

CULTURE, SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN THE GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES- IRE214

Maya Hadar

Fall 2018

Session 4: German History



Exam Dates!

2

- **Final course' session => 19.12.2018**
- **Exam I => 20.12.2018**
- **Exam II => 07.01.2019**
- **Exam III => 04.02.2019**

German Historical Legacy

3



- **German Unification, 1862-1870**
- **Imperial Germany, 1871-1918**
- **The Weimar Republic, 1918-33 => Breakdown of Democracy**
- **The Third Reich, 1933-45**
- **Divided Germany**
- **Postwar German Economy (east + west)**
- **Reunification 1990**



German Unification, 1862-1870



4



- **1815** => Germany was made up of 39 independent states
- Growing demands for unification
- **1848** => failure of liberal 'bourgeois' revolution
- Economic & industrial development induced unification (the *Zollverein* customs union)

German Unification, 1862-1870



5



- **1864-71: Wars of Unification =>**
 - Germany is united under Prussian leadership

Imperial Germany, 1871-1918



6



- January 1871 => Proclaimed in Versailles
- First approximation to a state in the history of Germany
- Authoritarian government + rule of law + democratic features
 - The **Bundesrat** => consists of the partially sovereign states' governments (not an elected body)
 - The state's constitution consisted of a contract between the princes of previously established German states
 - No human rights' laws

Imperial Germany, 1871-1918



7



- Composed mostly of German speaking people
- Rapid industrialisation:
 - Increased prosperity + industrialization
 - Social mobility
- 1914-1918 => Emergence of aggressive nationalism & social unrest
 - Economic hardship & military defeat in WW1 discredited the regime
 - Monarchy collapsed

Imperial Germany, 1871-1918



8



Flag of Imperial Germany

- Prussia held three-fifths of the empire's population
 - The Prussian king was the Deutscher Kaiser (emperor), also commander of the armies of the various states
- First chancellor was Otto von Bismarck (1871-1890)

Imperial Germany, 1871-1918



9

- Federalism did not work well with the supremacy of the parliament (no supremacy...)
- The chancellor could be required to explain his motives to the Reichstag but not be overthrown in any way



Imperial Germany, 1871-1918



10

- Press censorship existed, but laws were quite liberal
 - 1869 law declared religious equality
 - Women had no say in politics + limited property rights (educational opportunities improve in 1914)
 - Anti-socialist law (1878-1890): Police had unlimited powers of search, socialist meetings were banned



Imperial Germany, 1871-1918



- Kulturkampf => series of laws that imposed compulsory civil marriage, dissolved all religious orders, and reduced the right of churches to self-govern
- Social Democrats developed in 1890
 - Got a third of the votes and became the largest party
 - Left leaning public and conservatism of northern German states => conflict
- WW1 1914-1918 => economic hardship



Imperial Germany, 1871-1918



12

- Sep 1918: Germany faced military collapse => end of imperial constitution => was amended to subject the military to the Chancellor
- Germany became a **parliamentary republic**
- Germans were ashamed of loss in WW I, devastated by the Treaty of Versailles & its reparation payments
- 1919-1923 => 'years of crisis'



Signing the treaty of Versailles



The Weimar Republic, 1919-1933



14



- First real experience of democracy
- SPD leader Friedrich Ebert served as first President of Germany/
Provisional government established
- Attempt to balance German political traditions with West European democratic traditions

The Weimar Republic, 1919-1933



15



- Decentralized unitary state, not a federation
 - Unitary- central government has all the power
 - Federalism- sharing powers

The Weimar Republic, 1919-1933



- 1925 => Paul von Hindenburg elected president (ex field marshal)
- Flaws =>
 - President's power
 - Can dismiss Chancellor even when retained parliament's confidence
 - Can appoint a Chancellor which isn't supported

The Weimar Republic, 1919-1933



17



- Article 48: *Notverordnung* (emergency decree), president can suspect civil liberties (Hitler used it)
- Decline of the Weimar Republic
- Communist Party + Nazi party grew steadily and exponentially

