

PS147T: The History and Politics of Germany

Introduction:

In many ways, the story of Germany in the 20th century is really the story of the 20th Century as a whole. Germany lies at the center of communism and capitalism, of militarism and consumerism, of nationalism and fascism, of two World Wars and the Cold War. Moreover, the emergence of a new, reunified Germany after 1989 set forth an optimistic view for a global 21st Century. While that optimism may have faded, Germany's role in the world has not. As Angela Merkel's 16 years as Chancellor come to a conclusion in 2021, she is widely considered to have taken the mantle as leader of the free world: unthinkable thirty years before.

This course looks at contemporary German politics, but with historical context. First, we briefly explore the tumult of German history in the 19th and 20th centuries, to understand many of the historical dynamics that shape German political institutions, policies, and culture. Then we look at German political institutions and policy domains, to understand contemporary politics and policymaking in Europe's largest economy and strongest power.

Student Resources

For students needing additional support with additional strain from distance learning, Coronavirus, or any other reason, Berkeley has some resources available for student support. In addition to the below, further resources may become available: check <https://sa.berkeley.edu/covid19> for the most recent updates.

Basic Needs Center (Food and Housing): <http://basicneeds.berkeley.edu/>
Counseling and Psychological Services: <https://uhs.berkeley.edu/counseling>
Disabled Students' Program: <https://dsp.berkeley.edu/>
Student Technology Equity Program: <https://technology.berkeley.edu/STEP>

Grading

Grade Distribution:

A: >93%	B-: 80%-83%	D+: 67%-70%
A-: 90%-93%	C+: 77%-80%	D: 63%-67%
B+: 87%-90%	C: 73%-77%	D-: 60%-63%
B: 83%-87%	C-: 70%-73%	F: <60%

Grade Breakdown:

Participation (Section grade): 10%
Short Paper: 20%
Short Exam: 15%
Coalition Simulation: 15%
Reading Responses: 10%
Final Paper: 30%

Students will need to complete over the course of the semester: one short paper, one short exam, two reading responses, participation in a coalition building simulation, and one research paper.

Your short paper will address the historical portions of the course. It should be 4 pages, double spaced. In this assignment, you will pick a German film, television show, or novel to watch or read. We will provide a list of suggestions, but it will not be exhaustive, and you can pick something off the list. You should consider the piece you watch or read in a critical lens, in the context of what we have learned in the course. How does the piece change your understanding of German politics? Where is it accurate or inaccurate?

Your short exam will be an open book, take home exam. It will be on bCourses and will be submitted using the Quizzes function. Students will have a set period of time to take the exam over the course of multiple days, to accommodate different responsibilities, time zones, and other issues that might arise. It will be multiple choice/fill in the blank.

As is convenient for students over the semester, students should post **two (2)** reading responses on a bCourses discussion thread in your SECTION bCourses. These should be about a paragraph long and should engage with the readings for that class period. They will be due before lecture on the corresponding day. You may choose which two lecture periods to focus on from this section of the course. These are not the same as a discussion post for asynchronous lecture viewing. Additional responses can be considered by your GSI to count for participation grade.

Students will also participate in a coalition building exercise. This will be held during Week 15. This exercise will test your understanding of the German party political system and German public policy. Students will be assigned an individual politician to represent; they will have to work with their political party. Larger parties will be assigned more actors; each individual may have some personal interests to consider in addition to the team's overall interest. An election result will be simulated, and then we will form a governing coalition. Students will be graded on two things. First, there will be a participation element, in which students are graded on their individual, accurate participation in the negotiations. Second, there will be a 2-3 page written reflection. In this reflection, students should discuss the outcome of the simulation, reflecting on their individual actor's preferences, their party's preferences, and the decision reached. They can discuss the strategies used in the simulation and if they were successful in their goals or not.

Finally, you will do one research paper (8-10 pages, double spaced) on a topic of your choice pertaining to German politics. Your GSI will assign you small interim assignments (for example, an outline, and a bibliography) throughout the semester for participation points as part of your section grade to make sure you stay on track.

