954 A: Arno Hausmann
Verlag Das Neue Berlin	Doyle, Arthur Conan	Die verlorene Welt (Reihe: NB-Romane)	1956	60000	1859-1930	P: 160/22/56. 1956 A: Klaus Gysi, Paul Friedländer
Verlag Das Neue Berlin (Alfred Scher Verlag, Bern)	Christie, Agatha	Die Schattenhand (Reihe: NB-Taschenbücher)	1961	70000	1890-1976	P: 160/51/61. 1961 A: Reimar Dänhardt T: Anna Kathrine Rehmann
Verlag der Nation	Dickens, Charles	Weihnachtsgeschichte (Weihnachtslied in Prosa / Die Silvesterglocken)	1959	50000	1812-1870	P: 400/83/59. 1959
Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt	Kipling, Rudyard	Kaas Jagdtanz	1955	191000	1865-1936	P: 285/22/55. 1955
Verlag Neues Leben (Buchgemeinschaft der Freien Deutschen Jugend)	Winnington, Alan	Der Himmel muss warten	1963		1910-1983	P: 409-160/7/63
Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Entführt	1956	20000	1850-1894	P: 305/122/56. 1956 A: Zander T: Ruth Gerull-Kardas
Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	1957	20000	1660-1731	P: 305/101/57. 1957 A: Georg Rahm
Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Dickens, Charles	Große Erwartungen (Klassikreihe)	1957	12000	1812-1870	P: 305/160/57. 1957 A: Georg Rahm T: Ruth Geruil Kardas
Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Catriona	1957	20000	1850-1894	P: 305/96/57. 1957 A: Hoffmann T: Ruth Gerull-Kardas
Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Leichenräuber (Blaulicht-Reihe)	1958	140000	1850-1894	P: 160/49/63. 1963 A: Ingeburg Siebenstädt
Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Dickens, Charles	David Copperfield	1960	15000	1812-1870	P: 305/171/60. 1960 A: Josef-Hermann Sauter, Liepe, Braatz T: Ruth Geruil Kardas

Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Scott, Walter	Das schöne Mädchen von Perth (Reihe: Spannend erzählt)	1960	20000	1771-1832	P: 305/111/60. 1960 A: Katrin Pieper, Hoffmann
Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Dickens, Charles	Der Antiquitätenladen	1961	19500	1812-1870	P: 305/162/61. 1961 A: Josef-Hermann Sauter, Jähn, T: O. Wilding
Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Scott, Walter	Quentin Durward (Reihe: Spannend erzählt)	1964	34000	1771-1832	P: 305/122/64 (305/138/64). 1964
Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Scott, Walter	Ivanhoe (Reihe: Spannend erzählt)	1965	25000	1771-1832	P: 305/17/65. 1965 A: Liebe, Hoffmann, Walch, Bleuel T: Chr. Hoepfener
Verlag Neues Leben Berlin	Stevenson, Robert Louis	Der Pavillon in den Dünen / John Nicholson, der Pechvogel (Reihe: Kompaß-Taschenbücher)	1965	50000	1850-1894	P: 305/74/65. 1965 A: Hoffmann, Henri Poschmann. T: G. Löffler
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Darwin, Charles	Die Entstehung der Arten durch natürliche Zuchtwahl	1951		1809-1882	NR
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Galsworthy, John	Die Ersten und die Letzten (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1959	40000	1967-1933	P: 340/93/59. 1959 A: Karl Blasche. T: Leon Schalit
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Wilde, Oscar	Das Gespenst von Canterville (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1959	10000	1854-1900	P: 340/201/59. 1959 A: Christfried Coler T: Ernst sander
Verlag Philipp Reclams jun. Leipzig.	Sterne, Lawrence	Empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek). Die nächsten Nachbarn (Skizzen von Boz)	1959		1713-1768	P: 340/59/59. 1959 A: Karl Blasche
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Dickens, Charles (Joachim Krehayn (Editor))	Silas Marner. Der Leinweber von Raveloe (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1962	10000	1812-1870	P: 340/37/62. 1962 A: Richli-Krause, Georg Seehase. T: Julius Seybt
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Eliot, George	Glück und Unglück der berühmten Moll Flanders (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1963		1819-1880	P: 340/45/63. 1963 A: Richli-Krause, Karl Blasche
