

**Germany Since  
1945: Politics,  
Society, Culture**



# Germany Since 1945: Politics, Society, Culture

Pedagogical Supplement

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# How to Use this Book in Teaching

Textbooks offer both too little and too much for a class. As descriptions of history in all its complexity, as examples of historical scholarship with all its controversy, they always provide too little. At the same time, they offer students with no background knowledge of a field too much: too many details, too many names, too many background facts to assimilate without prior knowledge.

And yet, despite all of the dire predictions about the end of textbooks, they persist. They persist, however, not in spite of the paradox of offering too little and too much, but because of it.

For students who are just starting in a field, complexity has to be reduced to the point that it can be comprehended, and done so in a way that makes sense of the (to the mere human) apparently infinite amount of information available on the web or in the library on a topic. When students are studying for an exam, the admonition to just find the information they need is no help at all. They want to know what source is reliable, they want a way to get basic names, dates, facts, arguments, processes down without risking the teacher's saying: nope, this is bunk. When a lower-level class has no textbook but only original documents, students ask for a textbook.

And in order to provide enough information to cover all the bases, too much is offered. Very few students sit down to read a textbook, because when they do it seems "boring"—by which is meant "I don't know what to do with this information." And yet they want it for tests or to get a basic idea of some facet of history they are writing a paper on.

Textbooks are needed, are requested, and are irritating, all at once. So, what is to be done?

## **Textbooks must be integrated into the class**

The process of learning is complex, it involves multiple moments. Grasping a narrative requires first an overall sense of the narrative: Germany after 1945 grappled with the problem of its fascist past. That might come through a lecture. Second, it needs more details to fill out the narrative: what was that past, why was it problematic? Third, the general narrative needs to become more problematic: what precisely was that fascist past? What

was the problem that needed to be addressed after 1945? Now historical complexity begins to enter into the picture.

Many if not most students will skim the textbook the first time. The lecture will give them a better sense of what its issues are, leading them to make better sense of it on a second read. In other words, a textbook—even the best—does not replace the educational process itself.

One can imagine several different ways of integrating the textbook into a course.

For example, the teacher could, as suggested, give an orienting lecture that nails down some basic ideas, to which other details can be attached. The advantage of providing an orienting lecture lies in the way it can orient students to the main points of the unit; the disadvantage lies in its potential for putting students into a passive role.

Or, in a class oriented toward films or novels, for example, one session of class could be spent analyzing the work of art itself, and a second session connecting it to themes in the textbook. The advantage of this second approach lies in the way the student has to bring material from the textbook to the classroom, which can contribute to active engagement with the material.

In a class that is focused more on reading secondary, analytical works of history, the textbook can even be used as a foil: what would the author of a book about the lost potential of East German socialism make of the textbook's critique of the East German economic system? Every textbook incorporates value judgments; the point of getting at them in class is not to declare a text worthless, but to make the students see how history is itself contested, difficult terrain. It is good if the class argues over the portrayal of history in a history textbook!

Simply assuming that the textbook is going to get read is probably the least effective way of integrating it into the class. But even in that case, the textbook can serve a vital function, so long as the teacher makes clear that assignments must go beyond what was said in the lectures. In that case, students use the textbook as a tool. Asking students to bring an opening question related to the reading is one way to ensure an active engagement with the text as a tool.

Not integrating a textbook into the class at all will result in a lost opportunity for the student.

## **Active learning works better than passive instruction**

This textbook includes some short textual passages as well as pictures, not because it needed ornamentation, but to invite further discussion. The

principle is a basic one, and a well known one in pedagogical discussions: we learn more when we actively engage with ideas than when we seek simply to memorize them. The images and texts provided are not enough to fill a class, but several of them can be used over the course of the semester to focus attention on specific controversies or issues.

The introduction, for example, contains six textual extracts, more than any other chapter. Why? The first week of a class often involves little reading; students are still shopping around, not quite settled down. These six passages all address the question, “What went wrong in German history?” All of the answers imply a certain course of action for the future, a way to avoid the return of barbarism. And they differ dramatically one from another.

Active learning in this case means slowing the students down. Going through one single sentence, slowly, explaining what, for example, Gerhard Ritter meant when he seemed to blame the French Revolution and democracy for the National Socialist dictatorship. Explaining what he seeks to preserve by focusing his criticism the way he does, what he seeks to keep from happening in a new Germany.

Active learning takes time, but it fixes ideas better—and can give students a way to nail down those basic ideas so that they can develop better notions of history later.

Once again, the textbook is probably not the main focus of a class, it often dwells in the background. But occasionally bringing it into the picture, asking students to comment on specific images or textual excerpts, can keep the book on students’ radar screens.

## Examples

Assigning students to read an entire textbook for the first week of a seminar will ensure that its content is quickly forgotten. This book is written to be integrated into a more complicated course. (Several examples of syllabi have been provided.)

A course on film, for example, might be divided up into four main segments: postwar, East German cinema, West German cinema, and the cinema of united Germany. The sections of the text that fit with each could be assigned as needed—there is no need to make the chronological organization of a textbook define one’s own class!

But a chronological approach could work well in a course that focuses on political history. Specific sections, such as the descriptions of the new political systems in the East and the West, could serve to organize other readings and class discussions. Similarly, the discussions of foreign policy could be used to frame more in-depth readings of work on the GDR’s dependence on the Soviet Union or the ramifications of the Helsinki Accords.

## The bibliographies

We have kept our bibliographies short and in English as a way to guide students into deeper problems. The works we have chosen are solid and reliable, and through tracing their footnotes or, using Google Scholar, the works that have cited them, students can begin to assemble a bibliography—rather than bouncing around in the unorganized world of online searches.

Our own work is based on the reading of a great many books, both in German and English. We have provided footnotes only sparingly, when specific statistics are cited that are the subject of controversy, for example, or when material is clearly not available in English-language sources. The point is to keep this text as clean as possible for students—to provide a relatively barrier-free way into Germany since 1945.

## Suggestions

If you have any suggestions for us about any aspect of this book, please feel free to email either one of us, at [hanshew@msu.edu](mailto:hanshew@msu.edu) or [caldwell@rice.edu](mailto:caldwell@rice.edu).

# How to use this pedagogical supplement to *Germany since 1945*

The point of this supplement is not to tell teachers how to teach. All of us have different styles, different focal points, different subjects that we can make exciting to our students. The point is rather to offer some suggestions of ways documents of different kinds can serve to open up discussion as well as to nail down knowledge, to explore the major themes of postwar German history as well as to open up theoretical and analytical questions.

Having a strategy from the start helps a teacher to reach this goal. A syllabus that consists of thirteen boxes of stuff for thirteen weeks is far less likely to succeed than one that has a strategy for addressing several overarching themes. When one has a clear sense of what one wants to teach, it becomes easier to find the documents and classroom assignments that will reach that goal, and that can help students both build up basic knowledge and deepen their sense of its significance.

Example One: A course that focuses on the formation of new political systems and new political identities in the postwar Germanys. Such a course might start with the immediate political experiences of Germans after 1945, then look at the formation of political parties, different kinds of political systems, and different modes of political mobilization between the East and the West. The course could add to the general narrative with discussions of political posters and political protest movements, cases before the Constitutional Court in the West and the role of petitions in the East; it could conclude with the dramatic change from a three party to a potential six party system from the 1980s to the post-unification present: Germany unified or disunified?

Example Two: A course more interested in social and cultural matters could well use some of the materials listed in the first example, but might also, along with films, shift to popular music and music videos in the last section of the course. Turning from the political narrative to a cultural one also allows a different take on the important role of immigration in post-1945 German history. From the *Vertriebenen* to Turkish and Italian guest workers, from Russian *Aussiedler* to the political refugees starting in the mid-1990s, immigration has played a major but often politically submerged role in the cultural history of Germany. Access to these themes requires a different set of documents.

Other examples are possible, too, including Germany's role in global political economy and the geopolitical universe; Germany's intellectuals; and so on. The main point is to start with an idea of what one wants to do.

We have put this pedagogical supplement together with the help of two undergraduates, one with more of an interest in politics and foreign policy, the other with a leaning toward social and cultural history and visual and audio sources. In each of the chapters that follows, we offer some suggestions of documents that can help reach classroom goals.

## A note on the sources

Many of the sources listed here have internet links associated with them. We all know that such links are unstable, unfortunately. We strongly suggest the following, institutionally supported sites for more documents on German history sources:

The German Historical Institute has a great site with hundreds of English-language documents—it has gone from being a set of haphazard documents to being the go-to source for teachers and students: German History in Documents and Images, at <http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/>. We will be referring to many of these documents in what follows.

A second, very useful site, especially for putting together presentations for class, is the German-language “Lebendiges Museum Online” of the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin: <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/>.

There are several overviews of document collections in both German and English; a nice starting point is: [https://eudocs.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Germany\\_Divided\\_and\\_Reunified](https://eudocs.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Germany_Divided_and_Reunified)

We also list many specialized works. The purpose is NOT to offer a complete bibliography--that would be impossible in such a short space. We have offered works as starting points for teachers interested in getting a handle on a problem and in finding texts, images, signs useful for teaching specific aspects of German history. *In other words, the texts listed here are starting points, not end points, for teaching!*

## Archived German syllabi

The sample syllabi that follow are built around the textbook, and therefore focus on the period from 1945 to the present. Many teachers will want to use the book for broader surveys (e.g., Germany in the twentieth Century), which would obviously require other supplemental readings.

Many excellent syllabi in German culture and history covering a variety of periods are available from the H-German online site: see its Syllabus Database at <https://networks.h-net.org/node/35008/pages/49659/syllabus-database>, and if you borrow from someone's syllabus, drop a note to the teacher thanking him or her for the ideas!

# Sample Syllabus 1:

## Germany since 1945:

### Domestic politics, international framework

Germany lies in the middle of Europe, surrounded by nations with which Germany and the preceding German states have cooperated with—or gone to war with, from Poland to Denmark, Austria to France. German attempts to break out of this pattern, most violently in the two world wars, were failures, both politically and morally. It is impossible to teach a history of Germany without this international context, and most certainly impossible to do so in the post-1945 context, during the first forty-five years of which Germany was divided into two parts, each Germany integrated into one of the two sides in the global Cold War.

This course aims to tell the story of Germany since 1945 by putting this international context at its center, discussing the formation of the two German states; the Berlin Wall; Ostpolitik and the undermining of the East; the development of the European Union; Unification as a moment of international history; the formation of a new Germany out of parts of two rival Cold War systems; and Germany's role in the crisis of the European Union between 2008–15.

#### Course requirements:

- In-Class Midterm, October 6: 20 percent
- Final, to be scheduled in Finals Week: 30 percent
- Paper Prospectus: 5 percent
- Paper: 30 percent
- Critical Questions and Participation in Discussions: 15 percent

All of these assignments must be completed IN GOOD FAITH to receive a passing grade for the class; in other words, if you fail to take the final, you will fail the course.

**Attendance:** You must be present to participate in discussion. If you are not present for discussion and have no medical excuse, you are not completing one central assignment of the class in good faith. See previous paragraph.

- Each student is expected to send the professor at least seven critical questions over the course of the semester related to the reading. These should be sent at least twelve hours before the class day when discussion of a specific reading is assigned. A critical question is one that raises central issues of the reading, about its main argument or the contradictions in a document; it is *not* a simple yes/no question or a question of fact, but one that can lead to discussion in class.
- The **in-class midterm** will consist of two essay questions given out at least one week before the test.
- The **final** will take place during finals week, and be scheduled by the Registrar's Office. It will consist of two essay questions given out at least one week before the final.
- The **paper** is a 10–12 page research paper on some aspect of German history in the twentieth century. I will pass out more information about the paper later in the semester.
- A **paper prospectus** is due the class session before discussion of the paper prospectus, so that other students in your group have time to read through it. It should state (a) what the theme is that the paper addresses; (b) how the student will approach the theme and what will be argued; and (c) what the relevant literature is—in other words, a bibliography is required. We will divide up into groups of four to discuss paper writing and paper prospectuses.

**NOTE:** Any student with a documented disability needing academic adjustments or accommodations is requested to speak with me during the first two weeks of class. All discussions will remain a confidential matter between the student and me. Students with disabilities should also contact Disabled Student Services in the Student Center.

**COMPUTERS:** No computer or computer-like instruments (smart phones, ipads, etc.) may be used in class.

The following books are **required** reading for the course, and available for purchase at the campus bookstore:

Peter C. Caldwell and Karrin Hanshew, *Germany since 1945* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).

- Michael Marrus, *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial, 1945-1946* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1997).
- Carolyn Eisenberg, *Drawing the Line: The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944-1949* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Hope Harrison, *Driving the Soviets Up the Wall* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).
- Mary Sarotte, *Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

### **Week One: Total Defeat**

Day One: The Politics of Defeat and Occupation (lecture).

Day Two: Establishing Military Occupations (lecture on the zones of occupation; and discussion of the excerpts in Caldwell and Hanshew: what was the cause of the disaster, and what should be done?).

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Introduction.

### **Week Two: International Occupation and Denazification**

Day One: Lecture: the politics of denazification in the different zones: what was Nazism, and how should an occupation regime therefore respond to it?

Day Two: Discussion of Marrus on Nuremberg, organized around the LEGAL questions, the POLITICAL intentions, and the CONTRADICTIONS that appeared for all occupying powers.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter One; Michael Marrus, *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial, 1945-1946* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1997); denazification document at [https://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/stal/spk/1a\\_%20Fragebogen\\_1.htm](https://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/stal/spk/1a_%20Fragebogen_1.htm).

### **Week Three: New States and New International Alignments, East and West**

Day One: New political systems in new international orders: understanding constitutions as both descriptions of political process and as political propaganda.

Day Two: Discussion of the formation of East and West Germany. Individual groups divide up to describe (a) the role of rights in the West German Basic Law; (b) the lack of a strong executive and the role of the chancellor in the West German Basic Law; (c) the image of democracy presented by the 1949 East German constitution.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapters Two and Three; sections of the *Basic Law* and of the 1949 GDR Constitution at <https://www>.

cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/7fa618bb-604e-4980-b667-76bf0cd0dd9b/publishable\_en.pdf and [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Founding\\_11\\_ENG.pdf](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Founding_11_ENG.pdf).

#### **Week Four: The Germanys and the Cold War**

Day One: Why Divide Germany? Lecture on the causes of the Cold War, the formation of new international alliances cementing it in place, and the incorporation of each Germany into different social/economic systems. Special stress in the lecture on the formation of the European Community, as an entity both part of NATO and not identical with NATO.

Day Two: Who Caused the Cold War? Discussion of Eisenberg: what arguments does she make? What is the role of the Germans in her account? What is the role of the Russians?

Readings: Carolyn Eisenberg, *Drawing the Line: The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944-1949* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Stalin's Note of 1952 and the US response: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=3082](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3082) and [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=3083](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3083).

#### **Week Five: The Berlin Wall and the 1960s**

Day One: Lecture on the Berlin Wall: what was it, why was it built, what problems did it solve and what problems did it create? Focus especially on the New Economic System in the East and the turn to broad use of guest workers in the West.

Day Two: Discussion on Harrison: what was the relationship between the Soviet Union and East Germany? Was East Germany a satellite state or not, and what kind of evidence does Harrison bring up to support her argument? The class divides into two parts to argue for or against her.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapters Four and Five; Hope Harrison, *Driving the Soviets Up the Wall* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

#### **Week Six: West Germany's Radicalism in International Context**

Day One: Lecture: the roots of West German Radicalism: the peace movements of the 1950s and 1960s between nationalism and internationalism; breaking with the Cold War consensus; the Vietnam War as example.

Day Two: discussion of the West German left between critique and international action (including on its margins terrorism).

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter Four; Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

### **Week Seven: From the Hallstein Doctrine to Ostpolitik and Helsinki**

Day One: Lecture: West German foreign policy aimed to exclude East Germany from high level contacts with other countries. That doctrine, the Hallstein Doctrine, gradually came to an end as both countries became more involved in development and other foreign policy projects. West Germany's Ostpolitik replaced it—but was controversial both at home and abroad, as were the Helsinki Accords.

Day Two: What was Ostpolitik, and why would anyone oppose it? In what sense did it “appease Communism”? In what sense did it and the Helsinki Accords undermine state socialism? What other arguments could be made for or against the policy.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter Six; Daniel C. Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), Ch. 1–4; Paul Betts, “Socialism, Social Rights, and Human Rights: The Case of East Germany,” *Humanity* 3 (2012), 407–26; and the Basic Treaty between East and West Germany at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=172](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=172).

### **Week Eight: The Pershing Missile Crisis and the West German Peace Movement**

Day One: Lecture: the peace movement and the environmental movement developed in tandem, and were not just about domestic politics, but also critical of West Germany's role in NATO. Lecture focuses on how and why the Pershing Missile crisis developed in tandem with the rise of new citizens' movements against nuclear power, and led to the formation of a new party, the Greens; it will also discuss the parallel development of pacifist and environmentalist movements in East Germany, under much more difficult circumstances.

Day Two: Discussion of the peace movement: how was it related to foreign policy and to Soviet influence? What effect did it have on German foreign policy?

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 8; on environmentalism and nuclear power, Stephen Milder, “Between Grassroots Activism and Transnational Aspirations: Anti-Nuclear Protest from the Rhine Valley to the Bundestag,” *Historical Social Research* 39 (2014), 191–211; on citizens' movements and the way they can change discussion, David S. Meyer, “How the Cold War Was Really Won: The Effects of the Antinuclear Movements of the 1980s,” in *How Social Movements Matter*, edited by Marco Giugni, et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 182–203; and on Soviet influence, Holger Nehring and Benjamin Ziemann, “Do All Roads Lead to Moscow? The NATO Dual-Track Decision and the Peace Movement—A Critique,” *Cold War History* 12 (2011), 1–24.

### **Week Nine: The Transformation of the East Bloc and the GDR's Role**

Day One: Lecture on the transformation and gradual disintegration of the entire East Bloc during the 1980s, viewing the GDR as one of the more conservative states but surrounded by states like Poland, with its independent labor union movement, and Hungary, experimenting with free market economics—both of which were gradually moving out of the Soviet orbit. The key role of Gorbachev and the shift in Soviet policy, related to its own moribund economy and the price of oil, also discussed.

Day Two: Debate: did the approval of the Helsinki Accords keep the GDR on life support, or undermine it? How did it play into the collapse of 1989?

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapters 7, 9; Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect*, Ch. 5—conclusion; Mary Sarotte, *Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), Ch. 1–2.

### **Week Ten: Unification as an International Affair**

Day One: Lecture: Was 1989-90 a collapse, a revolution, or a national movement toward reunifying Germany? Special focus on the diplomatic negotiations in spring 1990 about NATO and the Warsaw Pact: the end of the Cold War?

Day Two: PROSPECTUS DUE TO PROFESSOR! Discussion of German unification as an international incident.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter Ten; Mary Sarotte, *Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), Ch. 3—end.

### **Week Eleven: European Union and Domestic Discontent: Germany After Unification**

Day One: Discussion of paper prospectus in small groups.

Day Two: lecture: Description of the European Union, monetary union, and the failure of the European constitution. Focus on the tension between the weakness of German unification, in particular the problem of uniting East and West Germany, and the drive to pull all of Europe together as a way of providing a peaceful context for united Germany's recovery—and the challenges arising as a result of both big projects.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 11; no other readings, since papers due next week.

**Week Twelve: Germany as hegemon or as savior?**

Day One: lecture: German foreign policy between civilian power and military force: from the First Iraq War to Kosovo, from supporting war in Afghanistan to opposing the Second Gulf War.

Day Two: PAPER DUE!!

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapters 12 and 13; no other reading because papers due.

**Week Thirteen: Discussion of the Triple Crisis**

Day One: Discussion: how does the Greek crisis reveal underlying problems of European unity, especially with respect to financial/monetary unity and the need for economic policy on the state level? How does the Russian crisis reveal the limits to European solidarity?

Day Two: Discussion, review, preparation for the final: what kind of an international power is Germany, and how does its international power relate to its domestic politics?

