

HST2504:
TWO GERMANYS, 'ONE PEOPLE'? CENTRAL EUROPE, 1945-1990

Instructor: Dr Andrew Tompkins
Spring semester 2018



Photo: Unter den Linden, 2005. The Baroque building on the left is the German Historical Museum. The building with gold-tinted windows on the right is what then remained of the East German Palace of the Republic, which has since been dismantled. The word 'DOUBT' is displayed on its roof as part of a public art project. (Personal photo)

Module Summary

In 1989-90, German 'reunification' brought together populations changed by 40 years of different lived experiences, within borders that had not bounded any previous German state. This module examines the social, political, and cultural history of East and West Germany in comparative perspective, focusing on how they related to one another as well as to pre-1945 German history. Special emphasis will be placed on relationships with European neighbours, allied superpowers, and migrant populations in order to show how contemporary Germany has been shaped by transnational processes and how non-Germans have likewise helped define what it now means to be 'German'.

Aims

This module aims to provide a chronological overview of post-WWII German history, focusing on considerations relevant to the study of European history in the same time period more broadly. You should gain a deeper understanding of the different political and economic conditions under social market democracy and real existing socialism as well as knowledge of overarching processes capable of affecting lived experience in both contexts in analogous ways (e.g. consumerism, migration). This Option Module will also encourage you to question the parameters of national history by examining how territory, population, and national identity have varied over time and how the nation-state relates to spatial constructions at other levels of scale.

Participation

This class, like other option modules, is taught through a combination of **lectures and seminars**. The weekly lecture will usually be on a topic closely related to that of the seminar, but they are

generally not identical: the lecture does not tell you everything you need to know for the seminar – you need to do the readings beforehand, and you should come to class prepared to discuss them.

Part of coming to class prepared means bringing a copy of the reading(s) and your notes to class. You are welcome to use a print copy or a computer/tablet. **Do not rely on your phone** to consult texts in class.

You are expected to speak in seminars – they are your chance to ask questions, try out ideas, debate issues, and draw your own conclusions from discussion. Not everyone always feels comfortable speaking up in class (and I understand that silence can mean many different things). If there are reasons why you feel uncomfortable speaking up, please let me know and we will see what we can do.

From week three, you will be assigned to a **reading group** for the rest of the semester. Each reading group will be responsible for preparing several texts and coming to class prepared to discuss them to others. You may divide the readings up amongst yourselves as you see fit, but **you will be expected to have read all the assigned readings by the exam.**

If you know in advance that you will be **absent** a particular seminar, make sure to **tell your group members** and help them make other arrangements to cover the material. That could mean, for example, putting together a summary and sharing it with them. (You should also email me to let me know if you will be absent.)

For most classes, there are also suggestions for **further reading**. You should consult these whenever you can, especially on topics you find interesting or about which you would like more information. While they are not strictly required for the exam, the more you read, the more arguments and information you will have at your disposal. The further readings are also good starting points for the essays you will write.

Assessment

As with other Level Two Options, you are required to write one formative essay (2,500 words), which will allow you to advance your understanding of aspects of the module in more detail, to develop skills of analysis and argument, and to improve their writing skills. Information about assessment for this course can be found [online](#) (under ‘Options’): <https://goo.gl/HyGcjn>. Deadlines can also be consulted [online](#): <https://goo.gl/73g6pj>

Plagiarism

When you write something for class, you should develop and show your own original thinking. In order to do so, you will probably want to borrow ideas, arguments, or even phrases from other authors. Building on the work of others is a normal and necessary part of how our knowledge of history advances. However, you should not simply repeat or paraphrase the work of others: the point of any written work is to show what *you* think.

In any written work that you submit (whether it is assessed or not), you should be careful to indicate quotes and their sources properly (with footnotes in most cases). The Department of History maintains a style guide, accessible through MOLE (‘History online’ link → ‘Style guide’), to which you may refer for details. Citations should always be specific, including the author and title as well as a page number or page range wherever possible. The most important thing is that you always make it clear where you are getting quotes, ideas, and arguments from.

The Department of History provides information about what constitutes plagiarism on the following web page:

https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/history/current_students/undergraduate/submission/plagiarism

Many students run into problems with plagiarism not because they intend to cheat, but because they are careless when writing or taking notes (i.e. they fail to distinguish between direct quotes and their own summaries). Unfortunately, this is not an excuse. Your work will be judged by what it is, not by what you intended it to be. **There is no excuse for plagiarism.**

Exam

A two-hour unseen written examination will require you to demonstrate that you have absorbed and understood the material and that you can express this in clear prose and a structured argument. The exam will be structured as a series of eight questions, of which you must answer two.

The exam will be based on a combination of material from lectures, seminars, and readings – whether or not we have discussed every reading in class. Again, you will be expected to have done all of the set readings *and* group readings by the time of the exam. Further readings are optional, but highly recommended.

General reading

There are a number of books you can consult to get obtain a general orientation in the topic of post-1945 German history. The shortest and most accessible of these is probably

- Mary Fulbrook, *A History of Germany, 1918-2014: The Divided Nation*, 4th (2014) [**eBook**]

I strongly recommend reading through the pertinent sections of her book **at the beginning of term** to get a general idea of the course content and historical narrative.