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Defoe, Daniel	Sonette	1964	20000		P: 340/32/64. 1964 A: Pradel, Richli-Krause, N: Weimann
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Shakespeare, William	Komödie der Irrungen (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1964	5000	1564-1616	P: 340/33/64. 1964 A: Richli-Krause. N: von Prof. Dr. Anselm Schlösser T: Gottlob Regis
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Shakespeare, William	Die vier George (Reihe: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek)	1964	10000	1564-1616	P: 340/87/64. 1964 A: Richli-Krause T: Wolf Graf Baudissin
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Thackeray, William M.	Jonathan Wild der Große	1965	10000	1811-1863	P: 340/157/65 (340/58/65). 1965 T: J. Augspurg
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Fielding:, Henry	Rikki-Tikki-Tavi. Erzählungen aus dem Dschungelbuch	1966		1707-1754	P: 340/42/68. 1966
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Kipling, Rudyard	Die Schattenlinie. Eine Beichte	1966		1865-1936	P: 340/27/66. 1966. A: Herzog
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Conrad, Joseph	Blick zurück im Zorn / Der Entertainer / Luther	1967		1857-1924	P: 340/34/67. 1967 A: Herzog
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Osborne, John	Stücke	1974		1929-1994	P: 340/63/74. 1974 A: Herzog, Eva Manske
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Shaw, George Bernard	Dr. Heideggers Experiment	1974		1856-1950	P: 340/127/74 (340/54/73). 1974 (1972) A: Herzog
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Hawthorne, Nathaniel [Ingeburg Hucke (Editor)]	Ein Pfund abheben. Sechs Einakter	1977		1804-1867	P: 340/128/77 (340/67/76). 1977 (1976)
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	O'Casey, Sean [Manfred Nöbel (Editor)]	Respektlose Schriften	1977		1880-1964	P: 340/74/77. 1977 A: Schröder
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Swift, Jonathan [Anselm Schlösser (Editor)]	Emma. Roman	1979		1667-1745	P: 340/66/79. 1979 A: Bock
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Austen, Jane		1980		1775-1817	P: 340/54/80. 1980 A: Helgard Rost

Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Golding, William	Pincher Martin. (Faber & Faber, London)	1980		1911-1993	P: 340/55/80. 1980 A: Bock
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Locke, John [Hermann Klenner (Editor)]	Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Staatsgewalt. Sozialphilosophische Schriften	1980		1632-1704	P: 340/4/80. 1980 A: Karin Gurst, Helmut Seidel
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Dickens, Charles [Joachim Krehayn (Editor)]	Londoner Skizzen	1981		1812-1870	P: 340/128/81. 1981 A: NR
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Donne, John [M. Hamburger (Editor)]	Zwar ist auch Dichtung Sünde. Gedichte. Englisch und deutsch	1982		1571-1631	P: 340/64/82. 1982 A: Bock, Bernhard Scheller
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Hogg, James	Die privaten Memoiren und Bekenntnisse eines gerechtfertigten Sünders	1984		1770-1835	P: 340/75/84. 1984 A: Bock
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Johnson, Samuel	Eine Reise zu den westlichen Inseln von Schottland	1986		1708-1784	P: 340/75/86. 1986 A: Bock
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Huxley, Aldous	Schöne neue Welt	1988		1894-1962	P: 349/71/88. 1988 A. Pradel and Bock T: Eva Walch
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Woolf, Virginia	Ein eigenes Zimmer / Drei Guineen. Essays	1989		1882-1941	P: 340/75/89. 1989 A: Bock
Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig	Beckett, Samuel	Murphy	1990		1906-1989	P: 340/68/90. 1990 A: Helgard Rost
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Scott, Walter	Old Mortality	1954	2000	1771-1832	P: 415/61/54. 1954 A: Elisabeth Schulz T: Rudlof Schaller
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles	Dombey und Sohn	1955	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/130/55. 1955 A: Chr. Höppener T: Chr. Höppener
