

Ge13 Course Information and Reading List

1. Contemporary German politics

The opening of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the reunification of Germany in 1990 transformed the landscape of German politics and generated a mass of unforeseen problems, many of which are only now beginning to be resolved. Fundamental were the problems of integrating the *Länder* of the former GDR into the political system of the Federal Republic, the socio-economic and political legacy of the GDR, the question of the identity and self-image of the newly reunited Germany. Equally important were the implications of reunification for Germany's position in the European Union and for the development of Germany's relations with the wider world, the latter in ways which shaped the German government's response to the world crisis triggered by the events of 11 September 2001. The changes of government from Helmut Kohl's CDU/CSU coalition to Gerhard Schröder's SPD/Green coalition in 1998 both underlined continuities and signalled new beginnings. The emergence of Angela Merkel at the head of a grand coalition in 2005 and then of a CDU/CSU/FDP coalition from 2009 was accompanied by a growing self-confidence of the Berlin Republic which was evident in the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of 'Die Wende' in 2009-10 and the twenty-fifth anniversary in 2015-16. However, just when it seemed that the 'German question' had finally been answered the European financial crisis, the refugee crisis, the emergence of a strident right-wing populist party (the Alternative für Deutschland), and the Brexit crisis have created new problems that remain unresolved as Germany faces life after Merkel.

- P.C. Caldwell and K. Hanshew, *Germany since 1945. Politics, Culture and Society* (London, 2018).
- P. O'Dochartaigh, *Germany since 1945* (Houndmills, 2003).
- Tom Heneghan, *Unchained Eagle. Germany after the Wall* (London, 2000)
- R. Wittlinger, *German National Identity in the Twenty-First Century. A Different Republic After All?* (Houndmills, 2010)
- Jeffrey J. Anderson and Eric Langenbacher (eds), *From the Bonn to the Berlin Republic: Germany at the Twentieth Anniversary of Unification* (Oxford, 2010)
- H. Glaser, *Kleine deutsche Kulturgeschichte von 1945 bis heute* (Frankfurt a.M., 2007).
- I. Götz, *Deutsche Identitäten: Die Wiederentdeckung des Nationalen nach 1989* (Cologne, 2011).
- E. Wolfrum, *Die geglü ckte Demokratie: Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 2006).
- E. Langenbacher (ed.) *The Merkel Republic. An appraisal* (Oxford, 2015).
- Frank Biess., *Die Republik der Angst. Eine andere Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (2019).

2. 'Zwischen Kafka und Koran': Islam in German Culture post-9/11

German-language writers from Wolfram von Eschenbach to Goethe and Lessing have long engaged with Islam, a religion often presented as bound to an exotic or dangerous 'other' against which the European 'self' might define itself. Today, however, in the wake of twentieth-century migration to Germany, the Muslim population of the FRG numbers over four million and many German-language writers and artists self-identify as Muslim, situating their work 'between Kafka and the Qu'ran'. In this module, students will be introduced to literary and film texts that engage with Islam and Muslim identities. We will read these against the background of 9/11 and the increased visibility of Islam in German debates around identity and integration, engaging with issues of gender, sexuality, and orientalism as we do so.

Prescribed texts:

- Emine Sevgi Özdamar, 'Großvaterzunge', in *Mutterzunge* (Hamburg: Rotbuch, 1990).
- Zaimoglu, Feridun, and Günter Senkel, *Schwarze Jungfrauen* (Reinbek: Rowohlt Theater, 2006). E-BOOK.
- Burhan Qurbani, *Shahada* (2010). FILM
- Feo Aladağ, *Die Fremde* (2010). FILM
- Navid Kermani, *Das Buch der von Neil Young getöteten* (2002), and *Kurzmitteilung* (2007), both reprinted in: Navid Kermani, *Album* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2014).