In considering Course Assignment topics, writing essays, or preparing for the exam, a good resource is the topic-by-topic historiographic overview found in:

- Konrad Hugo Jarausch and Michael Geyer, *Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003)

Some additional texts you may find useful are:

- Mary Fulbrook, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005)
- Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer and Mark Roseman, eds., *German History from the Margins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006) [**eBook**]
- Robert G. Moeller, ed., *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997)
- Hanna Schissler, ed., *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)

You may also wish to look at the primary sources collected by the German Historical Institute in Washington (some of which appear on the syllabus):

<http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/>

e-offprints for our class will be made accessible through the Library's system. They can be accessed using the link below:

<https://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/leganto/readinglist/lists/9578444930001441>

Course outline

This course moves through a selection of themes in post-1945 German history in roughly chronological order. The first few weeks thus address the long shadow cast by the Second World War, including legacies of Nazism and defeat as well as the division of Germany. Thereafter, we will talk about the ‘Economic miracle’ (*Wirtschaftswunder*) in West and East, changes in society and culture during the Cold War, and everyday life under ‘real, existing socialism’. Finally, we will discuss the downfall of the East German state, unification within the structures of the Federal Republic, and the first years of united Germany. Lectures and seminars will be linked thematically each week, but will sometimes require a shift of perspective between East and West, between different points in postwar chronology, or between political, social, and cultural history.

<u>Week</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Lecture topic</u>	<u>Seminar topic</u>
1	7 February 2018	New Germanys in New Borders	German Refugees
2	14 February 2018	Denazification	Germans and Minorities after 1945
3	21 February 2018	Dividing Up Germany	Allies and Occupiers
4	28 February 2018	The ‘Economic Miracle’ in East and West	<i>Käfer vs. Trabi</i> : Cars and Consumption
5	7 March 2018	Gender in East and West	German Sexualities
6	14 March 2018	1968	‘Terrorism’
7	21 March 2018	Germany in the World	The World Comes to Germany
EASTER VACATION			
8	18 April 2018	New Social Movements	<i>Ökopax</i> in East and West
9	25 April 2018	Everyday Life in Late Socialism	Subcultures and Sexual Minorities
10	2 May 2018	German Unification	The End of the (Cold War) World
11	9 May 2018	United Germany in an Expanding Europe	Identity and Diversity since Unification
12	To be confirmed	Review session	

Assessment 1 essay questions

For your first assessment, which is due **Monday 19th March 2018 at noon** (via Turnitin), please write an essay of approximately **2,500 words** in response to one of the following prompts.

1. How did German understandings of guilt for the Second World War change over time?
2. Why did German masculinity seem so endangered in the 1940s and 1950s?
3. How did consumption contribute to the legitimacy of both East and West Germany?
4. Were West Germans more sexually conservative than East Germans?
5. Was West Germany more successful in overcoming racism than East Germany?
6. Was the GDR a ‘niche society’ (Günter Gaus)?
7. How did Ostpolitik change both Germanys?
8. Was there a ‘rush to German unification’ (Konrad Jarausch) in 1990?

Note: This assessment is not intended to test your ability simply to recall what you have heard in lectures or read for seminars. A good response will demonstrate your ability to think critically, formulate arguments and select appropriate evidence. This task, like your exam preparation, will require that you engage with issues and debates in postwar German history on the basis of both assigned readings **and** additional readings (further readings, other group members’ readings, etc.).

Weekly Readings

WEEK 1 (7 FEBRUARY):

NEW GERMANY'S IN NEW BORDERS / GERMAN REFUGEES

In the wake of the Second World War, the victorious Allies redrew the map of Central Europe such that the eastern border of occupied Germany was pushed back behind the Oder and Neisse rivers. This meant the loss of historic German territories in Silesia, East Prussia, and elsewhere to Poland (whose own eastern territories had been taken by the Soviet Union). The forced resettlement of populations across Eastern Europe thus significantly marked the first postwar years. After total defeat, under military occupation, and with a growing refugee population, many Germans who had benefitted under the Nazi regime suddenly faced dramatically more difficult conditions. As a result, narratives of German victimisation emerged in the early postwar years which partly distracted from German responsibility for crimes during the Second World War.

Questions

- In what ways was German society already divided before the Cold War?
- How did the loss of territory and of *Heimat* shape postwar German citizens?