The Weimar Republic, 1919-1933



18



- Decline of the Weimar Republic
 - Unstable and short-lived coalitions
 - 1929 Depression, hyperinflation
 - 1930 onwards Germany was ruled under emergency powers of A. 48
 - Lost popular + elite support



Democracy broke down

The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945



19



- 1928: the Nazis had **12 seats** in the Reichstag; by July 1932 they had **230 seats** and were the largest party
- Feb 1932 => full emergency powers are granted to Hitler's government
- 1933 => Hindenburg appoints Hitler Chancellor
- Institutions of Weimar Republic dismantled



The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945

20



- About 30k political opponents prisoned
- National Socialists the only political party
- August 2, 1933 => Hindenburg (elected president of the Weimar Republic) dies and Hitler combines the office of the President and Chancellor (full emergency powers)
- Economic revival in 1930s
- Created jobs (unemployment dropped 6M to 0,5M)

The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945



21



- Attempts to reshape German society in accordance with Nazi ideology =>
 - Destruction of 'unGerman' culture
 - Abolition of trade unions
- Police state not governed by rule of law
- Boycott of Jewish owned business
 - Book burning



The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945



- Fear (e.g. The Nuremberg Laws, 1935)
- November 9, 1935—*Kristallnacht*
 - Mass destruction of Jewish homes, synagogues and businesses
 - About 25,000 Jews deported
 - Jews forced to wear yellow Star of David

The Nuremberg Laws were anti-Semitic, racial laws enacted by the Reichstag. Included the Law of Protection of German Blood and German Honor and the Reichstag Citizenship Law.

The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945



Territorial Changes, 1935-39

- Germany
- Saarland, incorporated 1935
- Rhineland, remilitarized 1936
- Austria: the Anschluss 1938
- Sudetenland, annexed September 1938
- Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, March 1939 (dismemberment of Czechoslovakia)
- 'Protective Zone', created March 1939
- Memel district, annexed March 1939

0 100 200 Miles
0 100 200 Kms



The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945



24

- The National Socialists easily gained confidence and support due to political, social, financial vulnerability
- Nationalist propaganda united the German people
- WWII starts Sep 1939: Nazi Germany invades Poland
- Soviets invaded from the East



The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945



25

- Nazi Germany later invaded Denmark, Finland, Norway, Eastern & Southern Europe, Greece, France North Africa etc.
- Over 150k mentally and physically ill were euthanized until the practice stopped due to Catholic protests
- Nazi Germany established work and extermination camps across Europe, especially in southern and eastern Poland



The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945



26

- June 6th 1944 => “D-Day”, 156k Anglo-American + Canadian allied forces landed on the beaches of Normandy (France)
 - **Battle of Normandy** (June 1944 to August 1944), “Operation Overload” resulted in the liberation of western Europe from Nazi Germany
 - By late August 1944 all northern France was liberated
- Germany surrendered on *May 7, 1945*

