

PS149P: The History and Politics of Germany

Spring 2021

MWF: 10am-11am

Zoom Room ID: *** **** ****

Lecturer

Matthew Stenberg

Stenberg@berkeley.edu

OH: Friday, 1:00-2:30 pm

OH Zoom ID#: *** **** ****

GSI

Vanessa Ehrenpreis

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OH: Monday, 1:00-2:30 pm

OH Zoom ID#: *** **** ****

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>

Grade Distribution:

A: >93%

A-: 90%-93%

B+: 87%-90%

B: 83%-87%

B-: 80%-83%

C+: 77%-80%

C: 73%-77%

C-: 70%-73%

D+: 67%-70%

D: 63%-67%

D-: 60%-63%

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. Extensions for individual papers will readily be granted; however, late work will otherwise be penalized by 1/3 letter grade per day.

Your short paper will address the historical portions of the course. It should be 3-4 pages, double spaced, and is due on **March 3**. 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.

As is convenient for students over the semester, students should post **three (3)** reading responses on a bCourses READING RESPONSE thread. 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 three 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 14. This exercise will test your understanding of the German party political system and German public policy. Within each section, students will be assigned to a political party. An election result will be simulated, and then we will form a governing coalition. There will be a written component and an active learning component to this exercise. Students will be graded on two things. First, there will be a written component. All members of the group will receive the same grade for this written component. As a group, you will write a strategy document (4-5 pages, double spaced) to prepare for the negotiations, due on **April 26 before lecture**. This document will indicate what coalition partners you would work with under which circumstances, which offices your party might value the most in a coalition, which policy goals you are most interested in pursuing, and the like. More details will be forthcoming later in the semester. Second, in which students be individually graded on their active participation in the simulation. Students will receive one grade from the instructor, as well as a peer grade from their group members, to ensure that students fully participate in the group. As in the end only one coalition can be formed,

and some of the late stages of negotiation may not fully involve all parties, please note that whether or not you end up in the ruling coalition will not affect your grade, and grades will fully account for parties that end up eliminated from contention early.

Finally, you will do one research paper (9-11 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. This paper is due on the date of our final exam window: **May 11**.

Course Materials:

There are no required course materials for this course. All readings are uploaded to bCourses. For students wanting additional information, two textbooks can be accessed. One is available from UCI online from Dalton. It is a little out of date, but can be a good supporting source if you want to read further: <http://www.socsci.uci.edu/~rdalton/Pgermany.htm>

A second option available is Langenbacher and Conradt, *The German Polity*. We have two chapters from this book assigned in Week 7; however, we have access to the whole book through the HathiTrust during the pandemic. You can access the HathiTrust by searching for the book on OskiCat, and then clicking the HathiTrust button. This will allow you to check out the book digitally and read online for an hour. A direct link to the OskiCat entry for the book is here: <http://oskiat.berkeley.edu/record=b23877129~S1>

Course Technology Structure

Per campus directives, our course will be held online. We acknowledge that this both can make certain aspects of learning more difficult and introduce new complications to the learning environment for students. We are attempting to adjust the course to be as effective as possible for students. As such, we will use the following course structure:

1. The course will be offered synchronously.
 - a. You must be logged in to Zoom with your Berkeley log-in.
2. Live lectures will be recorded and made available online.
 - a. Files must be viewed online and cannot be downloaded.
 - b. You must be logged in using your Berkeley e-mail to access these recordings.
 - c. Campus has transitioned to make Zoom recordings available to stream through bCourses via Kaltura. This will be our default setting. If the new streaming option through bCourses has errors, we will transition to making the videos available via a Google Drive.
3. Lecture recordings will be taken down after two weeks
 - a. Note: By enrolling in the class, you are consenting to the slight possibility of your likeness potentially appearing on video – efforts will be made to minimize this possibility. Videos will be uploaded to a server, with download disabled. Students should NOT share videos outside of those enrolled in the course, to ensure student privacy.
 - i. We will use Zoom to keep the spotlight function on the instructor, which should keep the video from automatically jumping to other speakers.
 - ii. Student voices will still be heard in the video. If you are uncomfortable with your voice being heard on video in lecture, you can submit your question using the Zoom chat function and one of the instructors can read it aloud.