Set Reading

- Beata Halicka, 'The Oder–Neisse Line as a Place of Remembrance for Germans and Poles', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 49, 1 (2014), 75–91 [**journal/online**]

Further Reading

- Frank Biess, *Homecomings: Returning POWs and the legacies of defeat in postwar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006)
- William John Niven, 'The GDR and Memory of the Bombing of Dresden', in William John Niven, ed., *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 109–129
- Frank Biess and Robert G. Moeller, eds., *Histories of the Aftermath: The legacies of the Second World War in Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010)
- Rainer Schulze, 'The German Refugees and Expellees from the East and the Creation of a Western German Identity after World War II', in Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak, eds., *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944-1948* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 307–326 [**eBook**]
- Andrew Demshuk, 'What was the "Right to the Heimat"? West German Expellees and the Many Meanings of Heimkehr', *Central European History*, 45, 03 (2012), 523–556 [**journal/online**]
- Pertti Aho, 'Germany and the Aftermath of the Second World War', *Journal of Modern History*, 89 (2017), 355–387

WEEK 2 (14 FEBRUARY):

DENAZIFICATION / GERMANS AND MINORITIES AFTER 1945

The end of the Second World War did not constitute a *Stunde null* ('zero hour'), whereby a sharp break was made between the past (and especially the wartime period itself) and the new, 'postwar' era. While the Allies and many Germans themselves tried to remove the stain of Nazism from the state and society, people and problems from the National Socialist period persisted. Some former Nazis retained or rose to influential positions of power. Certain ideas about Germanness and attitudes towards ethnic and racial others also continued, though these underwent important transformations in the wake of defeat. This week we will explore what 'denazification' meant in the Western and Eastern zones before discussing in greater detail the situation of Jewish 'Displaced Persons' after the Second World War.

Questions

- How did wartime conflict and postwar resentments become intertwined under occupation?
- Why was it possible for Germans to regard themselves as victims at the end of the Second World War?

- When and how effectively was German society ‘denazified’?

Set Reading

EVERYONE should read

- Robert G. Moeller, ‘The Politics of the Past in the 1950s. Rhetorics of Victimisation in East and West Germany’, in William John Niven, ed., *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 26–42 [**e-offprint**]

Additional required reading

You must sign up in advance (using a Doodle that will be sent by email) **to read ONE of the following:**

- Atina Grossmann, ‘From Victims to "Homeless Foreigners". Jewish Survivors in Postwar Germany’, in Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley and Atina Grossmann, eds., *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 55–79 [**eBook**]
- Heide Fehrenbach, ‘Of German Mothers and "Negermischlingskinder". Race, Sex, and the Postwar Nation’, in Hanna Schissler, ed., *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 164–186 [**e-offprint**]

Further Reading

Jewish communities in postwar Germany

Constantin Goechler, ‘The Attitude towards Jews in Bavaria after the Second World War’, in Robert G. Moeller, ed., *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 231–240

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

Film: Arnon Goldfinger, *The Flat: Die Wohnung* (Berlin, 2011)

Afro-German Children

Heide Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005)

Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), Ch. ‘When Jim Crow came to the German *Heimat*’

On the long-term presence of an African diaspora in Germany, see Theodor Michael, *Black German: An Afro-German life in the twentieth century* (2017) and Robbie Aitken and Eve Rosenhaft, *Black Germany: The Making and Unmaking of a Diaspora Community, 1884-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Denazification

Norbert Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010)

Film: Lars Kraume, *The People vs. Fritz Bauer: Der Staat gegen Fritz Bauer* (Köln, 2015)

Early confrontations with the wartime past

Theatre: Peter Weiss, *The Investigation: Oratorio in 11 Cantos* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1966)

Film: Wolfgang Staudte, *Murderers Among Us: Die Mörder sind unter uns* (Berlin: Icestorm, 1946)

WEEK 3 (21 FEBRUARY):

DIVIDING UP GERMANY / ALLIES AND OCCUPIERS

The Allied occupation of Germany after the Second World War had myriad effects on German society. The occupying forces exerted a considerable influence on the Germans whom they lived among, not least by bringing their culture to a country that had spent the last 12 years trying to eradicate signs of cultural, ethnic, and national difference. Yet as the Second World War between the Allied and Axis Powers gave way to a ‘Cold War’ between the United States and Soviet Union, occupied Germany quickly became a symbol of the new global conflict and its stakes.

Questions

- In what ways were Germans responsible for the division of Germany?

- How did the presence of foreign troops shape postwar German culture?
- To what extent was Germany ‘Americanized’ after World War II?

Set Reading

EVERYONE should read

- Edith Sheffer, ‘On Edge. Building the Border in East and West Germany’, *Central European History*, 40 (2007), 307–339 [[journal/online](#)]

Group reading

You will be assigned to a reading group. Each group is responsible for covering all three of the following texts.

(That means EVERYONE should read AT LEAST ONE.)

- Atina Grossmann, ‘A Question of Silence. The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers’, *October*, 72 (1995), 42–63 [[journal/online](#)]
- Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 52-84 (Ch. ‘Living with the New Neighbors’) [[e-offprint](#)]
- Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 31–70 (Ch. 1: ‘American Culture in East and West German Reconstruction’) [[eBook](#)]

You may divide the above texts amongst yourself for class, but you should be familiar with all of them by the time of the exam!

