

FROM SURVEYOR TO SERVANT

The Democratisation of the Police (With Reference
to the Brandenburg Police, Germany)

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1994

PRESENTED IN THE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND LAW, COVENTRY
UNIVERSITY, FOR THE AWARD OF BA MODERN LANGUAGES, 1994

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FOREWORD

The following project was written in 1992/1993 as part of my studies towards a B.A. Hons degree in Modern Languages from Coventry University. As part of the four year course, students were required to spend their third year of study at a foreign university, studying alongside native students.

At the time of researching and writing the project, I was studying politics at Potsdam University at a very interesting time in German history. Brandenburg (of which Potsdam is the state capital) was, and still is, undergoing the *Wende*, or Change from an area in the former East German state to a federal state, or *Land* in the newly reunified Germany.

I lived with students who had studied politics for two years under the Socialist system. This provided a unique opportunity to experience this change first-hand, mixing with both those who had embraced the new Germany and those who were rather more critical of the turn of events, and more importantly, those who had lived, studied and worked under both systems.

Having discussed with a German acquaintance in England the possible topics on which to base my third year project, I decided to write about the democratisation of the police in Potsdam and Brandenburg. The study was undertaken according to the guidelines set out by Coventry University, with a requirement for the inclusion of primary, secondary and personal sources.

Things will have changed of course since 1992/1993, but having re-read the project myself again only recently, it nevertheless provides an interesting contemporary snapshot of the situation at a time of great change for the German people and for the police in the new German states, who were literally making the transformation from surveyor to servant.

I graduated in 1994 with a First Class degree, so all the effort was worth it in the end!

John Chivers - December, 2010

THE POLICE'S ROLE IN GERMAN SOCIETY

In researching and writing this project I have learnt a great deal about an important and unfortunately often misunderstood or underestimated part of German society, or indeed any society: the police. During research, a wide ranging spectrum of opinion was encountered on the subject of the police and their competence in Potsdam, in the *Land*¹ Brandenburg, in the other new *Bundesländer*², as well as in the whole of Germany. Some criticism was blatantly biased, either for or against the police and some seemed to be justified by the information gathered during research. The major problem experienced was trying to separate the useful information and justified opinions from the not so useful or justified. I hope that I have been successful in this and that consequently the research carried out is of some interest and use to the reader.

The aim of the project is to gain an insight into the operation and problems of the police in Potsdam and in the *Land* Brandenburg, with references to the other *Länder* in Germany, especially the other four new *Länder*. It is difficult to talk strictly about the operation of the police in the town of Potsdam alone, since anything concerning the police in Germany, as a rule usually encompasses a whole *Land* and not just one town and consequently, most police matters which concern Brandenburg concern Potsdam. Therefore, much of the project deals with the *Land* Brandenburg and maybe seemingly less with Potsdam, although I shall try to narrow details as much as possible to Potsdam, or at least to a local level in chapters two and three. It should however be borne in mind, that when discussing Brandenburg, the *Land* and not the town is meant, unless otherwise specifically stated. Any important differences between general practice and that in Potsdam shall be dealt with, should they arise. Furthermore, any references to east or west Germany (with the 'e' of 'east' and the 'w' of 'west' in lower case letters) are not concerned with the two former German states, but are purely synonyms for eastern and western Germany respectively.

¹ Germany is a federal country, and as such is divided into sixteen federal states, the German name for these being *(Bundes)land* [plural= *(Bundes)länder*].

² The other new *Bundesländer* are Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt and Thüringen. They are known as the 'new *Bundesländer*' to distinguish them from the 'old *Bundesländer*', which formed the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) until reunification in 1990.

Each *Land* in Germany is responsible for its own police force according to the *Grundgesetz*³ articles 30 and 70, which concern the division of competence between the *Bund*⁴ and the *Länder* and the division of law-making competence between the *Bund* and the *Länder* respectively.

A great deal of detail for this project has been obtained from articles in the press or from actual laws. Due to the huge amount of change in police operation in the last three or four years, finding books concerning the subject is at present extremely difficult. There is still much change taking place, four years after the *Wende*⁵, or the 'Peaceful Revolution' of 1989. Many things still need to settle into place after the great overhaul and sudden change in ideology and loyalty. Libraries in Potsdam and Berlin have been an important source of information, but personal contact through letters and interviews has also played a great role in the preparation of this project and indeed, simply talking with people who lived everyday lives in Potsdam before the *Wende* and who have lived through all the change have offered some interesting personal opinions. It is also interesting to hear some 'radical' points of view on the subject: some of these are not always unfounded. Overall, I have tried to present as much a balanced argument as is possible, supporting the wide range of opinion with specific examples, where they are available.

By way of an introduction, it is worth giving an outline of the basic concepts of the German police today. The police has as its responsibility the protection of public safety and order, the protection of individual rights, the aiding of other authorities at their request and the pursuit of criminals and law-breakers. It has the power of taking the necessary measures to hinder a danger to public safety or order. This may entail measures to establish the identity of a suspect, the cordoning off of an area to the public, the taking of someone into custody and the right of search and confiscation"⁶. Naturally, this has meant a great number of

³ The *Grundgesetz* (GG) is the German constitution, which came into power in May 1949 and is valid until the day when a new constitution for the whole of the reunited Germany comes into power.

⁴ *Bund* = Federation. All the *Länder* as a whole political entity. Matters which concern the *Bund* concern the whole German nation and not merely individual *Länder*. The *Bund* is only responsible directly for customs and border protection (article 73, number 5 of GG), air traffic regulation (article 73, number 6 of GG), cooperation of criminal police, i.e. the *Bundeskriminalpolizei* and international crime-fighting (article 73, number 10, a to c of GG). Otherwise, the individual *Länder* take the main policing role.

⁵ The *Wende* is the name given to the general process of change in Germany shortly before, during and after the events of late 1989. *Wende* literally means 'turn' or 'turning point'.

⁶ These concepts are set out in the *Musterentwurf eines einheitlichen Polizeigesetzes des Bundes und der Länder* (model outline of a uniform police law for the *Bund* and the *Länder*) from 25th November 1977.

changes in the new *Länder* from the old GDR⁷ police system, which supported the SED's⁸ dictatorship.

With regard to the structure of the project, the first chapter will consider the general process of change after the *Wende* with reference to the old police of the GDR. In the second chapter, the new structures of the police in Brandenburg and Potsdam will be examined and problems for individual policemen and policewomen will be discussed. The final chapter, chapter three, will concern current issues, problems and successes of the Brandenburg and Potsdam police.

Hopefully, the reader will share my interest in a subject which is of great importance. My intention is to shed some light on the area of state power which affects everybody to a lesser or greater extent. I hope I shall succeed in doing this.

⁷ The GDR (German Democratic Republic, or East Germany) was created in 1949 from the area under Soviet occupation after the Second World War and ceased to exist after the reunification of Germany in 1990.

⁸ SED = *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* = United Socialist Party of Germany. This was the state party in the GDR.

THE *VOLKSPOLIZEI* OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND THE PROCESS OF CHANGE AFTER THE *WENDE*

Under the state system of the GDR, the *Deutsche Volkspolizei* (DVP)⁹, or simply *Volkspolizei* as it is more frequently known was the 'Organ der einheitlichen sozialistischen Staatsmacht der DDR'¹⁰, whose task it was to guarantee, to strengthen and to protect worker and peasant authority (the GDR was often called the 'Worker and Peasant State') through public order and security and which, together with the public, ensured the enforcement of justice and law. The DVP was under the control of the *Minister des Innern*¹¹ and the head of the DVP. The last law regarding the organisation of the police in the GDR was passed in 1968 and stated that the aversion of danger was not the only role of the police, but also the protection of socialist achievements, of free life and the creative work of mankind. Welfare work did not figure as a role of the police under the socialist system. Police laws effectively elevated members of the *Volkspolizei* to executives of state power and the evidence suggests that the police viewed itself as such.