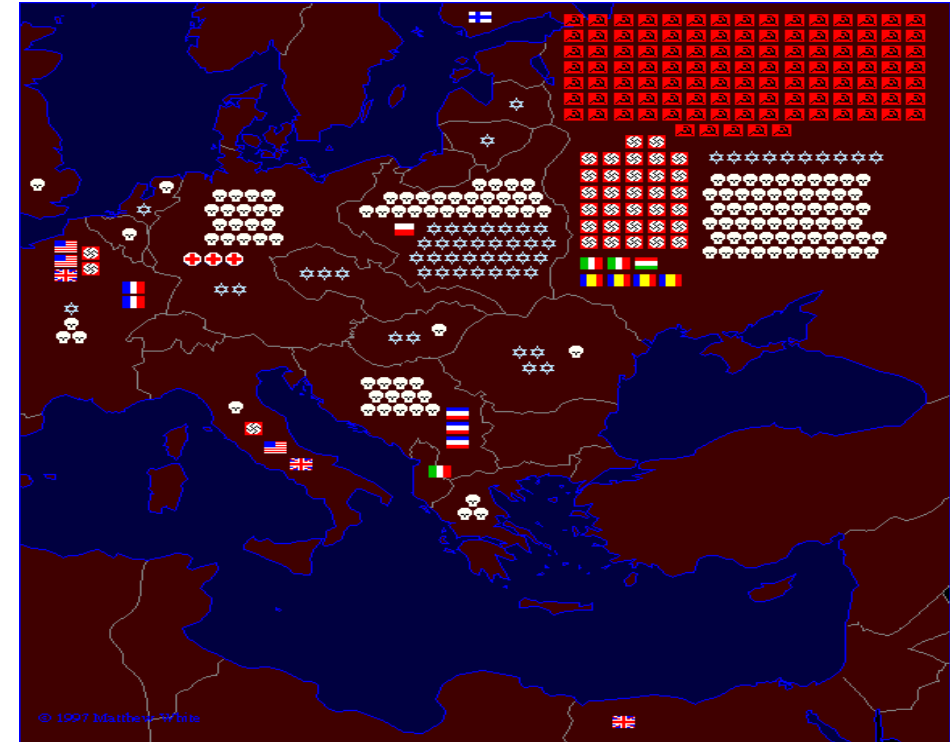


The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945



27

- The end of WWII left Germany in ruins
 - Morally- 4.3 million dead and missing military personnel, 350k to 500k Civilian deaths
 - Systematic destruction in Europe done in their name- collective guilt
 - Economically: heavy damages to industry and transportation infra., poverty, black market



The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945



28

- The end of WWII left Germany in ruins
 - Socially: May 1945 => massive expulsion and displacement of Germans (e.g. from Czechoslovakia and Poland)
 - Physically: Food scarcity





The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945

29

- WW2 lasted for 2.194 days
- 30 states, 110 million army men and women
- Neutral – Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland
- Over 11 million people in Europe killed in the Holocaust alone
 - 6 million Jews
 - 2-3 million Soviet POWs
 - 2 million Poles
 - 1 million or more Romani (Gypsies/Roma)
 - 10,000 or more Homosexuals



Germany and the Cold War

30

- Superpowers: US + Soviet Union (China: growing power in Asia)
- Trend in European politics => left
- April 1945 => United Nations charter, Security Council, General Assembly were established
 - 50 states
 - Replaced the 'League of Nations'
 - Aimed to prevent wars by providing a platform for dialogue





Germany and the Cold War

31

- Once the common enemy was defeated => US Soviet Union rivalry
- Its position at the heart of Europe made it the focus of Cold War rivalries and tensions
- US: better economy, atomic bomb, better equipped army
- Soviet Union: great material losses, powerful army still
- Most states in central and southeast Europe were liberated by the red army => Growing power of the soviet political system in Romania, Hungary, Poland, Finland and in occupied zones (Austria, Germany)



Germany and the Cold War

32

- Post 2 World Wars => Germany was at the mercy of its past 'enemies'
- The West and the USSR had different ideas about 'what to do with Germany'
- USSR =>
 - Economically cripple Germany and destroy its industrial potential
 - Stripped its zone of factories and took reparations
- West =>
 - Rebuild Germany in order to open markets and revive a devastated Europe
 - **Hallstein Doctrine:** Foreign policy principle of West Germany (1955-1969)
no diplomatic relations with DDR acknowledgers

Dividing Germany



33

- Defeat => Germany was divided to 4 sections administered by the winners (Allied powers)
 - USA
 - UK
 - USSR
 - France



Dividing Germany



34

- **West Germany**
 - Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) / Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD)
 - Government in Bonn
- **East Germany**
 - German Democratic Republic (GDR) / Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR)
 - Government in East Berlin