Further Reading

- Mark Fenemore, *Sex, Thugs and Rock 'n' Roll: Teenage Rebels in Cold-War East Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007) [[eBook](#)]
- Norman M. Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1996), 69–140 (Chapter on ‘Soviet Soldiers, German Women, and the Problem of Rape’) [[eBook](#)]

WEEK 4 (28 FEBRUARY):

THE ‘ECONOMIC MIRACLE’ IN EAST AND WEST / *KÄFER* VS. *TRABI*: CARS AND CONSUMPTION

Like other countries across Europe, Germany experienced several decades of prosperity during and after its postwar reconstruction phase. Within each bloc, the two German states were treated in many respects as privileged partners on the front lines of the Cold War. Particularly within Berlin but also more generally, both were ‘showcases’ for the purported benefits of their respective economic and political systems. In this lesson, we will examine the so-called *Wirtschaftswunder* (‘economic miracle’, as it was known particularly in West Germany), looking at how it transformed societies that had just emerged from war. During the seminar, we will look more closely at automobiles as symbols of consumption and of the different paths that East and West Germany took.

Questions

- Why did an ‘economic miracle’ occur in Central Europe in the 1950s?
- How different were the promises of the two blocs with respect to economic production, quality of life, and opportunities for consumption?
- Why did Germans seemingly throw themselves into economic matters in the first postwar years?

Set Reading

- Bernhard Rieger, 'The 'Good German' Goes Global. The Volkswagen Beetle as an Icon in the Federal Republic', *History Workshop Journal*, 68 (2009), 3–26 [**journal/online**]
- Eli Rubin, 'The Trabant: Consumption, Eigen-Sinn, and Movement', *History Workshop Journal*, 68 (2009), 27–44 [**journal/online**]

Further readings

- Erica Carter, 'Alice in the Consumer Wonderland. West German Case Studies in Gender and Consumer Culture', in Robert G. Moeller, ed., *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 347–372 [**e-offprint**]
- Donna Harsch, 'Industrialization, Mass Consumption, Post-industrial Society', in Helmut Walser Smith, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 663–688
- Michael Wildt, 'Continuities and Discontinuities of Consumer Mentality in West Germany in the 1950s', in Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann, eds., *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe during the 1940s and 1950s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 211–229 [**eBook**]

WEEK 5 (7 MARCH):

GENDER IN EAST AND WEST

In the 1950s and 1960s, German society in East and West was changing rapidly. Among other things, postwar reindustrialisation and consumerism disrupted long-standing gendered divisions of labour, as women increasingly entered the economy as workers and consumers. As a result, both German states developed new policies regarding women, which were shaped by the clash between the dynamic of female labour force participation and traditional gendered notions confining women's roles to '*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*' ('Children, Kitchen, Church').

As the first postwar generation reached adolescence, sexuality too became a matter of public debate and underwent important changes.

Questions

- Why were traditional gender roles so important to Germans in the 1950s?
- In what ways was sex approached differently in East Germany and West Germany?
- Why were references to the Nazi past so important for those seeking sexual liberation in later decades?

Set Reading

EVERYONE should read the following:

- Elizabeth D. Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make?: Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 209–37 (Ch. 8: 'What's the Difference?') [**eBook**]

Group Reading

Your groups are assigned to read the following:

- GROUP A:** Jennifer V. Evans, *Life among the Ruins: Cityscape and Sexuality in Cold War Berlin* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 149–80 (Ch. 4: 'Bars, Cafés, Clubs') [**eBook**]
- GROUP B:** Dagmar Herzog, 'Desperately Seeking Normality. Sex and Marriage in the Wake of the War', in Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann, eds., *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe during the 1940s and 1950s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 161–192 [**eBook**]
- GROUP C:** Dagmar Herzog, 'East Germany's Sexual Evolution', in Katherine Pence and Paul Betts, eds., *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 71–95 [**e-offprint**]

GROUP D: Josie McLellan, 'State Socialist Bodies. East German Nudism from Ban to Boom', *Journal of Modern History*, 79 (2007), 48–79 [**journal/online**]

Further Reading

Women and the Family

- Erica Carter, *How German is She?: Postwar West German Reconstruction and the Consuming Woman* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997)
- Donna Harsch, *Revenge of the Domestic: Women the Family and Communism in the German Democratic Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)
- Robert G. Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) [**eBook**]
- Katherine Pence, 'Women on the Verge. Consumers between Private Desires and Public Crisis', in Katherine Pence and Paul Betts, eds., *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 287–322

Sex and Sexuality

- Elizabeth D. Heineman, *Before Porn was Legal: The Erotica Empire of Beate Uhse* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011)
- Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005)
- Josie McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism: Intimacy and Sexuality in the GDR* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Homosexuality

- Jennifer V. Evans, 'Decriminalization, seduction, and "unnatural desire" in East Germany', *Feminist Studies*, 36, 3 (2010), 553–577 [**journal/online**]
- Robert G. Moeller, 'The Homosexual Man Is a "Man," the Homosexual Woman Is a "Woman". Sex, Society, and the Law in Postwar West Germany', in Robert G. Moeller, ed., *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 251–286
- Frank Biess, 'Moral Panic in Postwar Germany. The Abduction of Young Germans into the Foreign Legion and French Colonialism in the 1950s', *The Journal of Modern History*, 84 (2012), 789–832 [**journal/online**]
- Film:** Rosa von Praunheim, *It Is Not the Homosexual Who Is Perverse, But the Society in Which He Lives: Nicht der Homosexuelle ist pervers, sondern die Situation, in der er lebt* (Köln: WDR, 1971)
- Film:** Heiner Carow, *Coming Out* (Berlin: DEFA-Stiftung, 1989)

WEEK 6 (14 MARCH):
1968 / 'TERRORISM'

This week, we will be discussing West Germany's experience of the late 1960s, including the student revolts of 1967-68, which were closely tied to developments elsewhere, from Paris and Prague to Chicago and China. At the same time, certain aspects of what is now associated with West Germany's '1968' were specifically tied to the recent German past and the history of Nazism.