Readings: Hans Maull and Sebastian Harnisch, *Germany's Uncertain Power: Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); EACH STUDENT SHOULD BRING IN A RECENT BLOG POST FROM A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY SITE, SUCH AS AICGS, FOREIGN POLICY, OR ORBIS, DEALING WITH MODERN GERMAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

# Sample Syllabus 2:

## Germany since 1945:

### Society and politics

This class explores how Germany rebuilt itself after the Second World War, in two very different ways. Both East and West Germany claimed to be “social,” but the party-directed social development in the east took the German Democratic Republic in a different direction than did the “social market economy” of the Federal Republic of Germany in the west. Both Germanys experiences tensions and internal criticism; East Germany, however, collapsed, while West Germany succeeded, and their unification in 1990 heralded the end of the Cold War in Europe. The course ends with an examination of how united Germany itself faced new challenges and new dilemmas, while becoming self-consciously multicultural and a defender of democracy and democratization.

#### Course requirements:

- **In-Class Midterm: 20 percent**
- **Final, to be scheduled in Finals Week: 30 percent**
- **Paper Prospectus: 5 percent**
- **Paper: 30 percent**
- **Critical Questions and Participation in Discussions: 15 percent**

All of these assignments must be completed IN GOOD FAITH to receive a passing grade for the class; in other words, if you fail to take the final, you will fail the course.

**Attendance:** You must be present to participate in discussion. If you are not present for discussion and have no medical excuse, you are not completing one central assignment of the class in good faith. See previous paragraph.

- Each student is expected to send the professor at least seven critical questions over the course of the semester related to the reading. These should be sent at least twelve hours before the class day when discussion of a specific reading is assigned. A critical question is one that raises central issues of the reading, about its main argument or the contradictions in a document; it is *not* a simple yes/no question or a question of fact, but one that can lead to discussion in class.
- The **in-class midterm** will consist of two essay questions given out at least one week before the test.
- The **final** will take place during finals week, and be scheduled by the Registrar's Office. It will consist of two essay questions given out at least one week before the final.
- The **paper** is a 10–12 page research paper on some aspect of German history in the twentieth century. I will pass out more information about the paper later in the semester.
- A **paper prospectus** is due the class session before discussion of the paper prospectus, so that other students in your group have time to read through it. It should state (a) what the theme is that the paper addresses; (b) how the student will approach the theme and what will be argued; and (c) what the relevant literature is—in other words, a bibliography is required. We will divide up into groups of four to discuss paper writing and paper prospectuses.

**NOTE:** Any student with a documented disability needing academic adjustments or accommodations is requested to speak with me during the first two weeks of class. All discussions will remain a confidential matter between the student and me. Students with disabilities should also contact Disabled Student Services in the Student Center

**COMPUTERS:** No computer or computer-like instruments (smart phones, ipads, etc.) may be used in class.

The following books are **required** reading for the course, and available for purchase at the campus bookstore:

Peter C. Caldwell and Karrin Hanshew, *Germany since 1945* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).

Atina Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Christian Ostermann, *Uprising in East Germany 1953* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001).

Jens Gieseke, *The History of the Stasi: East Germany's Secret Police, 1945-1990* (New York: Berghahn, 2014).

### Week One: Defeat and Occupation

Day One: Introduction: lecture on military and political defeat, and the many challenges facing any future German society.

Day Two: What Remains of German History and Culture? Discussion of the excerpts in Caldwell/Hanshew Introduction.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Introduction and Chapter 1.

### Week Two: Dislocation

Day One: Lecture on allied occupation, denazification, and the gradual reopening of the German public sphere; start DISCUSSION on Grossmann.

Day Two: Lecture on formation of new German states, incorporating political posters from both sides.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 2; Atina Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), selections; Document from International Refugee Organization at <https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/prehearing-summary-prepared-by-the-international-refugee-organization-iro-headquarters-iro-childrens-village-bad-aibling-for-germany-regarding-michal-pupa-an-unaccompanied-displaced-child>.

### Week Three: The 1950s: Two Models of Society, East and West.

Day One: Lecture comparing two different models of economy and society. The idea of the “social market economy” in West Germany and the “economic miracle.” The idea of the “construction of socialism” in East Germany, and its own economic recovery. Labor struggles and the idea of “normality” in East and West societies.

Day Two: Discussion: both Germanys focused on economic reconstruction, but they seemed to differ not only in means but also in ends. Discussion of Erhard and the First Five Year Plan first, and second the protests of June 1953 in East Germany: why did they occur, how did domestic and foreign policy crises merge, with what long term effect?

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 3; Erhard, “Prosperity for All,” at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=4599](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=4599); proclamation on the Five Year Plan at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=2996](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=2996); Christian Ostermann, *Uprising in East Germany 1953* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001).

### **Week Four: The Wall**

Day One: Lecture on the reasons for building the Berlin Wall; discussion of the documents on the Berlin Wall (students should explore the website at <http://www.berliner-mauer-gedenkstaette.de/en/>, and come prepared to discuss at least one point about it).

Day Two: Discussion: What was the New Economic System in East Germany, and what did it aim to solve?

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 5; André Steiner, *The Plans that Failed: An Economic History of the GDR* (New York: Berghahn, 2010), ch. 4 (on reserve); Walter Ulbricht on economic reform, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Chapter9\\_Doc2.pdf](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Chapter9_Doc2.pdf).

### **Week Five: West German Radicals, Serious and Silly**

Day One: Lecture/Discussion: Calling for more democracy and more memory: how a critical movement arose out of the renewed confrontation with the Nazi past, a turn against top-down technocratic control, and a reopening of what democracy means. Discussion: Habermas, “Science and Technology as Ideology.”

Day Two: lecture/discussion: from critique to action. After watching a clip of the protest against the shah, the lecture describes how the student movement radicalized, and then splintered. Discussion of Rudi Dutschke, “On Anti-Authoritarianism,” and also of Kommune I, which combined hedonism with revolutionary rhetoric.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 4; “Science and Technology as Ideology,” on reserve; Rudi Dutschke, “On Anti-Authoritarianism,” on reserve; short video on Kommune I: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wJyyS3RWqWA>.

### **Week Six: West Germany Between Radical Democratization and the Welfare State**

Day One: Lecture/discussion on Brandt’s reform government as a radical break whose radicalism was obscured by the student movement, looking especially at reforms in education, law, and the expanded welfare state. Focus in discussion on the Free Democrat’s “Freiburg Theses” of 1971, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=903](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=903), and Brandt’s call for more democracy at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=901](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=901). Discussion of women and state policy in east and west in Harsh, “Society, the State, and Abortion, and the documents at: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?sub\\_id=38&section\\_id=15](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?sub_id=38&section_id=15).

### Day Two: IN-CLASS MIDTERM

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 6; Donna Harsch, “Society, the State, and Abortion in East Germany, 1950-1972,” *American Historical Review* 102 (1997), 53–84.

### Week Seven: East Germany, the Welfare State, and Debt

Day One: lecture/discussion: The lecture focuses on the way the East German welfare state focused on worker needs and its growing indebtedness. Discussion will focus on Honecker’s description of the role of the state and the kind of propaganda produced by East Germany, looking especially at the Party document and at the video of Honecker handing over keys to a new apartment: <https://www.the-berlin-wall.com/videos/honecker-hands-over-the-key-to-millionth-flat-657/>: how does this propaganda differ from earlier examples, and what does it tell us about the regime?

Day Two: Lecture/Discussion: The Stasi and Dissent. Lecture describes how the state security apparatus in East Germany worked by the 1970s.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew: review Chapter 6, Chapter 8; Party statement on the unity of economic and social policy, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=904](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=904); Jens Gieseke, *The History of the Stasi: East Germany’s Secret Police, 1945-1990* (New York: Berghahn, 2014), ch. 1–4.

### Week Eight: Cracks in the Wall: Dissent in East and West Germany

Day One: Lecture/discussion on far left terrorism and the collapse of the “old new left.” Main focus in citizens’ groups, related to the environment in the 1970s and to pacifism in the 1980s, and the development of the Greens as a new party. Discussion of Petra Kelly and other founding statements from the Greens: what is her approach to politics?

Day Two: Lecture/discussion on what dissent was in East Germany: the similarities and differences between environmentalism and anti-militarism in east and west.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 7, Chapter 9; Petra Kelly, Petra Kelly, “Thinking Green!” From *Thinking Green! Essays on Environmentalism, Feminism, and Nonviolence* (Berkeley: Parallax, 1994); Gieseke, *History of the Stasi*, Ch. 5; GHI documents from the East German dissidents, at: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=1176](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1176); [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=1177](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1177); [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=1186](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1186).

### **Week Nine: Collapse, Revolution, Unification: What Was 1989 About?**

Day One: Narrative lecture: dissidence, crisis, the fall of the wall, and unification.

Day Two: Divide into three groups: what was the ultimate cause of the end of East Germany, the economy/system of state socialism and its collapse; the role of dissidents, revolutionaries in spite of themselves; or the ultimate nationalist desire of East Germans to become part of united Germany?

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 10; Ulrich Preuss, *Constitutional Revolution: The Link between Constitutionalism and Justice* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities, 1995), introduction; Founding Appeal of New Forum, available at: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=2875](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=2875); Helmut Kohl's Ten Point Plan: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=223](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=223); assessments from within the SED of the failure of the GDR, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=955](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=955) and [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=438](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=438).

### **Week Ten: Unification Shock**

Day One: lecture on the double project of unification, both unifying the two Germanys and creating a tighter European Union. Focus on the economic and political challenges to German Unification.

Day Two: discussion: (a) using the Gieseke book to discuss how coming to terms with the Stasi past created a controversy between eastern and western Germans, and (b) looking at the argument between intellectual Jürgen Habermas and Constitutional Court Justice Dieter Grimm on the vexed question of whether “Europe” can really form a political unity.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 11; Gieseke, *History of the Stasi*, Ch. 7–8; Dieter Grimm, “Does Europe Need a Constitution?” and Jürgen Habermas, “Reply to Grimm,” in *The Question of Europe*, edited by Perry Anderson and Peter Gowan (London: Verso, 1997), 239–64, on reserve.

### **Week Eleven: From Ethnic German to Multicultural Society**

Day One: PROSPECTUS DUE! Lecture on the Red-Green government, changes in foreign policy and citizenship laws, and the idea of multiculturalism.

Day Two: Discussion of paper prospectus in small groups.

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 12 (only limited reading because of prospectus).

**Week Twelve: Challenges from Left and Right**

Day One: Lecture on the triple crisis of the European Union and populism: Greece, Russia, and asylum.

Day Two: PAPER DUE!! discussion of the way populism arises as a reaction to liberalism, technocracy, and complex crisis. What is populism? What is the AfD, what does it stand for in Germany?

Readings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Chapter 13; Alternative for Germany, “Manifesto for Germany,” available at <https://www.afd.de/grundsatzprogramm-englisch/>.

**Week Thirteen:**

Day One: Discussion: German Politics and Society in a Global World—what is the way forward for a post-national nation? Discussion of Streeck and Habermas.

Day Two: Reflections on Germany’s transformation since the Second World War; review for final exam.

Readings: Wolfgang Streeck, “From Legitimation Crisis to Fiscal Crisis,” in *Buying Time*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2017), 1–46; Jürgen Habermas, “Democracy or Capitalism? On the Abject Spectacle of a Capitalist World Society Fragmented along National Lines,” available at <http://www.resetdoc.org/story/00000022337>.

# Sample Syllabus 3:

## Germany since 1945:

### The politics of film: Defeated Germany, Cold War, United Germany

German cinema offers the opportunity to see what happens to film in the context of the (changing) Cold War. In this class, we will survey important films from East Germany, West Germany, and united Germany. Each moment contributed important films, which reflected on the German and European past; engaged in a critical discussion of the present; and, one way or another, opened up thoughts about the future.

This course is film-intensive. The readings have been kept short so that we can focus on the films themselves—usually a short contextual reading and a short essay that examines what we are looking at in a given week. We will discuss research methods to deepen understanding of specific films, as well as way of approaching films through essays, through the semester.

A film class only works when students take seriously the assignment: not just to watch a film passively in preparation for the class, but to watch it pen in hand, taking notes, reviewing sections to examine phrases, stagings, segways in detail. Please come PREPARED for indicated class discussions, with at least one crucial moment in each film that could serve as a way into class discussion. *At least seven times over the semester, you must mail a brief message to the professor, at least two hours prior to class, describing that crucial moment and why it matters!*

**Course requirements:**

- **Two short, 5-7 page analytical papers on specific films: 20% each.**
- **Final Paper Prospectus: 5%**
- **Paper: 35%**
- **Critical questions and participation in discussions: 20%**

All of these assignments must be completed IN GOOD FAITH to receive a passing grade for the class; in other words, if you fail to take the final, you will fail the course.

**Attendance:** You must be present to participate in discussion. If you are not present for discussion and have no medical excuse, you are not completing one central assignment of the class in good faith. See previous paragraph.

- Each student is expected to send the professor at least seven critical questions (see above!) over the course of the semester related to the reading. These should be sent at least 12 hours before the class day when discussion of a specific reading is assigned. A critical question is one that raises central issues of the reading, about its main argument or the contradictions in a document; it is *not* a simple yes/no question or a question of fact, but one that can lead to discussion in class.
- The **two short essays** should be about 5-7 pages each, and should each analyze a key theme, moment, or other aspect in a film under observation in the class.
- The **final paper** is a 10-12 page research paper on some aspect of German history in the twentieth century. I will pass out more information about the paper later in the semester.
- A **paper prospectus** is due the class session before discussion of the paper prospectus, so that other students in your group have time to read through it. It should state a) what the theme is that the paper addresses; b) how the student will approach the theme and what will be argued; and c) what the relevant literature is—in other words, a bibliography is required. We will divide up into groups of four to discuss paper writing and paper prospectuses.

**NOTE:** Any student with a documented disability needing academic adjustments or accommodations is requested to speak with me during the first two weeks of class. All discussions will remain a confidential matter between the student and me. Students with disabilities should also contact Disabled Student Services in the Student Center.

**COMPUTERS:** may ONLY be used for class purposes, such as finding a key moment in a film for comment. Please take notes on paper, and don't get

sucked into your computer—pay attention! Professor reserves the right to remove computer privileges.

The following books are **required** reading for the course, and available for purchase at the campus bookstore:

Peter C. Caldwell and Karrin Hanshew, *Germany since 1945* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018)

Robert Shandley, *Rubble Films: German Cinema in the Shadow of the Third Reich* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2001).

Sabine Hake, *German National Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2001)

## **PART ONE: VISUALIZING DISASTER**

### **Week One: Visualizing Disaster after 1945**

Day One: introduction, discussion of excerpts from Caldwell/Hanshew

Day Two: Discussion: *The Murderers Are Among Us* and articulating guilt.

Readings/Viewings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Ch. 1-3; Staudte, *The Murderers Are Among Us* (1946); Robert Shandley, *Rubble Films*, Ch. 1-3.

### **Week Two: Representing the Present in East and West**

Day One: Lecture/Discussion: formation of East and West Germany; effect on film production—who controls production, who censors, east and west.

Day Two: Discussion: *Story of a Young Couple* as an East German narrative of political birth and differentiation.

Readings/Viewings: Shandley, *Rubble Films*, Ch. 4-end; images of Trümmerfrauen, at <http://www.wikiwand.com/de/Tr%C3%BCmmerfrau>; Kurt Maetzig, *Story of a Young Couple*, 1952.

## **PART TWO: BUILDING SOCIALISM AND THE WALL: THE ULBRICHT YEARS**

### **Week Three: The Opening of the 1960s**

Day One: Lecture on East Germany before and after the Berlin Wall, from the 1953 uprising to the spring that seemed to accompany Ulbricht's economic reforms of the 1960s.

Day Two: Discussion of *The Rabbit Is Me*: the limits of critique/the opening of the intellectual world.

Readings/Viewings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Ch. 5; Sabine Hake, *German National Cinema*, 92-112; Sebastian Heiduchke, "Film Censorship, the East German *Nouvelle vague*, and the 'Rabbit Films,'" in *East German Cinema*:

*DEFA and Film History*, ed., Sebastian Heiduschke (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 77-83 Kurt Maetzig, *The Rabbit Is Me* (1965)

#### **Week Four: Socialist Modernities/Socialist Sci Fi**

Readings/Viewings: Stefan Soldovieri, "Socialists in Outer Space: East Germany's Venusian Adventure," in *A Companion to Eastern European Cinemas*, ed., Anikó Imre (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 201-23; Kurt Maetzig, *The Silent Star* (1961)

### **PART THREE: BUILDING CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY: THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC**

#### **Week Five: Acquiring and Forgetting**

Day One: West Germany in the 1950s: the church and censorship, avoiding confrontation, and romanticization of the premodern world.

*Workshop on doing film research: library, databases, Google scholar.*

Day Two: discussion of *The Heath Is Green*.

Readings/Viewings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Ch. 4; VW advertisement at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jtFj18-UPjc>; Hake, *German National Cinema*, 112-27; Hans Deppe, *The Heath Is Green* (1951).

#### **Week Six: Comedic Coming To Terms with Nazism?**

Day One: lecture on the return of critical views of the forgotten past in the late 1950s/early 1960s: Staudte, Böckenförde, Adorno.

Day Two: discussion, *Roses for the Prosecutor*.

Readings/Viewings: Rick McCormick, "Memory and Commerce, Gender and Restoration," in Hanna Schissler, ed., *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 281-300; Theodor Adorno, "Education after Auschwitz," in *Can One Live after Auschwitz? A Philosophical Reader*, ed., Rolf Tiedemann (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Wolfgang Staudte, *Roses for the Prosecutor* (1959)

### **PART FOUR: RETURN TO WEIMAR, RETURN OF THE PAST: NEW GERMAN CINEMA**

#### **Week Seven: New German Cinema and Political Crisis**

Day One: West Germany: where did terrorism and paranoia come from? Lecture and discussion

Day Two: discussion of Fassbinder, et al., *Germany in Autumn*.

Readings/Viewings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Ch. 6, 7, 9; Hake, *German National Cinema*, 152-78; Martin Blumenthal-Barby, "Germany in Autumn: The Return of the Human," *Discourse* 29 (2007), 140-68; Fassbinder, et al., *Germany in Autumn* (1978)

### **Week Eight: National Ambivalences**

Day One: Lecture: West German culture between left and right: the patriotic motives in the peace movement and anti-Americanism, the ambivalences of the Kohl years as revealed in the Historians' Debate.

Day Two: Discussion of *Germany Pale Mother*.

Readings/Viewings: Susan Linville, "The Mother-Daughter Plot in History: Helma Sanders-Brahms's *Germany, Pale Mother*," *New German Critique* 55 (1992), 51-70; Helma Sanders-Brahms, *Germany Pale Mother* (1980)

## **PART FIVE: THE HONECKER YEARS: PSYCHEDELIA AND THE DOLDRUMS**

### **Week Nine**

Day Two: Discussion of *The Legend of Paul and Paula*

Readings/Viewings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Ch. 6 (review), Ch. 8; Sabine Hake, *German National Cinema*, 153-78; Andrea Rinke, "From Models to Misfits: Women in the DEFA films of the 1970s and 1980s," in *DEFA: East German Cinema 1946-1992*, ed., Seán Allen and John Sandford (New York: Berghahn, 1999), ch. 11; Heiner Carow, *Legend of Paul and Paula* (1973).

### **Week Ten**

Day One: Presentation of paper prospectuses for final paper.

Day Two: Discussion of Kahane, *The Architects*—uncertainty and paralysis?

Readings/Viewings: Sebastian Heiduschka, "'Das ist die Mauer, die quer durchgeht. Dahinter liegt die Stadt und das Glück.' DEFA Directors and their Criticism of the Berlin Wall." *Colloquia Germanica* 40 (2007), 37-50.

Peter Kahane, *The Architects* (1990)

## **PART SIX: REVOLUTION/UNIFICATION**

### **Week Eleven: Collapse/Revolution/Unification**

Day One: lecture/discussion: the image of the Wall, its place in the narrative of the end of the GDR.

Day Two Discussion of Jürgen Böttcher, *The Wall*.