Course Schedule

Week 1:

Monday: Introduction and historical "Germany"

Burg, Peter. 1992. "State and nation in the German confederation (1815-1866)." *History of European Ideas* 15(1-3): 31-37.

Schulze, Hagen. 1991. *The Course of German Nationalism: From Frederick the Great to Bismarck, 1763-1867*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 11 (97-102).

Wednesday: German unification

Bismarck, Otto von. 1862. "Excerpt from Bismarck's 'Blood and Iron' Speech." *German History in Documents and Images*. http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=250&language=english

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2006. *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Ch. 6.

Friday: Bismarckian and Wilhelmine Germany

Anderson, Margaret Lavinia. 1993. "Voter, Junker, Landrat, Priest: The Old Authorities and the New Franchise in Imperial Germany." *American Historical Review* 98(5), 1448-1474.

Week 2:

Monday: Versailles and The Weimar Republic

MacMillan, Margaret. 2003. *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*. New York: Random House, Ch. 14 (pp. 166-79)

McElligott, Anthony. 2009. *Weimar Germany*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Ch 1.

Wednesday: The Collapse of Weimar

Peukert, Detlev J.K. 1987. *The Weimar Republic*. New York: Hill and Wang, Ch. 13-14 (pp. 249-273).

Friday: Germany under Hitler and the Holocaust

Browning, Christopher R. 1998 [1992]. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. New York: Harper, Chs. 5-7 (pp. 38-70)

Broszat, Martin. 1981. *The Hitler State*. New York: Routledge, Ch. 11 (346-360).

Week 3:

Monday: The Division of Germany

Wagner, R. Harrison. 1980. "The Decision to Divide Germany and the Origins of the Cold War." *International Studies Quarterly* 24(2): 155-190.

Wednesday: The West German Economic Miracle

Sally, Razeen. 1994. "The Social Market and Liberal Order: Theory and Policy Implications." *Government and Opposition* 29(4): 461-476.

Friday: East German State Socialism

Sammartino, Annemarie. 2018. "The New Socialist Man in the *Plattenbau*: The East German Housing Program and the Development of the Socialist Way of Life." *Journal of Urban History* 44(1): 78-94.

Gieseke, Jens. 2014. *The History of the Stasi: East Germany's Secret Police, 1945-1990*. New York: Berghahn, Ch. 3. (pp. 77-95).

Week 4:

Monday: West German foreign policy and the European Economic Community

Thiemeyer, Guido. 2007. "The 'Social Market Economy' and its Impact on German European Policy in the Adenauer Era, 1949-1963." *German Politics and Society* 25(2): 68-85.

Wednesday: East Germany and the Eastern Bloc

Wendt, Alexander and Daniel Friedheim. 1995. "Hierarchy under Anarchy: Informal empire and the East German state." *International Organization* 49(4): 689-721.

Friday: Rise of the West German left

Hockenos, Paul. 2007. *Joschka Fisher and the Making of the Berlin Republic: An Alternative History of Postwar Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Ch. 5 (pp. 203-264).

Week 5:

Monday: Decline of East Germany

Maier, Charles. 1997. *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 32-58, 78-97.

Wednesday: 1989

Lohmann, Susanne. 1994. "The Dynamics of Informational Cascades: The Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-91." *World Politics* 47(1): 42-101. [Of course do not read the mathematical appendix, which begins on page 91].

[Optional]: Sarotte, Mary Elise. 2014. *The Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall*. New York: Basic, Ch. 5. **[Optional]**

Friday: Reunification

Sarotte, Mary Elise. 2014 [2009]. *1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Ch. 6 (pp. 195-214).

Maier, Charles. 1997. *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Ch. 4 (pp. 168-194).

Week 6:Monday: Germany in the 1990s

Wiesenthal, Helmut. 2003. "German unification and 'Model Germany': An adventure in institutional conservatism." *West European Politics* 26(4): 37-58.

Wednesday: Germany and European integration in the 1980s and 1990s

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1991. "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community." *International Organization* 45(1): 19-56.