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Scott, Walter	Das Herz von Midlothian	1955	10000	1771-1832	P: 415/112/55. 1955. A: E. Schulz T: Walter Wilhelm Borkheide
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Thackeray, William M.	Die Newcomes (Reihe: Romane der Weltliteratur)	1955	10000	1811-1863	P: 415/131/55. 1955 A: Eva-Maria Ziegler, Charlotte Richter. T: Charlotte Richter
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles	Klein Dorrit	1956	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/121/56. 1956 A: Elisabeth Schulz T: Dr. Färber
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Scott, Walter	Kenilworth (Reihe: Historische Romane)	1956	10000	1771-1832	P: 415/128/56. 1956 A: Christfried Coler, Elisabeth Schulz
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Shaw, George Bernard	Die törichte Heirat (Gebr. Weiss Verlag, Berlin)	1958	10000	1856-1950	P: 415/29/58. 1958 A: Arno Hausmann T: Wilhelm Cremer
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Shaw, George Bernard	Cashel Byrons Beruf	1958	10000	1856-1950	P: 415/80/58. 1958 A: Arno Hausmann. T: Alfred Brieger
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Thackeray, William M.	Die Momoioren des Mr. C. J. Yellowplush, ehemedem Lakai in vielen vornehmen Familien	1958	3000	1811-1863	P: 415/35/58. 1958 A: Riebau T: Christine Hoepener
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles	Harte Zeiten	1959	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/122/59. 1959 A: Hanna Krogmann, H. Meinicke, O. Wilck T: Chr. Höppener
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles	Der Raritätenladen.	1961	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/27/61. 1961 A: E. Meißner T: Chr. Höppener
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Swift, Jonathan	Gullivers Reisen (Reihe: Bibliothek der Weltliteratur)	1964	15000	1667-1745	P: 415/22/64. 1964 A: Popp T: Franz Kottenkamp
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Thackeray, William M.	Jahrmarkt der Eitelkeit, Teil I und II (Reihe: Bibliothek der Weltliteratur)	1964	10000	1811-1863	P: 415/8a-8b/64. 1964 A: Paulsen
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles (Georg Seehase (Editor))	Gesammelte Werke. Skizzen	1965	10000	1812-1870	P: 415/31/65. 1965 A: Günther Klotz, Joachim Krehayn, Paulsen, Glatzer T: Chr. Höppener
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Shakespeare, William	Werke Bd. IV	1967		1564-1616	P: 415/80/67. 1967 A: Klaus Schirmeister

Verlag Rütten & Loening	Scott, Walter	Ivanhoe	1968		1771-1832	P: 415/37/68. 1968
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (Editor)]	Martin Chuzzlewit, Band I und II	1974		1812-1870	P: 415/22-23/74. 1974 A: Ingrid Müller
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles	Große Erwartungen	1977		1812-1870	P: 415/28/77. 1977 A: Ingrid Müller
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles	Notizen aus Amerika (Reisereihe)	1980		1812-1870	P: 415/29/80. 1980 A: Ingrid Müller, Ingeborg Gronke
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (Editor)]	David Copperfield, Band 1 und 2	1984		1812-1870	P: 415/27/84 (415/24/83). 1984 (1983) A: NR
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (Editor)]	Barnaby Rudge, Band 1 und 2	1985		1812-1870	P: 415/34/85. 1985
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles	Drei Weihnachtserzählungen	1987		1812-1870	P: 415/55/87 (415/53/86). 1987 (1986)
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles [Georg Seehase (Editor)]	Eine Geschichte zweier Städte. Gesammelte Werke	1987		1812-1870	P: 415/31/87. 1987 A: Ingrid Müller
Verlag Rütten & Loening	Dickens, Charles	Bleak House, 2 Bände	1988		1812-1870	NR
Verlag Tribüne Berlin	Lessing, Doris	Der Zauber ist nicht verkäuflich	1954	8000	1919-2013	P: 390/19/56. 1956 A: Paul Friedländer, Elli Schmidt T: Lore Krüger
Volk und Wissen	Defoe, Daniel	Robinson Crusoe	1945		1660-1731	NR