In the seminar, we will discuss 'armed struggle' movements in the Federal Republic. Media and politicians at that time frequently linked the development of this phenomenon back to the events and actors of 1968, using the actions of a few dozen 'terrorists' as a brush with which to tar the broader left and to lobby for the reversal of socio-political changes with which the right disagreed. Indeed, the pressure applied by both Social Democrats and their conservative counterparts in the 1970s for left-wingers to distance themselves from 'terrorism' was intense enough to produce effects that ran counter to their intentions.

Questions

- How were West German experiences of '1968' intertwined with those in other countries? How were they different?
- Did '1968' contribute meaningfully to the 'denazification' of (West) German society?
- Why did some '68ers feel 'armed struggle' was an appropriate strategy for social change in 1970s West Germany? Why did some West Germans who opposed 'terrorism' nevertheless refuse to condemn it?

Set Reading

EVERYONE should read the following:

- Primary sources
 - o 'The Brandt government's 'Radicals' Decree' [[GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/FGb2Ey](#)]
 - o Ulrike Meinhof, 'From Protest to Resistance' [[GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/upxcG3](#)]
 - o Andreas Baader, Appeal for the creation of the Red Army Faction [[GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/wLw2No](#)]
 - o 'Buback – An Obituary' [[GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/unNq2w](#)]

Group reading

Each reading group is responsible for covering all three of the following texts.

(That means EVERYONE should read AT LEAST ONE of the following.)

- Von der Goltz, Anna, 'Attraction and Aversion in Germany's '1968'. Encountering the Western Revolt in East Berlin', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 50, 3 (2015), 536–559 [[journal/online](#)]
- Wilfried Mausbach, 'America's Vietnam in Germany – Germany in America's Vietnam. On the Relocation of Spaces and the Appropriation of History', in Belinda Joy Davis, Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke and Carla MacDougall, eds., *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s* (New York: Berghahn, 2010), 41–61 [[eBook](#)]
- Timothy Scott Brown, "'1968" East and West. Divided Germany as a Case Study in Transnational History', *American Historical Review*, 114, 1 (2009), 69–96 [[journal/online](#)]

Further Reading

- Timothy Scott Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties: The Anti-Authoritarian Revolt, 1962-1978* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), esp. Chs. 'Sound' and 'Vision' [[eBook](#)]
- Von der Goltz, Anna, 'Generations of 68ers. Age-Related Constructions of Identity and Germany's '1968'', *Cultural and Social History*, 8, 4 (2011), 473–490 [[journal/online](#)]
- Sebastian Gehrig, 'Sympathizing Subcultures? The Milieus of West German Terrorism', in Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and revolt in Europe, 1960-1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 233–250 [[eBook](#)]
- Karrin Hanshew, "'Sympathy for the Devil?' The West German Left and the Challenge of Terrorism', *Contemporary European History*, 21, 04 (2012), 511–532 [[journal/online](#)]
- Karrin Hanshew, *Terror and Democracy in West Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014) [[eBook](#)]
- Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) [[eBook](#)]
- Film:** Volker Schlöndorff and Margarethe von Trotta, *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum: Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* (1975)
- Film:** Volker Schlöndorff, *The Legend of Rita: Die Stille nach dem Schuss* (2000)

WEEK 7 (21 MARCH):

GERMANY IN THE WORLD / THE WORLD COMES TO GERMANY

This week's lecture will focus on Willi Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, which arguably led to a considerable loosening of the strictures of the Cold War. West Germany gave up the Hallstein doctrine and attempted to make good with its Eastern neighbours (those directly adjacent and also further afield). The GDR achieved a new degree of international recognition and legitimacy as a result. The two Germanys now vied for clients, patrons, and allies in the so-called 'Third World', but in an environment that was – for a time – considerably less tense than before.

The seminar will focus on a related, but somewhat different question: the situation of 'guest workers', who were brought mostly from Mediterranean countries (Italy, Spain, Greece, and especially Turkey) to the Federal Republic to address labour shortages during the 1950s and 1960s. (Similar labour migration occurred somewhat later in East Germany, where citizens of Poland,

Mozambique and especially Vietnam came to work in *Volkseigene Betriebe*.) After this form of labour recruitment ended in 1973, millions of these foreign citizens remained in West Germany, forming a sizable minority that increased through family reunification and demographic growth.

Questions

- Why did German society not pay more attention to foreign workers much earlier?
- Was the kind of discrimination faced by 'guest workers' specific to West Germany?
- In what ways did the conceptualisation of foreign labourers as 'guest workers' affect policies and attitudes towards them?