Dividing Germany



35

- Summer 1945; Potsdam's conference => Stalin, Truman, Churchill, Attlee

- The 4 'D' Plan:
 - **Demilitarization**
 - No more than 370,000 soldiers in the army
 - East Germany- a Nuclear Weapon Free zone

 - **Democratization**
 - **Denazification**
 - **Decartelization**



East Germany, West Germany



36

- End of WW2 (1945), Germany's economy laid in ruin and both West and East Germany had to be rebuilt
- By 1949, two German states with reasonable powers of self government existed
- Both experienced economic growth: 'economic miracle' (1950s - 1970s)
- Both were integrated into alliances
 - West: European Community & NATO
 - East: Warsaw Pact (USSR)



Post WW2 Problems



- Limited sovereignty
- 36% of total government expenditures in 1950 => occupation costs
- High unemployment (1950: 10%)
- Almost 8 million displaced Germans had to be integrated
- Housing shortage
- War destructions, war invalids
- Reparation payments (until 1949 more than 3,4 billion \$)



Nevertheless...

- Level of destruction- not as high as expected
- American aid (*Marshal plan*)
- Interest of Western European countries + the United States in a prosperous German economy => precondition for the reconstruction of European economy and due to the cold war
- Skilled workforce available
- 1948 => successful currency reform, DM in the west (Reichsmark preceded)
- Cooperative trade unions united under social democratic leadership

East Germany, 1949-1990



39



- Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR) comprised of the Soviet zone in the Eastern part of Germany
- Preferred Socialism over Capitalism as a means of preventing future Fascisms
- A fully functional one party Soviet republic
- Land reform, nationalization of some factories

East Germany, 1949-1990



40



- Powerful and watchful government
 - Paternalistic welfare state
 - Secret police (Stasi)
- Most East Germans retreated into privacy in response to the lack of political and social liberties
- The Soviet occupation raised legitimacy issues

East Germany, 1949-1990



41



- Experience some economic success
 - Rapid industrialisation in the 1950s'
 - By the 1980s' become stagnant & riddled with corruption
- Economically lagged behind west Germany

East Germany: Economy



42

- Similar economy to all other Soviet states
- Centrally-planned economy (CPE)
- State-owned factories etc.
- Everyone employed to do something, however insignificant
- Prices fixed administratively by the CPE- didn't necessarily reflect the product's value
- Entire year's economy planned in advance: rate of economic growth, utilisation of raw materials & labour, amount of imports/exports...



East Germany- Economy



43

- All products consumed/used in the GDR were also produced there
- No private businesses (in 1985, over 95% of the total national income was earned by state-owned enterprises)
- Prices kept constant by heavy subsidies from the government (80% of the cost of basic supplies)



Trabant

East Germany, 1949-1990



44



- Despite problems was allegedly popular until late 1980s
- End of 1980s => increasing unrest
- Opening of the Hungarian border with Austrian drove many East German to the west

East Germany, 1949-1990



45



- Changing international situation & reform in the Soviet Bloc
 - Gorbachov's reforms in 1980s
- Elections + political concession led to easing of travel restriction to/from the DDR
- Collapsed in 1989

West Germany, 1949-1990



46



Bundesarchiv, B 146 Bild-F038788-0006
Foto: Schaack, Lothar | 22. Januar 1973

- Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD) comprised of the Allied zones in the west and south of Germany
- Rooted in Western democratic
- Free market traditions

West Germany, 1949-1990



47



- Asserts the exclusive right to represent the entire German nation
 - Did not establish/maintain diplomatic relations with states that recognize the German Democratic Republic (DDR)
- Rapid economic recovery in the 1950s
 - => Prosperous society
 - => Stable 5 party republic

West Germany, 1949-1990



48



- Growth in civic life and political participation
- Prosperity helped the republic gain the support of its citizens
- Protests in the 1960s' and 1970s' yet the system itself wasn't challenged

West Germany, 1949-1990



49



- During the cold war:
 - West Germany was a stable democracy, firmly entrenched in Western Europe
 - Expanded human, political + economic rights
 - Expanded civil liberties to women and homosexuals
 - Increased political opportunities

