

A History of Germany 1918–2014

A History of Germany 1918–2014

The Divided Nation

FOURTH EDITION

Mary Fulbrook

WILEY Blackwell

This edition first published 2015 © 2015 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd

Edition history: Fontana Ltd (1e, 1991), Blackwell Publishing Ltd (2e, 2002), Mary Fulbrook (3e, 2009)

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

The right of Mary Fulbrook to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book.

Limit of Liability/Disclaimer of Warranty: While the publisher and author have used their best efforts in preparing this book, they make no representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy or completeness of the contents of this book and specifically disclaim any implied warranties of merchantability or fitness for a particular purpose. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services and neither the publisher nor the author shall be liable for damages arising herefrom. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data is available for this book.

ISBN 9781118776148 (Paperback)

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Cover image: Berlin Wall © Photocase Addicts GmbH / Alamy

Set in 10/12pt Plantin by SPi Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India

Contents

List	t of Plates	Vii
List	t of Maps	ix
Pre	face to the Fourth Edition	X
Pre	face to the Third Edition	xi
Pre	face to the Second Edition	xii
Ack	cnowledgements	xiv
1	The Course of German History	1
Pa	rt I A Divided Society: The Weimar	
Re	public and the Third Reich	13
2	The Weimar Republic: Origins and Orientations	15
3	The Collapse of Democracy and the Rise of Hitler	40
4	A 'National Community'? State, Economy and Society, 1933–1939	57
5	War, Extermination and Defeat	80
Pa	rt II The Divided Nation: The Two Germanies,	
194	45–1990	111
6	Occupation and Division, 1945-1949	113
7	Crystallization and Consolidation, 1949-1961	142
8	Transformation and the 'Established Phase', 1961–1988	164
9	Diverging Societies	183
10	Politics and the State	200

V1	Contents
V I	Comens

11	Dissent and Opposition	217	
12	Diverging Cultures and National Identities?	237	
13	The East German Revolution and the End of the Postwar Era	259	
Pa	rt III The Divided Century	281	
14	The Berlin Republic	283	
15	Tension and Transformation in Twentieth-century Germany	301	
Not	res	319	
Select Bibliography of English-language Works		337	
Ind	ex	345	

Plates

1	Unemployed dock-workers in January 1931	48
2	Hitler's triumphal arrival to popular acclaim in his	
	former home town of Linz during the 1938 Anschluss	
	of Austria (which subsequently represented itself as	
	'Hitler's first victim')	77
3	German soldiers execute 'partisans', Lithuania, 1944	88
4	Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto, who, if they survived the	
	misery, hunger and sickness of ghetto life, would	
	ultimately be transported and murdered in	
	an extermination camp	93
5	West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer looks	
	uncomfortable on a visit to Berlin's Brandenburg	
	Gate, in August 1961, a week after the Berlin Wall	
	was erected	163
6	Schoolchildren on their weekly 'day in industry' in	
	the 'people's own factory', with which their school is	
	twinned, admire the progress board in the 'competition	
	for fulfilment of the plan'	169
7	Couple watching television, Er magazine cover, 1952	243
8	East Berliners hack out mementoes from the now	
	defunct Berlin Wall, in the spring of 1990	270
9	Demonstration against rising rents and gentrification,	
	Kreuzberg, Berlin, June 2013	286
10	CDU poster 'Wir haben mehr zu bieten'	
	('We have more to offer') showing CDU	
	candidates Vera Lengsfeld (formerly Vera Wollenberger)	
	and Angela Merkel	289
11	'Stolpersteine' – pavement 'cobblestones to stumble over',	
	commemorating former Jewish inhabitants who were	
	deported and murdered by the Nazis	298

12 The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, in the heart of Berlin, spreading over several acres between the Brandenburg Gate and the site of Hitler's bunker, and providing an inescapable and controversial reminder of the Jewish victims of Nazism