Set Readings

EVERYONE should read ALL THREE of the following.

- Excerpts from Günter Wallraff, *Lowest of the Low* (London: Methuen, 1988), 1-10, 23-33 [**two e-offprints**]
- Deniz Göktürk, David Gramling and Anton Kaes, eds., *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955-2005* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), Ch 1: Documents 3, 4, 7, 9-13 [**e-offprint**]
- Quinn Slobodian, 'Socialist Chromatism. Race, Racism, and the Racial Rainbow in East Germany', in Quinn Slobodian, ed., *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World* (2015), 23–39 [**eBook**]

Group reading

Each reading group is responsible for covering all three of the following texts.

(That means EVERYONE should read AT LEAST ONE of the following.)

- Rita Chin, 'Guest Worker Migration and the Unexpected Return of Race', in Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley and Atina Grossmann, eds., *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 102–136 [**eBook**]
- Mike Dennis and Norman Laporte, *State and Minorities in Communist East Germany* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 87–123 (Ch. 4: 'Asian and African Workers in the Niches of Society') [**e-offprint**]
- Ulrich Herbert and Karin Hunn, 'Guest Workers and Policy on Guest Workers in the Federal Republic. From the Beginning of Recruitment in 1955 until its Halt in 1973', in Hanna Schissler, ed., *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 187–218 [**e-offprint**]

Further Reading

Guest workers

Karen Schönwälder, 'The Difficult Task of Managing Migration. The 1973 Recruitment Stop', in Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer and Mark Roseman, eds., *German History from the Margins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 252–267 [**eBook**]

Ulrich Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1980: Seasonal Workers, Forced Laborers, Guest Workers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 193-254 (Ch. 5: 'Gastarbeiter in the Growth Economy')

Film: Rainer Werner Fassbinder, *Ali – Fear Eats the Soul: Angst essen Seele auf* (1974)

Germany and the 'Third World'

Quinn Slobodian, ed., *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World* (New York: Berghahn, 2015), esp. Chs. 2, 4, 6, 7, and 8 [**eBook**]

Young-Sun Hong, "'The Benefits of Health Must Spread Among All'. International Solidarity, Health, and Race in the East German Encounter with the Third World', in Katherine Pence and Paul Betts, eds., *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008)

Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012)

Ostpolitik

M. E. Sarotte, *Dealing with the Devil: East Germany, Détente, and Ostpolitik, 1969-1973* (Chapel Hill NC, London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001)

- Julia von Dannenberg, *The Foundations of Ostpolitik: The Making of the Moscow Treaty between West Germany and the USSR* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- N. Piers Ludlow, *European integration and the Cold War: Ostpolitik-Westpolitik, 1965-1973* (London: Routledge, 2007), 16
- Avril Pittman, *From Ostpolitik to Reunification: West German-Soviet Political Relations since 1974* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

WEEK 8 (18 APRIL):

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS / ÖKOPAX IN EAST AND WEST

As the upheavals of '1968' receded, a new and durable wave of protest-related activity developed in West Germany during the 1970s, focusing on issues related to feminism, lesbian and gay rights, environmentalism, human rights and peace. Though such concerns were hardly 'new' at the time, the sudden growth of such movements and their seemingly novel protest strategies led to them being labelled 'New Social Movements'. By the early 1980s, groups with similar interests had emerged in East Germany, where they developed a certain autonomy under the protection of the Protestant church.

As environmental concerns and Cold War tensions increased in parallel during the 1980s, some activists synthesised their visions of *Ökologie* and pacifism. 'Ökopax' activism of this kind even led to some contact between citizens of East and West Germany.

Questions

- How did activism on peace and ecology come to overlap in 1980s West Germany?
- When Germans in East and West discussed 'peace' or 'human rights', did they mean the same thing?

Set Reading

- Excerpts from Petra Kelly, *Fighting for Hope* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1984) [**e-offprints**]
 - o pp. 29-32 on non-violence
 - o pp. 56-59 on Swords into Ploughshares (GDR)
 - o pp. 73-76 Appeal
- Primary sources online
 - o Peace and Human Rights (1986) [[GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/zkCeU1](https://goo.gl/zkCeU1)]
 - o An Expelled East German Dissident Explains the Peace Movement (July 21, 1983) [[GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/ryvSWc](https://goo.gl/ryvSWc)]
 - o The Krefeld Appeal (November 1980) [[GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/n99L69](https://goo.gl/n99L69)]
 - o East-West German Initiative (1983) [[GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/ctBgdy](https://goo.gl/ctBgdy)]

Group readings

Each group is responsible for covering ALL THREE of the following readings.

(That means that EVERYONE should read AT LEAST ONE of them.)