Readings/Viewings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Ch. 10; Benjamin Robinson, “The End of an Event,” in *After the Berlin Wall: Germany and Beyond*, ed., Katharina Gerstenberer and Jana Evans Braziel (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2011), 179–199; Jürgen Böttcher, *The Wall* (1990)

### **Week Twelve: Ostalgie?**

Day One: Lecture/discussion on the unpredicted paths of unification: deindustrialization, globalization, and multiculturalism. Discontent, division, and so-called Ostalgie as a result? Discussion of *Goodbye Lenin*.

Day Two: Discussion of *The Lives of Others*: how to commemorate the Stasi state?

Readings/Viewings: Caldwell/Hanshew, Ch. 11, 12; Paul Cook, “Watching the Stasi: Authenticity, Ostalgie, and history in Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck’s *The Lives of Others*,” in *New Directions in German Cinema*, ed. Cooke and Chris Homewood (New York: Tauris, 2011), 113-29; Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck, *The Lives of Others* (2006), Wolfgang Becker, *Goodbye Lenin* (2003)

### **Week Thirteen: The Past Today**

Day One: workshop/group work on final paper draft.

Day Two: discussion of *The People vs. Fritz Bauer*

Readings/Viewings: Lars Kraume, *The People vs. Fritz Bauer* (2016)

# 1

## Teaching the immediate postwar period

The period 1945–49 was dramatically unsettled. People in Germany—some sympathetic to the Nazis, some political or racial enemies of the Nazis, some apolitical—confronted numerous challenges: the sheer destruction of war; the continued presence of displaced persons, including former concentration camp inmates as well as foreign laborers from the east; the renewal of political parties in the midst of the rubble of the cities; the presence of innumerable well-armed occupation soldiers; the end not only of the Nazi state but of the German state in general. Different groups in Germany had disparate understandings of what was going on around them, so different that teaching the period becomes very difficult.

The key for the teacher is to grab onto the sense of crisis and change, and to put into focus the challenges of the times. While a lecture can briefly treat several areas, any discussion of documents or secondary texts will have to be selective. Which is fine: better to be selective and memorable than to provide “coverage” that is immediately forgotten.

This section, then, presents several kinds of documents that might be usable, depending on what kind of class you are teaching.

### Social and cultural dislocation

Any history of post-1945 Germany needs to start with destruction and dislocation, which involves both the fact of cities reduced to rubble and the literal smashing of the Hitler myth. Of course, the destruction of the Third Reich looked different to different people. This is the value of Atina Grossmann’s book *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), which like few others uses primary sources to show the different understandings

of the postwar world among “displaced persons,” non-Jewish Germans, and the Allied occupation authorities.

An International Refugee Organization document from 1951 offers some insights into the fate of DPs, and gives them, more importantly, a human face. This is an excellent document to go over in detail: the list of the camps where the child and his father have been housed suggest his fate and life over the previous 6–7 years:

<https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/prehearing-summary-prepared-by-the-international-refugee-organization-iro-headquarters-iro-childrens-village-bad-aibling-for-germany-regarding-michal-pupa-an-unaccompanied-displaced-child>

This website, [www.docsteach.org](http://www.docsteach.org), includes other useful material from the US National Archives that work well in the classroom.

The ethnic Germans forcibly removed from eastern European states between 1944 and 1947 added to the sense of ongoing dislocation as well. R. M. Douglas’s *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012) is a long book but an important one; one can choose about 150 pages from it for students to read.

## The legacy of Nazism: The Nuremberg Trials and “Denazification”

The problem of what to do about Nazism preoccupied the Allies already before 1945—and anti-fascist German politicians of both left and right as well. One can make this crucial period of postwar German (and European) history concrete for students in several different ways, either by focusing on a big event like the Nuremberg Trials or by focusing more on individual experiences of denazification.

There are plenty of works on the Nuremberg Trials, but for teaching purposes Michael Marrus’s *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial, 1945-46* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 1997) remains the go-to book. It requires a lot of work from the students, but is well worth it because of its excellent use of documents showing:

- The Allies’ controversial discussions of whether to hold a trial
- Decisions about what kinds of arguments and evidence to allow
- The key turning points in the trial, including revelations about atrocities
- The bigger issues in human rights laws and international courts, which continue to be relevant today.

The whole book is hard to talk about in a single class, so unless you have more time it might make sense to divide the class into groups to look into specific parts of the book. As always, active learning leads to more retention than passive learning, and the more students are forced to present their own ideas, the more they are likely to remember.

Another approach would focus on the attempts to “denazify” German society through direct propaganda and the famous “questionnaires” (*Fragebogen*) of the US Zone of Occupation, which are available online. This approach allows students to see the intentions of the occupation forces (especially in the west), and to contrast them with the sense of victimhood the program induced in parts of the German population—as evidenced in the FDP poster reproduced in the book. Some documents to consider:

First, from the German Historical Institute website, see the following statement of Allied denazification aims:

<http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Denazification%20%20ENG.pdf>

Second, see this example of a mass produced poster that sought to bring atrocities home to the population (with accompanying translation):

<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=28304&csos=0>

And, third, the questionnaire itself, with English translations for the US military personnel. NOTE that this is a six page document—you need to click to move on to the other pages:

[https://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/stal/spk/1a\\_%20Fragebogen\\_1.htm](https://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/stal/spk/1a_%20Fragebogen_1.htm)

In all of these cases, actually reading the document aloud conveys more to the student about what is being demanded of German citizens after 1945. The teacher does have to navigate the tendency of students simply to replicate the sense of victimhood felt by many Germans. What *should* a resolutely anti-fascist and pro-democratic (however “democracy” is defined) occupational force have done with collaborators?

## Visual culture: The world of rubble

The so-called “Rubble Women” (*Trümmerfrauen*) have become emblematic of the suffering and resilience of the German people after 1945: women who worked to clear out the rubble left from the intense Allied bombing raids in the cities. Images are plentiful of these self-sacrificing women, many of whose sons or husbands were either missing or dead. While only a small

percentage of women may have actually worked on these projects, they became iconographic, as the following visual sources indicate:

<http://www.wikiwand.com/de/Tr%C3%BCmmerfrau> (contains several monuments, coins, etc. commemorating the women.)

How were these women represented, and why? These pictures can be used in the classroom to present not only what (some) women were doing, but also to ask about how the image obscured political roles of victims and perpetrators before 1945, what it implied about women and Nazism (merely cleaning up the rubble?), and how the pictures of rubble suggested a dramatic break with the past (the so-called zero hour of Germany).

As Robert Shandley has noted in his book *Rubble Films* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), the images in the West were in fact carefully created, relying on filmic images from US westerns, among other sources. Set in the wreckage of the big cities, classic movies like Wolfgang Staudte's *The Murderers Are Among Us* (1946), Gerhard Lamprecht's *Somewhere in Berlin* (1946), and Helmut Kautner's *In Those Days* (1947), went beyond the often flat and depthless images of the rubble women to start to offer confrontations with the past.

## Germany as object of international politics

Allied policy toward Germany after 1945 cannot be separated from the question of why and how the Cold War developed. There are many ways to approach this topic, which runs through both Chapter 1 and 2 of the textbook. One way would be to delve into one of the complex international histories of the period. Carolyn Eisenberg's *Drawing the Line: The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944-1949* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996) could form a starting point for the discussion. Given its length and complexity, it would be hard to assign it for one week, but if read over a two-week period *with accompanying critical articles and alternative perspectives*, it could prove very useful. Eisenberg's "revisionist" argument that the US made the decision to divide Germany, based as it is on primarily US and English-language sources, downplays the Soviet side, which, as Charles Maier's critical review, "Who Divided Germany?" *Diplomatic History* 22 (July 1998), suggests, is a problem. Vladislav M. Zubok makes the opposite argument based on Soviet documents in *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), and the revisionist focus on US decision-making tends to neglect the strong anti-communism of the West Germans themselves. See also the important discussion of the Marshall Plan and US international history in *The Journal of Cold War Studies* 7, no. 1

(2005). More topics are introduced—possibly opening the way for student research papers!—in *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War*, edited by Detlef Junker (New York: Cambridge, 2004), 2 vols., which also includes excellent guides to the literature on specific topics.

One approach to these problems would be to read Eisenberg along with snippets of original documents from several different perspectives. These might include, from the US side, the different plans for the postwar years from the Morgenthau Plan to the Potsdam Conference to the Marshall Plan, available respectively here:

<http://docs.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/psf/box31/a297a01.html>

[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/decade17.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade17.asp)

<http://marshallfoundation.org/marshall/the-marshall-plan/marshall-plan-speech/>

Non-US sources are available to discuss turning points of Soviet and German policy from the Woodrow Wilson International Center's Cold War Project, at:

<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/>

Last not least, original documents from the US side about the Berlin Blockade are available from the Truman Archives:

- [https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/berlin\\_airlift/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-04-02&documentid=3-1&pagenumber=1](https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin_airlift/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-04-02&documentid=3-1&pagenumber=1) (US War Department document on the prospects of withdrawing from Berlin during the April that preceded the main blockade)
- [https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/berlin\\_airlift/large/documents/index.php?documentid=10-6&pagenumber=1](https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin_airlift/large/documents/index.php?documentid=10-6&pagenumber=1) (This document offers an excellent outline of the US perspective on the “road” to the Berlin airlift, starting from the middle of the Second World War.)
- [https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/berlin\\_airlift/large/](https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin_airlift/large/) (In general, great source for primary source information during the Berlin airlift from the US side)

# 2

## What is to be done?

### Reforming German political parties

This chapter focuses on the period from 1948, when the division of Germany was becoming apparent, and the early 1950s, when two different states formed based on qualitatively different constitutional and political principles. Both claimed to be democracies; what they meant by the word differed greatly. In West Germany, “democracy” was a system for organizing the will of the voters, conceptualized as a series of religious, economic, social, and cultural groups. In East Germany, “democracy” was a system for voters to communicate their needs, with the working class—deemed the legitimate representatives of the most progressive part of the people—empowered to act on them. Before students jump to the conclusion that one system was “open” and the other “closed,” however, it’s useful to complicate matters a bit—by showing how the Basic Law in West Germany, for example, worked to restrain the power of the people to express their interests directly, and by showing how the East German system opened the way to less restrictive laws for certain groups, such as working women. Yes, in the end the one was a parliamentary democracy and the other a party dictatorship—but the founders in both cases were still wary of the “people’s will” and what it had brought to Germany in the past.

#### What does the West German Basic Law tell us about postwar West Germany?

Reading the West German constitution, called the Basic Law, is one way to get at the peculiarities of West German democratic foundations. But reading it can

fail in the classroom, for two reasons. First, any changes made to the Basic Law since 1949, and there have been many, are simply incorporated into the text in later editions without clear indication. It is very important to use the correct edition for the Basic Law for whatever point you are making in class. Second, the text is complicated. It seems at first glance to be short and readable, but to really read it requires close reading and a lot of focus, which is not easily doable in a class of one to one and a half hours. These two challenges make it necessary to plan any discussion of the Basic Law very carefully.

The Basic Law itself was the product of German politicians and lawyers, but within a framework set down by the Western occupation authorities. Scholars disagree about how much was dictated—our own position is that most of the basic decisions required by the occupation authorities, against, for example, too much centralization and for the inclusion of basic rights, were already desired by many of the German actors. Students can start to discuss the framework demanded by looking at the Frankfurt Documents (<http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Founding%201%20ENG.pdf>) and the response to them by the Länder, known as the Koblenz Decisions ([http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=2851](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=2851)). More documents are available on the GHI website.

In order to discuss the original vision of the Basic Law, the students have to consult the first edition of the constitution, at: [https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/7fa618bb-604e-4980-b667-76bf0cd0dd9b/publishable\\_en.pdf](https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/7fa618bb-604e-4980-b667-76bf0cd0dd9b/publishable_en.pdf). There have been many changes made, and unfortunately there is not, as far as we have been able to ascertain, a good website that shows all of the changes in English. In German, see: <http://www.verfassungen.de/de/gg/grundgesetz-vergleiche-i.htm>.

Second, the teacher needs to choose one theme or a set of related themes, not just put the entire constitution up for discussion. A larger class might be divided into several groups, each of which could come back after half an hour of discussion to sum up their particular focal point, allowing the teacher to pull everything together on the board. But here, too, the themes have to be specific. They might include the following:

- The structure of the constitution: why does it start with fundamental rights, instead of appending them to the constitution as the US Constitution does? What ARE those basic civil rights, and why would they have been chosen? The rights section is too long to go over in its entirety, but focusing on Article 1, the “right to dignity,” as the founding right of the entire section (Art. 1–19) could focus attention on the problem, on the past, that the founders wanted to address.
- The active role of rights: not only does one find this list of rights, Article 19, Paragraph 2 declares that they cannot be suspended in their essential content; Article 19, Paragraph 4 declares that rights-based complaints can go through the courts, and other articles bind

the legislature to the rights; ban the legislature from altering the rights by constitutional amendment; and create a Constitutional Court. These rights, then, are to be effective, also against the democratic legislature!

- The legislature, meanwhile, is bound in other ways as well. It is worth asking the students to take a look at Article 79, for example, which sets up the rules for amendment but restricts what the legislature can actually amend. Article 21, furthermore, stresses that parties must adhere to the “free democratic basic order” of the Federal Republic. The idea of a democracy that limits political parties is worth investigating, possibly in conjunction with an examination of the important judgment of the Constitutional Court against the Communist Party in 1956. A short version of that decision, which focuses on the criteria for deciding whether a party is illegal, is to be found at: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Parties\\_WZ\\_8\\_ENG.pdf](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Parties_WZ_8_ENG.pdf); the longer version is interesting insofar as the court seeks both to say that the Communist Party was illegal but that proposals for different organizations of society and economy are not, a tightrope act that is not wholly successful. More context is available in Justin Collings, *Democracy’s Guardians: A History of the German Federal Constitutional Court, 1951-2001* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), who makes this contradiction central to his account.

The themes listed are already too many for one class discussion; the teacher should consider *introducing* them as themes; having a discussion to promote active learning about their content; and then briefly summarizing the entire system in the next class. If the class’s focus is politics, policy, and democracy, then knowledge of the foundations is essential. For any of these questions, Donald Kommers’s *Constitutional Jurisprudence* remains an essential reference work—and potentially a source book for the entire semester, since it contains good translations of key cases.

## The problem of how to teach the East German political system

It is misleading to set the East German constitution against the West German one since their functions were quite different. The East German constitution did not presume that constitutional law created state power, or in other words that political power would operate within the rule of law: the party was a kind of original force that would propel state and society forward. The 1949 constitutional document itself should be understood as a statement designed to undermine the Basic Law and to present East Germany as a

democratic state. Sections are available at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Founding\\_11\\_ENG.pdf](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Founding_11_ENG.pdf), and students might focus on how the constitution represents the people and the polity: as unified and striving toward progress, not as divided among different parties. Chapter One of Mary Fulbrook's *Anatomy of a Party State* provides some background on the actual political system, without falling into the abstractions of much political science work.

## Political parties, political posters

All of the major political parties sought both a return to pre-1933 political traditions and a break with the past. Looking through their founding documents gives students a sense of the kinds of challenges they faced. The German Historical Institute's document collection gives an impressive overview of these positions, including

- The Social Democrats, calling for a radical break with capitalism combined with political democracy: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=3014](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3014). NOTE the careful way they distinguish a socialism based on self-administration by the workers from a centralized, command socialism: they are distinguishing themselves from the Communists. After a long period of disappointing elections, they would shift focus in the Bad Godesberg Program of 1959, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=3049](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3049).
- The Christian Democrats formed to provide an alternative to the Center Party, which had acted opportunistically at the end of the Weimar Republic and did not break out of the Catholic milieu. In the immediate postwar years, they, too, called for more social control over the economy in the Ahlen Platform (but have the students read it carefully: what IS "socialism" here?): [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=3093](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3093). A couple of years later, they embraced the principle of the "social market economy," in a document that is excerpted in our textbook but worth reading in full for class: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=3094](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3094). One should note that both the labor wing of the Christian Democrats and many Social Democrats favored what they called "co-determination," or the participation of employees in industrial decision making. A nice description of the project is available at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Econ\\_WZFR\\_9\\_ENG.pdf](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Econ_WZFR_9_ENG.pdf).
- The Free Democrats combined open nationalism with support for market economics, seeking to rebuild a postwar liberalism: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=3095](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3095).

- Not least, the Communists at first presented a moderate platform to the right of the Social Democrats; as the preceding discussion noted, it is important to view their platforms as vote-getting propaganda like the others, but also to keep in mind how, especially in the East, their positions were organized in consultation with Soviets as well as their leaders just returned from Moscow. Contrast their 1945 statement, appealing to a broad mass of Germans, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=2992](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=2992), with their call for a “new type of party” based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism from 1949, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=2990](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=2990); the GHI website also includes other documents related to Ackermann and the bloc parties.
- There are other parties worth mentioning, as well as the bloc parties of the Soviet Zone/German Democratic Republic. Much of these materials are, however, in German.

Along with these sources, political posters are a useful source for postwar politics as well. It is important in discussions with students to stress that posters do not reflect public opinion, however. They are attempts by parties or organizations to read and tap into the opinions of some part of the public, and to shape those opinions as well. As such, they need to be read carefully: what is the point of the image, to whom does it appeal, what action does it suggest? Even more, for the period after 1945, it is important to ask how the image distinguishes itself from or taps into Nazi-era images.

The main political parties have established archives with posters. German Christian Democracy, which would become the main political party on the right, has provided a host of political posters, organized by year. NOTE: you need some German to figure out what these say, in order to make sense of them for your students!

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Images\\_from\\_the\\_Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Images_from_the_Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung)

For the Social Democrats on the center-left, see:

<https://120jahre.bayernspd.de/dokumente/plakate-der-spd-1945-1957/>

A website providing the major political posters from each election of the Federal Republic is available at the following page; for both lectures and discussions, these are indispensable:

<http://www.bpb.de/lernen/grafstat/grafstat-bundestagswahl-2013/150415/wahlplakate-1949-1998>

## The division of Germany: Cultural approaches

One can approach the division of Germany in several different ways. One involves an examination of the key documents and turning points; some of the literature that would guide you to documents and help organize discussion is to be found in the discussion of Chapter 1. More important for a cultural or social history class might be the palpable sense of division, the gradual growing apart of the different parts of Germany. Edith Sheffer documents this social and cultural division well in her important book *Burned Bridge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Contemporary documents reflected on the challenges of division, but from very different perspectives. Kurt Maetzig's 1952 film *Story of a Young Couple*, produced in the GDR, for example, shows how political ideology tears apart a young marriage, as the wife becomes a propagandist for the GDR regime, and the husband is at first dismayed, then repulsed by the return of National Socialist themes in the GDR. This film would be interesting to view in conjunction with later West German films and the debate over boycotting films for political reasons discussed in the Lüth Decision of the Federal Constitutional Court, addressed in the next chapter. Similarly, Wolfgang Staudte's 1951 version of Heinrich Mann's *Der Untertan* emphasizes continuities between German conservatism, Nazi Germany, and the postwar condition—an important and excellent film from the GDR that was banned in West Germany until 1957 as propaganda.

There is more to literature than politics, of course—but precisely that claim had political significance in the context of the Cold War. The *Gruppe 47* stressed its openness to new literature, but its founder, Hans Werner Richter, also argued that real literature was anti-Nazi and viewed the loose organization as part of a process of democratic education. Given the breadth and variety of people who presented in the group, it's hard to summarize it. A nice, brief sketch, however, may be found in the historian Arnulf Baring's retrospective piece, "West Germany as We Know It—An Episode?" in *Legacies and Ambiguities: Postwar Fiction and Culture in West Germany and Japan*, edited by Ernestine Schlant and J. Thomas Rimer, 35–61, at 49 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1991). The short stories of Wolfgang Hildesheimer, a German of Jewish descent who spent the National Socialist years in Britain and Palestine, offer a good—and less known—introduction to this group. His short stories, influenced by the theater of the absurd, circle around themes of breaking with the past, reconstruction, and the fear of the past, as well as Germany's third past. See especially "The End of a World" and "Why I Changed into a Nightingale," both in *The Collected Stories of Wolfgang Hildesheimer*, translated by Joachim Neugroschel (New York: Ecco Press, 1987), 1–10, 63–69.