VoPos, as the officers of the DVP were commonly known, were themselves privileged members of society. They had a flat, a holiday retreat, their own medical care, kindergartens and shops. Separated from the rest of society, it can be said that they were generally disliked or ridiculed in private by the public. In the area now making up Brandenburg there were twenty thousand police officers: admittedly too many, although some would maintain that too many is preferable to too few, as would seem to be the case today.

In towns and communities, order and security were the responsibility of *Abschnittsbevollmächtigte* (ABVs)¹²; agents of the DVP at a local level, who worked in their own specific areas. This arrangement is regarded by the PDS-LL¹³ as a positive aspect of the GDR's police system: an aspect which they feel should have been kept in operation in some form or

⁹ *Deutsche Volkspolizei* = German People's Police.

¹⁰ 'The organ of united Socialist state power in the GDR.'

¹¹ *Minister des Innern* = Home Secretary / Minister of the Interior.

¹² *Abschnittsbevollmächtigte* = Authorised Sector Agents.

¹³ PDS-LL = Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus-Linke Liste = Party of Democratic Socialism-List of the Left.

other after the *Wende*, since ABVs had close contact with the public and therefore an in-depth knowledge of any problems. Indeed, this view is supported by certain policemen today. It should be noted that the newly-created *Posten- und Revierdienst*¹⁴ is in fact supposedly a modern version of the ABV system, although this still needs time to fully develop.

At first glance, it would appear that crime rates in the GDR were much lower than those of today, but as State Secretary Dr. Werner Ruckriegel stated in June 1992,

*Totalitäre Regime haben es leichter, Gewalt und Kriminalität niedrig zu halten, erst recht, wenn das Staatsgebiet von Mauer und Stacheldraht umgeben wird.*¹⁵

The fact is that under the GDR system, many crimes were not made public. The theft of personal property, for instance, was not considered as real crime and did not register as such in official statistics. This is an important omission, since one third to a half of what are today considered as criminal offences were therefore ignored in the GDR crime figures. Nevertheless, the PDS-LL maintains that many more serious crimes in the GDR were dealt with and not merely registered, as it alleges they are today.

In the eyes of the Neues Forum / Argus¹⁶ faction in Potsdam, the change in the police in the town after the *Wende* came without a great deal of fuss: even during the spectacular dissolution of the MfS¹⁷, or *Stasi*. The path of change in reality would indeed seem to have been reasonably smooth and well organised. Following the signing of the *Einigungsvertrag*¹⁸ in August 1990, the justice system of the FRG¹⁹ was transferred into the newly-created *Bundesländer*. A transient law on police operation in the new *Länder* came into force until the individual *Länder* had ratified their own police laws. To assist the new *Länder* in the

¹⁴ *Posten- und Revierdienst* = Post and beat service.

¹⁵ "It is easier for totalitarian regimes to suppress violence and criminality, all the more so if the country is surrounded by wall and barbed wire."

¹⁶ *Neues Forum/Argus* = New Forum/Argus. A faction in Brandenburg which contains the (former) pressure movement, together with the 'green' group.

¹⁷ MfS = *Ministerium für Staatssicherheit* = Ministry of State Security. More commonly known as the *Stasi*.

¹⁸ The *Einigungsvertrag* (Treaty of Union), signed on the 31st August 1990, basically transferred the *Grundgesetz* and law of the old *Bundesländer* to the new *Bundesländer*, allowing for certain exceptions, where a straight transfer of law would be impractical, difficult, or impossible.

¹⁹ FRG = Federal Republic of Germany. Now the name of the whole of reunified Germany, from 1949 until 1990, this was the official name of West Germany.

difficult task of taking on board a totally new and foreign system, a series of partnerships between the old and new *Länder* were created. Brandenburg received and still receives help from Nordrhein-Westfalen (NRW) in this task. The police took on a new, democratic role in the prevention and combat of crime and the KI branch of the *Volkspolizei*, responsible for politically relevant police activity and cursed like the MfS, seemingly dissolved itself without the otherwise usual public supervision. By the end of July 1991, all the new *Länder* had passed police laws of their own, Sachsen being the first to do this, taking its structures very closely from those of Baden-Württemberg. This simple transfer of structures from west to east Germany has come under much criticism, maybe rightly so, but it is difficult to conceive of any other possibilities for the new *Länder* under the circumstances. There is, alternatively, a strong case for saying that the opportunity of correcting faults in the police systems of the old *Länder* was not really grasped, before their adoption by the new *Länder*.

There were and still are of course a great wealth of problems which came about after the *Wende*. From the day of reunification, the 3rd October 1990, every citizen could call on Federal law for aid. Naturally, this made life very difficult for police officers and public alike in the new *Länder*. It would have been over-expectant to believe that officers in the east could have immediately gained the knowledge of legal processes that their colleagues in the west learn in two and a half years of basic training.

Doubt in police competence runs high in east Germany, not only amongst the public, but also amongst security experts, the main police trade union (the GdP) and police officers themselves. The Federal Chairman of the GdP demands at least sixty thousand more policemen and has not ruled out the possibility of strike action. The high rise in crime figures and the number left unsolved has not helped restore confidence. In Leipzig, within one year, the number of reported robberies rose 198 percent, whilst cases of serious theft increased a massive 540 percent²⁰. To many people, it now seems that the role of a policeman is merely to fill in a form for the insurance company after a break-in. Checking for clues and follow-up investigation seem to be procedures of the past.

²⁰ See appendix A.

Violent crime has also increased since the *Wende*. Youth clubs, pubs, discos and even police stations have been targets for hooligans. Again, a shortage in police numbers and a lack of equipment seem to be the main problems. Berlin is the exception here in terms of ratio of police officers to citizens. Police numbers in Berlin, which are so high because of the large numbers of police stationed in East Berlin until reunification, could easily be halved without giving rise to security problems²¹.

The lack of quality police equipment in the east of Germany is slowly being resolved, but this has not prevented such typical comments as this, from a law student:

*Die Taxifahrer in den neuen Bundesländern sind stellenweise technisch besser ausgestattet (bessere Autos, besserer Funk und größere Kollegialität) als die ordentliche Polizei.*²²

Indeed, there have been cases of taxi drivers apprehending criminals and police officers confronting rampagers during riots with nothing more than their normal police shirts and without any kind of riot protection equipment.

Despite the shortages in police numbers, authorities have had to be careful when recruiting people who served with the police in the GDR. According to the *Einigungsvertrag*, only those who worked directly with the *Stasi* can be dismissed without problem. This has not prevented small elements of the MfS being taken over into the new force. Many important police files were destroyed during the *Wende*, making the individual assessment of an officer's past activities very difficult. Being too 'choosy' about an officer's past can also be dangerous, owing to shortages in numbers. Some workers in the previously mentioned KI department of the DVP were well-educated people of high experience. It was clearly difficult to simply discard such potential. In any case, the criteria for what is considered an 'unacceptable past' differs between the new *Länder*. Thüringen and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern decided to remove all old MfS bodies, although there may have been exceptions to the rule. In Sachsen, 400 members of the KI kept their jobs after the *Wende*. The *Innenminister*²³ of Sachsen stated that he would have gladly fired all former *VoPos*, because they were all cogs in the machine of the

²¹ See appendix B.