Friday: German political parties

Decker, Frank and Philipp Adorf. 2018. "Coalition Politics in Crisis? The German Party System Before and After the 2017 Federal Election." *German Politics and Society* 36(2): 5-26.

Week 7:Monday: German Federal Institutions

Langenbacher, Eric. 2017. *The German Polity*, 11th edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, Ch. 7

Wednesday: Parliamentary Democracy, Elections, and Coalitions

Langenbacher, Eric. 2017. *The German Polity*, 11th edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, Ch. 6

Mushaben, Joyce Marie. 2016. "The Best of Times, the Worst of Times: Angela Merkel, the Grand Coalition, and 'Majority Rule' in Germany." *German Politics and Society* 34(1): 1-25.

Friday: German political geography

Doerschler, Peter. 2015. "Die Linke: Still an Eastern Cultural Icon?" *German Politics* 24(3): 377-401.

Blum, Ulrich. 2019. "The East German Growth Trap: Structural Limits to Convergence?" *Intereconomics* 54: 359-368.

Week 8:Monday: Germany and the contemporary EU

Bulmer, Simon and William E. Paterson. 2019. *Germany and the European Union: Europe's Reluctant Hegemon?* London: Red Globe Press, Chapter TBD.

Wednesday: German foreign policy

Kappel, Robert. 2014. "Global Power Shifts and Germany's New Foreign Policy Agenda." *Strategic Analysis* 38(3): 341-352.

Kundnani, Hans. 2011. "Germany as Geo-economic power." *Washington Quarterly* 34(3): 31-45.

Friday: The German Constitutional Court

Rogowski, Ralf and Thomas Gawron. 2016 [2002]. "Constitutional Litigation as Dispute Processing: Comparing the U.S. Supreme Court and the German Federal Constitutional Court." In *Constitutional Courts in Comparison: The U.S. Supreme Court and the German Federal Constitutional Court*. New York: Berghahn: Ch. 1.

Fabbrini, Federico and R. Daniel Kelemen. 2020. "With one court decision, Germany may be plunging Europe into a constitutional crisis." Monkey Cage blog, *Washington Post* (May 7), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/05/07/germany-may-be-plunging-europe-into-constitutional-crisis/>

Week 9:

Monday: Federalism in practice

Sturm, Roland. 2018. "Unitary Federalism – Germany Ignores the Original Spirit of its Constitution." *REAF-JSG* 28: 17-46.

Wednesday: Policymaking

Derlien, Hans-Ulrich. 2003. "Mandarins or Managers? The Bureaucratic Elite in Bonn, 1970 to 1987 and Beyond." *Governance* 16(3): 401-428.

Zimmer, Annette and Christina Grabbe. 2020. "Models of Public Administration and the German Subsidiarity." *Models of Co-operation between Local Governments and Social Organizations* 24, 1-11.

Friday: Midterm

No Class. Multiple Choice/short answer exam on bCourses. Quiz window opens Friday, when class would meet. Exam window closes Sunday at midnight.

Week 10:

Monday: German labor market

Eichhorst, Werner and Paul Marx. 2011. "Reforming German labour market institutions: A dual path to flexibility." *Journal of European Social Policy* 21(1): 73-87.

Wednesday: Migration and citizenship

Hochman, Oshrat, et al. 2017. "Emotional Integration across Immigrant Generations in Baden-Württemberg, Germany: the Role of Discrimination." *International Migration* 56(3): 186-202.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Ch. 8 (pp. 165-178).

Friday: Migration crisis

Mushanben, Joyce Marie. 2017. "Angela Merkel's Leadership in the Refugee Crisis." *Current History* 116(788): 95-100.

Brücker, Herbert, Philipp Jaschke, and Yuliya Kosyakova. 2019. "Integrating Refugees and Asylum Seekers into the German Economy and Society: Empirical Evidence and Policy Objectives." *Migration Policy Institute Report*.

Week 11:

Monday: German nationalism

Majer-O'Sickey, Ingeborg. 2006. "Out of the Closet?: German Patriotism and Soccer Mania." *German Politics and Society* 24(3): 82-97.