Shifting from intellectuals to the general public: the Office of Military Government, US (OMGUS) compiled a large set of opinion polls on German

views on politics, Jews, communism, and so on. While opinion polls should never be taken as unvarnished truth, they are useful windows into West German society and political culture. The German Historical Institute has prepared some of these data on its webpage: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?sub\\_id=234&section\\_id=14](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?sub_id=234&section_id=14). A broader analysis of the surveys is available in Anna J. Merritt and Richard L. Merritt, *Public Opinion in Occupied Germany: The OMGUS Surveys, 1945-1949* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1970). The sheer variety and number of surveys make this book a great tool for class: students can choose to present one or another survey, for example, and then get into the details of asking what the answers really mean, also when they are combined (does distrust of politicians extend to understandings of Hitler in the recent past, for example?).

# 3

## New societies

### The architecture of division

Our book looked at two important examples of new architecture and city planning in East and West Berlin, the Stalinallee and the Hansaviertel. There are many discussions of these two images of the new, postwar world online, which students can explore both visually and verbally—a nice assignment might be for a class to divide into two groups to explain and describe the kinds of architecture developed in the two parts of Berlin as showcases for their respective political/economic systems. A good introduction, with some pictures, is at: <https://architectureinberlin.wordpress.com/tag/stalinallee/>

Images of Stalinallee are widely available at many places in the internet, and in several important books. The Wendemuseum contains some very interesting documentation on the Stalinallee, including a priceless *Life* Magazine exposé—which doesn't capture, unfortunately, the real enthusiasm that some workers did feel for the project: <http://www.wendemuseum.org/collections/stalinallee>. That site includes a lot more on the idea of a socialist city as well. A film that represents what was and what is of the Stalinallee is available as well—in German, but sections can be used in class: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N\\_hOhxhtm\\_Y&v=nl=en](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N_hOhxhtm_Y&v=nl=en)

The Hansaviertel has also been documented in multiple places, both in print and on the internet. For nice tour guides: <http://www.findingberlin.com/finding-hansaviertel/> and <http://www.secretcitytravel.com/berlin-march-2014/hansa-viertel-modernist-architecture-berlin.shtml>.

The comparison of these two parts of Berlin can open up a wider comparison of the architectural and artistic aims of East and West Germany. Once again, the German Historical Institute has put some invaluable documents on line for such a discussion.

On architecture, one can compare the intentions of the East German architects, in the “Proclamation of the Principles of Urban Planning by the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic” (<http://>

germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\_document.cfm?document\_id=4449) (September 15, 1950), with the principles discussed in West Germany, as documented by Greg Castillo, “Making a Spectacle of Restraint: The Deutschland Pavilion at the 1958 Brussels Exposition,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 47, no. 1 (January 2012), 97–119. Images to support these discussions may be found on <https://www.architecture.com/image-library/ribapix.html?keywords=deutschland+pavilion>, although you need to know precisely what you are searching for in the search engine.

And these architectural images might be compared with similar developments in the art world, as West Germans emulated the abstract expressionism coming out of New York, while the East officially condemned it: compare the article by Jost Hermand and Bidy Martin, “Modernism Restored: West German Painting in the 1950s,” *New German Critique* 32 (Spring-Summer 1984), 23–41, with the following East German resolutions:

- Resolution by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, adopted at the Fifth Session ([http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=4577](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=4577)) (March 15–17, 1951)
- Neues Deutschland Report on a Discussion about Realism and Formalism in the School of Applied Arts in Magdeburg ([http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=4578](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=4578)) (April 24, 1951)

Images of the artworks are available at several general sites as well, including

- Artstor.com
- <http://arthistoryresources.net/ARTHLinks.html>--which contains links to many hundreds of sites, both specific and general: warning, you need to know what you are looking for in advance!

## Experiencing reconstruction, East and West

West Germany: a new currency, shops, trade unions. The argument for the social market economy—and in particular for the market economy’s superiority over planned economics—was made not just in the stores but also in the famous pamphlet of Erhard, “Prosperity through Competition,” a short excerpt of which is available under the title “Prosperity for All” at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=4599](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=4599). More important was the actual experience of the availability of commodities, exemplified in the images and advertising of Volkswagen: see, for example, the advertising at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jtFj18-UPjc> and what it suggests as a wonderful future for Germans. Students can also visit the English-language and typically self-aggrandizing official

museum of Volkswagen at: <http://www.volkswagen-automuseum.de/en/the-museum.html>.

The language of expert driven development in the GDR is reflected in the official five year plans—see especially the First Five Year Plan at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=2996](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=2996). Contrast this with the call to build socialism of the Free German Youth, the Communist youth organization: translation at <http://lyricstranslate.com/en/bau-auf-bau-auf-establish-establish.html>. There are many odd audio versions of the song on the internet that reveal a lingering nostalgia for the GDR, for example at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j3g-PLunYp4>. And a poster in favor of the five year plan shows how much the GDR aimed at rallying the people around the economic project: <https://www.hdg.de/lemo/bestand/objekt/plakat-wir-werden-besser-leben.html>. There is an excellent webpage documenting the architectural, industrial, and cultural history of Stalinstadt/Eisenhüttenstadt at <http://www.alltagskultur-ddr.de/das-museum/eisenhuettenstadt>; although it is in German, it includes many useful images for the period of reconstruction, but also for understanding the mature GDR society of the 1970s and 1980s, from childcare centers to housing to workplace.

What would a conversation between a construction worker enthusiastically constructing the foundry at Eisenhüttenstadt and a construction worker turning out Volkswagens sound like? A teacher can potentially integrate ideas (Erhard, the Five Year Plan), images, and economic results into such an assignment, asking questions like:

- Is the purpose of construction primarily to build a better economy and society or to provide more and better commodities for consumers? (Both may be true in both cases, but what matters is the nuance!)
- How does a worker relate to the factory? Is it a source of identity? A source of goods and services? Or merely a source of income?
- What is the proper role for the market in economic development and in society itself, according to the construction worker in the East and the construction worker in the West, operating under two different kinds of economic systems?

No doubt this discussion will require some work by the teacher, describing the social organizations of firms in the East and the West as well as some specific aspects of Eisenhüttenstadt and Wolfsburg, but it might help to clarify differences emerging within the same class in the East and the West.

Gender has not only been important for understanding postwar history in general; it also provides unique perspectives on the different developments of East and West Germany, which can open up larger discussions about the cultural politics of the Cold War. One level of discussion involves what actually happened: the real possibilities for men and women in the postwar era. Another, very different level involves representation of gender norms. A class can explore them in different ways—for example, by comparing one

of the Heimat films mentioned in the text with the 1952 East German film *Frauenschicksale* (*The Destinies of Women*) by Slatan Dudow. Produced in the period of East German high Stalinism, just as the Party announced the construction of socialism, the film involves a bad, western womanizer, solid East German proletarian women, working as locomotive engineers, and images of industrial workers at work. The German Historical Institute has a great set of documents available on family, marriage, and sexuality in East and West Germany, which explore both the different societies' self-representation and the realities of life in each part of Germany: these documents can easily form the basis of a discussion that hits all the areas of politics, policy, family, and everyday life in the 1950s in a divided Germany: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?sub\\_id=379&section\\_id=14](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?sub_id=379&section_id=14), as well as many other pages on this site.

## Europe, NATO, and West Germany's decision for the West

Some of the literature dealing with this issue has already been discussed in the section on Chapter 1 above. Documents related to the dramatic turn from a demilitarized Germany to an armed West Germany part of NATO are available at: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?sub\\_id=214&section\\_id=14](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?sub_id=214&section_id=14).

The decision was controversial in West Germany for several reasons. First, the decision for NATO was a recognition of the long term division of the two Germanys, no matter what Adenauer said to the contrary. Second, a good number of Germans came out of the war distrustful of the German military tradition and of militarism in general. Third, the atomic bomb made war look much more devastating—and Germans, like so many in Central Europe, had experienced massive bombing campaigns recently. The “Without Me!” protest movement against militarism and “atomic death” took place more than a decade before the protest movements of the 1960s, and encompassed leftists as well as conservatives, secular intellectuals as well as representatives of the churches. The images are striking, and easy to find in the internet (be careful of dates—these slogans continued to be used in the peace movements for decades!). Some examples:

- the famous poster with the image of the theologian Albert Schweitzer at <https://www.hdg.de/lemo/bestand/objekt/plakat-albert-schweitzer-gegen-atomwaffen.html>; similar posters appeared with pictures of Albert Einstein and the anti-Nazi Protestant theologian Martin Niemöller.
- posters showing what atomic weapons could do to German cities, for example, at <http://www.harald-reportagen.de/Atomtod/Atomtod.php>

- Wikipedia has provided a nice translation of the famous Göttingen Manifesto, at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Göttingen\\_Manifesto](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Göttingen_Manifesto), rejecting arming the German military with nuclear weapons.

So many things come together in these peace protests: anti-militarism, the memories of bombing and war, distrust of the Americans, nationalism and anti-nationalism, the Cold War, etc. The problem here, as with so many other segments of German history, is how to focus students on the right questions.

## High Stalinism and the Crisis of 1953

East Germany experienced a “high Stalinist” moment in the early 1950s, including show trials apparently modeled on the 1930s trials in the Soviet Union. There are many oddities to this period, not least the obsession encountered in the United States about the fate of Germans in the East. One of our personal favorites is Perry Mason’s “Case of the Fugitive Fräulein,” where the lawyer defends his client before an obvious representation of Hilde Benjamin! See <http://www.perrymasontvseries.com/wiki/index.php/EpisodePages/Show253>.

For the 1953 uprisings, see especially the pages at the German Historical Institute’s site, giving the official line of the GDR government: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?sub\\_id=213&section\\_id=14](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?sub_id=213&section_id=14). The Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung has an excellent series on the uprising in German, with many images suitable for the classroom: <https://www.bpb.de/geschichte/deutsche-einheit/der-aufstand-des-17-juni-1953/>. The importance of the uprising for the rest of the republic cannot be understated: from this point on, the self-proclaimed leaders of the workers were looking over their shoulders at the workers, which helps to explain their deep concern with quality of life and standard of living, as documents from the GHI show clearly: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?sub\\_id=230&section\\_id=14](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?sub_id=230&section_id=14).

1953 resonated with leftwing intellectuals *within* the GDR as well: see, not least, Stefan Heym’s novel *Five Days in June* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 1978), which was banned in the GDR.

## Internal dissent, East and West

The intellectual history of both GDR and FRG in the 1950s is filled with dissent—not always frontal critique, but often careful and thought through examinations of the presuppositions of East and West Germany. The text has already noted some of the key thinkers and key works for understanding this kind of dissent. In the West, one can view a number of important

films that take apart the complacency of the land, from Staudte's serious comedy *Roses for the State Prosecutor* to *The Sinner* (whose context the text discusses), perhaps in contrast with the Heimat movies so popular at the same time. East Germany's state-controlled cinema focused more on criticism of the West and on celebration of the East. And in this decade West German literature made waves in German society, but also internationally. Günter Grass's *Danzig Trilogy*, starting with *The Tin Drum* in 1959, is long, complicated, but essential. Heinrich Böll's work is important as a voice from the Catholic milieu of Cologne, but also deeply critical of Catholicism's role. His works are more teachable, not least since they are shorter. Wolfgang Koeppen's controversial criticism of German society in his work from the 1950s is much bitterer, even shocking in its portrayal of an amoral, money-oriented German society still marked by militarism, racism, and anti-Semitism: see especially *Pigeons in the Grass* (1951), *The Hothouse* (1953), and *Death in Rome* (1954).

The intellectual world of East Germany remained vibrant, even if not available to most of the population. The novelist Heym is just one example—and his novels accompanied the GDR from its beginning to its end. From Wolfgang Harich to Ernst Bloch, criticism was clear, even if phrased in terms of a defense of the system. Unfortunately, very little of this material is available in English. Sections of Bloch's *Principle of Hope*—though much of it was composed prior to his arrival in the GDR—may give insight into other approaches to Marxism that circulated in the GDR during the 1950s, as do several essays on utopia and aesthetics in *The Utopian Function of Art and Literature*, translated by Jack Zipes and Frank Mecklenburg.

It would be quite interesting to organize a discussion about the similarities and differences between leftist dissenters in the East and the West—if only the sources were there. Both, after all, use much the same language of direct democracy, of councils, of a critique of bureaucracy, even of socialism. There are similarities that allow one to understand the later role of leftists from the East like Zwerenz, Bloch, or Dutschke in the West. But an assignment like this will have to wait for enough material to be translated to be successful.

# 4

## The Federal Republic in the 1960s, A study in transition

### The Spiegel Affair as a test of German democracy

The *Spiegel Affair* was a test case for the freedom of the press, and raised complicated questions about how far the government could go to suppress both critical reporting and research. It was a political case, to be sure, but it had everything to do with law and the role of the Constitutional Court as the protector of basic civil rights. A more politics-oriented course can use the discussion of the Affair in Kommers's *Constitutional Jurisprudence* both to get some background and to see how the Constitutional Court established itself as a protector of the press; see also a translation of the ruling at <https://law.utexas.edu/transnational/foreign-law-translations/german/case.php?id=651>, a site that has a number of important cases available in translation. Note: these rulings cannot simply be given to students, the teacher needs to decide what in particular should be taught—the facts of the case, the arguments about free speech or about the limits of the state?—and prepare for discussion with some basic definitions. The GHI has put a nice statement of solidarity from the otherwise right leaning tabloid *Bild-Zeitung* on its website: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=14](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=14). The *Spiegel* itself has a nice introduction to the case, at <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/50th-anniversary-of-the-spiegel-affair-a-857030.html>.

## The Auschwitz Trials, the Eichmann Trials, and the discussion of German Guilt

The Auschwitz Trial from 1963–65 and the Eichmann Trial in Israel in 1961–62 refocused international attention on the Holocaust; the past was not past. Both trials are worth examining in more detail. Devin Pendas's *Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial 1963-1965: Genocide, History, and the Limits of the Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) and Rebecca Wittman's *Beyond Justice: The Auschwitz Trial* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005) provide not only key contexts but also a nice account of the trial and a good set of further sources that might be used to explore how German public opinion responded. Students can gain some insight into the impact of these trials through the drama written by the German playwright Peter Weiss, based on the actual testimony: *The Investigation: Oratorio in 11 Cantos*, available in several different editions. Recent films such as "The People vs. Fritz Bauer" (2015), directed by Lars Kraume, have brought Bauer himself into light, and portrayed the cultural context of his attempt to bring perpetrators to justice.

The narrative of the Eichmann trial has been effectively shaped by Hannah Arendt's famous account of "the banality of evil" in *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. The source is useful, but problematic—as more recent discussions have shown, it tells us a whole lot about Arendt and her view of the Holocaust, but isn't a comprehensive account of the trial. Both BBC and the PBS have produced important documentaries on the trial, and sections of these are available not only from the original sources but also on YouTube. See the excellent bibliography from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum at <https://www.ushmm.org/collections/bibliography/eichmann-trial>, including several very good sources on popular responses to the trial in both Germany and Israel.

These discussions had ramifications throughout West German society. A course ore oriented toward intellectual history can take this opportunity to introduce Theodor Adorno, through his highly influential radio address on "Education after Auschwitz," republished in *Can One Live after Auschwitz? A Philosophical Reader*, edited by Rolf Tiedemann (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003): a dense essay, to which an entire class session can be devoted. Adorno's radio addresses found an audience among future student radicals, but apparently among many others in society. The importance of Adorno, despite his abstract and difficult language, is hard to underestimate for the development of the West German student movement.

How to bring this renewed focus on the recent past into the classroom? The sources here suggest some different ways students can actively engage with the texts.

- They could, of course, simply spend an hour working to understand Adorno's "Education after Auschwitz." But they might engage the

text more productively and more historically if they take the position of a critical teacher of the 1960s. A young history teacher, for example, fed up with the avoidance of the recent past in his or her own youth, might ask: what is Adorno suggesting we do? How, as I gradually move into teaching history, can I bring this horrific past to my students?

- Another approach would be to focus on the testimony, whether in Weiss or in Eichmann. How do the perpetrators explain and describe their actions? What gaps exist in their descriptions? Using Arendt's analysis: how does objective description serve to cover over what really happened, how does the language of bureaucracy conceal responsibility?

No doubt other approaches are possible, involving students in a dialogue about how to talk about history—maybe even approaches that open up parallel discussions in their own lives, such as the debate about the history of the US South in the United States.

## The West German student movement and the demand for further democratization

The social thinker Jürgen Habermas was older than many of the student protesters of the 1960s, but he shared with them a similar critique of West German society and call for more radical democratization—to the left of the Social Democratic Party. To be sure, he broke with the most radical of them in the late 1960s, especially during the period of its radicalization and turn toward violence; he labeled the move “left fascism,” using a term that he would later regret. His work, however, is quite useful as an articulation of student arguments for their engagement with radical politics and against the assumption that political, technical, and social science experts could manage society without a fundamental discussion of values in a democracy. The essay “Science and Technology as Ideology,” in *Towards a Rational Society* (Boston: Beacon, 1970), is dense, but for a class talking about problems of politics and society in postwar Germany useful, especially as a way to open up the Green movement a decade later.

This restrained, careful thought should be put in contrast with the radical statements of a leader like Rudi Dutschke (see the many excerpts on the internet, e.g., [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q\\_r\\_XahzELY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q_r_XahzELY) from November 1967). Dutschke's written work can be hard to find now, but see especially “On Anti-Authoritarianism,” from *The New Left Reader*, 243–53, as well as “It Is Not Easy To Walk Upright,” where Dutschke stresses his connection to the older Marxist Ernst Bloch, available in *Telos*

52 (1982), 171–77, and Dutschke’s call for a state attack on the Springer Press as an antidemocratic force, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=893](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=893). This is just one of several documents on the GHI website under the subheading “Generational Rebellion.”

To get an idea of what these protests actually looked like, consult the many offerings on YouTube, including the famous protests against the shah of Iran at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j7YoiWZaOjE>.

## Guest workers

Discussion of the intellectuals and the student movement focuses students’ attention on events, but beneath the surface arguably a bigger story was developing, as the “guest worker” gradually became a permanent part of German society. The history of the guest workers takes place at several levels: economic, certainly, and political, as a way of dealing with the labor shortages plaguing the expanding West German Economy, but also culturally, as slowly but surely new minorities formed in West German society. The standard source book for material on guest workers is *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955-2005*, edited by Deniz Götürk, David Gamling, and Anton Kaes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), which contains hundreds of snippets on many aspects of the issue (although with the focus on post-unification Germany). As always with a book like this, it’s important to ask specifically and precisely what one wants the students to gain from discussion, and to limit discussion to a handful of relative documents. *Germany in Transit* also has an exceptionally good bibliography and filmography. The deeper history of guest workers in Germany is told in an older but solid book by Ulrich Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1980* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1991), which usefully shows how the period 1945–55 was in fact something of an aberration (in part because of the influx of ethnic Germans expelled from the east); his later work on guest workers and the social insurance systems of the Federal Republic, central to grasping the tensions around race and welfare state, remains unfortunately untranslated. *Migrations in the German Lands, 1500-2000* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), edited by Jason Coy, et al., contains a couple of good essays but more important a more up to date bibliography.

The full discussion of the challenges posed by guest workers became clear in the 1970s, as the textbook suggests, and articulated in German culture—indeed, already in Heinrich Böll’s 1971 *Group Portrait with Lady*, and famously in Gunter Wallraff’s undercover reportage on the place of Turkish guest workers, *The Lowest of the Low* (1985). See also Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), with further references.