²² "Taxi drivers in the new *Bundesländer* are, in places, technically better equipped (better cars, better communications equipment and greater *esprit de corps* among colleagues) than the proper police."

²³ *Innenminister* = Minister of the Interior.

SED, but such action was impossible and unimaginable. At the same time, he emphasises that "es gab nicht 17 Millionen Widerstandskämpfer in der DDR²⁴ and that all ex-GDR citizens have changed in recent times.

To ease the decision of choosing those officers who would be permitted to continue working, a series of questionnaires was distributed by the *Gemeinsames Landeskriminalamt*²⁵ (GLKA) to ex-VoPos between December 1990 and March 1991, for the assessment of their previous activities. 10,499 of these were evaluated by a *Personalkommission*²⁶. In Brandenburg at first examination of previous MfS workers, about seven hundred were considered 'doubtful'. In a second examination, 220 were passed, despite having worked in 'critical areas'. In addition, forty six *Inoffizielle Mitarbeiter*²⁷ of the MfS were accepted. A mass dismissal of police was ruled out as impossible.

The retraining of former *VoPos* is not easy. For such officers, retraining firstly means going 'back to school' to learn the concepts of justice, division of power and monopoly of power. All theoretical knowledge has to be learnt from first principles. In the FRG, a three year compulsory training was (and still is) necessary before becoming an officer. In the GDR, a five month training period was the norm. Often, long-serving soldiers were taken on from the army. *VoPos* were accordingly trained and armed on more of a military basis and had different ways of dealing with demonstrations, which explains why police authorities today are sometimes wary of sending former *VoPos* into demonstrations.

The individual ex-*VoPos* are often shocked by the basic rights enjoyed by citizens (and themselves) and by the fact that their first duty is to the order of justice and only secondly to their superiors: that they can act against an order, should it contradict the order of justice. The 'trainees' learn how arresting and searching somebody touches the fundamental rights of that citizen and that there is a set process for dealing with

²⁴ "There were not seventeen million resistance fighters in the GDR." The point being made here is that very few citizens of the GDR actually fought actively against the political system. The population of the GDR was approximately seventeen million.

²⁵ The *Gemeinsames Landeskriminalamt* (Collective Criminal Investigation Department), replaced by each new *Land's* own criminal investigation department after its law on police organization, acted as a collection point for information on criminal activity.

²⁶ The *Personalkommission* (personnel commission) had the task of validating the completed questionnaires and interviews of former *Volkspolizei* officers, and of choosing those they considered as suitable for work in the Brandenburg police.

²⁷ *Inoffizielle Mitarbeiter* = Unofficial Colleague(s). These aided the MfS in its work.

'breaches of the law'. It would be rather naive to expect that all *VoPos* could simply be converted through lectures and seminars alone: practical experience is required. The first 'fresh' police officers (those who were not previously active in the GDR) are not expected in Brandenburg until early 1994, but this does not seem to matter: motivation is high in seminars and it is noted that the 'students' appear to have become more at ease in their new situation. Many are simply content when they receive their new uniforms and have the chance to discard their old image.

A NEW POLICE FORCE FOR BRANDENBURG AND THE TOWN OF POTSDAM

On the 20th March 1991, the *Landtag*²⁸ of the *Land* Brandenburg in Potsdam passed at second reading a law concerning the organization and competence of the Brandenburg police, the *Polizeiorganisationsgesetz*²⁹. The vote in favour of the law was unanimous and set the foundations for a new police force. In a public hearing two days later, personnel and professional representatives gave their opinions on the new structure. Following the ratification of the *Polizeiorganisationsgesetz* and the resulting discussion, it was decided to examine carefully the newly-created structures and to further develop these.

The main objectives of the law were to rid the police of old centralised and bureaucratic structures and to promote a cooperative leadership and a pro-citizen stance within the police. However, a complete rejection of all the previous structures and a total restart was not desired. Structures which had democratic qualities and good ties with the public were to remain in place. The new organization was designed to improve efficiency and facilitate decision-making in the police and to make any necessary 'restructuring' possible, should weaknesses occur in the system.

In practice, the changes from the old to the new system caused and are still causing many difficulties, both for the individual police officer and for the organization as a whole. The other new *Länder* followed Brandenburg's example and ratified their own police laws. This has not however prevented a constant stream of criticism from various sources. The press has been eager to speculate on such things as "In Ost und West, bei Linken und Rechten ist das Vertrauen in die Polizei gesunken... Sind die Ordnungshüter unfähig, sich und die Bürger zu schützen?"³⁰ Security is becoming more and more of a private industry nowadays, with the state seemingly losing control and private security firms offering the best form of protection in the eyes of many: whoever has money has security. The police, in turn, has been asking for

²⁸ The *Landtag* is the parliament in each German *Land* and has power of legislation over certain issues concerning its own *Land*.

²⁹ *Polizeiorganisationsgesetz* = Police Organizational Law.

³⁰ "In the east and west (of Germany), confidence in the police from the Left and the Right has diminished... Are the custodians of the law incapable of protecting themselves and the public?"

understanding from society in this turbulent time. At the *Konferenz für Innere Sicherheit*³¹ in Berlin, on 11th June 1992, State Secretary Dr. Werner Ruckriegel gave his impression on the changes and problems as follows:

*Die Bevölkerung in den neuen Bundesländern fühlt sich bedroht. Das subjektive Sicherheitsgefühl ist erheblich beeinträchtigt. Die Menschen werden von der Angst beherrscht, seit der Wiedervereinigung einer Welle von Gewalt und Kriminalität ausgesetzt zu sein. Polizei und Justiz scheinen machtlos... Diese Befindlichkeit bei uns entspricht nicht der tatsächlichen Sicherheitslage.*³²

Whatever Dr. Ruckriegel or the press claim, the fact is that there have been and still are many problems to be dealt with.

Police affairs in Brandenburg are dealt with by Department Four of the Mdl³³. Police institutions and authorities are the responsibilities of this department. The LKA³⁴ (*Landeskriminalamt*) serves as a central office for the *Bundeskriminalamt*. Its role is to collect information and assess criminal acts. It also supports institutions in forensic and identification examinations. In matters concerning several regions or issues of great importance, the LKA may serve as the chief body of investigation. The *BePo*³⁵ (*Bereitschaftspolizei*), a standby and riot organization of the police supports the everyday work of the normal police and can be called to assist police forces in other *Länder*. There are five squadrons of the *BePo*: two are based in Potsdam: Cottbus, Frankfurt/Oder and Oranienburg each have one squadron³⁶. The training of future police officers and workers is the responsibility of the *Landespolizeischule*³⁷ (LPS), in Basdorf. Students learn about their role in society, based on the GG. They study the necessary specialist subjects for their individual lines of work and receive practical training. In creating a police 'school', the *Landtag* and *Landesregierung*³⁸ wanted to emphasise the civil future of

³¹ *Konferenz für Innere Sicherheit* = Conference on Internal Security.

³² "The public in the new *Bundesländer* feels threatened. The feeling of personal safety has been adversely affected. People are ruled by the fear of a wave of violence and criminality, triggered off by reunification. The police and administrative body of the law seem powerless... In our eyes, this does not correspond to the true state of security."

³³ Mdl = *Ministerium des Innern* = Home Office / Ministry of the Interior.