Wednesday: Ostalgie

Boyer, Dominic. 2006. "Ostalgie and the Politics of the Future in Eastern Germany." *Public Culture* 18(2): 361-381.

Clarke, David and Ute Wölfel. 2011. "Remembering the German Democratic Republic in a United Germany." In *Remembering the German Democratic Republic in a United Germany*, eds. David Clarke and Ute Wölfel. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 3-22.

Friday: The rise of the radical right

Rosellini, Jay. 2019. *The German New Right: AFD, Pegida, and the Re-Imagining of National Identity*. London: Hurst, Chapter 1.

Week 12:

Monday: Environmental politics

Blühdorn, Ingolfur. 2009. "Reinventing Green Politics: On the Strategic Repositioning of the German Green Party." *German Politics* 18(1): 36-54.

Leipprand, Anna and Christian Flachsland. 2018. "Regime destabilization in energy transitions: The German debate on the future of coal." *Energy Research and Social Science* 40: 190-204.

Wednesday: The decline of the traditional left

Parness, Diane L. 2019. *The SPD and the Challenge of Mass Politics: The Dilemma of the German Volkspartei*. New York: Routledge, Chapter 1.

OR

Hansen, Michael A. and Jonathan Olsen. 2020. "Rhapsody in Beige: The Impact of SPD Candidate Evaluations on Vote Choice in the 2009, 2013, and 2017 Federal Elections." *German Politics* 29(2): 223-243.

Friday: The modern German welfare state

Blank, Florian. 2020. "The state of the German social insurance state: Reform and resilience." *Social Policy Administration* 54: 505-524.

Week 13: Subnational Case Studies

Monday: Bavaria

Hepburn, Eve. 2008. "The Neglected Nation: The CSU and the Territorial Cleavage in Bavarian Party Politics." *German Politics* 17(2): 184-202.

Wednesday: Berlin

Polat, Defne Kadioğlu. 2020. "'Now the German comes': The ethnic effect of gentrification in Berlin." *Ethnicities* 20(1); 155-176.

Azaryahu, Moaz. 1997. "German reunification and the politics of street names: The case of East Berlin." *Political Geography* 16(6): 479-493.

Friday: North-Rhine Westphalia

Götting, Adrian. 2014. "Structural Change in the Ruhr Region: Problems, Potentials and Developments." *IET Working Papers Series* No. WPS03/2014.

Week 14: Contemporary Issues

Monday: Merkel and succession

Video from *Deutsche Welle*: "Angela Merkel: Defender of the free world?"

<https://www.dw.com/en/angela-merkel-defender-of-the-free-world/av-36511083>

Wiliarty, Sarah Elise. 2018. "The state of the CDU." *German Politics* 27(1): 113-118.

Kuras, Peter. 2020. "Friedrich Merz is Ready to Bury Angela Merkel." *Foreign Policy* (February 11), <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/02/11/friedrich-merz-angela-merkel-akk-germany-chancellor/>

Kluth, Andreas. 2020. "The Double-Act That Wants to Take Over Germany." *Bloomberg Opinion* (February 25), <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2020-02-26/the-double-act-that-wants-to-take-over-germany-laschet-and-spahn>

Stelzenmüller, Constanze. 2020. "The fratboys vying to succeed Angela Merkel." *Brookings* (March 5), <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/03/05/the-fratboys-vying-to-succeed-angela-merkel/>

Wednesday: Shrinking cities

Bartholomae, Florian, Chang Woon Nam, and Alina Schoenberg. 2017. "Urban shrinkage and resurgence in Germany." *Urban Studies* 54(12): 2701-2718.

Friday: Race and BLM in Contemporary Germany

Roig, Emilia. 2017. "Uttering 'race' in colorblind France and post-racial Germany." In *Rassismuskritik und Widerstandsformen*, eds. Karim Fereidooni and Meral El (Wiesbaden: Springer VS), pp. 613-627.

More contemporary analytical essay TBD.

Week 15: Course Wrap Up

Monday: German Election Simulation

Wednesday: The German 2021 Election
Readings TBD

Friday: Germany in the Future
No new readings