- iii. I do ask that, if possible under your current circumstances, please have your video on during the lecture. It is helpful for the instructors to better gauge understanding of the material and for us to feel less like we are lecturing to a void.
 - b. Slides will be made available following the just prior to the lecture as PDFs and will always remain available.
4. If you cannot attend a lecture, you need to post a short question you have from the lecture in a bCourses thread before your next section. This should be in the MISSED LECTURES thread for the week. You should additionally post the time stamp in the video that prompts your question. (For example, if you miss a Wednesday and Friday lecture, you should watch both and post two separate discussion questions in the relevant thread before your section on Monday). This is not intended as any sort of punishment for missing lecture – we know there are myriad challenges that all students are facing now. It is an accountability mechanism just to make sure you can't fall too far behind in the class. These cannot be made up after the fact, though you are of course welcome to watch any videos that are still online.
5. Your midterm exam will be offered as take home, open book exam on bCourses.
6. **Important:** The only lecture class period where it is essential for you to attend synchronously is the coalition simulation, in the last week of class.

Section Structure and Conduct:

Section is a place to collaborate in smaller groups and delve into the information presented in this course. Your GSI will clarify points from lectures and readings, guide discussion, and ultimately help you apply the course material outside the classroom. You can expect a relaxed, supportive environment where everyone feels comfortable sharing ideas and viewpoints.

Your section grade is based on participation, i.e., speaking and contributing ideas during discussion. In order for discussion to be fruitful for the group and yourself, you must come to section prepared to participate. You are expected read the material, attend the lectures, and formulate questions **before** section each week.

A note on participation: traditional class discussions are generally easiest for a certain type of student. In addition to making a conscious effort to create a learning environment where all students feel empowered to participate, I will also consider nontraditional forms of participation that count towards your grade. This may include but is not limited to, coming to office hours, submitting relevant material to be shared with the class (e.g. articles, podcasts, videos, upcoming events, etc.), or offering further resources to the class.

Attendance: Attendance at section is mandatory for this course. If you arrive more than 20 minutes late, it will count as an absence. One unexcused absence is permitted, no questions asked. Following that, all absences must be excused. Consistent tardiness or absences will negatively affect your grade.

Course Schedule

Week 1:

Wednesday, January 20: 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.

Friday, January 22: German unification

Bismarck, Otto von. 1862. "Excerpt from Bismarck's 'Blood and Iron' Speech." *German History in Documents and Images*.

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

Introductory Survey Due

Week 2:

Monday, January 25: 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.

Wednesday, January 27: Versailles and Early Weimar Republic

MacMillan, Margaret. 2003. *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*. New York: Random House, Ch. 13 (pp. 157-65)

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

Friday, January 29: The Collapse of Weimar

Peukert, Detlev J.K. 1987. *The Weimar Republic*. New York: Hill and Wang, Ch. 13-14 (pp. 249-272).

Week 3:

Monday, February 1: 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 (346-361).

Wednesday, February 3: 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.

Friday, February 5: The West German Economic Miracle

Nichols, A. J. 2000. *Freedom with Responsibility: The Social Market Economy in Germany, 1918-1963*. New York: Oxford University Press, Ch. 17. (pp. 390-398)

Week 4:

Monday, February 8: West German foreign policy and the European 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, February 10: 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).

Friday, February 12: East Germany and the Eastern Bloc

Bunce, Valerie. 1985. "The Empire Strikes Back: The Evolution of the Eastern Bloc from a Soviet Asset to a Soviet Liability." *International Organization* 39(1): 1-46.

Note: Reading pp. 1-24 is assigned. Reading pp. 24-46 is optional.

Week 5:

Monday, February 15: No Class (Presidents' Day)

Wednesday, February 17: 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).

Friday, February 19: 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.

Week 6:

Monday, February 22: 1989

Lohmann, Susanne. 1994. "The Dynamics of Informational Cascades: The Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-91." *World Politics* 47(1): 42-101.

Note: 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]**

Wednesday, February 24: Reunification

Sarotte, Mary Elise. 2014 [2009]. *1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Ch. 3 (pp. 108-138).

Friday, February 26: Germany in the 1990s

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

Week 7:

Monday, March 1: German Political Institutions

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

Wednesday, March 3: 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.

Short Paper Due

Friday, March 5: Parliamentary Democracy, Elections, and Coalitions

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

Week 8:

Monday, March 8 AND Wednesday, March 10: Germany and the European Union

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

Note: For Monday

Bulmer, Simon and William E. Paterson. 2019. *Germany and the European Union: Europe's Reluctant Hegemon?* London: Red Globe Press, Chapter 2 (pp. 53-77).

Note: For Wednesday

Friday, March 12: German foreign policy

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

Preliminary Research Topic Due

Week 9:

Monday, March 15: German political geography

Abedi, Amir. 2017. "We Are Not in Bonn Anymore: The Impact of German Unification on Party Systems at the Federal and Land levels." *German Politics* 26(4): 457-479.