³⁴ The *Landeskriminalamt* (State criminal investigation department) in each *Land* and the *Bundeskriminalamt* (Federal Criminal Investigation Department) work closely together.

³⁵ *Bereitschaftspolizei* = Mobile Police.

³⁶ Potsdam, Cottbus, Oranienburg, Frankfurt am Oder, and Eberswalde-Fidow are the five sectors of police control in Brandenburg, each with its own headquarters.

³⁷ *Landespolizeischule* = State Police School.

³⁸ Each *Land* in Germany has a government, with executive power over certain matters concerning its own *Land*. This is the *Landesregierung*.

the police, as opposed to its para-military past. Finally, the last of the institutions, the ZTB (*Zentraldienst für Technik und Beschaffung*)³⁹, based in Potsdam, oversees the supply and maintenance of police communication equipment, vehicles and weapons.

Turning to a lower level in the police structure hierarchy, the five police headquarters in Cottbus, Eberswalde-Finow, Frankfurt/Oder, Oranienburg and Potsdam carry the main burden of police work. In addition to these, there also exists a waterways patrol headquarters in Potsdam, which operates independently from the five headquarters⁴⁰. Each headquarters, under the leadership of a president, is divided in turn into two departments: administration (*Verwaltung*, or simply 'V') and operation (*Einsatz*, or 'E'). A *Bürgerrat*⁴¹ exists at each headquarters to serve as a kind of 'link' between the police and the public. The special units of the operation department in Potsdam (the SEK, MEK, VG, and PS units)⁴² each fulfil specialist tasks. Finally, the police stations and watches have the closest contact with the public.

Having decided on the organizational structures of the Brandenburg police, the task of implementing these structures was begun. Dr. Detlef von Schwerin, President of the Potsdam Police, stressed the importance of self-responsibility and self-confident work from colleagues, but more importantly emphasised the necessity of a closer relationship with the public.

*Wir brauchen in der Polizei neue Ausrüstungen, neue Technik. Wir brauchen vor allem aber wirkliche Bürgernähe. Und die, so denke ich, hat nicht zuletzt auch etwas mit uns selbst zu tun, mit unserem Nachdenken über den Bürger neben uns...*⁴³

Ulrich Dugas, Police Inspector in Brandenburg, made it clear that such a fundamental reorganization of the police was impossible in a matter of a few weeks or even months, whilst the presidents of the individual

³⁹ *Zentraldienst für Technik und Beschaffung* - Central Office for Technology and Acquisition.

⁴⁰ See appendix C

⁴¹ *Bürgerrat* = Civil Advisory Council.

⁴² SEK = *Spezialeinsatzkommando* = Special Operations Detachment. MEK = *Mobiles Einsatzkommando* = Mobilised Operations Department. VG = *Verhandlungsgruppe* = Negotiation Group. PS = *Personenschutz* = Personal Protection Unit.

⁴³ "We need new equipment and technology in the police. However, we need above all a genuine closeness to the public. This, in my opinion, has not least of all something to do with us ourselves and with our consideration of our fellow citizen."

headquarters also stressed the importance of a closer relationship between the police and the public.

During the researching of this project, political criticism of the new police in Brandenburg was not forthcoming from the main parties, who seem for the main part to approve of the whole process of change. Criticism comes primarily from the PDS-LL, who claim that there were and still are problems which result from trying to import the police system of Nordrhein-Westfalen into Brandenburg, since Nordrhein-Westfalen and Brandenburg face very diverse social differences and problems. The PDS-LL also criticise the social standing of police officers and the lack of police presence in public, although they are supportive of the concept of creating a police force closer to the public. They are disappointed that the idea of the *Freiwillige Helfer*⁴⁴ of the ABVs in the *Volkspolizei* was not incorporated in the new system in any other form. Again, this idea receives some police support in principle, as crime-fighting is a task for all society. The idea was not however continued, because it was felt that properly trained police are required for police work. The Neues Forum/Argus faction in Potsdam places more importance on political leadership and the legal framework of police activity rather than on the actual structures. The faction is content that the police is very tightly bound by law and at the service of the public, even if this makes the police's role difficult.

The first new police officers in Brandenburg were sworn in on the 16th January 1992 in Basdorf. Two hundred new officers took the oath. This may have been a symbolic start for the police, but a shortage of police is, as already mentioned, a problem common to many *Länder* and particularly to Brandenburg.

The police in Brandenburg brought its numbers down from 20,000 *VoPos* to 9,200 police workers between November 1990 and November 1992. Numbers are especially low in the *Bereitschaftspolizei*, where in November 1992, only four hundred of an anticipated eight hundred positions were occupied. The specialist units of the Brandenburg police (SEK, MEK, VG and PS) are likewise in urgent need of recruits. Adverts encouraging officers to apply for various positions in the force are commonplace in police magazines.

⁴⁴ *Freiwillige Helfer* (Volunteer Helpers) of the ABVs were ordinary members of the public, who helped the ABVs with their work during their own free time.

The lack of personnel as well as the lack of equipment has caused some serious problems in Brandenburg. In the smallest district, Forst, only two patrol vehicles are available per shift. This means that four policemen are responsible for 37,000 residents, 20,000 registered vehicles and fifteen kilometres of border with Poland. Direct communication between patrol cars is impossible and sometimes messages from the Dresden police get crossed onto the police wavelength in Forst. There have even been cases of right-wing extremists playing music on the police wavelength. A policeman there complains that the officers have to act as firemen, social workers and girl Fridays for all situations. This may seem rather an extreme case, but it exists nevertheless.

For many, a wider cooperation on security is required on a European level, both in eastern and western Europe, in order to prevent the spread of crime. After the relaxation of borders within the European Community in January 1993, the *Bundesgrenzschutz* (BGS) has found itself in the strange position of looking likely to take on a new role. Former *Innenminister* Schäuble wanted certain police tasks in the *Länder* transferred to the BGS, but the *Bundesrat*⁴⁵ did not give its blessing.

The problems for new officers in the new *Länder* seem to be numerous. The sheer change in mentality itself from the old to the new system, as well as social problems, such as low pay and high living costs for the officers, all contribute to a great number of problems. Many police posts stay empty as a result. A job in the force seems to have lost its old appeal for many, when high rent costs in some areas swallow a large part of the salary. More and more policemen and women are leaving the force. Hermann Lutz, Chairman of the GdP claims that "die innere Sicherheit in den neuen Ländern ist von Tag zu Tag weniger zu gewährleisten."⁴⁶ Demonstrations show a growing discontent amongst the officers.

For former *VoPos*, things can seem even worse. A great deal is expected of them in the new police: not only a quick change of uniform and concept of duty, but also a change in their outlook on the world. An ex-*VoPo* in a magazine said that sometimes it is as though he feels the need to protect things as they were in the GDR, even though he does not want to. Another said that the West may have won the Cold War, but

⁴⁵ *Bundesrat* = The upper house of the German parliament, which consists of representative members from each of the *Länder*.

⁴⁶ "Internal security in the new *Länder* can be guaranteed increasingly less by the day."

saw no reason for him to feel guilty about his past: he had had no choice: he had been born, had grown up and had gone to school in the GDR. He had not been aware of being 'on the wrong side'. For some former *VoPos*, the idea of the old authorities still lingers in their heads. They expect to follow orders rather than to act on their own initiative. In addition to all this, they earn less than their colleagues in the west, have to undergo training and spend a great deal of their own time studying the new laws at the same time as working, are unsure of being given a job at the end of all this and in many cases have to put up with a lot of condescension from officers from western Germany.