- Saskia Richter, 'The Protagonists of the Peace Movement', in Christoph Becker-Schaum, Philipp Gassert, Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke and Marianne Zepp, eds., *Nuclear Crisis: The Arms Race, Cold War Anxiety, and the German Peace Movement of the 1980s* (Berghahn, 2016), 189–206 [**e-offprint**]
- Saskia Richter, 'Petra Kelly, International Green Leader. On Biography and the Peace Movement as Resources of Power in West German Politics, 1979-1983', *German Politics and Society*, 33, 4 (2015), 80–96 [**journal/online**]
- Susanne Schregel, 'The Spaces and Places of the Peace Movement', in Christoph Becker-Schaum, Philipp Gassert, Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke and Marianne Zepp, eds., *Nuclear Crisis: The Arms Race, Cold War Anxiety, and the German Peace Movement of the 1980s* (Berghahn, 2016) [**e-offprint**]

Further Reading

- Ned Richardson-Little, 'Dictatorship and Dissent: Human Rights in East Germany', in Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn, eds., *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 49–67 [**online** as part of GHI Bulletin 56]
- Hanno Balz, "'We Don't Want Your 'Peace' ...'" The West German Antiwar Movement, Youth Protest, and the Peace Movement at the Beginning of the 1980s', *German Politics and Society*, 33, 3 (2015), 28–48 [**journal/online**]
- Holger Nehring and Benjamin Ziemann, 'Do All Paths Lead to Moscow? The NATO Dual-Track Decision and the Peace Movement – A Critique', *Cold War History*, 12, 1 (2012), 1–24 [**journal/online**]
- Frank Uekötter, *The Greenest Nation?: A New History of German Environmentalism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014)

WEEK 9 (25 APRIL):

EVERYDAY LIFE UNDER LATE SOCIALISM / SUBCULTURES AND SEXUAL MINORITIES

Even prior to *Ostpolitik* and right up to the moment of its collapse, the GDR seemed like a stable fixture of the Cold War status quo. That it would be undone by international factors was largely unforeseeable until the summer of 1989; that domestic opposition would play a decisive role in its demise was almost inconceivable. On the one hand, GDR society was kept 'in check' by the extensive surveillance apparatus of the Stasi; at the same time, the overwhelming majority of people who did not become openly involved in protest, dissent, or politics had found ways to live with the system, and to live well. The GDR did not deliver the kind of prosperity to its citizens that West Germany was able to, but it also kept inequality within certain limits and remained far more prosperous than its immediate neighbour to the east.

In this lesson, we will examine 'everyday life' in the GDR as historians have reconstructed it since 1989, often with the aid of files from the Stasi. We will then turn our attention to subcultures and sexual minorities in the 1980s.

Questions

- Was the GDR a 'welfare dictatorship'?
- How can we usefully describe 'resistance' to the regime in everyday life?
- Why did East Germans not do more to resist restrictions on their liberties?

Set readings

Everyone should read at least ONE of the following TWO readings:

- a. Mary Fulbrook, 'Popular Discontent and Political Activism in the GDR', *Contemporary European History*, 2, 3 (1993), 265–282 [**journal/online**]
- b. Konrad H. Jarausch, 'Care and Coercion. The GDR as Welfare Dictatorship', in Konrad Hugo Jarausch and Eve Duffy, eds., *Dictatorship as Experience: Towards a Socio-Cultural History of the GDR* (Oxford: Berghahn, 1999), 47–69 [**Google Books**]

Group readings

Each group is responsible for covering ALL THREE of the following readings.

(That means that EVERYONE should read AT LEAST ONE of them.)

- a. Jeff Hayton, 'Härte gegen Punk: Popular Music, Western Media, and State Response in the German Democratic Republic', *German History*, 31, 4 (2013), 523–549 [**journal/online**]
- b. Mike Dennis and Norman Laporte, *State and Minorities in Communist East Germany* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 170–94 (Ch 7: 'Skinheads and Right-Wing Extremism in an Anti-Fascist State') [**e-offprint**]
- c. Josie McLellan, 'Glad to be Gay Behind the Wall. Gay and Lesbian Activism in 1970s East Germany', *History Workshop Journal*, 74 (2012), 105–130 [**journal/online**]

Further Reading

Everyday life in the GDR

Paul Betts, *Within walls: Private life in the German Democratic Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), esp. Chs. 1, 4, 6, 7

Scott Moranda, 'Camping in East Germany. Making "Rough" Nature More Comfortable', in David Crowley, ed., *Pleasures in socialism: Leisure and luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2010), 197–216

Dorothee Wierling, 'Work, Workers, and Politics in the German Democratic Republic', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 50 (1996), 44–63

Dorothee Wierling, 'The East as the Past: Problems with Memory and Identity', *German Politics & Society*, 15, 2 (43) (1997), 53–71

Jan Palmowski, *Inventing a Socialist Nation: Heimat and the Politics of Everyday Life in the GDR, 1945-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Film: Christian Petzold, *Barbara* (2012)

Film: Heiner Carow, *The Legend of Paul and Paula: Die Legende von Paul und Paula* (Berlin: Icestorm, 1972)

Youth culture in the GDR

Juliane Brauer, 'Clashes of emotions: Punk music, youth Subculture, and authority in the GDR (1978-1983)', *Social Justice*, 38, 4 (2012), 53–70

Mary Fulbrook, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 115-140 (Ch. 'Youth')