## The Hallstein Doctrine and the foreign policy of the two Germanys

The starting point for the Hallstein Doctrine is William Glenn Gray's *Germany's Cold War: The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949-1969* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), which integrates the guiding principle of West German foreign policy into a much broader context of the international Cold War. Of special importance, either for foreign policy-focused lectures or for more specialized courses, is the competition between the two Germanys in Africa and the Middle East. So many issues come together here: imperialism and decolonization, the formation of new states and their relationship to socialism and dictatorship, the role of Israel and the politics of anti-Zionism in the postwar Germanys, and not least the interests of East and West Germany. Much of the work is unfortunately in German, but some useful starting points are: Katherine Pence, "Showcasing Cold War Germany in Cairo: 1954 and 1957 Industrial Exhibitions and the Competition for Arab Partners," *Journal of Contemporary History* 47 (2012), 69–95, with further references to the cultural politics of the 1950s and 1960s; and Ulrich von der Leyen, *GDR Development Policy in Africa: Doctrines and Strategies between Illusions and Reality, 1960-1990* (Münster: Lit, 2013), who writes from an East German perspective and focuses on southern Africa. There is more information about specific examples, including Mozambique and Namibia in particular, and much of it can be put in perspective by the New Cold War History: see esp. Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), with useful further references.

### Culture

When we think of the 1960s, student protests and cultural revolution both immediately come to mind. And for good reason, as the two did often go hand-in-hand. Getting students to understand the revolutionary character of the period for those involved can be difficult in part because one has to get them to move beyond what they think they already know about "hippies" and the era as a whole. If students' eyes start to glaze over at the "politics" behind Rudi Dutschke's impassioned speeches, music and fashion can help. There is no shortage of images and film clips to be found but one image, available on the GHI website, is particularly good at capturing the disjuncture between established and youth norms: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_image.cfm?image\\_id=116](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=116)

Essentially, though in the textbook we have taken pains to emphasize that the 1950s were not a period of total consensus, one has to firmly establish for

students the world that they cannot easily imagine: a world of very narrow lifestyle and consumption choices. Accounts like that of Udo Lindenberg, also on the GHI site, recalling his introduction to rock and roll, similarly help to get at culture's perceived life-altering importance. Though far too long to assign to students, Timothy Brown's monograph on West Germany in the Global 1960s provides the instructor with countless of examples and their larger context for easy incorporation into lectures.

A short translated clip from RBB, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wJyyS3RWqWA>, illuminates several aspects of Kommune I: its revolutionary aims, fervent emphasis on member solidarity, and perhaps above all, its media savviness. To help students get a better grasp of the everyday aspirations and challenges of less sensationalized experiments in communal living, have them read the following account, useful, too, for making clear that communes differed in their goals and make-up: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=896](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=896)

The artist Joseph Beuys is not easy to grasp let alone teach, but because of his compressed use of images and his effect on the art world, his work is as revealing as an analysis of Kommune I. For this reason alone, it is worth having students watch "How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare" for themselves—and to hear Beuys' own explanation along with the reactions and questions of his contemporaries: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mo47lqk\\_QH0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mo47lqk_QH0). For a different, more complex way into Beuys and the transformation of West German culture, putting him in several contexts at once, see Andrea Gyorody, "The Medium and the Message: Art and Politics in the Work of Joseph Beuys," *The Sixties* 7 (2014), 117–37, with many further references.

# 5

## East Germany and the Wall

### Talking About the Wall

The Berlin Wall is one of the few images that has endured from East Germany in today's culture. But what does it actually mean? Why was it built, what purpose did it serve? Why did western politicians, including multiple US presidents, condemn the Berlin Wall? Getting the students talking about this topic is important because it opens up the political meaning of a symbol whose meaning is not completely clear.

One place to start is simply to get students to think about what distinguishes the Berlin Wall (or rather the complex set of barriers running the length of East and West Germany) from other barriers at borders. After all, walls have been on the minds of US politicians of late. Behind the images, which most students will know, is an intriguing question, which the textbook seeks to lay out: who and what drove the construction of the wall? Was it a Soviet drive to resolve the ongoing border crisis in Berlin? An East German drive to close off and consolidate the East German economy? The debate between Hope M. Harrison and Manfred Wilke revolves around who made the final decisions and under what circumstances; a nice special issue of *German Politics and Society* from June 2011, organized by Hope Harrison, explores the national and international implications of the Wall, and opens up the discussion of what the GDR could now become. Documents about the Wall, which might be used to structure a discussion, are available from the Wilson Center at: <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/156/berlin-wall>

Reading the key works of Harrison and Willke (see below) can help to provide more specific insights into why the wall was built, but the students might still not see why this was such a big deal. It's useful to talk it through:

- What does it mean when a state builds a wall to keep its own citizens IN, rather than to keep people OUT?

- Is it intrinsically wrong for a country to want to keep labor, especially skilled labor, from emigrating? What specific conditions made this more than a question of labor mobility?
- Why was the Wall important for the entire economic system of eastern Europe?
- What are some reasons why politicians and military leaders on both sides of the Wall might have welcomed it?
- Why, last but not least, was the Berlin Wall necessarily a black eye for East Germany—but also an opportunity?

In other words, it's important to try to make the construction of the Berlin Wall something more than merely a symbol of evil—but also to keep in mind how remarkable it really is that a state would build a wall to keep workers from leaving, and what kind of system that implied.

But it is also important to grasp the physical presence of the Wall, a heavily fortified and militarized border running right through a city. Images of the building of the Wall abound on the internet. See especially the well developed Bernauer Strasse Museum website, which is available in English at: <http://www.berliner-mauer-gedenkstaette.de/en/>. One can also see images of those who tried to leave East Berlin for West Berlin and of their graves, at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:People\\_killed\\_at\\_the\\_Berlin\\_Wall?uselang=de](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:People_killed_at_the_Berlin_Wall?uselang=de), and a full listing in English at: <http://www.chronik-der-mauer.de/en/victims/>; the latter includes other useful information and images in English, including specific information on which orders were given to soldiers when, which can help with preparing lectures or organizing discussions.

## The expansion of the Stasi as part of the GDR's "Stabilization"

It is at this point that the history of the State Security Agency, or Stasi, becomes especially interesting, because with the close of the country the option of exit for critics became more difficult—and the number of Stasi agents grew dramatically in response. The main books on the topic are available in the bibliography of this and several other GDR-specific chapters of the textbook. For this chapter as well as Chapter 8 below, however, the following additional tools will be useful—for describing the Stasi, but also for developing an account of how and why the Stasi came to stand for the GDR as a whole.

See especially the English-language documents created by the federal authority charged with maintaining the Stasi documents, in particular *State Security: A Reader on the GDR Secret Police* from 2015, at <http://www>.

bstu.bund.de/DE/Wissen/Publicationen/Publicationen/E\_bstu\_lesebuch\_englisch.pdf?\_\_blob=publicationFile, and the volume of essays on *The GDR State Security*, edited by Jens Gieseke and Doris Hubert, at [http://www.bstu.bund.de/DE/Wissen/Publicationen/Publicationen/E\\_giesekehubert\\_gdr.html?nn=3625698](http://www.bstu.bund.de/DE/Wissen/Publicationen/Publicationen/E_giesekehubert_gdr.html?nn=3625698). The overall webpage may be accessed at: [http://www.bstu.bund.de/EN/PublicEducation/Publications/\\_node.html](http://www.bstu.bund.de/EN/PublicEducation/Publications/_node.html).

## The New Economic System: An opportunity for radical change?

Reading about the New Economic System can be interesting—but to be honest, many students get lost very quickly in a discussion of economic reform. It should be seen in the context of a general reform effort across eastern Europe, essentially the attempt to replace inefficient centralized planning with more efficient—and less dictatorial—methods of production. This big project is described succinctly in Barry Eichengreen’s *The European Economy since 1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), ch. 5, with more sources. These reforms get to the heart of what the state socialist experiment was about—but are difficult to describe. Nonetheless, it is possible to find some interesting speeches and articles by General Secretary Walter Ulbricht translated into English, which at the very least reveal his adoption of neutral sounding cybernetics language and a quite radical view of reform: see especially the essay at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Chapter9\\_Doc2.pdf](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Chapter9_Doc2.pdf); Ulbricht’s other essays from the decade show clearly how his economic reforms fit together with his political reforms, especially the proclamation of a constitution that actually mentioned the leading role of the party and claimed to guarantee rights: see especially “The Constitution of the Socialist State of the German Nation,” in Ulbricht, *On Questions of Socialist Construction in the GDR* (Dresden: Verlag Zeit im Bild, 1968), 564ff. Examples of legal reform from the time include the *1968 GDR Constitution* ([http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=79](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=79)) itself, as well as the *1966 East German Family Code* (<http://www.perfar.eu/policies/family-law-code-gdr-german-democratic-republic-introductory-law-family-law-code-gdr-east-0>).

## Cultural politics of the 1960s

Ulbricht’s final years were not just about economic reform, however, and it’s important to bring into focus the way his use of cybernetics language paralleled modernist planning language of both the Soviet Union and the United States in the same period. That neutral, technocratic language contained within it the potential for political controversy: just as it sought

to cover over contradiction, it also highlighted the role of different voices in decision-making processes, opening up the possibility of legitimate disagreement, especially from experts, as Peter Christian Ludz noted in his germinal work *The Changing Party Elite in East Germany* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972), and others have noted since. Unfortunately, most of the social science writing has not been translated—but the literary residues of this “socialist modernity” have, as Benjamin Robinson’s *The Skin of the System: On Germany’s Socialist Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009) notes, with references to quite a few important works of the era, and asking: if there was a socialist modernity, how did it differ from that of the West?

True, the Bitterfeld Path stressed socialist realism and connecting the literary elite to the people; that path did not last very long, as noted in the textbook. But another development of the 1960s did: science fiction. Once more, the problem is the lack of translated East German science fiction works, making it difficult to present the genre in the classroom. There are some hints of usable films, however, available at: <https://eastgermancinema.com/category/science-fiction/>. Sebastian Heiduschke has an introduction to *Silent Star* (1960) in his *East German Cinema* (New York: Springer, 2013), 69–75. See also, for the period after 1970, Sonja Fritzsche, “East Germany’s ‘Werkstatt Zukunft’: Futurology and the Science Fiction Films of ‘defa-futurum,’” *German Studies Review* 29 (2006), 367–84, and Stefan Soldovieri, “Socialists in Outer Space: East German Film’s Venusian Adventure,” *Film History* 10 (1998), 382–98, for more suggestions of how to approach the genre.

(It might be especially interesting to compare East and West German science fiction: see the short-lived *Raumpatrouille Orion*, which appeared in West Germany at the same time as *Star Trek* in the United States!)

These forays into science fiction left their mark on high brow writing as well, which developed critical approaches to socialist modernity and cybernetics, some with hints of irony and some not: works like the ubiquitous Christa Wolf’s and others mentioned in the textbook are certainly useful. What teachers need to stress, however, is that the 1960s was a revolutionary time for culture in the GDR, despite the absence of a radical student movement like that in the West: somehow in this decade the transition is made from the un-ironic, heroic worship of the working class (or lament about the betrayal of socialist democracy) to an ironic culture, introspective at times and provocative at others. In high culture, the groundwork is laid for the introspective, myth-oriented works of Wolf, Fühmann, and Müller; in popular culture the entry and increasing acceptance of rock and roll in its various forms. Television had to play a role in this transmission of culture from the West to the East, but that cannot be the only reason—people must have had reasons to think about popular and high culture differently.

# 6

## *Ostpolitik* and social welfare systems

### *Ostpolitik* and Helsinki

The new diplomatic approach to the GDR and state-socialist Eastern Europe begun by Willy Brandt and continued by Helmut Kohl remains a matter of controversy—and indeed of radical differences in perspective between US and German scholars. US students of the Cold War tend to make *Ostpolitik* a minor episode in the Cold War; many conservatives continue to argue (as did many on the right in Germany at the time) that it either did not affect the outcome of the Cold War or that it actively propped up the state-socialist regimes, prolonging their existence. Within German history, a broad range of scholars stress how *Ostpolitik* was part of a broader pattern of deescalating tensions between the East and the West; how it actually made life easier and better for many individuals, including families divided by the division of Germany; and how the Helsinki Accords and the exposure of East Germany to western economic systems actually undermined the regime. How to make sense of these problems in a class looking more at domestic and foreign policy?

The first problem is to reduce complexity. The teacher needs to get students directly involved with active learning in order for them to actually grasp and digest information; how to do it in such a way that they are not simply overwhelmed? If the class syllabus provides the time and opportunity to do so, this might be a good moment to divide into groups, do some (limited) research, and start a real discussion, breaking the moments of *Ostpolitik* down into several manageable chunks:

- The challenge of working out treaties, especially with Poland and the Soviet Union, regularizing the changes brought about by the Second World War, instead of maintaining those tensions. What

opportunities were hereby provided by *Ostpolitik*? What specific agreements were reached? Did these agreements provide for peace, for the peaceful acceptance of dictatorship, for possibilities of future change?

- What did the de facto recognition of East Germany by West Germany mean for East German citizens? Again: recognition of a fact? Recognition of a dictatorship? Easier contact among people? Less hope for East German dissidents? These are hard issues—and hopefully students will have the time to do some basic research to lay them out.
- The Helsinki Accords were especially controversial, since they seemed, also to the East German regime, not to undermine the regime by requiring it to follow principles of human rights, but to suggest that it was following principles of human rights. Do such abstract rights have a political effect over the long run, or are they just window dressing?

Once again, a discussion like this will require preparation and prior work by students. But it can help clarify the entire question of divided Germany, as members of each group get up to the board and lay out the arguments. Some good starting points for the discussion are available at: Paul Betts, “Socialism, Social Rights, and Human Rights: The Case of East Germany,” *Humanity* 3 (2012), 407–26, which includes not only an interesting argument presenting a forgotten East German perspective on the accords but also an excellent set of sources leading deeper into the problem of international human rights; arguing for the importance of rights from a western angle, Daniel C. Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). See also the discussion in Chapter 4 above about the Hallstein Doctrine for more starting points, and the collection of essays edited by Carol Fink and Bernd Schaefer on *Ostpolitik, 1969-1974: European and Global Responses* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), which usefully pushes against only understanding the moment in terms of US and Soviet politics. An important document setting out West Germany’s policy is available from the GHI at: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=81](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=81); their website also includes partial translations of the Moscow Treaty, the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, and the Basic Treaty, and other pieces documenting the internal debates over *Ostpolitik* in West Germany itself.

## Social welfare systems

Social policy systems are complex. Not only are the motivations behind their creation complicated, and indeed controversial—are universal pensions a

response to a functional need of advanced capitalism, the organized work of interest groups, the search for voters on the part of politicians, or the shock of war? The way they actually operate is opaque to most people, including politicians, and their effects on tens of millions of lives are more conjectured at than actually investigated.

But how to teach these issue in the undergraduate classroom? One solution is to focus less on the precise content and more on the way politicians described that content. Many of Erich Honecker's speeches, in which he described "real existing socialism" in terms of what the state provided to society, are available in English: see for a few examples the interesting site focused on propaganda available from Calvin College, at <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/gdrmain.htm>. BUT: most of them are also tedious! A teacher can focus on the dry language, however, in a basic statement like this one on the "unity of social and economic policy": [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=904](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=904): how does the party claim to connect social welfare and economic development? The teacher needs to break these down into manageable chunks for the students to digest. And the concrete meaning of the terms matters: see Erich Honecker celebrating the millionth new housing unit in 1978 at <https://www.the-berlin-wall.com/videos/honecker-hands-over-the-key-to-millionth-flat-657/>. This is also the place potentially to revisit the Stasi: see the discussion of its empire in the previous section.

And as part of this discussion, it is certainly worthwhile to bring up the comparative place of women in East and West Germany. Indeed, this issue can be made into the key for understanding the different roles of welfare systems in the East and the West—and can also serve as a way to demystify students about what social policy is supposed to do, since in both Germanys its aim was not to be nice to people but to reach specific goals.

Housing is also a potential way to get into the environment of East German life, with the creation of the huge *Plattenbau* on the outskirts of many urban centers. There were only several designs for these prefabricated buildings, and students can get a glimpse of them at several nicely designed English-language sites on Wikipedia and elsewhere:

- [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/P2\\_\(panel\\_building\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/P2_(panel_building)); see also [http://www.urbikon.com/index.php?article\\_id=72](http://www.urbikon.com/index.php?article_id=72)
- <https://www.jeder-qm-du.de/en/platte-kreativ/raumloesungen/grundrisse/wbs-70-dreiraumwohnung/>

The Wende Museum has put together a great online exhibition about the idea of a "socialist city" as well, which can be accessed in English—a possible way into teaching about the different "modernizations" of the East and the West: <http://www.wendemuseum.org/collections/what-socialist-city>.

Last but certainly not least, not only the different laws on abortion but also the way those laws came into being demonstrate crucial differences

between the health systems of the West and the East. The starting point is Donna Harsch's article on "Society, the State, and Abortion in East Germany, 1950-1972," *American Historical Review* 102 (1997), 53-84; important documents on both states' rules on abortion are available on the GHI's website, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?sub\\_id=38&section\\_id=15](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?sub_id=38&section_id=15).

At this point as well, film can play a role in the discussion of state and society, in the East and the West. The East German filmmakers in fact articulated the problems of women in industrial society very well: see esp. *Her Third* (1972), directed by Egon Günther, for a realist view, and the still touching and surprisingly psychedelic *Legend of Paul and Paula* (1973), directed by Erich Albrecht, posing questions of meaning, propriety, and sexuality in surprising ways—and with brilliant scenes of old buildings being destroyed to make way for new housing in Honecker's Germany.

## The transition to the Brandt government

Students may have a hard time grasping how important the Brandt government was in German history. Christian Democratic assumptions about their central role were overthrown; now the Social Democrats were in charge, with the Free Democrats, calling for a dramatic reorientation of foreign policy and expansion of social spending. The change would have been impossible without a fundamental reorientation of the Free Democrats, exemplified by their "Freiburg Theses" of 1971: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=903](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=903)—note especially the notion that capitalism itself is to be reformed! Not unrelated was Brandt's call for daring to have more democracy at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=901](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=901).

# 7

## West Germany in crisis?

### Helmut Schmidt and the charisma of pragmatism

Helmut Schmidt was more than just another chancellor. With his matter-of-fact pragmatism, his intelligence, and also his arrogance, he dominated politics for a decade, and shaped intellectual life for decades after leaving power. The obituaries after his death help explain why Schmidt, despite his shortcomings, proved so popular and also problematic as a politician: see especially the portrait in *Der Spiegel*, at <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/helmut-schmidt-was-a-father-figure-for-germany-a-1062438.html>, which also includes a link to photos. His comments reflected the sense of crisis of the late 1970s: the fears about what the oil crisis would mean, the threat of terrorism, and so on. See, for example, his interview, “Wars May Become Possible for the Single Reason of Competition for Oil,” *Time* 113, no. 24 (June 11, 1979). His comments on RAF terrorism and on the “German Model” of combining capitalism with state intervention and social policy are also models of dry pragmatism—presented as a competent and brilliant manager, the new self-image of the SPD.

Students can get a concrete sense of the oil crisis through one of the many photos taken of the time of the deserted Autobahnen, on one of the days when driving was restricted or banned to save gas, for example; the related law is available at the German Historical Institute webpage, with several other documents that can be used in that discussion: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=941](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=941); see also here Schmidt’s speech on the second oil crisis of 1979. Important as well is the Schmidt government’s 1974 plan to stimulate the economy—notably a proposal supported by much of the conservative opposition, a fact that underlines the consensus-oriented policies of the time. And again throughout: Helmut Schmidt, presenting an image of the competent crisis manager.

## Counterculture, environmentalism, and antinuclear movements

Not all were happy with Schmidt's managerial pragmatism, which on the local level could feel like a steamroller, as the textbook discusses—and not everyone was convinced by the Social Democratic (and Christian Democratic) solution to an energy crisis in an industrial society, namely to find ways to produce more energy, especially nuclear energy. The critics were marginal in the early 1970s, but gained strength across party lines over the course of the following decades, so it is worthwhile spending some time on them—starting, of course, with the secondary sources on the antinuclear movement and on the oil crisis noted in the textbook. Beyond the period covered by the textbook, however, there is a much longer German environmental tradition reaching back into the nineteenth century, which multiple books in English have explored and can become background for a discussion of the different causes—and different political meanings—of the green movement: see especially Frank Uekötter, *The Greenest Nation? A New History of German Environmentalism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014), a clear and short book with a concise and usable bibliography.