West Germany- Economy



50



- Since its creation in 1949, the FRG has played an important role in the world economy
- After the Nazi experience, an economy free of state domination and intervention was needed
- Consistently among the most important trading nations in the world
- Often derived a higher share of its GDP from exports than any other major state

West Germany- Economy



51

- The West German economy recovered at an amazing rate in the 1950's => '**economic miracle**' due to:
 - Massive aid for investment and reconstruction of Europe: American funding (the **Marshall Plan**)
- Small and medium-sized companies provided the basis for West Germany's economic prosperity



West Germany- Economy



52

- The large influx of **refugees** to West Germany (over 11 millions from East Germany and former German areas in Europe) was a significant **addition to the workforce**- highly skilled workers, prepared to work hard for a low wage
- Later “guest workers” (*Gastarbeiter*) came over from Italy, Spain and Turkey to further support the workforce



West Germany- Economy



53

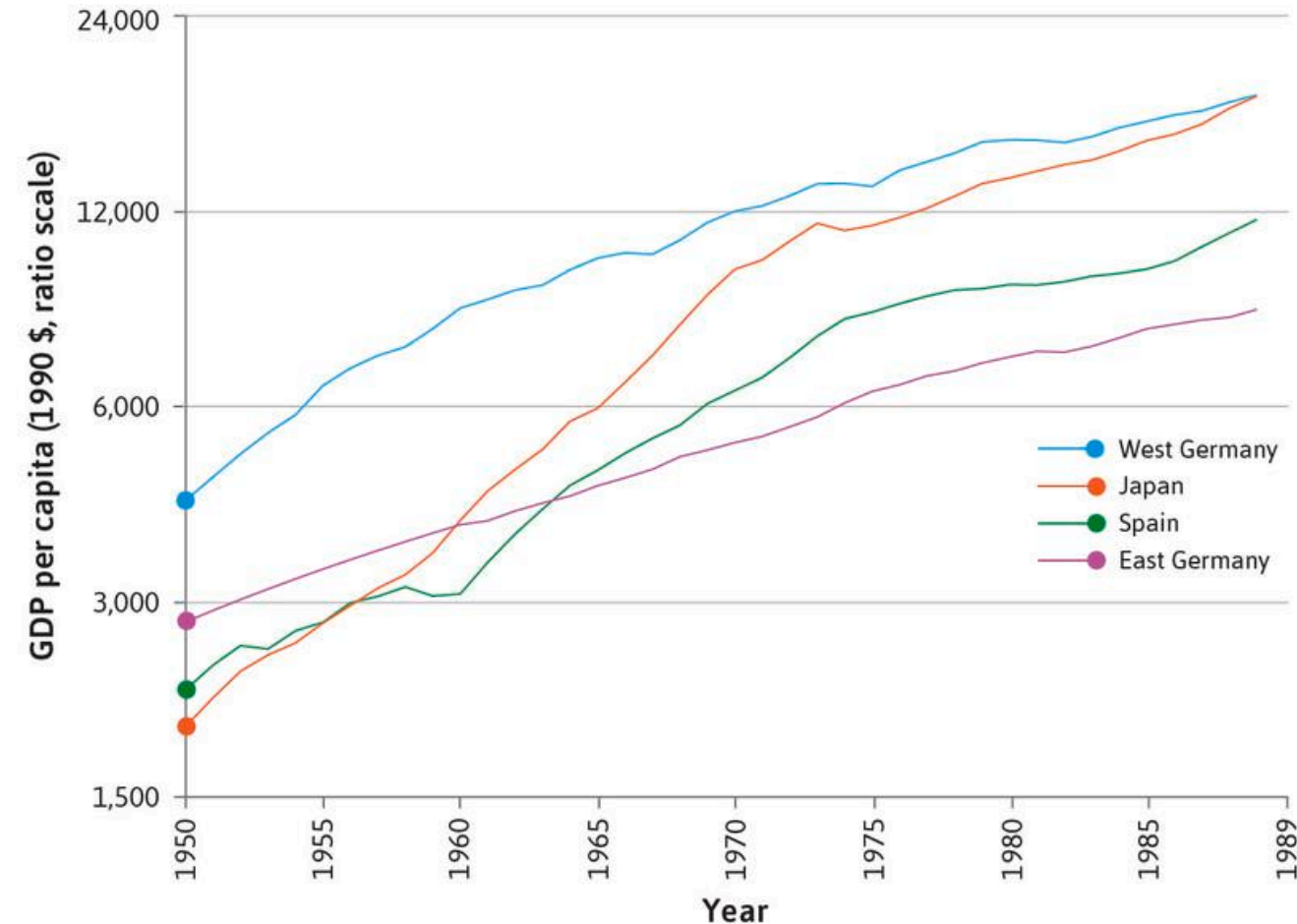


- Mixed economy => the government took an active part in its reconstruction and development but not total control- a free enterprise system remained
- Introduction of a new stable currency => the *Deutsche Mark*
=> second most important currency in the world after the US dollar

West Germany- Economy



54



- Growth rate of industrial production was 25.0% in 1950 and 18.1% in 1951
- Growth continued at a high rate for most of the 1950s
- By 1955, West Germany had made an amazing economic recovery
- Wages and salaries rose over 80% between 1949 and 1955, catching up with growth

West Germany- Economy, 1950s



55

- First decade: the 'economic miracle'
- 1951 => Founding member of the European Coal and Steel Community (**ECSC**), forerunner to the EEC and the EU => strengthened Germany's economy even further through increased trade with member nations
- 1957 => *Bundesbank*: West Germany's new central bank



ECSC Flag

West Germany- Economy, 1950s



56