Mark Fenemore, *Sex, Thugs and Rock 'n' Roll: Teenage Rebels in Cold-War East Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007) [**eBook**]

Youth culture in West Berlin

Film: Uli Edel, *Christiane F.: Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo* (1981)

Film: Jörg A. Hoppe, Heiko Lange and Klaus Maeck, *B-Movie: Lust and Sound in West Berlin 1979-1989* (DVD)

WEEK 10 (2 MAY):

GERMAN UNIFICATION / THE END OF THE (COLD WAR) WORLD

In May 1989, Hungary's decision to open its border with Austria precipitated an emigration crisis for the GDR which grew throughout the summer. The easing of travel restrictions in November quickly led to an existential crisis for the East German state. In the wake of its apparent collapse, elements of the state combined with civil society actors to negotiate unification with West Germany, a process which quickly took on a dynamic of its own. We will examine the process of unification in the lecture before turning our attention in the seminar to the consequences for one town along the former German-German border.

Questions

- Why did the East German regime collapse so quickly in the Summer and Fall of 1989?
- Which actors were most responsible for German unification? Why did some opponents of the SED regime also oppose unification with West Germany?
- In what ways did unification transform everyday life in East Germany? How were urban and rural communities differently affected?

Set Reading

- Daphne Berdahl, *Where the World Ended: Re-unification and Identity in the German Borderland* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 140–83 (Ch. 5 'Borderlands') [**eBook**]
- Excerpts from Richard T. Gray and Sabine Wilke, eds., *German Unification and its Discontents: Documents from the Peaceful Revolution* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996) [**e-offprint**]
 - o Documents 1-7
 - o Documents 16-17
 - o Documents 22, 25
 - o Document 32

Further Reading

- Mary Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR 1949-1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 243–65 (Ch. 9: ‘The End of a Dictatorship: Mass Mobilization and Regime Implosion, Autumn 1989’) – see also Ch. 8, ‘The Growth of Political Activism’
- Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997)
- Steven Pfaff, ‘Collective Identity and Informal Groups in Revolutionary Mobilization: East Germany in 1989’, *Social Forces*, 75, 1 (1996), 91–117
- Charles S. Maier, *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), esp. Chs 3, 4
- Konrad Hugo Jarausch and Volker Gransow, eds., *Uniting Germany: Documents and debates 1944-1993* (Providence, RI: Berghahn, 1994)
- Konrad Hugo Jarausch, *The Rush to German Unity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994)
- M. E. Sarotte, *1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009)

WEEK 11 (9 MAY):

UNITED GERMANY IN AN EXPANDING EUROPE / IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY SINCE UNIFICATION
The unification of Germany transformed geopolitics within Europe and moving the border of the European Union from the Elbe to the Oder. The collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the Soviet Union also led to new waves of intra-European migration. *Ossis* and *Wessis* soon found themselves sharing a state and a national identity that was being transformed from above and below by impulses within and beyond its own borders. In this lecture and seminar, we will examine a variety of ways in which Germans related to national and ethnic Others during the 1990s—as well as how Germans in East and West related to one another.

Questions

- What explains the rise of racist violence in the 1990s? Were the reasons for it the same in East and West?
- To what extent did Ossis and Wessis have different understandings of their shared national identity?
- Did united Germany become particularly ‘European’ or did it shape Europe into something particularly ‘German’?

Set readings

- Mary Fulbrook, ‘*Ossis* and *Wessis*. The creation of two German societies, 1945-1990’, in Mary Fulbrook, ed., *Twentieth-Century Germany: Politics, culture and society 1918-1990* (London: Arnold, 2001), 225–246 [**e-offprint**]

Group Readings

Each group is responsible for covering ALL THREE of the following readings.

(That means that EVERYONE should read AT LEAST ONE of them.)

- a. Roger Karapin, *Protest Politics in Germany: Movements on the Left and Right since the 1960s* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 161–90, Ch. 4 (Immigration conflicts in West Germany) [**eBook**]
- b. Roger Karapin, *Protest Politics in Germany: Movements on the Left and Right since the 1960s* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 191–218, Ch. 5 (Immigration conflicts in East Germany) [**eBook**]
- c. Mark Keck-Szajbel, ‘The Politics of Travel and the Creation of a European Society’, *Global Society*, 24, 1 (2010), 31–50 [**journal/online**]
- d. Erica Carter, ‘Culture, History and National Identity in the Two Germanies, 1945–1999’, in Mary Fulbrook, ed., *Twentieth-Century Germany: Politics, culture and society 1918-1990* (London: Arnold, 2001), 247–269 [**e-offprint**]

Further Reading

Kiran Klaus Patel, 'Germany and European Integration since 1945', in Helmut Walser Smith, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 775–794

Daphne Berdahl, 'The Spirit of Capitalism and the Boundaries of Citizenship in Post-Wall Germany', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 47, 02 (2005) [**journal/online**]

Film: Burhan Qurbani, *We are Young, We are Strong: Wir sind jung, wir sind stark* (Germany, 2014)

Film: Wolfgang Becker, *Good Bye Lenin!* (2003)