

Uncompleted Republic: The German Nation and Democracy after the Fall of the Berlin Wall

Dr. Martin Jander

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FU-BEST Course Number:	FU-BEST Online 2
Live Sessions	Monday, 9 – 11 a.m. CET (Berlin time)
Duration	Feb. 14 – May 9, 2022
Language of Instruction:	English
Contact Hours	30
ECTS Credits	6

Course Description

The end of the Cold War marked the beginning of a new era in world politics. For all societies, many changes have occurred since that time. In Germany they are radical: two German societies, a democracy (Federal Republic of Germany) and a dictatorship (German Democratic Republic), united into one nation and one state on October 3, 1990.

In this seminar we will deal, step by step, with the most important changes in German society and in its international environment. We want to answer the following questions: What is the state of democracy in the unified country? Can all citizens of the country exercise their rights guaranteed by the Constitution? Does the Federal Republic consider its neighbors and other democracies in Europe and the rest of the world as equal partners? Could the unification of the two German states become a model for other societies? What challenges do German democrats face in the united Federal Republic, in Europe and in the world?

With the unification occurred, according to the philosopher Jürgen Habermas, a "catching-up revolution" ("Nachholende Revolution" [Jürgen Habermas, Die nachholende Revolution, Frankfurt 1990]). The GDR, which united with the Federal Republic, experienced a democratic modernization that had already taken place in the western part of Germany after 1945, instigated by the Allies, especially the United States of America.

Unification also brought about further reforms: The newly unified Federal Republic began to recognize itself as a country of immigration, and it began to compensate victims of National Socialism who had not yet been compensated, such as forced laborers.

In addition, the unification process pluralized society's party system as a whole. In all parts of society, five political parties – conservatives, liberals, social democrats, greens and leftists – play a stable role in the formation of the political will and politics. However, the modernization and democratization of the unified Federal Republic also provoked protests from more than a few citizens. Such protests are often articulated in the election of right-wing extremist groups: Since about 2015, a sixth party has been added to the picture, the right-wing populist, in parts radical right-wing Alternative for Germany. Alarming, the number of right-wing terrorist attacks has also increased dramatically since unification. NGOs say that since October 3, 1990, 213 people – Jews, immigrants, refugees and others – have been killed by right-wing terrorists.

The foreign policy orientation of the Federal Republic is also being critically questioned. Politicians from right-wing, left-wing and nationalist camps question the foreign policy orientation of the Federal Republic of Germany toward the United States and its membership in NATO.

Conditions in Germany itself, in Europe and in the international arena are constantly evolving. A final assessment of the consequences of the unification of the two societies after the end of the Cold War is not yet possible. However, this seminar will give students an insight into the various conflicts in German society. At the end of the seminar, they should themselves be able to answer the main question of the seminar: Can the unification of the two German states be seen as a model for other democracies in the world?

Learning Objectives

In this course the students (1) get an overview of the developments in Germany after 1945 and especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The time frame covers the 20th and 21st centuries. The participants of the course will (2) discuss the situation in Germany through the eyes of historians, sociologists and political scientists. In addition, the students (3) learn about the different judgements of the outcome of the process of the unification of German society. The course also encourages students (4) to improve their own ability to write historical essays. Last but not least, the course (5) points the students to important places and memories in Berlin and other European cities.

Students must read the suggested texts for each lesson. They should also research the most important places and museums in Berlin for each topic. For one place, they write a report. In addition, in preparation for each lesson, the students should communicate among themselves which questions remained unclear in the last lesson. The following lesson begins with a discussion of these open questions.

Student Prerequisites

Students should have completed at least three semesters of higher education when the course starts and need to possess English language abilities in speaking and writing on the Upper Intermediate Level (at least B2, preferably above).

General Requirements

Attendance of the weekly live sessions is mandatory (for the specific time slot, see above). These live sessions will be combined with recorded video lessons and intensive work through the online course platform, both individually and in groups. Altogether, this course awards credits for 30 contact hours and 90 hours of additional workload as well as completion of the [Portfolio Intercultural Awareness \(PIA\)](#). Please see course requirements for the various formats and weight of the course assignments as well as forms of assessment.