The German Historical Institute's document site provides some excellent contemporary analyses that “got” the relevance of the citizens' initiatives, and their challenge to top-down managerialism: see [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?sub\\_id=39&section\\_id=15](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?sub_id=39&section_id=15) for a whole series of relevant documents, and in particular the reporting on Hamburg initiatives from the conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 1973, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=1112](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1112). Wyhl has taken on almost mythic proportions as an example of nonviolent resistance. There is a good Google map of the town, showing why it seemed such a challenge to the population, at <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/whyl-in-germany>; recent work by Stephen Milder, *Greening Democracy: The Anti-Nuclear Movement and Political Environmentalism in West Germany and Beyond, 1968-1983* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), puts Wyhl in context and contains references to many other sources usable in the classroom; some great photos showing the wide variety of people involved to be found at: <http://www.environmentandsociety.org/arcadia/new-watch-rhine-anti-nuclear-protest-baden-and-alsace>.

## Terrorism

The Red Army Faction's writings are easily available in full, in several places—see esp. the documentary collection edited by J. Smith and Andre Moncourt, *The Red Army Faction*, 2 vols. (Montreal: Kersplebedeb, 2009). The real story is not to be found in these often rambling and abstract

statements, but in the broader context in which they would be taken seriously. The documents collected by the German Historical Institute put the RAF radicalization in the context of generational revolt, and make clear how much the RAF was a part (though increasingly isolated) of a milieu, often connected to students at university: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?startrow=1&sub\\_id=34&section\\_id=15](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?startrow=1&sub_id=34&section_id=15). These documents and the works by Varon and Hanshew noted in the bibliography to the textbook help make clear why the terrorism was part of German postwar history: Varon stresses the international aspect, and Hanshew connects the RAF with the debates, so filled with mistrust, over militarization and emergency laws from the start of the Federal Republic; both, of course, include many more sources, primary and secondary.

A teacher can pull all of these sources together to engage in a discussion of one of the major problems of the contemporary world: terrorism and the response to terrorism. Students over the course of a week, for example, could compile a collective “dossier,” including

- key images from the press
- wanted posters
- images of heavily armed police at train stations and airports, which became normal by the late 1970s in West Germany
- statements from conservative politicians, cited in the books mentioned here
- statement from leftist intellectuals seeking to distinguish themselves from the terrorists, including well known intellectuals like Herbert Marcuse (see his “Murder is not a Political Weapon” in *New German Critique* 12 (1977), 7–8).

The proliferation of images of terrorists (often blurry, black and white) and the involvement of opinion leaders and intellectuals was *also* part of the moment. As students pull these materials together in discussion, they can ask what “terrorism” is about, how it presupposes a public sphere that will reproduce and amplify its action, how it involves mass media and individual panic, how the panic that results from it can marginalize and even at times demonize certain groups. Our spatial, cultural, and temporal distance from 1977 can, if managed right (by stopping attempts to bring up contemporary events too soon, for example), allow for a discussion of terrorism as a brutal modern phenomenon.

## Culture and politics

Discussion of terrorism leads directly to some of the most striking cultural products of the 1970s, which posed the problem of how terrorism intersected with democracy and its weakness in Germany.

*The Lost Honor of Katherina Blum* articulates all these problems: terrorism, the role of media, distrust of the state, in one of Heinrich Böll's most famous works. Indispensable although long-winded at moments is the collective reaction of filmmakers to the terrorism of 1977, *Germany in Autumn*. Böll's attempt to bring a Greek tragic element into the story shows just how much even those far from the terrorists took their efforts seriously; the long-winded speeches by Horst Mahler about the "objective revolutionary situation," presented without irony, seem strange a half century later, especially given Mahler's own turn to right-radicalism; and Fassbinder's piece focuses in on the paranoia and images of violence at the heart of the cultural experience on the far left. This "documentary"—consisting of both documentary images and fictitious stories—demands careful preparation in advance by the teacher, and perhaps teamwork by students to make sense of the individual scenes.

These films are part of the New German Cinema of the 1970s, and many other films could be chosen as examples. A good guide to them is to be found in Sabine Hake's indispensable guide to German cinema in the twentieth century: *German National Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2002), with a good set of secondary sources; see also the 1962 founding manifesto of the movement, available in English at: <https://www.moma.org/calendar/film/1287>, and easily available DVDs with English subtitles available from the Criterion collection at: <https://www.criterion.com/explore/11-new-german-cinema>.

# 8

## The stable years of the GDR

### Everyday life in a stable socialist society

Whether the GDR was ever really stable remains unclear. During the 1970s, however, it *appeared* stable to the rest of the world. Its economic growth rates and overall level of production looked remarkably strong (though we know now that the numbers were fudged). Its population appeared, at first glance, to be relatively better off than those in other state-socialist economies. There was no political movement able to challenge the party's domination, and the intellectuals who dissented were hardly absent in other countries, including in the West. Many of the works from before 1989 describing the stable GDR are no longer reliable, but getting the right balance between stability and distrust is difficult. Students might gain especially from reading books exploring that ambivalence, including, of course, Mary Fulbrook's *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), which stresses stability; Jan Palmowski, *Inventing a Socialist Nation: Heimat and the Politics of Everyday Life in the GDR* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), who connects regionalism with both the appearance of stability and the fact of quick breakdown during the final crisis; and Inga Markovits's highly readable *Justice in Lüritz: Experiencing Socialist Law in East Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), which beautifully describes the way social law and social courts protected workers but also reinforced stereotypes and contributed to the dull, provincial nature of everyday life. The DDR Museum offers a useful collection of images of everyday life from the GDR that will soon be accompanied by English explanations at <https://www.ddr-museum.de/en>.

The overall *intention* of state socialism—by which is meant a state that actively intervenes in shaping society without developing methods to articulate political and other differences—can start with the actual constitutions of 1968 and 1974, which indicate more realistically than the

1949 constitution what the society has in mind. There is a nice organization of the constitution from the University of Bristol:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20050825141706/http://eis.bris.ac.uk/~gema/10015/week4.html>. More original documents are available from the German Historical Institute, at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=2990](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=2990)—including documents that stress the need to satisfy East German consumer needs, and what happens to government legitimacy when shortages then appear.

## Alternative voices: Rockers, punks, thieves, and other asocials

It's important not to rely on generalizations to get at the reality of the GDR: social history also has to look at the real, lived experiences of those who just don't fit in. And there were lots of them in the GDR. Two memoirs very much worth reading in this context are those by Rita Kuczynski and Ingo Hasselbach—two very different people, but both not integrated into East German culture. Kuczynski tells the life of a woman who never believes in the state, who participates in petty larceny and remains distant from its norms, but who marries into one of its most powerful intellectual families and writes a dissertation under the Marxist dissident economist Fritz Behrens. *Wall Flower: A Life on the German Border*, translated by Anthony J. Steinhoff (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), is finally available in English and allows teachers to cut across intellectual, cultural, and social history. Hasselbach, meanwhile, was not just “asocial,” he was resolutely anti-social, moving over to the far right in the 1980s and in and out of jail. His *Führer-Ex*, coauthored with Tom Reiss (New York: Random House, 1996), is usually read for his account of the post-unification neo-Nazi scene, but his descriptions of East German outsiders on the right before unification remain at least as valuable.

Punks only began to appear in the early 1980s, but they had their precedents in earlier rocker culture in the GDR. There is a nice page documenting the experience of the punks in English at: <http://www.toomuchfuture.de/>. Many of the clips are untranslated, but students can get a sense of the spread of musical fashion as well as its political meaning from this page and from reviews and discussions of the film that it's about. Otherwise, though, one has to turn to fairly specific scholarly works for insights, such as Juliane Brauer's “Clashes of Emotions: Punk Music, Youth Subculture, and Authority in the GDR (1987-1983),” *Social Justice* 38 (2012), 53–70—which, however, contains useful references to Stasi and police material.

Other examples could be cited: the marginalized guest workers of the East, for example, or the changing experiences of being gay documented

by Jürgen Lemke in his *Gay Voices from East Germany* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991): the point of looking at these cases in both east and west is to see what society looks like from the point of view of the marginalized.

## Marxist criticisms of the Marxist state

There is, however, considerable material available for that group of intellectuals that on the one hand stood in the Marxist and socialist, and indeed state-socialist, tradition, but on the other hand developed criticisms of the East German state. They were not limited to East Germany; there were parallels across Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. The East German intellectuals, however, were essential to the image of the GDR that its leaders wanted to project, of a normal socialist society engaged in a respectable intellectual life. Much of their work has been mentioned in the text: books by Heiner Müller, Christa Wolf, Franz Fühmann, and others. These texts open up a complex set of ideas essential for understanding the 1970s and 1980s, but foreign to later generations: the idea of an internal criticism of regimes claiming to be based on Marx, reading Marx against Marxists.

Wolf Biermann was not the deepest of these thinkers, but he made perhaps the biggest splash when he was expelled from the GDR, as described in the text. His appearance in Cologne, which led to his loss of citizenship, was filmed, and is available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NPLrl\\_Z4Bf8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NPLrl_Z4Bf8), unfortunately without subtitles, but the words are available in German at <http://www.songtexte.com/songtext/wolf-biermann/so-soll-es-sein-so-wird-es-sein-73e0de1d.html>.

Rudolf Bahro became well known as a Marxist critic of Marxism in the 1970s, with his *The Alternative in Eastern Europe*, smuggled out of the country and published in the late 1970s (London: Verso, 1978). With Bahro in particular, one can see the tension between advocating party dictatorship and criticizing party action. His later break with Leninism brought him to the environmental movement.

Last not least, Robert Havemann's works are translated into English in several editions—but require some hard reading by students. His “ten theses” from 1979 are part of this context, and indicate for students how Marxism could be used to criticize a self-proclaimed Marxist state: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=1174&language=english](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1174&language=english).

All of these cases are important ways to get at the strange and dissonant world of late state socialism, a system that unlike fascism claimed to be based on critical intellectual ideas. Karl Marx's actual ideas, it seems, could prove uncomfortable even to his most dedicated followers once they took power.

The ever-present signs of dictatorship, from the Berlin Wall to party authorities in institutions to the Stasi, coexisted with normal, repetitive,

everyday life in the GDR. That coexistence can allow students, on the basis of some of the works suggested in this section, to investigate just what “normality” means, what it forces people to exclude from consideration systematically. A teacher might, for example, stage a discussion: 2/3 of the class given the assignment of defending what is “normal” in East German state socialism and rejecting what undermines that feeling of normality, and 1/3 of the class either seeking to understand the position of punks or using Marxist arguments against the ostensible followers of Marxism whom they confront. Key questions can emerge out of such discussion, such as:

- Why is one person “normal” and another “asocial”? What distinguishes the “asocial” person from a “dissident”?
- What are the costs of challenging the “normal” social order—for family, for career, for friendships?
- What constitutes a challenge to social order in this system?

# 9

## The Conservative Wende

Key to the SPD's lost majority was the shift of the FDP toward a more traditional politics of economic liberalism, aiming at deregulation and lowered social spending. See especially the September 9, 1982, open letter by FDP leader Otto Graf Lambsdorff: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=1138](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1138). The letter drew an implicit connection with similar liberal movements under Reagan and Thatcher. In the German case, it was also connected with Helmut Kohl's call for a return to national values.

But there is another, deeper story, related—as German politics so often is—to the welfare state. The textbook brings up the internal shift of the CDU (as opposed to the more conservative CSU in Bavaria) as it reformed itself in the late seventies. Geissler and Süßmuth criticized the welfare state oriented toward the industrial worker, and called for more support for women raising children. (See esp. the excerpt from Geissler at: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=909](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=909).) The textbook presents this more as an intellectual matter—but it was also an electoral strategy aimed at a core, conservative constituency, which explains why the call for such payments had such an important life even when the coalition itself talked about trimming the welfare state, as ably explored in Sarah Elise Willarty's *The CDU and the Politics of Gender in Germany: Bringing the Women to the Party* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 5. Other groups, such as older people on pensions and workers fearing unemployment or disability, could also vote Christian Democratic—helping to explain the survival of the welfare state in West Germany (and indeed in Britain and the United States!) in the face of rhetoric calling for retrenchment. The *Wende* included rhetoric from both left and right about cutting the welfare state, but in fact saw much more of a continuity in the overall system, from pensions to health care, than the rhetoric suggested—for political reasons.

Foreign policy also showed continuities more than breaks, as Kohl continued to cooperate with the Reagan government on missiles and

continued, indeed deepened, Germany's commitment to Europe through his close, special relationship to François Mitterrand in France. The difference lay in the development of a far broader peace movement, once the SPD leader Schmidt was out of the picture, a movement against nuclear weapons that had its parallels in Britain and France, the United States and Italy. In some ways, then, the movement was international. In other ways, however, it contained specifically German components, including a kind of German patriotism on the left that reached back into the 1950s.

So how do we understand the peace movement of the 1980s? Students can get at some of these issues by exploring the very different accounts of the events, from the sources in our bibliography, including Alice H. Cooper's standard work, to Jeffrey Herf's critical *War by Other Means* (New York: Free Press, 1991), to Peter Quint's well balanced account of the legal struggles over civil disobedience, which brings out motives well in *Civil Disobedience and the German Courts: The Pershing Missile Protests in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2008), and Holger Nehring and Benjamin Ziemann, "Do All Roads Lead to Moscow? The NATO Dual-Track Decision and the Peace Movement—A Critique," *Cold War History* 12 (2011), 1–24, which looks at the evidence that the Soviets tried to manipulate the peace movement: did it, and if so, what if any difference did it make? There is a lot to talk about here concerning movements, manipulation, and most important proof of manipulation—that propaganda exists does not mean that it is the major cause of an action.

## The Historians' Controversy and West German political culture

Political lines were drawn in Germany, also by the conservative government's rhetoric of nationalism, which became an issue in the so-called Historians' Controversy of the mid-1980s. That controversy often seems obscured by the unification of Germany only a half decade later. The event was important for the development of German political culture, however, before and after 1990. The Historians' Controversy, like few others, articulated the ongoing difficulties with confronting Germany's past, but also the major changes in West German society reflected both in attitudes toward the past and toward foreigners. That is why our chapter has painted a broader picture of change, from grade school history curriculum to the speech of the Federal President in 1987.

The sources are available and accessible to students. The 1990 film *The Nasty Girl* reveals in a kind of coming-of-age narrative the fissures that remained in West German society. It is important that students discuss what films like this can and can't show: by their very nature, films tend toward caricature and simplification, but in doing so they can also highlight cultural

contradictions. Getting beyond affirming the moral story, teachers might want students to ask:

- how does a girl's school essay threaten people, and why?
- What kinds of reactions to her are evident, and why?
- Does she understand what she is doing?
- What is the role of the isolated leftist in the film, and why?

The debate around Richard von Weizsäcker's speech is also worth discussing, but should start with a careful examination of the speech itself and take into account Weizsäcker's own history. An official translation of the speech is available at: [https://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Reden/2015/02/150202-RvW-Rede-8-Mai-1985-englisch.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Reden/2015/02/150202-RvW-Rede-8-Mai-1985-englisch.pdf?__blob=publicationFile). The speech is structured around a contradiction, which the class can work out: how can capitulation be thought of as liberation? Even more than that, what does such a statement mean, coming from a former German officer like Weizsäcker? There are plenty of short articles providing additional background (e.g. from Deutsche Welle: <http://www.dw.com/en/opinion-the-speech-about-history-that-made-history/a-18250339>), but much more important is for students to dig into the document itself!

A similar point can be made about the documents of the Historians' Controversy. Pick a few that seem to clash with each other, divide the students into groups to focus on one specific example each, then stage a discussion: where and why do they disagree? Where does reasonable discussion end, where does emotion begin, emotion related to each participant's specific sense of his (there is no her) own life? Several different editions exist, including *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (Atlantic Cliffs, NJ: Humanities Press, 1993), and the strong argument of Habermas as well as Nolte's surprising response are both required reading; there is also a brilliant exchange between the German expert on the National Socialist political system Martin Broszat and the Israeli historian of the Holocaust Saul Friedländer from the mid-1980s, two careful and influential historians, which shows the limits of discussion, translated as "A Controversy about the Historicization of National Socialism," *New German Critique* 44 (1988), 85–126.

## Conservatism and diversity

These debates about the nature of Germany took place against the background of an increasingly diverse population, a country where Turkish and Yugoslav guest workers as well as Aussiedler from eastern Europe, refugees from other parts of the world, and other Europeans were part of everyday life. The material for Chapter 12 below will discuss multiculturalism more, and the material for Chapter 7 above includes material on the guest

workers. The diversity of the population matters in the present chapter because of the challenge it seemed to pose to a conservatism focused on German culture. This debate reached from the 1980s into the debate on the “dominant culture” in the 2000s: see the overview by Hartwig Pautz, “The Politics of Identity in Germany: The *Leitkultur* debate,” *Race and Class* 46 (2005), 39–52, with further references.

## A transitional political moment? founding the Greens

The Greens were a tiny splinter group in the late 1980s, but they were an important group, because this party (framed as an anti-party party based on individuals rather than a bureaucracy) broke the three-party system that had been in place for some three decades in the Federal Republic. (While the CSU had threatened to break with the CDU to form an opening to the right, they had never dared do so because of the CDU’s threat to campaign in Bavaria.) The Greens were a protest party, but more than that, a party that sought to articulate the issues that the established parties seemed unable to: peace, environmentalism, civic activism. And they were also a party that made use of media images in a new way, through their direct involvement with protests, through their self-representation in the Bundestag, through their staged statements in both West and East Germany.

How to represent this party and the break it appeared to present at the time? One way is simply to look at the photos of the Bundestag representatives: women and men, bearded intellectuals and well known activists: <https://www.gruene-bundestag.de/fraktion/30-jahre/start.html>. One can also get a sense of the challenge they posed visually with the posters they used in the 1983 Bundestag campaign: flowers, a children’s picture, not at all like the other parties: see the images at <http://www.bpb.de/lernen/grafstat/grafstat-bundestagswahl-2013/150032/1983-wahlplakate>, and the numerous pictures available on the internet showing the Greens’ triumphant entry into the Bundestag!

# 10

## The end of the GDR

The collapse of East German state socialism, or the revolution of 1989, or the unification of East and West Germany: this period, which occurred less than a decade before the advent of the internet, has left a mass of resources for historians. The problem for the classroom is not finding materials, but deciding what to teach and how to teach it. A broad and well made set of clips on the GDR, translated in the English, with footage that could be useful for lecture, available at <https://www.the-berlin-wall.com/>.

But most important for the teacher: how to teach the end of the GDR and the unification of Germany? This textbook has chosen both complexity and simplicity. Complexity: it presents three different arguments for why the GDR came to an end. The point, however, is not to end to with complexity, but to get the students to think about what each different narrative does to the entire process. If the narrative is one of collapse, then the actors are driven along by a kind of fate; it's hard to speak of revolution, and the real story is how the leaders manage an unfolding crisis where the people might get out of hand; the heroes become the diplomats and leaders of the different nations. If the narrative is one of revolution, then non-diplomats and non-leaders become key, as the charismatic individuals around whom coalesce demands for a break with the old system, as discontent is funneled in a political direction. If the narrative is one of unification, then both the contingencies (what other outcomes were possible) and the heroism (what if the heroes were not actually seeking the German nation?) become secondary.

Teachers can try to present all three narratives—or can present one and then use the textbook to broaden discussion of that one. Perhaps nowhere else in the textbook, however, is the specific narrative so important. That's why a timeline is so useful for anyone developing a lecture, from a very simple one (<https://www.csmonitor.com/World/2009/1108/p25s03-wogn.html>), to a more complex one from the Museum of Cold War History (<http://www.coldwar.org/articles/60s/Berlinwalltimeline.asp>), to the video-heavy account of the Berlin Wall by RBB in Germany (<https://www.the-berlin-wall.com/>)—unfortunately not very usable in class because videos take up so much time.