Perhaps the biggest problem in the view of many officers is the low salaries they receive. Many ask themselves whether they should endanger their lives for such a small salary. From the 1st July 1991, police in the new *Länder* received at least sixty percent the wages of their western colleagues, but this does not seem to have changed conditions much. A spokesman of the police in Sachsen expressed his point of view as follows.

Für durchschnittlich 1,000 bis 1,100 Mark riskieren die Leute mehr als nur ihre Gesundheit. Ich staune, mit welchem Einsatz unsere Leute trotzdem immer wieder ihren Dienst antreten... So kann es nicht weitergehen.⁴⁷

It is not uncommon for officers to take on a second job to give their low pay packets a boost. 'Moonlighting' is becoming popular among German police, even on a national scale: whether officially approved or not. Many of these secondary jobs are very menial tasks, such as cleaning machines or reading heating meters. Such jobs are usually permitted, so long as they do not have adverse effects on an officer's duties. Some are even approved by police authorities, if they improve the public image of the police.

To aid the *Land* of Brandenburg in its time of great upheaval, a partnership of authorities between Brandenburg and Nordrhein-Westfalen was created at the end of 1991. In January 1992, the exchange programme began. Brandenburg has since received extensive support in education and further education for its police officers from NRW. An exchange of personnel has taken and is still taking place, as

⁴⁷ "For an average 1,000 to 1,100 marks, people are risking more than just their health. I marvel the engagement with which our people assume their duty again and again, despite all this... Things cannot continue as they are."

well as concrete support in the form of modern, reliable equipment. At the beginning of 1992, one hundred police cars from NRW were being used on the streets of Brandenburg. Those officers coming from NRW to Brandenburg have often received quite a shock. They have experienced difficulties wearing the old *VoPo* uniforms, which make them symbols of the old hated system and still feel some 'military structures'. However, all those taking part in the exchange and hospitality programme between the two *Länder* have given it their approval. The exchange has been a success for both *Länder*, with NRW learning things from Brandenburg as well as vice-versa.

Dr. Andreas Bernig sees the biggest success of the Brandenburg police so far in the fact that "Es ist gelungen, trotz der Unsicherheit zur Wendezeit, einen Kollaps der inneren Sicherheit zu vermeiden."⁴⁸ and the biggest failure in his eyes is that "Wir haben viele erfahrene Polizisten (die über fünfzig Jahre alt) in den Ruhestand geschickt, die wir heute sicherlich noch gebraucht hätten."⁴⁹ Indeed, it is difficult to understand why many of these older officers were pensioned off at a time when they were probably needed most of all.

Finding success stories about the Brandenburg police from the press is no easy task. It is unfortunately the bad news about rising crime rates and murders which usually make the headlines and very seldom the stories of success, such as brave acts carried out by police officers whilst laying their lives on the line. Despite the bad news, there have been some success stories in the short time since the creation of the Brandenburg police. In addition to individual acts of heroism, the Brandenburg police has been involved in certain other more pleasant affairs. For example, during the World Economic Conference between the 6th and 8th July 1992 in Munich, a squadron of the *Bereitschaftspolizei* from Brandenburg helped out with security measures.

⁴⁸ "Despite the uncertainty during the Wende, we have succeeded in avoiding a collapse of internal security."

⁴⁹ "We have pensioned off many experienced police officers (those over fifty years old), who we certainly could still have used today."

CURRENT ISSUES, PROBLEMS AND SUCCESSES OF THE BRANDENBURG POLICE

One of the key issues in the Brandenburg police today is the state of police equipment. After the *Wende* it was of course necessary to modernise the equipment in use in all the new *Bundesländer*; in particular police vehicles and communications equipment, which were inadequate for the type of work demanded of the police nowadays. This modernization is an ongoing process and is set to continue for some time yet.

According to Alwin Ziel, the Interior Minister of Brandenburg, "Der zügige Fortgang der Ausstattung und Ausrüstung der Polizei hat oberste Priorität."⁵⁰ Up until October 1991, approximately thirty two million German marks⁵¹ had already been made available for new communications equipment and several million more for new uniforms, additional radar and digital breathalyser apparatus.

New police vehicles are high on the list of priorities. 1992 saw the start of a three year programme to replace the fleet of vehicles in use. The old vehicles which had been in use in the GDR were often unreliable and it was not unknown for a policeman to arrive one or even two hours late at the scene of a crime or accident, owing to his own car breaking down. The new vehicles are reliable, capable of high speeds and are fitted out with any necessary special equipment. The new basic protective equipment and clothing of the police consists mainly of a protective helmet with breathing mask, riot shield and protective clothing. The *Bereitschaftspolizei*, owing to the nature of its work, along with other special police units, has its own special needs. The *Bund* is responsible in this case for the supply of special vehicles and accoutrements, weapons, ammunition and any necessary replacement acquisitions.

The GdP is constantly pressing for a speedy modernization of police equipment. Communications equipment in particular is still a problem, although this should be sorted out by the end of June 1993. It would seem at least that the era of the police 'Trabant'⁵² is nearly at an end.

⁵⁰ "The speedy advance in the equipping and outfitting of the police has the utmost priority."

⁵¹ 32 million DM = approximately £13 million.

⁵² The Trabant, or 'Trabi' was a mass-produced car of the GDR. Known for its simplicity, the Trabant can often be repaired by its owner with the aid of a few simple tools, but is notorious for its high

Current crime figures in Brandenburg are of major public concern. Estimated crime figures at the end of 1992 show a twenty five percent increase on those of 1991. The number of serious crimes in particular has increased and although these still make up only 0.1 percent of crimes, this has not prevented calls for a stronger police presence. Aside from crime figure comparison difficulties when collating figures of the GDR with present figures, a rise of approximately thirty percent can be said to have occurred between 1990 and March 1992.

The general state of crime in the GDR was less serious than it is today. Bank robberies were seldom, because the '*Spielgeld*'⁵³ had no particular great value; the drug trade was unknown and serious bodily injury or murder were also seldom. To some people, the rise in crime was inevitable after the *Wende*: it was the 'price of freedom' and was only to be expected with the apparent sudden importance of material wealth for the public, together with a more open and more honest approach by the police. This is of course true to a certain extent, following the change in economic and social conditions. The rate of crime solved at the beginning of 1992 in Brandenburg was a mere thirty seven percent, but current clear-up figures show a high rate of success in the solution of serious crimes, despite a growing professionalism on the part of criminals.

An area in which the police has had less success is in the solution of raids on banks and other credit institutions. Out of 150 such raids in 1991, only twenty six were solved: although the blame here can be said to lie largely at the feet of the victims in many cases, who appear to be slow or reluctant in taking on more security measures, as recommended by the police.

Despite the great increase in crime and in particular of organised crime in recent times, the great influx of narcotics expected after the reunification of Germany has not taken place in Brandenburg. Illegal gambling, cigarette and schnapps smuggling, prostitution, car theft and organised crime are the main areas of crime being tackled at present,

levels of pollution and low level of performance. Trabants are still popular in the new *Bundesländer*, although they are likely to be eventually phased out following recent environmental legislation. See appendix D.

⁵³ *Spielgeld* = Toy money. The East German *Ostmark* was often called this by the public, because of its lack of real value.

with an apparently good rate of success in comparison with the other *Länder*.