This course features a certain amount of independent coursework and thus expects you to be able to set up a self-disciplined study routine. We recommend that you make sure to have a quiet and appropriate working space. To ensure a comfortable learning environment for all, please adhere to our [Code of Online Conduct](#).

Technical Requirements

Stable internet connection.

Fully functional device, such as computer, laptop or tablet (use of smart phones is not recommended) with camera and microphone, headset recommended.

Recommended operating systems: Windows 7 or higher or MacOS X 10,13 or higher. Avoid using a VPN.

Software: Webex Meetings.

Course Requirements

In this seminar, you should (1) attend every session and actively participate in the seminar debate. This includes presenting (with Powerpoint) one of the mandatory texts in one of the sessions. You must (2) conduct an "independent research project" (explore an interesting place of Berlin and write down how you understand its historical-political significance). You will (3) write a "midterm exam", where you will be given questions related to the course so far. At the end, you will (4) write a "Term Paper", a historical essay, the topic of which you will consult with the professor. The grading of all these course elements will make up your final grade as follows:

Live Online Attendance (min. 75% required) & Participation: 200 Points (20%)

Independent Research Project and Paper: 200 Points (20%) [You will discuss the deadline with your professor.]

Midterm Exam: 250 Points (25%) [In class, Week 6.]

Term Paper: 350 Points (35%) [Due in Week 11.]

Grading

FU Grade	Points of 1,000
1.0	980-1,000
1.3	950-979
1.7	900-949
2.0	850-899
2.3	800-849
2.7	750-799
3.0	700-749
3.3	650-699
3.7	600-649
4.0	500-599
5.0	< 500

Literature

Provided online.

Course Schedule

Calendar	Topics, Reading, etc.
<p>Week 1 14/02/2022</p>	<p>Introduction: Fall of the Wall</p> <p>Introduction to the class. Dr. Jander explains the class, its topics, the way we want to work together. Students explain what they are interested in and what they are looking for in this class. In the time left, students and professor discuss their memories and knowledge of the fall of the Wall in Germany.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ralf Dahrendorf, The Question is Posed, in: Ralf Dahrendorf, Society and Democracy in Germany (London 1969), pp. 3-16. • Andrei Markovits, Simon Reich, The Lastest Stage of the German Question, in: Andrei Markovits, Simon Reich, The German Predicament (New York 1997), pp. 1-22. • Harvard College, “A Brief Guide to Writing the History Paper”, 2007 (Dan Wewers, for the Writing Center at Harvard College) (https://hwpi.harvard.edu/files/hwp/files/bg_writing_history.pdf) <p>Knowledge/Research Question for next session: What do you know about Germany’s foreign policy before the end of the Cold War?</p>
<p>Week 2 21/02/2022</p>	<p>After the Cold War: Germany, Europe, USA and Russia</p> <p>After the end of the Cold War and the enlargement of the European Union, the web of international relations has changed. Germany has gained influence through unification. It is not certain whether it will maintain its Cold War-era orientation toward the United States.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Andrei Markovits, Simon Reich, Germans and Germany: A view from the United States, in: Andrei Markovits, Simon Reich, The German Predicament (New York 1997), pp. 59-73. • James Kirchick, Conclusion: The European Dream, in: James Kirchick, The End of Europe (London 2017), pp. 224-230. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p> <p>Knowledge/Research Question for next session: What have you heard about the unification of Germany so far?</p>