One suggestion for organizing a class, if the teacher wants to make these three narratives central: the students can focus on the textbook chapter for the first meeting of the week, divide into three groups, and then each group can put together a series of arguments explaining why their narrative is the most convincing. The process of arguing the question, using blackboards, will make all three narratives much clearer and more concrete. This is a useful exercise for understanding historical debates in general, in which the salient question is not whether a fact is right or wrong, but which cause is the most important one.

## The narrative of decline

Plenty has been written about the GDR's long standing inability to adjust to the many changes in the world economy, hampered as it was by the institutionalization of interests in politics and in the planned economy. Jeffrey Kopstein's *Politics of Economic Decline in East Germany, 1949-1989* (Raleigh, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) remains a solid and readable, though older, contribution to this narrative; Andre Steiner's work, mentioned in the textbook, brings it up to date. While there have been many details added to it, the basic story remains the same. These points are reinforced by documents coming from within the GDR, especially during the period of dissolution 1989–90: see especially the assessment by the official party newspaper, *Neues Deutschland*, from January 11, 1990, reproduced at: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=438](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=438); see also the report by Günter Mittag, one of the three leading officials in the GDR, from 1991, at: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=955](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=955). Both of these documents, however, should be carefully contextualized—the first as an attempt of the party to declare its break from the past in order to secure its survival, the second an attempt of a leading party cadre to exculpate himself and to blame Honecker for all that went wrong. In other words: a grand opportunity to discuss how to read an “objective” document critically with students!

More interesting, however, is the underlying assumption that the right economic mechanism in the GDR could have led to a different outcome—an approach that may abstract too much from politics and in particular international relations. Teachers can use this problem to open up what modern economics is in a new way. First, while it is true that the GDR's economy was weak and indebted, others have been weaker and more in debt. *Something about the GDR's state made it less able to survive the economic crisis*: and that had everything to do with (a) the fact that its very existence presumed the direct support of the Soviet Union, and (b) its economy was wrapped up with an entire economic bloc and its currency protected in such a way that the end of that bloc could not but cause a critical shock to the system itself. Put differently, the narrative of decline has

to be put into the context of international diplomacy and the division of the world in the era of the Cold War. (See the final section in this chapter on the diplomacy of German unification—which is also the diplomacy bringing the Cold War to an end.)

## The environment and society: A narrative of challenge

The economic challenges facing East Germany, then, had to do with foreign policy. They were also wrapped up in domestic politics, or the lack thereof. Environmentalists by no means made up a large part of East German society, but their challenge revealed the limits of the Marxist-Leninist political system well. A political system that also claims to organize the most important sectors of the economy has difficulty articulating divergent approaches to economic growth.

So long as the major producers are themselves the government, for example, critics of that production itself will tend to have no voice. And such was indeed the case in East Germany. The government itself was well aware of the environmental disaster that was looming, and the environmental movement, in opposing the polluters, actually opposed the government. Some of the Stasi evidence for environmental degradation available at: <http://revolution89.de/en/awakening/the-peace-and-environmental-movement/the-environmental-movement/>. Reporting on East Germany in 1990 confirmed much of the worst fears, for instance, about Bitterfeld. See, for example, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1990/04/16/e-germanys-bitterfeld-grimiest-town-in-dirtiest-country/b3fd8888-6936-43ee-9041-b69add42cd6f/?utm\\_term=.8c980f23f3ba](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1990/04/16/e-germanys-bitterfeld-grimiest-town-in-dirtiest-country/b3fd8888-6936-43ee-9041-b69add42cd6f/?utm_term=.8c980f23f3ba). Strip mining for lignite, a particularly polluting form of coal, took place in the main area of the Sorbs, a small, Slavic-speaking minority in East Germany; towns and villages were removed to make room for the coal-mining machinery (a process that continues today), which led to complaints, though not open protest—see for example, the photos at <http://www.mdr.de/zeitreise/ddr/braunkohle-lausitz110.html>. More images at: <https://www.hdg.de/lemo/kapitel/geteiltes-deutschland-krisenmanagement/niedergang-der-ddr/umweltzerstoerung.html>. The GDR government declared that it, as representative of the people, protected the people. The GDR's environmental movement declared otherwise.

The Environmental Library, housed in the Zion Church in Berlin, has become a symbol of how citizens' demands for information and for a voice in environmental decision-making transformed them into enemies of the state. There are excellent photos of the library and its workers at <http://umwelt-bibliothek.de/> (unfortunately with German text). Key for students is to understand how the political system itself transformed critics into dissidents and law breakers—simply because they sought to gather accurate information on the environment.

Dissidence in East Germany was also not exactly the heroic story of revolutionaries trying to give the people a voice. As other Eastern European dissidents noted (Havel in Czechoslovakia and Konrád in Hungary, for example), the dissidents were rejecting a political system that declared itself the revolutionary voice of the people, a system that had occupied the notion of revolution—and precisely this notion of monopolizing speech was what they opposed. Although the translation is not great, Ulrich Preuss's *Constitutional Revolution: The Link between Constitutionalism and Justice* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities, 1995) includes an important introduction explaining what the dissidents aimed at, based on his own close work with them in 1990. It's useful to read Preuss *before* reading the documents at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?sub\\_id=267&section\\_id=16](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?sub_id=267&section_id=16), especially the document from New Forum. Only in the context of the group's resolute "anti-politics" does New Forum's refusal to grab power make sense—a strange kind of revolution where the leading force insists on following the law!

A similar story can be told of what happened on the streets. The events in Leipzig—really the center of the revolution, if that is what it is termed—were the process of nearly a decade of developing fundamental criticism of a hypocritical regime that turned on issues of peace, militarism, and environment. Then suddenly as the party's voting fraud was exposed, as Poland and Hungary began the transition away from state socialism, and as East Germans began voting with their feet to leave the GDR, the Monday peace meetings in Leipzig became marches against hypocrisy and violence. The article in *Der Spiegel* commemorating the event years later gives students a sense of its importance as a moment of revolution: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/we-are-the-people-a-peaceful-revolution-in-leipzig-a-654137.html> and Ambassador J. P. Bindenagel's 2014 speech at Rice University, published at: <http://www.aicgs.org/2014/11/the-miracle-of-leipzig/>. See also the film *Leipzig in the Fall*, directed by Andreas Voigt and Gerd Kroske: like Philipsen's interviews, this film gives multiple perspectives on the marches, not just one glorifying story.

## The fall of the wall and the end of the regime

The great account remains that of Sarotte, *The Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall*; her account can be supplemented with the documents provided by Hans-Hermann Hertle, "The Fall of the Wall: The Unintended Self-Dissolution of East Germany's Ruling Regime," *Cold War International History Project Bulletin* 12 (2001), 1–34. Given the importance of the Wall both as a symbol of national division and as a means of propping up the East German economy by restraining the flow of skilled labor to West Germany, its fall was key to the story. But certainly, despite the contingency, the event did not take place in a vacuum. Students might

want to ask: without Schabowski's mistake, would the GDR really have survived? (They should note as well that the entire story can be told without any reference to Ronald Reagan's "tear down this wall" speech, whatever one may make of its content and purpose: this was not an American story.)

The excitement surrounding the Wall was accompanied by East Germans' sense of their country's shortcomings. Two films produced by the East German film company DEFA in 1989–90 communicate this dual feeling of decline and euphoria. *The Architects* (Directed by Peter Kahane) is about an architect whose attempt to build a better housing complex fails, but also a story of the failure of idealism: this film should be seen in the context of the grand building ventures of the GDR, from Stalinallee to Honecker's housing complexes, described in the textbook. *The Wall* (directed by Jürgen Böttcher) is not about constructing but about dismantling, and contains all sorts of clips of the Wall's end. In both cases, the Kanopy collection provides teachers with contextual background that can help provide contexts.

## Unification

The single best document collection in English on the process of German unification comes from Konrad Jarausch and Volker Gransow, *Uniting Germany: Documents and Debates, 1944-1993* (Providence: Berghahn, 1993): not the kind of book that students can simply read through, but a book that can provide the teacher with a lot of specific documents to illustrate points in class. What, for example, was Kohl's ten point program? Why and how did the French and British harbor fears about unification? What was George Bush's contribution to pushing the debate forward? What was the precise content of the flawed press release that led to the fall of the Berlin Wall? Teachers can use this little book to focus student attention on a salient detail of the unification process. Some of these documents are available as well on the German Historical Institute website, but not the full range. Several high level diplomatic documents are available from the Wilson Center at: [http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/search-results/3/%7B"subject"%3A"620"%7D?recordType=Record](http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/search-results/3/%7B)

But as always with diplomatic history, one should beware of mistaking the reactions of leaders for the causes of events themselves; Bush, Gorbachev, Thatcher, and Mitterand were to a great extent following rather than leading the process.

The process itself deserves, however, a full account. Charles Maier's *Dissolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) stood out when it appeared for its discussion of the diplomacy of unification; Konrad Jarausch's *Rush to German Unity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) for its account of politics; Peter Merkl's *German Unification in the European Context* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1993) for the discussion of European contexts and the legal side of unification;

and Condoleezza Rice's description of the process of international relations' making sense of German unification from the inside, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). More recent collections include a wide variety of more specialized perspectives on the problems of unification, especially Konrad Jarausch, *Uniting Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects* (New York: Berghahn, 2013).

# 11

## Tensions of unification

### Keeping the past open: Resisting teleology

While Chapter 10 told a story of multiple paths leading to the collapse of the GDR and unified Germany, the danger of that story lies precisely in its over-determination. Unification comes to appear the natural end of the period 1945–90, rather than as a contingent moment replete with unforeseen consequences and personal ambivalences. Chapter 11 serves as a kind of counterweight: Germany is not redeemed by unification; its history and its contradictions continue, though in a different context.

### Personal ambivalence

Dirk Philipsen's *We Were the People* continues to stand out as the best collection in English to reveal the complex and ambivalent relationship of many East Germans to the end of the GDR. It is lucky in a way that he published the interviews so soon after unification: these interviews do not suggest a teleological path toward the PDS or toward other later party politics, they really capture the moment. We have both used this book for class, often picking several specific groups to discuss.

- One part of the class, for example, might try to figure out why the dissidents—so critical of the GDR—were nonetheless not happy about unification.
- Another might focus on the women or workers who feared what they would lose.
- Still another on those who greeted national unity.

What would a conversation among these groups sound like? Can one in fact even talk about “easterners” as a coherent group? The book is especially

good insofar as it does not focus only on the intellectuals and elites, but also on the losers, at least in the short to medium term, of unification, including women and workers.

The documents provided by the German Historical Institute under the rubric “Unification Shock” can bring students into the kinds of challenges people from workers to politicians faced--challenges that Christian Meier, in an important 1992 document included here (“The Unification Crisis”), summed up as a real crisis. Where Philipsen focuses on immediate reactions in the former East, this page can allow students to use documents and their imagination to think about the problems of such a quick merging of such different economies, societies, and cultures. See: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?sub\\_id=271&section\\_id=16](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?sub_id=271&section_id=16), noting especially the documents about legal ownership: how to deal with property expropriated decades ago and used by East Germans for decades, even owned by them for decades, without doing an injustice to somebody? Should past ownership of property entitle a person to current possession? Unification didn't only seem to resolve injustices, it also for many seemed to create new injustices--an important insight for students!

## Economic transition and the Treuhandanstalt

The GHI page just mentioned also includes a couple of documents about the Treuhandanstalt, the trustees whose paradoxical job it was to keep the socialist firms going while at the same time selling them off. The episode offers teachers of history a nice chance to bring social theory and history together. With the decline of state socialism and its teleological theory of progress toward ever greater and more efficient state control of society went a renaissance of growth theories oriented toward the market, theories that suggested that the presence of a market itself could generate personal initiative and investment, contributing in a relatively short time to the increasing wealth of the nation. Some were crude; others, like Hans-Werner Sinn and Gerlinde Sinn's *Jumpstart* (Cambridge: MIT, 1993), were more complex and yet still started with the same liberal assumptions. A good guide to the German positions in the debate from the left is to be found in “More Shock than Therapy: Why There Has Been No ‘Miracle’ in Eastern Germany,” by the editors of *Socialism and Democracy*, April 13, 2011, available at: <http://sdonline.org/32/more-shock-than-therapy-why-there-has-been-no-miracle-in-eastern-germany/> It is difficult stuff, possibly not for the students, but with a series of articles cited suggesting different kinds of approaches to development policy, from which a good, focused economic discussion might be developed. Once more, the GHI site provides essential documents, such as Helmut Kohl's “blooming landscapes” speech at [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=3101](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3101); this might be combined with one of the

essays in Hanna Behrend, edited by *German Unification: Destruction of an Economy* (London: Pluto Press, 1995), which gives the perspective of people sympathetic to the PDS. *The Economist* is just one of many journals offering a general overview of economic developments in east and west, useful for both lectures and discussion, at: <https://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2015/10/daily-chart-comparing-eastern-and-western-germany>.

But beyond the technical aspects of unifying two very different economic regimes there were the political ramifications. The Treuhandanstalt was caricatured as a vulture ([http://www.politikundunterricht.de/2\\_00/mat-c143.gif](http://www.politikundunterricht.de/2_00/mat-c143.gif)) and as a mafia band ([http://www.dirklaabs.de/www.dirklaabs.de/GOLDRAUSCH\\_Die\\_Website\\_zum\\_Buch\\_2\\_files/shapeimage\\_4.png](http://www.dirklaabs.de/www.dirklaabs.de/GOLDRAUSCH_Die_Website_zum_Buch_2_files/shapeimage_4.png)), among other things. The Treuhandanstalt became the face of the capitalist West, and helped ensure that the Party of Democratic Socialism would gain and retain a following in the East.

## The new political landscape

With unification, the three party model that had dominated so much of West German politics until the Greens was definitively over. Now there were five parties—or maybe even six, given the Christian Socials' positions to the right of Christian Democracy. Several general surveys can be of help to teachers trying to make sense of the parties and related interest groups for students, for example, David P. Conradt, *The German Polity*, 9th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009), ch. 5, and occasionally documents are to be found in collections like that of Jarausch mentioned above. A good amount of the material from the PDS, however, remains untranslated. Franz Oswald's brief account is useful: *The Party that Came Out of the Cold War* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), as well as others already mentioned in the bibliography. An individual like Gregor Gysi is essential for understanding the party: only someone like him could have managed to paper over the big differences between the pensioners of the Socialist Unity Party and the more libertarian youth supporting it, those who pined away for the old, secure system and those who sought a dynamic alternative to the parties of the west. Apart from scattered interviews, however, there is little on Gysi in English, certainly not in the form of English-language videos, which would give students a sense of his wit and dynamism.

## Xenophobia and German unification

Anti-foreigner sentiment is not new to Germany history, nor indeed particular to Germany. The history teacher has the job, however, of avoiding

all too easy judgments, like “Germans are xenophobic” or “all countries harbor anti-foreigner sentiments.” The historical question, when facing the violence of 1991–94, for example, is always specific: *why* does violence occur when it does, and *who* carries out the violence? That means an attention to language and context, it also means an attention to historical roots as well as contemporary politics. In the case of the violence of 1991–94, there is still debate over the root causes of the trouble. German Unification may well have led to a nationalism with exclusionary tendencies—what nationalism lacks that? But at the same time, one cannot forget the political culture of the old GDR, with its relative lack of foreigners playing central roles in everyday life and its avoidance of open expression of contradictions; the crisis of 1990–94 for ordinary East Germans, which involved, yes, unemployment and social dislocation, but also psychological dislocation; the fact that violence against foreigners had already begun before 1990 in the West, and the ongoing high unemployment in the West; the increasing number of asylum seekers as the result of the Balkan crisis; and not least the willingness of politicians of the right but also of the left (Oskar Lafontaine of the SPD) to make use of fears about foreigners gaming the German system in order to increase their own following, thereby magnifying and legitimizing anti-foreigner sentiment.

How to make sense of all of these factors is the teacher’s job—and if there is time, a class might be divided into groups to do brief reports or present brief arguments on each factor, with the aim of clarifying complexity to an audience all too willing to hear a simple answer to a hard question: why the violence?

First, facts are very useful. There is a nice chronology of anti-foreigner acts, focusing on the Turks (who, recall, are mostly in the West), at <http://www.mar.umd.edu/chronology.asp?groupId=25501>. See also the useful photo archive from the violence in Rostock, to be found at: <http://www.umbruch-bildarchiv.de/bildarchiv/ereignis/10jahrerostockpogrome.html>. Some images from the Solingen attack are available at <http://www.solingen-internet.de/si-hgw/1993.htm>. The Human Rights Watch report from 1995 provides a chronology and some description of the arguments about causality: <https://www.hrw.org/reports/1995/Germany.htm>. This can be read in conjunction with the official report of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution on right wing extremism, at <https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/en/fields-of-work/right-wing-extremism>, to be read in conjunction with Ingo Hasselbach’s work noted in the bibliography in the textbook.

There was an extensive debate among social scientists in the second half of the 1990s about whether or not underlying public opinion had in fact changed after unification, about the role of the far right in organizing youth, about the changing number of asylum seekers, and about the role of the East German past; it would be impossible to call the discussion ended. Some of the discussion is listed in the Human Rights Watch report listed above. Several important articles offer some insight and more

important some further sources and positions, for example, Gert Krell, “Immigration, Asylum, and Anti-Foreigner Violence in Germany,” *Journal of Peace Research* 33 (1996), 153–70, on the connection to asylum; Ruud Koopmans and Suzan Olzak, “Discursive Opportunities and the Evolution of Right-Wing Violence in Germany” on the media, *American Journal of Sociology* 110 (2004), 198–230; Manuela Caiani, et al., *Mobilizing on the Extreme Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), on a comparative discussion of the way the far right brings people into motion; Hermann Kurthen, et al., *Antisemitism and Xenophobia in Germany After Unification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). The list of good social scientific sources is long, and certainly requires careful work before assigning anything in class. The debate continues, and students might be interested in seeing, for example, how the great news magazine of West Germany, *Der Spiegel*, continues to approach the problem as one of East Germany: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/xenophobia-in-eastern-germany-a-legacy-from-the-past-a-1115163.html>.

## The divided East

Just as students need to understand that there was a problem with right radical violence in both east and west, even if it was statistically higher in the east, they also need to work against assumptions that there is “one” mentality or politics of the East—whether it be exemplified by Gregor Gysi and the PDS or by rightwing skinheads. As the textbook suggests, it’s very important not to fall into the trap of viewing public opinion in the former GDR as a single, unified thing, “the” Ossi confronting “the” Wessi; in fact, the East Germans themselves were deeply divided, with some of those who enjoyed privileges in the old regime painting a portrait of a colonial takeover while others, especially those with better job prospects, seeing new possibilities open up. The majority in every East German Land voted *against* the PDS, and also against the far right. The battles over the past remained, and East German culture leaves quite a few traces of these divisions, not only in politics.

It is a hard slog, for example, but a close, critical reading of Christa Wolf’s *What Remains* in conjunction with Thomas Brussig’s *Heroes Like Us*, as suggested in the text, can open up just how riven East German was, and how much resentment against not only the old regime but also the intellectuals critical of the old regime (but enjoying its privileges) could be. But does Brussig’s satire do justice to Wolf and to the very different conditions that she describes? Does Brussig attack apologists, or does he in fact make the Stasi look less like a threat through his humor? What is the role of the grotesque in Brussig, how does it compare with Wolf’s internal dialogue about herself? These two pieces can open up a lot of questions in class, especially if Wolf’s short story is read in conjunction with her critical

and self-critical examination of the past in *Parting from Phantoms: Selected Writings, 1990-1994*, translated by Jan Van Heurck (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

Specific accounts of the transition in the east also point up the way professionals—people who both enjoyed privileges but also felt the injustices of living under the dictatorship—often suffered under unification, even viewing it as undermining specific contributions of the east. On film, see the complex examples brought up in Brigitte B. Wagner, ed., *DEFA after East Germany* (Suffolk: Camden House, 2014), which includes important discussion of eastern German cinema that can help those planning a film class reaching into the period after unification; on law, for a very different example filled with resentment as a huge amount of learning became irrelevant from one day to the next, Inge Markovits, *Imperfect Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Andreas Glaeser's ambitious *Political Epistemics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011) traces the internal transformation of the Stasi in relation to dissidents, in an unfortunately turgid and lengthy prose that distracts from the meat of the matter—but some sections are usable in class, and why not think of the Stasi as a professional group that experienced the shock of transition in a particular way?