One area in which Brandenburg does lag behind the other *Bundesländer* is in the number of road accidents in relation to the number of inhabitants. Irresponsibility, incredible carelessness and aggressive driving are usually the cause of accidents. As a result, in the first half of 1991 there were 423 fatalities and nearly 7000 serious injuries on the roads of Brandenburg. The blame cannot however be laid solely at the motorist's feet. A sudden increase in the number of cars on an old network of (often cobbled) roads, the ever increasing importance of Brandenburg as a transit *Land* into Poland, as well as altered traffic conditions and regulations are also responsible for the increase in accidents. The police is in any case now on the offensive and has declared war on 'road hogs'.

*Die gegenwärtigen Probleme in der öffentlichen Ordnung und Sicherheit sind unübersehbar.*⁵⁴

This frank statement about the state of internal security originates from the PDS. It reflects a growing point of concern from the public's point of view in Brandenburg, which ranks the guarantee of internal security as a top priority. A widely held view, however, is that this is not merely a matter for the police, but a task for the whole of society, at a time of increasing juvenile group violence against foreigners and increasing crime. Despite the determination to supply the police as soon as possible with new equipment, at the end of 1992, police in Forst were still using converted motorcycle helmets and GDR riot shields, which are made from non-transparent, weak plastic. Protective clothing and breathing masks, essential when utilizing tear gas in riot situations, were still unavailable.

At the time of writing, there are 9,500 employees in the Brandenburg police force: 8,000 *Vollzugsbeamte*⁵⁵ and 1,500 in administration. According to Dr. Andreas Bernig of the Brandenburg police, 1,000 more are needed in addition to the 300 needed to fill the 300 still unoccupied positions. A campaign has been launched to try to encourage middle-aged people to join the police. Dr. Bernig also believes that more police are needed to fight serious crime and that many bureaucratic

⁵⁴ "The current public order and security problems are immense".

⁵⁵ *Vollzugsbeamte* = (Executive) Officers.

procedures carried out by officers could be fulfilled by others. The GdP in Brandenburg demands a doubling in the number of *Auszubildende*⁵⁶ by 1995. By contrast, Alex Lüdders, head of the *Landeskriminalamt* in Brandenburg, believes that more police will not solve the problem of rising crime, citing Berlin as an example, where crime is still on the increase, despite 33,000 armed officers.

A further ongoing problem is the wage difference of a policeman in the west and a colleague in the east. A Brandenburg policeman now earns seventy four percent the wage of a colleague in Nordrhein-Westfalen, but for the same work. In addition, this amount does not take into account price increases. An officer may receive a wage increase, but may still make a net loss owing to rent increases. This clearly causes many to think twice before starting a career in the police.

Here may be an appropriate place to further compare the old police system of the GDR with the new one in Brandenburg and question whether or not the old system had any advantages over the new one. The Neues Forum/Argus faction in Potsdam believes not, although they feel it is perhaps worth mentioning the lowest levels of the old structure, which provided certain housing benefits for officers. Dr. Bernig believes that policemen and women were not under as much pressure in the GDR, because the individual *VoPo* was not under as much stress as an officer today: there were more police and less serious crime. He states that political influence in police issues is no longer so obvious, although it still exists. In the GDR, there was a direct connection between the *Volkspolizei* and the SED. According to a newspaper article, many former *VoPos* would incorporate one thing from the GDR system: quick action against trouble-makers who attack police, the offenders receiving at least a six month sentence.

According to a former *VoPo*, now in the Brandenburg police, there were certain privileges enjoyed by the *VoPos*: they earned well, although not so much as members of the MfS did and they had plenty of holiday time given, in low-cost places. Advantages of the old system over the new one in his eyes were the ABV system, where the ABV knew exactly what was taking place in his area and had a close relationship with the public. It was not so difficult for an officer to obtain information when following up an investigation as it is today, as a result of data protection laws. The

⁵⁶ *Auszubildende* or 'Azubis' = Trainees.

areas of responsibility in the *Volkspolizei* were strictly divided up and specialised. The *VoPo* did not spend hours writing reports: this task was handed over to so-called *KvDs* (*Kriminalisten von Dienst*)⁵⁷. Crimes involving more than two offenders were dealt with by the *Kripo*⁵⁸. The officer enjoyed what he sees as the close relationship with the public and working with the *Freiwillige Helfer der Volkspolizei*. The 1st July was a pleasant day for the *VoPo*: this was the *Tag der Volkspolizei*⁵⁹, where an officer would receive greetings cards and best wishes from those members of the public who valued him.

The disadvantages of the old system, according to the former *VoPo*, were however as numerous as its advantages. A *VoPo* never had responsibilities in the same way as a police officer has today, but merely followed his superior's orders. It was impossible to climb the ranks in the force without first being a member of the SED. Many *VoPos* were likely to be disliked by certain members of the public: usually by those they had trouble from and many jokes about *VoPos* can still be heard today. Despite this, the ABV in particular was for many people a good friend, whom they could turn to with their problems.

With the *Wende* and the resulting changes in society came a great upsurge in extreme right-wing activity. Violent acts by such extremists and a seemingly inexcusable lack of action by the police against such action has brought criticism from all sides. Left-wing radicals believe that officers protect fascists and even liberal commentators are becoming more suspicious that state power has double standards, depending on whether dealing with extreme left-wing or extreme right-wing groups. Many say that the protection given to consulates, ministries, airports and banks at the height of RAF⁶⁰ activity should now be afforded to refuges housing foreign refugees. Björn Engholm of the SPD⁶¹ has demanded that the *Bundesgrenzschutz*⁶² be used for this purpose, without success. Others involved in politics, for example Otto Graf

⁵⁷ *Kriminalisten von Dienst* = Service Criminalologists.

⁵⁸ *Kripo* = *Kriminalpolizei* = Detective force (similar to CID).

⁵⁹ *Tag der Volkspolizei* = Day of the People's Police.

⁶⁰ RAF = *Rote Armee Fraktion* = Red Army Faction. This was an anarchist group of urban guerrillas, lead by Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof, responsible for terrorist activity in the FRG from 1968 and especially during the 1970s.

⁶¹ SPD = *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* - German Social Democratic Party.

⁶² *Bundesgrenzschutz* = Federal Border Protection. Charged primarily with the responsibility of securing Germany's borders. However, with ever closer European links and the relaxing of internal borders within the Community, the *Bundesgrenzschutz* has lost and is likely to lose many of its original functions.

Lambsdorff of the F.D.P.⁶³ and Rita Süßmuth, President of the *Bundestag*⁶⁴, have urged members of the public to help protect foreigners. Such calls have not fallen on deaf ears. It is a fact that the *Republikaner*⁶⁵ have many supporters among police officers, but that such officers would be sympathetic to extremists, who often see the police as a target, is doubtful. According to Dr. Bernig, some officers may tend to the right owing to social conditions, but he maintains that for a true policeman, regardless of political influence, every crime is to be solved. The GdP has developed an education programme to tackle any problems of extremism in the police. A more likely explanation for the lack of police response in many cases is a simple incapability of doing this: a sad consequence of the shortage of equipment and officers.

In January 1993, I talked to a former *VoPo*, now working in the Brandenburg police in Potsdam. To hear about the changes in the police in Brandenburg 'from the horse's mouth' was valuable for the writing of this project.