299

Maps

2.1	The Versailles settlement, 1919	28
3.1	The electoral performance of the NSDAP, 1924–1932	50
4.1	The Reichstag elections, 5 March 1933	58
4.2	Territorial annexation, 1935–1939	79
5.1	The partition of Poland, 1939	81
5.2	Hitler's empire by autumn 1942	85
5.3	Major concentration camps, including	
	extermination centres	94
5.4	Proportions of Europe's Jewish population	
	murdered in the Final Solution	97
6.1	The division of Germany after 1945	115
3 1	United Germany, 1990	278

Preface to the Fourth Edition

The fourth edition includes substantially updated material for Chapter 14 on the Berlin Republic, as well as a number of amendments throughout the text, reflecting the changing emphases of the historiography over recent years. I have again decided against major restructuring and rewriting, although in many areas, if I were to start afresh, it would be a substantially different book. I would like in particular to thank the following for their helpful written comments on the previous edition, particularly relating to references to Poland throughout the work: Professor Daria Nałęcz of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Lazarski University; Professor Marek Wierzbicki of the Catholic University of Lublin; and Marcin Wodziński of the University of Wrocław; as well as other participants in a meeting on 'Recovering Forgotten History' which took place in Warsaw in 2011. I would also like to thank the anonymous readers for Blackwell for their various suggestions regarding the whole text, and Carl for his characteristically perceptive and intelligent comments on aspects of Weimar culture.

Preface to the Third Edition

In making revisions for the third edition, I have added a separate chapter on Germany since unification, andhavesubstantially up dated the bibliography. In some sections of the book, I have also amended the text where I felt that there were significant omissions, or where the historiography has moved on so much that my previous remarks could not be left untouched. In making revisions, however, I have again had to resist the temptation to write a substantially new book, and have left the original lines of argument and organization intact.

Preface to the Second Edition

Revising this work for a second edition, ten years after its first appearance, has proved an interesting experience. I first completed the original manuscript as the GDR was in the process of implosion and collapse; I hung onto the manuscript, writing the chapter on the revolution and unification as events actually unfolded in the course of 1989-90. Not only was there no secondary literature at this time on the immediate events of 1989–90; there was also remarkably little of any depth on the longer course of GDR history, polarized as this field was between state-sanctioned Marxist-Leninist accounts in the East and a predominance of rather narrowly institutional, occasionally speculative political science analyses in the West, alongside dissident critiques and ambiguous literary interpretations. With the opening of the East German archives in the early 1990s this situation has now radically changed. There is a flourishing field of GDR historical research, with the emergence of whole new areas of inquiry, lively debates and conflicting interpretations. Meanwhile, research on the Third Reich has also moved on significantly, although perhaps - given the scale of what was already happening in this most controversial field before 1990 - proportionately less dramatically. While there have also been shifts of emphasis in the fields of the Weimar Republic and pre-1990 West German history, particularly in areas of social history and in studies seeking to cross the 1945 divide, these have perhaps not produced such a radically new intellectual landscape on the scale of that for the GDR.

I have therefore made willfully lopsided corrections to the original edition of this work. I have made amendments to those parts of the text which deal with areas where debates have moved on significantly in ways which cannot be ignored. I have added a brief epilogue to Chapter 13 on Germany since unification. I have substantially updated what remains a stringently selective bibliography, in order to guide readers towards further reading in English on areas which could not be discussed more extensively in the text.

But I have resisted the temptation to add too many minor amendments throughout the text which, by seeking to recognize recent research findings and accommodate all the current concerns of academia, would have effectively unbalanced the general lines of the original narrative. I have also resisted the temptation to embark on major rewriting in areas where I now would approach questions rather differently, which could in effect have turned this into a whole new book (and I am mindful of the question of whether a bicycle which, after having a total overhaul, from brakes, chain, pedals, gears and saddle to new forks and frame, is still the 'same' bicycle as the original). It also seems important to ensure that the historiographical as well as historical watershed of 1990 does not result in obscuring some of the major issues and perspectives which remain important. I am thus acutely conscious of the fact that I have not been able to do full justice, within the constraints of a volume of this length, to all the research that has appeared since the first edition. I can only hope that readers will be stimulated to follow some of the suggestions in the notes and bibliography to explore in greater depth topics which I have not been able to cover more fully in this particular compass.

> Mary Fulbrook London