- By 1960, industrial production had risen to 2.5 times the level of 1950 and far beyond what Nazi Germany reached in the 1930s (all of Germany)
- GDP rose by 2/3
- Number of persons employed rose from 13.8 million (1950) to 19.8 million (1960), unemployment rate fell from 10.3% to 1.2%



West Germany- Economy, 1960s



57

- Second decade: consolidation and first signs of troubles
- 1960s \Rightarrow The West German economy did not consistently grow
 - Hard to keep up such a pace
 - Supply of labour from East Germany was cut off by the Berlin Wall (built in 1961)
 - The *Bundesbank* was worried about possible overheating and slowed the pace of growth several times

Overheating of an economy occurs when its productive capacity is unable to keep pace with growing aggregate demand. Boom periods are often characterized by such overheating

West Germany- Economy, 1970s



58

- In the 1970s, the West German state assumed an ever more important role in the economy:
 - Developing an extensive social welfare system
 - Protecting/supporting some sectors and industries
- Growth did not reach the levels that it had attained in the 1950s'
- Overall:
 - Decline in the growth rate since the 1950s'
 - Upturn in unemployment since the 1960s'
 - Gradual increase in inflation

West Germany- Economy, 1970s



59

- Global economic statistics => West German share of total world production had grown from 6.6% in 1965 to 7.9% by 1975
 - Productive capacities of both East Germany and West Germany exceeded the absorptive capacity of their respective domestic markets- surplus
- Twelve years later (1987), world production share had fallen to 7.4%
 - Rapid growth of Japan and other Asian states

West Germany- Economy, 1980s



60

- Forth decade: new policies and a more stable global environment enabled economic recovery
- 1982 => the government owned about \$25 billion worth of assets (railroads, oil companies, largest national automobile producer etc.)
- Late 1980's => the economy grows more rapidly: GDP rose to 3.7% in 1988 and 3.6% in 1989 (highest in the decade)
 - => international leadership as a economic power, alongside Japan and the USA
- Unemployment rate dropped to 7.6% in 1989 despite influx of foreign workers