From the officer's own experience, the fact that GDR law ceased to exist as such after 1989 brought many problems. Police action was paralyzed, because Federal law was still not fully in force and the justice system was also suffering, owing to vetting procedures of personnel in the system. How this affected the work of the police can be seen using the example of New Year's Eve 1990, when the officer took two suspects into custody for the theft of pyrotechnical equipment. The officer prepared his reports and filled out all the necessary forms, only to be disappointed by the release of the two perpetrators from custody, merely because they had no fixed abode. Two days later, the same two suspects were apprehended by the same policeman for repeated theft. Cooperation from the two was not forthcoming, because it was clear to them that they would be released from custody, because of the aforementioned problems in the justice system. The officer sees this as a sad part of police work during the period of change. He also finds the amount of time spent behind a desk by a policeman a frustrating element of policing nowadays.

According to the officer, a policeman in east Germany is three times more under pressure than a western colleague, owing to the unsuitable

⁶³ F.D.P. = *Freie Deutsche Partei* = Free German (Liberal) Party.

⁶⁴ The *Bundestag* is the lower house of the German Parliament.

⁶⁵ The *Republikaner* (Republicans) are a right-wing party, often displaying blatant racist tendencies.

technology and the fact that he is trying to learn a whole new 'set of rules', usually in his own free time. Indeed, "Ein Schutzpolizist rennt heute noch mit dem Gesetz auf der Straße rum."⁶⁶ The officer I talked to believes that a policeman in the east should accordingly be paid the same or even more than his western colleague. Despite these problems, he finds police work nowadays more interesting, because it is not so specialised as it was in the GDR. One can be confronted with anything at any time. He says that police officers love their job and that their work is much more fun nowadays, although the gunning-down of a policeman, a sad but real danger of police work nowadays, was unheard of in the GDR, showing the apparent increased risk in policing under the new system.

⁶⁶ "A policeman today still runs around the street with the law book."

THE FUTURE OUTLOOK FOR THE FORCE IN BRANDENBURG

Having seen some of the problems and issues facing the police in Brandenburg since the *Wende*, it is worth examining how the police is facing the current state of affairs and how things are likely to develop in the near and distant future in the organisation and work of the police. There are mixed feelings on all sides on how things have developed since 1989. In the eyes of many, things could have been done differently when setting up the Brandenburg police: others feel that certain elements must still be changed in order to create an efficient crime-fighting force, but such opinions are as varied as they are in all other parts of society on other issues and it would be difficult or indeed foolish to believe that things will soon be running without hitches in a perfect system. Debate and differences of opinion may slow down the process of change in Brandenburg and indeed in all the new *Länder*, but they are important in democratic society and in this respect must be welcomed.

The future for the police in Potsdam and the *Land* Brandenburg will certainly be a challenging time. The changes in the police are still incomplete and there is above all still a great lack of trained personnel. However, difficulties for the police arise because of external conditions in society and the management of these conditions is the task of politicians and not of the police. The PDS-LL believes that this is indeed the case and admits that a solution to current problems must be tackled by society at large: a very difficult task. The faction does not believe in an elementary expansion of the police force, since this only puts pressure on problems and does not really solve them.

In 1999, the *Länder* Brandenburg and Berlin intend to merge, creating one *Land*. The decision was taken by government commissions of both *Länder* on the 5th December 1992. Referenda on the decision to unite both *Länder* are not due to take place before 1994, on account of possible current biases concerning the social situation. The majority of police seem to see this step as a positive one. Those in Brandenburg hope that the new *Land* will be called either Brandenburg or Brandenburg-Berlin, but not Berlin-Brandenburg, since Berlin already has the status of capital city and will in any case need its own police force. A possible fear held by the Brandenburg officers is the possibility

of '*Besserwessis*'⁶⁷ obtaining high-ranking positions in the Brandenburg police, although this has not been the case up until now, thanks to special regulations concerning the occupation of key positions in the force by its own officers. The fusion of both *Länder* seems overall a positive move, but there will be difficulties which will need to be tackled. The GdP in Brandenburg has already moved its offices from Potsdam to Berlin.

In the Brandenburg police, the two things needed most urgently are more personnel and better technology. There is only one communication channel for the police in Potsdam at the moment, with three thousand users. The fact that in a *Polizeiwache*⁶⁸ in half an hour, only four out of eighty five messages on the wavelength concerned that particular *Polizeiwache* demonstrates the impracticality and possible danger of this.

The police structure in Brandenburg and in Potsdam has proven itself and needs only to develop more in the process of time. There may be some faults in the system, but the basic structure and foundation created in 1990 seem to have held their ground. The police as an organization must tackle any problems which may occur in itself in the future. It is the politicians who must deal with social problems on a wider basis. A general problem likely to figure heavily in German society in the immediate future is the '*Ossi*' and '*Wessi*' issue. The mere fact that these terms exist can only be destructive to a feeling of unity in the newly reunified Germany and this 'divide' is likely to continue for some years before finally becoming merely a further part of Germany's history.

The task for the individual police officer must be to try to convince the public that "es ist nicht nur die Polizei, die mich bestraft, sondern ist einfach die Polizei, die man auch für mich hat."⁶⁹ The public, in its turn, must not expect miracles to happen overnight. The great changes which have taken place cannot be expected to have taken place without certain teething problems. The notion that all aspects of society in the new *Bundesländer*, including the standard of internal security, could assume the same levels as those in their neighbouring *Länder* to the

⁶⁷ '*Besserwessis*' = 'Know-all westerners'. There exists in the reunified Germany the notion of *Ossis* (those from the former GDR) and *Wessis* (those of the old FRG or West Germany).

⁶⁸ *Polizeiwache* = Police watch.

⁶⁹ "The police does not exist solely to punish me, but is simply there for me."

west in a matter of three years is a foolish one, although it must be said (in a non-patronising manner) that incredible progress is being made. The attainment of equal standards may take ten or perhaps twenty years, but it will come eventually. In this respect, there is room for cautious optimism. On the 11th June 1992 at the *Konferenz für Innere Sicherheit* in Berlin, State Secretary Dr. Werner Ruckriegel summed up the situation with the following words:-

*Wir gehen - was die innere Sicherheit anbelangt - nicht ohne Sorge in die Zukunft, aber auch nicht ohne Vorsorge, nicht ohne Konzepte - und nicht ohne Zuversicht, daß wir die Probleme, die wir haben und die wir noch bekommen, bewältigen werden.*⁷⁰

⁷⁰ "As far as internal security is concerned, we approach the future not without concern, but also not without provision, not without ideas and not without confidence that we shall overcome current and future problems."