Secondary reading:

- James Hodkinson and Jeffrey Morrison (eds), *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture* (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2009)
- Frauke Matthes, *Writing and Muslim Identity: Representations of Islam in German and English Transcultural Literature, 1990-2006* (London: IGRS, 2011).
- Julian Preece et al., *Religion and Identity in Germany Today: Doubters, Believers, Seekers in Literature and Film* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010).
- Yasemin Yildiz, 'Turkish Girls, Allah's Daughters, and the Contemporary German Subject: Itinerary of a Figure', *German Life and Letters*, 62.4 (2009), 465-481.
- Beverly M. Weber, *Violence and Gender in the 'New Europe': Islam in German Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Sabine Hake and Barbara Mennel (eds), *Turkish German Cinema in the New Millennium: Sites, Sounds, and Screens* (London and New York: Berghahn, 2012).
- Gözde Naiboğlu, *Post-Unification Turkish German Cinema: Work, Globalisation and Politics Beyond Representation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

3. Germany in Europe 1945-2020

Since the end of 2009, the European Union has been in a severe crisis; the Brexit vote in June 2016 has been another severe blow some say the EU's future is now limited. On the one hand, the EU faces significant financial problems. On the other hand, the financial crisis has been overshadowed since 2015 by the refugee crisis and since June 2016 by the British referendum decision to leave. Germany plays a central role in each of these crises. Germany is one of the few European states that remains prosperous and dynamic, and there has been intense debate about whether Germany will or can save Europe and about the conditions that the Germans might impose for doing so. At the same time Angela Merkel's determination to help the refugees from Syria and elsewhere both generated domestic opposition throughout the EU member states and posed practical challenges to EU institutions. As predictions of the failure of the Euro and the collapse of the EU become more persistent it seems appropriate to reflect on the history of the European project and on the central role that Germany has played in it from the outset. In recent years, Germany has been viewed as the answer; but initially European integration was a solution to the 'German problem'. We examine how Germany's role in the EU has evolved, the long-standing German partnership with France in EU politics, the impact of reunification on German attitudes to Europe, the implications of the rapid growth of the EU in the 1990s, and the complex nature of the present crisis.

- D. Urwin, *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945*, 2nd edn (London, 1995).
- T. Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (London, 2005).
- F. R. Pfetsch, *Die Europäische Union. Geschichte, Institutionen, Prozesse* (Munich, 2005).
- D. Herz and C. Jetzlperger, *Die Europäische Union*, 3rd edn (Munich, 2018).
- P. Alter, *The German Question and Europe* (London, 2000).
- D. Dinan, *Europe Recast. A History of European Union* (Houndmills, 2004).
- G. Brunn, *Die Europäische Einigung* (Stuttgart, 2009).
- Johannes Varwick (ed), *Die Europäische Union: Krise, Neuorientierung, Zukunftsperspektiven* (Schwalbach/Ts., 2011).
- G Kreis, *Gerechtigkeit für Europa. Eine Kritik der EU-Kritik* (Basel, 2017).
- W. Schmale, *Was wird aus der Europäischen Union? Geschichte und Zukunft* (Stuttgart, 2018).

4. *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, Culture and Politics in Austria

This module explores Austrian politics and literature since the Waldheim affair in 1986, when Austria incurred international condemnation and President Kurt Waldheim was declared *persona non grata* by the United States and other countries for being less than frank about his service in the German army before 1945. The post-war Austrian political landscape was shaped by a remarkable reluctance to engage with *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. Certain leading cultural figures succeeded in exploiting this deficit for their own purposes. Although both they and their opponents engaged in excessive polemics, the clash of the cultural with the political sector eventually resulted in a belated acknowledgement of Austria's eager participation in the crimes of the Third Reich. We examine the impact of the Waldheim affair in its historical and political context and the resurgence of the right-wing populist Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs under the leadership of Jörg Haider from 1986. Although the party faltered following Haider's death in 2008 its fortunes revived dramatically in 2015 following the European refugee crisis. The April/May 2016 the Austrian presidential election saw the FPÖ candidate Norbert Hofer only narrowly defeated by the Green candidate Alexander van der Bellen (50.3% against 49.7%). The FPÖ then joined the ÖVP in a coalition led by Sebastian Kurz until June 2019. We discuss whether the revival of the FPÖ represents a continuation of the old conservative tradition with its idiosyncratic view of history, or was the contest between Greens and FPÖ in 2016 another reflection of a European phenomenon: the failure of the old mainstream parties in the face of the great crisis of the early twenty-first century?

Literature

- Thomas Bernhard, *Heldenplatz* (Frankfurt a.M., 1989).
- Elfriede Jelinek, 'In den Waldheimen und auf den Haidern', in Barbara Alms (ed.), *Blauer Streusand* (Frankfurt a.M., 1987), pp. 42-44.
- Elfriede Jelinek, 'Präsident Abendwind' in edition text + kritik 117 (1999), pp. 17-34.
- Peter Handke, Preface, in Gruppe 'Neues Österreich' (ed.), *Pflichterfüllung. Ein Bericht über Kurt Waldheim* (Vienna, 1986), p.3.
- Dagmar . G. Lorenz, 'Austrian Responses to National Socialism and the Holocaust', in Richie Robertson (ed.) et al., *A History of Austrian Literature 1918-2000* (Rochester NY, 2006), pp. 181-200.