German Reunification Oct 3rd, 1990



61

- November 1989 => Berlin wall falls
- The Berlin border opens
- March 1990 => GDR's first free elections



German Reunification Oct 3rd, 1990



62

- October 1990 => **Unification** under the formal title 'Federal Republic' Germany ('*Bundersrepublik Deutschland*')
 - Thought to be impossible (politically, socially)
- Political union was achieved peacefully and smoothly
- A functional federal republic was created



German Reunification: Economy



63

- July 1, 1990 => the economies of the ‘two Germanys’ became one
- **First time in history** that a capitalist and a socialist economy united
- High wages + high social benefits system, developed by West Germany has been carried over into united Germany
- **Treaty of Unification** expanded the number of Länder to 16 (5 new eastern Länder: Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia)
 - Increase in seat allocation in the European Parliament from 81 to 99 MEPs between 1986-1994

German Reunification: Economy



64

- 1993 – Germany registered a negative growth rate of 1.2%

Meanwhile in the East...

- High demand for West German products (seen as better quality)- decline in domestic consumption of Eastern products
 - Standard of living rose 20% from 1990 to 1993
- ⇒ West Germany went into a boom, East Germany into a depression





Issues involved with Reunifications

65

- “But much remains to be done. For the most part, the societal and political elites in the **east** have remained western “imports,” often leading to **resentment and feeling of inferiority among large segments of the population**. “Second-class citizen” remains a term often used in the ongoing debate over the true extent of the success of German unification ... “
- “ ... the German government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl seriously misjudged **the economic implications of unification**, not only initially but well into 1992. The government's decision to rule out tax increases to finance unification...”
- “One problem was that **unification took place so quickly**. It was next to impossible to make a reliable estimate of the financial transfers needed by the new eastern states before the end of October 1990, by which time the legal framework of unification had already been established“

Together again: the fiscal cost of German unity

Reunification and the German Economy



66

- Further reunification Issues:
 - Conversion rates from East German Mark to Deutsche Mark
 - Deindustrialisation of the East, leading to an unemployment rate of 20%
 - Large dependent population in the East
 - Confusion over property rights

- Cost so far => approximately 1.5 trillion Euro

- Solidarity pact calls for the transfer of another Euro 156 billion by 2019

Reunification and the German Economy



67

Important!

- German Reunification as a precursor to Eastern enlargement of the EU: German reunification was symbolic of European unification and paved the way for the Central and Eastern European expansion in the 2000s



Perception of Germany

68

Since 1945, Western Powers' perception vis a vis Germany was:

- 1946-49 => Containing Germany
- 1949-89 => Containing the USSR, through Germany's integration into Western Europe
- Since 1989 =>
 - Asking Germany to help maintain Western diplomatic and military presence in troubled regions
 - Achieve a stable European economy
 - Combat terrorism (post 9-11)





Germany's New Role

69

- Embedded European **power**
- Biggest **exporter** in the world
- EU countries absorbs 70% of German export
- Greatest **contributor** to the EU, 1/3 more than France
- Possesses all of the four components of **economic dominance**:
 - Control over raw materials
 - Control over markets
 - Control over sources of capital
 - Competitive advantage



Important Highlights



70

- German Industrialization was ‘restarted’ following WWII
- Germany’s economic problems in the early 1990s stemmed from the vast differences between the economies of West and East Germany
- Germany seized opportunities during the cold war (joining NATO)
- Remarkable achievement in:
 - Postwar economic development
 - Postwar democratic consolidation



Important Highlights



71

- Became embedded in Europe and ‘the West’
 - Following the Marshall Plan and the economic miracle
 - Due to its social market economy
- Reunification changed Germany’s relations with the EU and paved the way for Central and Eastern Enlargement



Next Session...

72

- German nation building
- Mid 19th century rise of German Nationalism
- The creation of the Second Reich
- Post WW2 division of Germany
- German Reunification





Thank You For Your Attention!

Questions???