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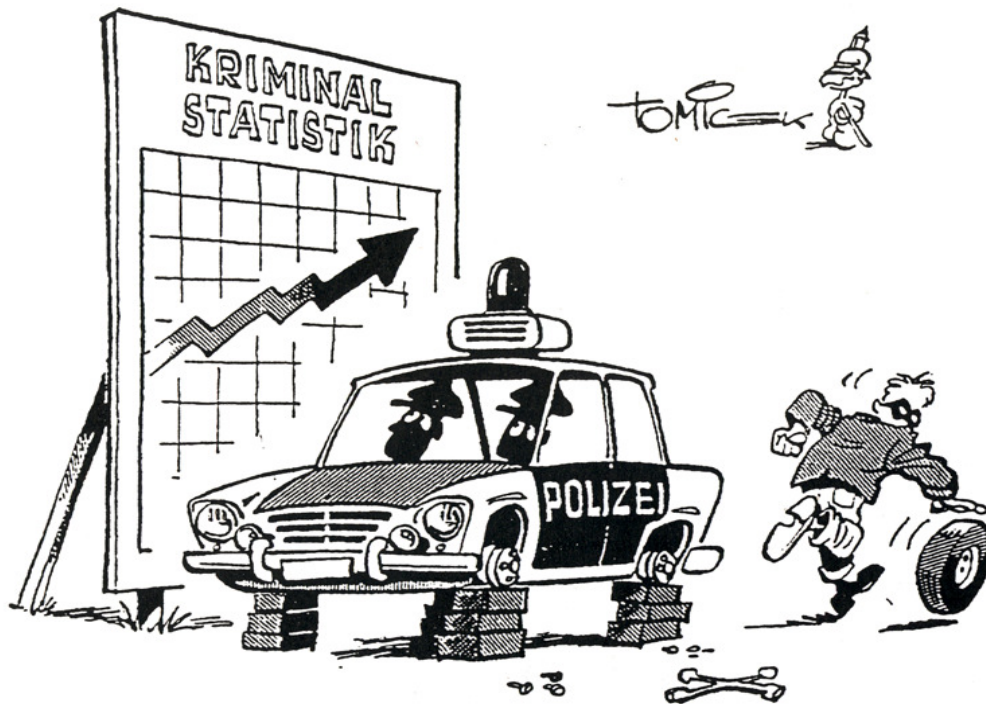
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Cartoon of rising crime statistics. Caption reads 'inconceivable...'

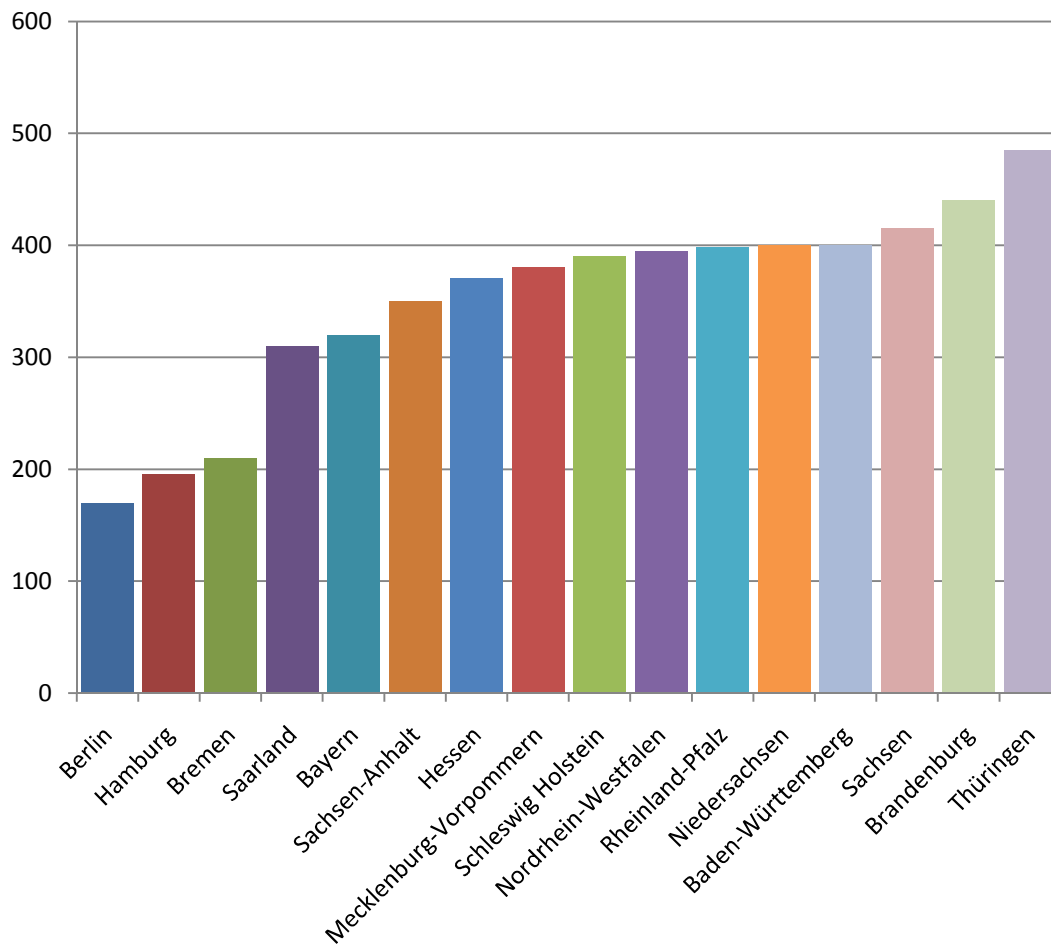


Nicht zu fassen...

Source: Unknown

APPENDIX B

Graph showing members of public per police officer ratio in the German Länder



Source: Unknown

APPENDIX C

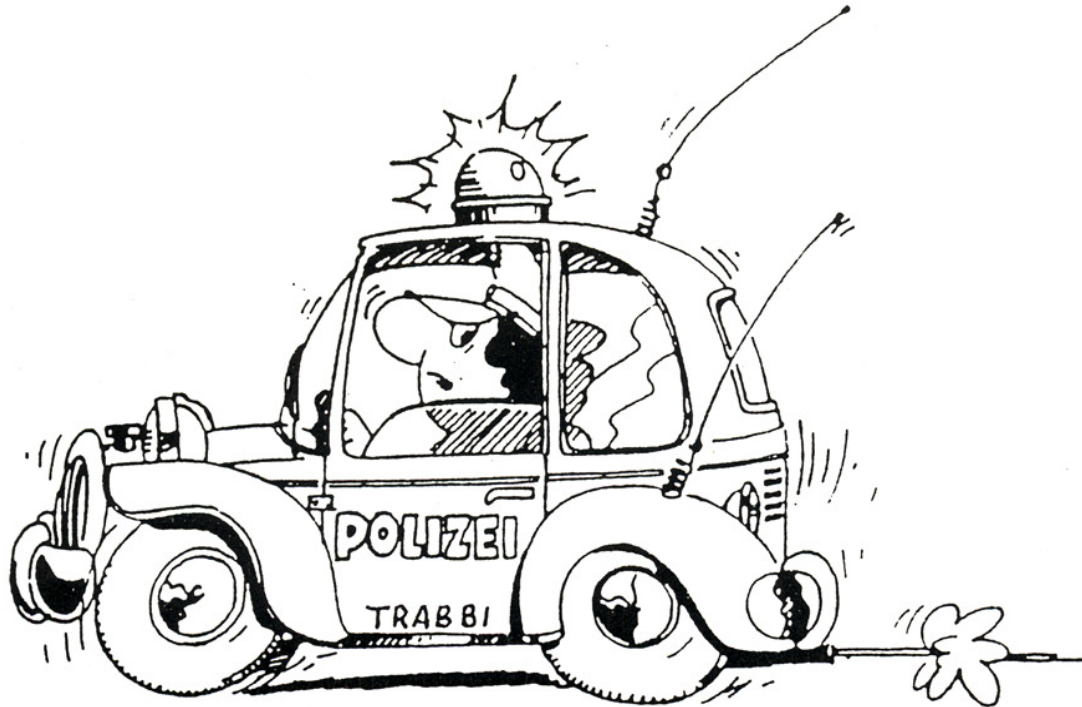
Map of the Land Brandenburg with police headquarters underlined



Source: http://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Faltblatt_Brochure/brandenburg_in_Zahlen09_engl.pdf

APPENDIX D

Cartoon of police Trabant or 'Trabi'



Source: Unknown