<p>Week 3 28/02/2022</p>	<p>Unification of Germany, Transformation of the GDR</p> <p>There has often been talk of “unifying” Germany. In fact, however, two processes were/are taking place simultaneously: The former GDR is being transformed into a democracy, and in this process, German society is unifying. The model of the transformation process is the old Federal Republic of Germany.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A. James McAdams, Explaining Inter-German Cooperation in the 1980s, in: Michael G. Huelshoff, Andrei Markovits, and Simon Reich: From Bundesrepublik to Deutschland (Michigan 1993), pp. 191-206. • Arthur M. Hanhardt, The Collapse of the German Democratic Republic and Its Unification with the Federal Republic of Germany, 1989–90, in: Michael G. Huelshoff, Andrei Markovits, and Simon Reich: From Bundesrepublik to Deutschland (Michigan 1993), pp. 207-234. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p> <p>Knowledge/Research Question for the next session: What do you know about slave labor in Germany in the time of German National Socialism?</p>
<p>Week 4 07/03/2022</p>	<p>Forgotten Victims: Compensation of Slave Work in Nazi Germany</p> <p>In the compensation policy of the old Federal Republic, one group of victims had been disadvantaged, the former forced laborers. They had been deported to Nazi Germany from all countries occupied by the German army. Due to pressure from organizations of surviving forced laborers, the Federal Republic was forced to make up for this after unification.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mark Mazower, Workers, in: Mark Mazower, Hitlers Empire: How the Nazis ruled Europe (London 2009), pp. 259-318. • Mark Mazower, Hitler’s New Order 1938–1945, in: Mark Mazower, Dark Continent. Europe’s Twentieth Century (New York 1998), pp. 138-181. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p> <p>Knowledge/Research Question for the next session: What do you know about the Paradigm “Deutscher Sonderweg” (German separate path)?</p>
<p>Week 5 14/03/2022</p>	<p>End of the Paradigm “Deutscher Sonderweg”?</p> <p>One of the most important schools of historians speaks about German history since the 19th century as a German separate path (German: “Deutscher Sonderweg”) into modernity– a “special path” that did not internalize the values of the Enlightenment and therefore ended in national socialism. Many historians followed this interpretation. How do they see Germany today?</p> <p>Readings</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friedrich August Winkler, Farewell to Separate Paths: Looking Back and Looking Ahead, in: Friedrich August Winkler, Germany: The Long Road West, 1933 – 1990 (New York 2000), pp. 573-588. • Konrad H. Jarausch, Prospects for the Twenty-first Century, in: Konrad Jarausch, Out of Ashes (Princeton 2015), pp. 773-788. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p> <p>Students will receive study questions to prepare for the midterm exam in the next seminar session.</p>
<p>Week 6 21/03/2022</p>	<p>Midterm Exam</p> <p>In this session, students will write their midterm exam online. They are not allowed to use books, papers or notes. Students have to answer four questions. In the beginning of the session, the questions will be sent to the students. At the end of the session, they have to send their answers via e-mail to the professor.</p>
<p>Week 7 04/04/2022</p>	<p>Immigration: The New German Citizenship Law</p> <p>A major reform of the Federal Republic of Germany in the process of unification concerns citizenship law. Since 2000, every child born in the Federal Republic receives German citizenship. This is a decisive break with Germany's national tradition. Since 1913, only those people who had German parents received German citizenship.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, German Democracy and the Question of Difference (1945-1995), in: Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley, and Atina Grossmann (eds.), After the Nazi Racial State (Ann Arbor 2009), pp. 102-136. • Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, What's Race Got to Do with It? Postwar German History in Context, in: Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley, and Attina Grossmann (eds.), After the Nazi Racial State (Ann Arbor 2009), pp. 1-29. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p> <p>Knowledge/Research Question for the next session: What do you know about German economy after the unification of the two German states?</p>

<p>Week 8 11/04/2022</p>	<p>German Economy and European Union</p> <p>One of the most significant elements of the German economy is its export orientation. The European Union is its largest market. Therefore, the German government must also take into account the wishes of Germany's European partners. This does not always go without conflict. One of the very significant and clearly visible conflicts is the "Nordstream 2" project.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christopher S. Allen, From Social Market to Mesocorporatism to European Integration: The Politics of German Economic Policy, in: Michael G. Huelshoff, Andrei Markovits, and Simon Reich (eds.), From Bundesrepublik to Deutschland (Michigan 1993), pp. 61-76. • German Economic Integration: The Case for Optimism, in: Michael G. Huelshoff, Andrei Markovits, and Simon Reich (eds.), From Bundesrepublik to Deutschland (Michigan 1993), pp. 93-114. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p> <p>Knowledge/Research Question for the next session: What do you know about the ways in which German societies dealt with racism and colonialism after 1945?</p>
<p>Week 9 18/04/2022</p> <p>(Easter Monday)</p> <p>Class will take place!</p>	<p>Decolonisation: A Forgotten German Genocide</p> <p>German colonial history was short, compared to that of other countries – Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Great Britain. Germany had to give up its colonies at the end of World War I. However, it did not pay any compensation for the victims of colonialism. The victims of the German genocide in today's Namibia, however, had not forgotten that. Only since 2021, Germany has been recognizing that its army "1904-108" in the colony "German Southwest" committed genocide.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sara Friedrichsmayer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop. Introduction, in: Sara Friedrichsmayer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, The Imperialist Imagination (Ann Arbor 1998), pp. 1-32. • Geoff Eley, The Trouble with "Race": Migrancy, Cultural Difference, and the Remaking of Europe, in: Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley, and Atina Grossmann (eds.), After the Nazi Racial State (Ann Arbor 2009), pp. 137-182. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p> <p>Knowledge/Research Question for the next session: What do you know about the ways in which German societies dealt with antisemitism after 1945?</p>