Politics

- Gerhard Botz, 'Österreich und die NS-Vergangenheit. Verdrängung, Pflichterfüllung, Geschichtsklitterung', in Dan Diner (ed.), *Ist der Nationalsozialismus Geschichte? Zu Historisierung und Historikerstreit* (Frankfurt a.M., 1987), pp. 34-50.
- Anton Pelinka and Ruth Wodak (eds.), *Dreck am Stecken': Politik der Ausgrenzung* (Vienna, 2002).
- Melanie A. Sully, *The Haider Phenomenon* (New York, 1997), pp. 138-142.
- C. Lehniguth, *Waldheim und die Folgen. Der parteipolitische Umgang mit dem Nationalsozialismus in Österreich* (Frankfurt a.M., 2013).
- K. Hammerstein, *Gemeinsame Vergangenheit – getrennte Erinnerung? Der Nationalsozialismus in Gedächtnisdiskursen und Identitätskonstruktionen von Bundesrepublik Deutschland, DDR und Österreich* (Göttingen, 2017).

5. The 'red decade' and Political Violence in Germany

The years from 1967 to 1977 have been called West Germany's 'red decade'. This module addresses the New Left social movements, protest, and political violence in Germany during that decade, and the cultural memory or 'memory contests' that subsequently developed around the period. We begin with the emergence of the New Left and the student movement, and its concerns and hopes for local and global transformation. We then move to protest and look at modes of peaceful and violent protest and the emergence of armed terrorist groups such as the Red Army Faction and 2 June Movement. The student movement differentiated between violence directed against property ('Gewalt gegen Sachen'), which was deemed acceptable, and violence against other human beings ('Gewalt gegen Personen'), which was unacceptable; the latter part of this module looks at how and in what contexts a willingness to injure and kill other human beings develops in the context of hopes to change the world for the better. We will also look at how (and by whom) those developments are remembered, in images, film, and text.

- Gerd Koenen, *Das rote Jahrzehnt: Unsere kleine deutsche Kulturrevolution 1967-1977* (Cologne 2001).
- Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley, CA, 2004).
- Sarah Colvin, *Ulrike Meinhof and West German Terrorism* (Rochester, NY, 2009).
- Wolfgang Kraushaar (ed.) *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, 2 vols (Hamburg, 2006).
- Gerrit-Jan Berendse and Ingo Cornils, *Baader-Meinhof Returns: History and Cultural Memory of Left-Wing Terrorism* (Amsterdam 2008).
- Ingo Cornils and Sarah Waters (eds), *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives* (Bern 2010).
- Ingo Cornils, *Writing the Revolution: The Construction of '1968' in Germany* (Rochester, NY, 2016).
- Astrid Proll, *Hans und Grete: Die RAF 1967-1977* (Göttingen 1998).
- Stefan Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof-Komplex* (1985; new edns 1997 and 2008).
- *Der Baader-Meinhof-Komplex*, dir. Uli Edel (Germany 2008) FILM.

6. History and Identity in Germany 1945-2015

The module will examine the ways in which Germans have dealt with the Nazi past since the debate about the *Schuldfrage* immediately after 1945. The lectures will examine the contrasting development of the debate about what, in the 1960s, became known as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in the FRG and the official antifascist ideology in the GDR. The module will also survey developments since 1990, for example the implications of the creation of the Berlin Holocaust memorial (2005) and the formal statements about the German past before 1945 made by German Presidents and Chancellors in the last fifteen years.

- Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory. The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (1997).
- Peter Reichel, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Deutschland: Die Auseinandersetzung mit der NS-Diktatur in Politik und Justiz* (2007).
- Mary Fulbrook, *German national identity after the Holocaust* (1999).
- Bill Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past. United Germany and the Third Reich* (2002) .
- Ruth Wittlinger, *German National Identity in the Twenty-First Century. A Different Republic After All?* (2010).
- K. Hammerstein, *Gemeinsame Vergangenheit – getrennte Erinnerung? Der Nationalsozialismus in Gedächtnisdiskursen und Identitätskonstruktionen von Bundesrepublik Deutschland, DDR und Österreich* (Göttingen, 2017).