On the same lines, popular films well known already to many youth in English-speaking countries articulate similar issues, most important, from two very different angles, *Goodbye, Lenin* (Wolfgang Becker, 2003), a light comedy about trying to protect a mother from losing the GDR that had surrounded her (accused at the time of fostering nostalgia for the East), and *The Lives of Others* (Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck, 2006), a much darker discussion of the effects of the Stasi on the lives of intellectuals. There is extensive scholarship on both, which can help guide discussion in the classroom. One film seems to exemplify “Ostalgie,” the other to take it apart. The point, however, is that there was, necessarily, a conflict between a comic view of life and a critique of dictatorship, a conflict that got at the heart of eastern Germany's divided culture. For more on the topic, see esp. Mary Fulbrook on “Ossis and Wessis: The Creation of Two German Societies,” in *German History since 1800*, edited by Fulbrook, 411–31 (London: Arnold, 1997). The English-language version of *Der Spiegel* includes a number of articles providing examples of nostalgia for East Germany, and exploring its meaning.

Last but certainly not least: how can we forget *Go, Trabi, Go!* (directed by Peter Timm), the classic account of one Trabi's journey to the utopia of German Classicism, Italy, following unification? The Trabi represents a failed country, the characters are normal, unpolitical, but the themes reach deep into not only East Germany's past but into Germany's past. In addition to the items noted in the textbook's bibliography, see also Daphne Berdahl, “‘Go, Trabi, Go!': Reflections on a Car and its Symbolizations over Time,” *Anthropology and Humanism* 25 (2000), 131–41.

## Dealing with the Stasi past

The Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic was a remarkable institution. Intended to unveil the actions of the former dictatorship in eastern Germany, it was hailed as a way of actively coming to terms with the past but also reviled as an example of the “justice of the victors” and accused of hypocrisy because such an institution was not created after 1945 to deal with Nazism. Understanding the role of the Federal Commissioner provides one more important way to understand the complex processes of unification and their effect on the citizens of the former GDR. For a brief historical introduction, see esp. Martin Sabrow, “The Quarrel over the Stasi Files,” in Astrid M. Eckert, *Institutions of Public Memory*, n.d., available at: [http://www.ghi-dc.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/GHI\\_Washington/Publications/Other\\_GHI\\_Publications/Institutions\\_of\\_Public\\_Memory/046.pdf](http://www.ghi-dc.org/fileadmin/user_upload/GHI_Washington/Publications/Other_GHI_Publications/Institutions_of_Public_Memory/046.pdf); on the model, Elena Danielson, “Privacy Rights and the Rights of Political Victims: Implications of the German Experience,” *The American Archivist* 67 (2004), 176–93; and the more in-depth study by Juan Espindola, *Transitional Justice after German Reunification* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), with further references. Setting up a commissioner to allow access to records is, of course, only one approach. For a discussion of the multiple approaches, see Vladimir Tismaneanu and Bogdan C. Iacob, ed., *Remembrance, History, and Justice: Coming to Terms with Traumatic Pasts in Democratic Societies* (Budapest: Central European University, 2015), with multiple examples and further literature from a host of leading scholars; and the older book with some interesting case studies by A. James McAdams, *Judging the Past in United Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Students interested in presenting on how the institution deals with the past can consult an English-language version of its website at [http://www.bstu.bund.de/EN/Home/home\\_node.html](http://www.bstu.bund.de/EN/Home/home_node.html); see also further information above at Chapter Five. The cases of Heinrich Fink, Christa Wolf, and others are worth looking at in more detail, but the teacher will have to pull the cases together from several different sources to present to the students, a potentially time-consuming job. But a clear, well written and short article pulling together the problems of transitional justice—and highly usable in the classroom—is A. James McAdams, “Transitional Justice: The Issue that Won’t Go Away,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 5 (2011), 304–12. See also Timothy Garton Ash’s *The File: A Personal History* (New York: Vintage, 1998), esp. the first, chapter, which can bring home to students the weird feeling of observing someone else observing one’s own life.

# 12 and 13

## Culture, politics, and a New Germany

The last two chapters were really written as a combined history of the present, so it makes sense to combine them in the present discussion. It is especially difficult to organize teaching around these final chapters, simply because so much is in flux and broader, contextualizing works have yet to appear. One approach to this problem is to divide the class into groups to do individual projects on, for example, Germany's refugee policy in 2015. This is dangerous—without guidance, students can get lost in the wilds of the World Wide Web.

We spend time preparing the class for these assignments: talking about how to identify scholarly sources; how to track their use through scholar.google.com; which institutes have useful websites for which topics. In other words, handing over content creation to students is neither easy nor obvious—though it can lead to some interesting and surprising outcomes. This section seeks to give the teacher some starting points related to some of the most important areas covered in the final two chapters of the textbook.

### Maastricht and the European Union

The European Union is difficult to teach because “it” consists of a huge number of offices, councils, rules, and treaties—to describe the European Union in general is as difficult as it is to describe the modern state. There are several accessible books on the European Union available—but teachers need to be VERY sure that they want to make these the focal point for students, especially in a German history class. See especially the recent book by Jonathan Olsen and John McCormick, *The European Union: Politics and Policies*, 6th ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2016), really more of a handbook than a monograph. At the same time, though, these details

matter a lot when it comes to finances and policies across the EU nations, as became particularly apparent during the crisis of 2008–15. The account in the textbook describes some of the most important changes and institutions, and brings them into connection with the financial crisis, especially, stressing two contradictions. First, while individual states remain responsible for their internal finances, the European Central Bank takes actions in response to challenges that directly limit state responses. Second, there is an underlying political tension in the European Union between the claims of the individual states to self-governance and the turn to a multinational organization to provide governance. That on the one hand provides an easy rhetoric about lost sovereignty: does the European Union deprive the nation-state of the ability to act? On the other hand, it provides an easy opportunity for scapegoating, as local or state politicians blame anything that is uncomfortable or that goes wrong on the “faceless” European Union, thereby acting like their own state is closer to the people (in fact, both the state and the European Union in Europe are large bureaucracies). The textbook’s account seeks to open up these disputes for discussion in class.

The debate is old, and started in the 1990s with Maastricht itself. It might be useful to return to some of the debates about financial and constitutional sovereignty in this light. There is an excellent book laying out many of the disputes of the 1990s entitled *The Question of Europe*, edited by Peter Gowan and Perry Anderson (London: Verso, 1997), which includes an important exchange between the German Constitutional Court justice Dieter Grimm and the social theorist Jürgen Habermas. Grimm’s essay, “Does Europe Need a Constitution?” puts the question of what democracy means in the post-1990 world front and center—and both his essay and Habermas’s response show just how radically the political/constitutional world has changed since 1949. If these essays are read in conjunction with the dispute between Jürgen Streeck and Habermas from the middle of the financial crisis, students can see how the theoretical dispute became real and concrete: see Streeck, *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism* (London: Verso, 2014), especially the introduction, and Habermas’s response, whose title already gets to the heart of the matter: “Democracy or Capitalism? On the Abject Spectacle of a Capitalist World Society Fragmented along National Lines,” available at many places including the interesting online journal *Reset.Doc*, at <http://www.resetdoc.org/story/00000022337>. The usefulness of the exchange lies not only in its posing of the problem of sovereignty but also in the specter of a renewed populism raised by both. It is hard *not* to draw the connection from Streeck’s leftist critique of the European Union and the anti-EU movements often associated (all too easily) with the right, in both Germany and elsewhere.

In this context, it’s useful also to connect the three-part crisis of Eurozone finances, Russia, and refugees with populism—across Europe. In Germany, students can follow the rise of the populist Alternative for Germany through their party platforms, which show significant changes, and are available in

English. See especially their statement of principles, available in English at <https://www.afd.de/grundsatzprogramm-englisch/>, which can show the students how under the guise of rejecting “political correctness” they actually aim to use anti-EU rhetoric to gather together a bunch of very different interests, from underemployed Germans to those opposed to Muslims, from industry rejecting environmental legislation to workers seeking protectionist measures. The bibliography lists several other important sources on the AfD, as it’s known in Germany, but one can expect a lot more primary and secondary sources to appear in the near future.

The AfD could well be a momentary phenomenon. But it’s very useful in the classroom because, as a populist group, it appeals to a wide variety of contradictory opinions in Germany that can open up society and culture for closer observation. There is a lot of journalistic reporting on the grouping as well. A group project could have students divide up to do reports on the AfD as a kind of culmination of the semester, answering different questions:

- How, in the most recent elections, does the AfD seek to connect the influx of refugees into Germany with problems of European unification? What effect has their focus on refugees—their winning issue, if there ever was one!—altered German political culture?
- In its early years, the AfD was concerned about the European Union and finances primarily, especially about the crisis in Greece. Why? What did its populist criticism of the European Union reveal about the European Union and about Germany’s place in the European Union?
- Why and how are environmental and business policies part of the AfD platform? It would be especially good to get students already interested in policy issues to focus on what precisely the party says here—and whether its program makes sense as a totality.

Elections over the past few years can also serve as a nice way to pull the semester together, since they have been about Germany in a broader world: environment, Russia, Greece, refugees, and most recently Donald Trump.

Last not least, the debate over European Union, financial crisis, and democracy has brought out the tense place of Germany between Russia and the United States. Not so long ago, Germany was divided into two countries, one part of the Soviet area of influence, the other part of the US area of influence. The Ukrainian crisis has brought forward the threat of Russia to a stable Europe, but also highlighted Germany’s deep interest in Russian energy sources; the political crisis in the United States, which brought an authoritarian populist to power, has highlighted like no other the growing distance between Germany and the United States—and in this, the end of the original postwar order. Again, to address both questions students probably need to look at recent discussions in reputable news sources: the story is developing as we write.

## The past refuses to stay in the past

To get an idea of what the Hamburg Institute for Social Research was aiming at in its exhibition on the German army in the Second World War, see its prospectus—the English-language version is available at: [http://www.verbrechen-der-wehrmacht.de/pdf/vdw\\_en.pdf](http://www.verbrechen-der-wehrmacht.de/pdf/vdw_en.pdf). A longer version of the exhibition is available in book format as well: *The German Army and Genocide: Crimes against War Prisoners, Jews, and Other Civilians, 1939-1944* (New York: The New Press, 1999). That said, the point of discussing such an exhibition in a post-1945 class is not so much the army's activities itself as the discussion within Germany about the army. That this is part of a much longer discussion is clear from the work of Christina Morina, *Legacies of Stalingrad: Remembering the Eastern Front in Germany since 1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), who provides some good leads on other sources debating whether the army played a heroic role, a tragic role, or a pernicious role. The debate goes to a bigger question, which we did not address in the textbook, but which might well lead to some interesting discussions. Already in the Weimar Republic, the noted human rights activist Carl von Ossietzky (later murdered by the Nazis) declared that soldiers are trained to murder: soldiers are murderers. This became a controversial slogan of some members of the pacifist movement in West Germany, and after 1990 became a slogan heard at some of the many protests against the First Gulf War—and picked up by Gerhard Zwerenz and other representatives of the PDS. A lower court declared the phrase to be libel against soldiers, since “murder” is a legal category; the Constitutional Court reversed the decision, however, in 1995. The decision is to be found at <https://law.utexas.edu/transnational/foreign-law-translations/german/case.php?id=620>, and as always is not immediately usable in the classroom. Sections of it, however, describe the case and the grounds for complaint, and can be used to get at not just the specifically German issues around the case but also the more general ones related to freedom of speech.

It is not obvious that these debates should lead to questions about whether Germans can be patriotic or have pride in their country; clearly by the second decade after unification, Germans were indeed proud of their democratic republic. Nonetheless, the second decade of united Germany saw a debate unfold that both repeated tropes of the past and yet did so in the context of a government that, more than any other since 1945, had declared its independence from the past, with limited opposition from both inside and outside of Germany—a curious and surreal moment. Some of the discussions of pride are to be found on the website of the German Historical Institute, under the well-chosen rubric “Search for Normalcy”: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_doclist.cfm?startrow=1&sub\\_id=275&section\\_id=16](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_doclist.cfm?startrow=1&sub_id=275&section_id=16). These discussions are not unrelated to the debates that grew up around Grass's novel *Crabwalk* and Friedrich's account of the Dresden firebombing, *The Fire*.

## Multicultural society

Many of the issues in the section are connected with the section above on guest workers—see especially the *Germany in Transit* volume above and Rita Chin's *The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), putting the problems of multiculturalism into comparative and historical perspective with further references. Anna C. Korteweg and Gökçe Yurdakul have put together a nice comparative discussion of the debate about whether to ban headscarves, which also helps the teacher illuminate specific issues in Germany—such as the complicated relationship between religious organizations and the state (unlike in France): *The Headscarf Debates: Conflicts of National Belonging* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014). The concept of multiculturalism is vague but elicits high emotions, and should be explored from several different perspectives. Peter A. Kraus and Karen Schönwälder, for example, have a nice essay combining an account of its use as a kind of bogeyman and the new images of the future the term seemed to offer: “Multiculturalism in Germany: Rhetoric, Scattered Experiments, and Future Chances,” in Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); see also Klaus J. Milich and Jeffrey M. Peck, *Multiculturalism in Transit: A German-American Exchange* (New York: Berghahn, 1998). For a good set of original sources and an articulation of the problem of national culture and unification, see Sabine von Dirke, “Multikulti: The German Debate on Multiculturalism” *German Studies Review* 17 (1994), 513–36. Specifically on the Turkish experience in this respect, Ruth Mandel, *Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008). Jeffrey Peck's work is a great way into the issue of German-Jewish cultural identities in united Germany, especially *Being Jewish in the New Germany* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006). There is specialized literature on other groups available as well.

There is such a wide variety of literature and culture available for discussion that one needs an expert way in. Several collections are quite useful: Irmgard Ackermann, ed., *Foreign Viewpoints: Multicultural Literature in Germany* (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1999) and Antje Harnisch, et al., ed., *Fringe Voices: An Anthology of Minority Writing in the Federal Republic of Germany* (New York: Berg, 1998). Especially useful both as a documentary text and as a complex literary text: *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women Speak Out*, edited by May Opitz, Katharina Oguntoye, and Dagmar Schultz (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992). Turkish-German literature as a field has expanded tremendously over the previous few decades; for a good starting point, see Leslie A. Adelson, *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). See also in general on literature and culture the many specific examples explored in the journal *Transit* from University of California-Berkeley.

## Sexy Berlin

At this point, it's worth noting just how much is available for a virtual visit to Berlin. We will only mention several museums and other sites here. It could make for an interesting class, though, if students put together all of the historical and cultural moments of commemoration in Berlin, which have made of the city something of a gigantic historical museum.

Some of the sites one can visit via the internet are:

- The Stasi-Museum Berlin (English website). Available at: <http://www.stasimuseum.de/en/enindex.htm>
- The “Monument for the Murdered Jews of Europe.” English-language homepage. Available at: <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/home.html>
- The “Jewish Museum Berlin,” English language website, available at: <http://www.jmberlin.de/main/EN/homepage-EN.php>
- “Dokumentationszentrum Alltagskultur der DDR.” English-language site. Available at: <http://www.alltagskultur-ddr.de/en/the-museum/conception/>
- Bernauer Strasse Museum website, which is available in English at: <http://www.berliner-mauer-gedenkstaette.de/en/>

## Right of asylum and the refugee crisis

Rightly or wrongly, discussion of multiculturalism has been connected with the controversial debates about asylum rights and refugees. The right to asylum is meanwhile anchored in the Basic Law, one of the responses of West Germany to the calamity of National Socialism, and furthermore cannot be infringed upon in its essence, according to Article 19 of the constitution. Despite the fact that asylum relates to a minority of refugees, then, it has been politically quite important. In the context of the refugee crises of the early 1990s and 2015, the right of asylum was significantly limited and formalized, to take account of the nature of the new refugee movements across the world, the open borders of Europe, and new transportation technologies. Both reforms were controversial, and both can serve as useful windows into the way the Basic Law, despite remaining in place, changed after German and European unification.

It is very difficult to find accessible and contextualized sources that are immediately usable in the classroom on this important issue. In an advanced class with a policy focus, or among a subgroup of students in such a class, the following references could provide a good starting point—but more

likely, they will serve as sources of images, facts, and ideas for the teacher, trying to organize a discussion.

Background to Germany's asylum law and its changes in: Patrice G. Poutrus, "Asylum in Postwar Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 49 (2014), 115–33, with sources on the period 1949–89; on the current state of affairs, the papers by Barbara Laubenthal, including "Refugees Welcome? Federalism and Asylum Policies in Germany" (September 2015), at [http://fier.iit/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/laubenthal\\_wp\\_asylum\\_final\\_03.09.2015.pdf](http://fier.iit/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/laubenthal_wp_asylum_final_03.09.2015.pdf), and "Political Institutions and Asylum Policies—The Case of Germany," *Psychological Issues in Human Resource Management* 4 (2016), 122–44, whose work also deals with labor migration. For an overview of citizenship law in general and the changes under the Red-Green government, esp: Kay Hailbrunner and Anuscheh Farahat, "Country Report on Citizenship Law: Germany," from EUDO Citizenship Observatory (January 2015), available at: [http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34478/EUDO\\_CIT\\_2015\\_02-Germany.pdf](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34478/EUDO_CIT_2015_02-Germany.pdf).

The refugee crisis of the European Union in 2015–16 is not over at the time of the textbook's writing—and will not be over for the foreseeable future, given the state of the world and the new political pressures put on European states from within in response to the crisis. It is therefore useful to see what the European states themselves are doing in response to the crisis. A good place to start is the website of the European Council on Refugees and Exiles, <http://www.ecre.org>, a group composed of dozens of refugee-oriented NGOs, which includes a series of papers documenting both problems and responses within Europe. The webpage of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees ([www.unhcr.org](http://www.unhcr.org)) also contains valuable information, including information that can work against some of the misinformation about the nature of the Syrian crisis. There are also constant new updates stressing the limitations of single nation responses to asylum and refugees—important statements in the context of the populist revival in the United States and Europe over the past five years: see especially Matthias M. Mayer, "Germany's Response to the Refugee Situation: Remarkable Leadership or *Fait Accompli*?" (published through the Bertelsmann Foundation, 2016), available at: [http://www.bfna.org/sites/default/files/publications/Germanys\\_Response\\_to\\_the\\_Refugee\\_Situation\\_Mayer.pdf](http://www.bfna.org/sites/default/files/publications/Germanys_Response_to_the_Refugee_Situation_Mayer.pdf).

For a very human rendering of these debates within contemporary German society, we recommend the recently translated novel *Go, Went, Gone* by Jenny Erpenbeck. The student of postwar German history would be particularly well-suited to discuss how Germany's Nazi past influences—both positively and negatively—Germans' current responses and the relevance of the protagonist's East German identity to his/Erpenbeck's assessment of contemporary German society.

## A break in German foreign policy?

The Fischer-Schröder government saw some apparently major shifts in foreign policy, both toward military intervention in conjunction with the United States and refusing to engage in military actions with the United States. How to make sense of it? Setting Hans Maull's influential thesis of the "civilian power" against Stephen Szabo's reading of the split between Germany and the United States—really a long term development from George W. Bush to Donald Trump—can open up a fundamental discussion about the nature and course of German foreign policy. Germany's attaining a kind of hegemon status in Europe during the Merkel era is also an important ingredient in trying to define Germany's new place in the world. The introduction by Maull and Sebastian Harnisch to *Germany's Uncertain Power: Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) gives a good sense of what's at stake in the term; for such a present-oriented topic, however, the teacher, or if the teacher gives enough guidance, the students might go through recent editions of major journals like *Foreign Policy*, *Orbis*, *German Politics and Society*, and *Foreign Policy*, as well as the webpages of think tanks like the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (<http://www.aicgs.org/>).