<p>Week 10 25/04/2022</p>	<p>Germany, Jews and Israel</p> <p>When the Shoah was over, the old Federal Republic began to fight antisemitism step by step and to build new relations with Israel. The old GDR did not. Most Jews were expelled from the GDR in the winter of 1952. The GDR never recognized Israel. With unification, a new chapter was opened. German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared before the parliament in Israel that Israel's security was part of the Federal Republic's reason of state.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jeffrey M. Peck, East Germany, in: David S. Wyman (ed), The World Reacts to the Holocaust (London 1996), pp. 447-472. • Jeffrey Herf, Multiple Restorations and Divided Memory, in: Jeffrey Herf, Divided Memory (London 1997), pp. 1-12. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p> <p>Knowledge/Research Question for the next session: What do you know about the immigrants that came to Germany after 1945? How do they see their German “experiment”?</p>
<p>Week 11 02/05/2022</p> <p>Term Paper Due</p>	<p>German Unification, Diverse Memories</p> <p>The various groups of immigrants bring their memories with them to the Federal Republic of Germany. Since many were not granted citizenship, they often do not see themselves as Germans. In some cases, problematic racist and antisemitic memory cultures can also be identified. Germany does not have a unified collective memory.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Michael Rothberg, Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation (Stanford 2009), pp. 1-29. • Dan Diner, Cataclysms: Genocide and Memory, in: Dan Diner, Cataclysms (London 2008), pp. 153-198. • Meir Litvak, Esther Webman, Conclusions, in: Meir Litvak, Esther Webman, From Empathy to Denial (London 2009), pp. 377-387. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p> <p>Knowledge/Research Question for the next session: What do you know about the rise of the far right in Germany after the end of GDR?</p>

<p>Week 12 09/05/2022</p>	<p>Political Pluralisation and the Rise of the Far Right</p> <p>After the unification of the FRG and the GDR, signs of an unfinished democratic republic remain visible in Germany. As in many other European societies, right-wing populist tendencies and other anti-modern movements are growing. Democracy in Germany and in other European countries is in a critical situation.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, ed., Germany after 1945. A Society confronts Antisemitism, Racism, and Neo-Nazism (Berlin 2016), pp. 16-56. • John D. Ely, The “Black-Brown Hazelnut” in a Bigger Germany: The Rise of a Radical Right as a Structural Feature, in: Michael G. Huelshoff, Andrei Markovits, and Simon Reich (eds.), From Bundesrepublik to Deutschland (Michigan 1993), pp. 235-268. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p> <p>Research Question for the next session: What do you know about the term “political culture”?</p>
<p>Week 13 16/05/2022</p>	<p>Modernity, Democracy and Political Culture</p> <p>The world knows many different forms of modern democracies. The USA, France, India, Australia and others are very different. Historians speak of multiple modernities (Shmuel N. Eisenstadt) and different forms of enlightenment (Dan Diner). The Democracies of our planet are not only threatened by external opponents: They are also endangered when parts of society reject democratic values.</p> <p>Readings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Konrad H. Jarausch, A chastened Modernity, in: Konrad H. Jarausch: Out of Ashes (Princeton University Press 2015), pp. 773-788. • Dan Diner, Introduction, in: Dan Diner, Cataclysms. A history of the Twentieth Century from Europe’s Edge (The University of Wisconsin Press 2015), pp. 3-10. <p>Student Presentation: 1) Student Presentation: 2)</p>