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

Wednesday, March 17: Federalism and Policymaking

Gunlicks, Arthur. 2003. *The Länder and German Federalism*. New York: Manchester University Press, Chapter 2 (pp. 53-74).

Friday, March 19: Midterm

No Class. Exam on bCourses. Quiz window opens Thursday, 9am. No session when class would meet to give you time equivalent. Exam window closes Sunday at midnight, but feel free to take on Thursday or Friday if you want to get started with break!

No Class: Spring Break [March 22-26]

Week 10:

Monday, March 29: Library Visit

Library Workbook Due (Google Form Submission)

Wednesday, March 31: 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.

Friday, April 2: 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 11:

Monday, April 5: Migration

Hochman, Oshrat, et al. 2018. "Emotional Integration across Immigrant Generations in Baden-Württemberg, Germany: the Role of Discrimination." *International Migration* 56(3): 186-202.

Brücker, Herbert, Philipp Jaschke, and Yuliya Kosyakova. 2019. "Executive Summary: Integrating Refugees and Asylum Seekers into the German Economy and Society: Empirical Evidence and Policy Objectives." *Migration Policy Institute Report*. Pp. 1-3.

[Just read the executive summary]

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

Wednesday, April 7: Academic Writing exercises

No readings.

Friday, April 9: The rise of the radical right

Arzheimer, Kai. 2019. "'Don't Mention the War!': How Populist Right-Wing Radicalism Became (Almost) Normal in Germany." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 57(Annual Review): 90-102.

Week 12:

Monday, April 12: Environmental policies and politics

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, April 14: The changing political left

Listen to the following podcast:

Abou-Chadi, Tarik. 2020. *Transformation of European Politics - Episode 10 – Herbert Kitschelt – The Transformation of European Social Democracy, 25 years later.*

A link to Tarik's soundcloud is here – you may be able to find it on whatever system you usually listen to podcasts through as well (it's on Apple Podcasts for sure): <https://soundcloud.com/user-467531770>

[Optional]: Gingrich, Jane and Silja Häusermann. 2015. “The decline of the working-class vote, the reconfiguration of the welfare support coalition and consequences for the welfare state.” *Journal of European Social Policy* 25(1): 50-75.

Note—actual text ends on page 65 **[Optional]**

Final Paper Outline Due Before Class

Friday, April 16: Shrinking cities

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

Week 13:

Monday, April 19: Ostalgie

Pick One (1) of the following Three Options:

1) Berdahl, Daphne. 1999. “‘(N)Ostalgie’ for the Present: Memory, longing, and East German things.” *Ethnos* 64(2): 192-211.

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

3) 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.

Wednesday, April 21: Berlin

Polat, Defne Kadioğlu. 2020. “‘Now the German comes’: The ethnic effect of gentrification in Berlin.” *Ethnicities* 20(1): 155-176.

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

Friday, April 23: 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.

Safronova, Valeriya. 2020. “Black Germans Say It’s Time to Look Inward.” *New York Times*. October 4. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/04/style/black-germans-say-its-time-to-look-inward.html>

Xu, Beina. 2020. “Racism in Germany: A Chinese-American reckoning.” *Deutsche Welle*. June 13. <https://www.dw.com/en/racism-in-germany-a-chinese-american-reckoning/a-53795247>

[Optional]: “Afro-Germany – being Black and German” – Deutsche Welle documentary video. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pcfPVj5qRIE> **[Optional]**

Week 14

Monday, April 26: German-U.S. Relations

Dettke, Dieter. 2018. "The 2003 Iraq-War as a Turning Point in German-American Relations." *German Politics* 27(2): 158-173.

Group Strategy Papers Due Before Class

Wednesday, April 28: German Election Simulation

- **Live attendance is mandatory!**

[OPTIONAL] Watching *Borgen* Season 1, Episode 2 on Netflix – all about coalition negotiations, and can give you ideas for the simulation. [OPTIONAL]

Friday, April 30: Simulation Wrap-up / The 2021 German Election and the Future of Germany

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

Eddy, Melissa. 2021. "Chancellor's Race Presents Germans with a Challenge to Change." *The New York Times*. April 20. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/20/world/europe/germany-chancellors-race-laschet-baerbock.html>

[OPTIONAL]: 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> [OPTIONAL]

[OPTIONAL]: Baerbock and Laschet on a panel at the 2020 Munich Security Conference: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hDI2WOfHZr0> [OPTIONAL]

Final Paper Due: May 11, 2021