

# A Level History

## OCR History A H505

### (AS H105)



## Unit Y251.

### Non-British period study

### Democracy and Dictatorship in

### Germany 1919-1963

## Booklet 7: East and West Germany



### TARGETS

Aspirational

Target Grade:



# Journey Through Democracy and Dictatorship in Germany 1919-1963



Topic	Booklet section completed	Assessment marks/ grades	Revision materials created	Confidence? ☺☹☹
<b>The Establishment and Development of the Weimar Republic: 1919- January 1933</b>				
Consequences of the First World War and the impact of the Treaty of Versailles.				
The Weimar Constitution and coalition governments.				
Challenges from Right and Left.				
The Invasion of the Ruhr and Hyperinflation.				
Stresemann and the Dawes and Young Plans				
The Golden Years: economic recovery, foreign loans, political stability improvements to working and living conditions.				
The impact of the Great Depression; elections and governments 1928-1933.				
The rise and appeal of Nazism; propaganda and Hitler.				
Papen, Schleicher and the 'backstairs intrigue'.				
Hitler's appointment as Chancellor.				
<i>AS only: interpretations skills</i>				
<b>The Establishment of the Nazi Dictatorship and its Domestic Policies February 1933-1939</b>				
Hitler's consolidation of power; Reichstag Fire, March Elections and Enabling Act.				
Gleichschaltung; the creation of the one-party state; Night of the Long Knives, army oath and death of Hindenburg.				
System of government and administration; censorship and propaganda, machinery of terror and the legal system, SS and Gestapo.				
Treatment of Opposition.				
Religious policies.				
Economic policies, Schacht's New Plan, Goering's Four Year Plan, public works, conscription and autarky.				
German Labour Front; Strength Through Joy.				
Policy towards women.				
Education and policy towards youth.				
Racial policies to 1939.				
Benefits of Nazi Rule				

Topic	Booklet section completed	Assessment marks/ grades	Revision materials created	Confidence? ☺☹☹
<b>The impact of war and defeat on Germany, 1939-1949</b>				
The war economy and Total War.				
Impact of bombing.				
War and Racial policies. The Final Solution.				
Morale and rationing.				
Opposition and resistance.				
Consequences of the Second World War.				
The Cold War and Potsdam.				
Division of Germany, Bizonia and developments in the Soviet Zone.				
Currency reform and the Berlin blockade.				
<i>AS only: interpretation skills.</i>				
<b>Divided Germany: The Federal Republic of Germany and the DDR 1949-1963</b>				
Creation of West Germany and the DDR.				
Basic law and Constitution of West Germany. 1949 election, economic miracle, political and social stability.				
Elections in the west, 1953, 1957 and 1961.				
Adenauer's decline and the Der Spiegel Crisis of 1962.				
West Germany in 1963.				
Foreign policy. Rapprochement with France, EEC, rearmament and NATO. Policy towards USA, USSR and DDR.				
The DDR in 1949.				
1953 uprising.				
Economic change, land reform, collectivisation, nationalisation and heavy industry.				
Social change, churches, Trade Unions, education and youth.				

Mock Exams/ Assessments (where a full exam paper is sat).

Topic	Mark and Grade	Marks away from next grade/ target grade	Target.

# West Germany, 1949-1963

## Section 1: West Germany- how was it organised?

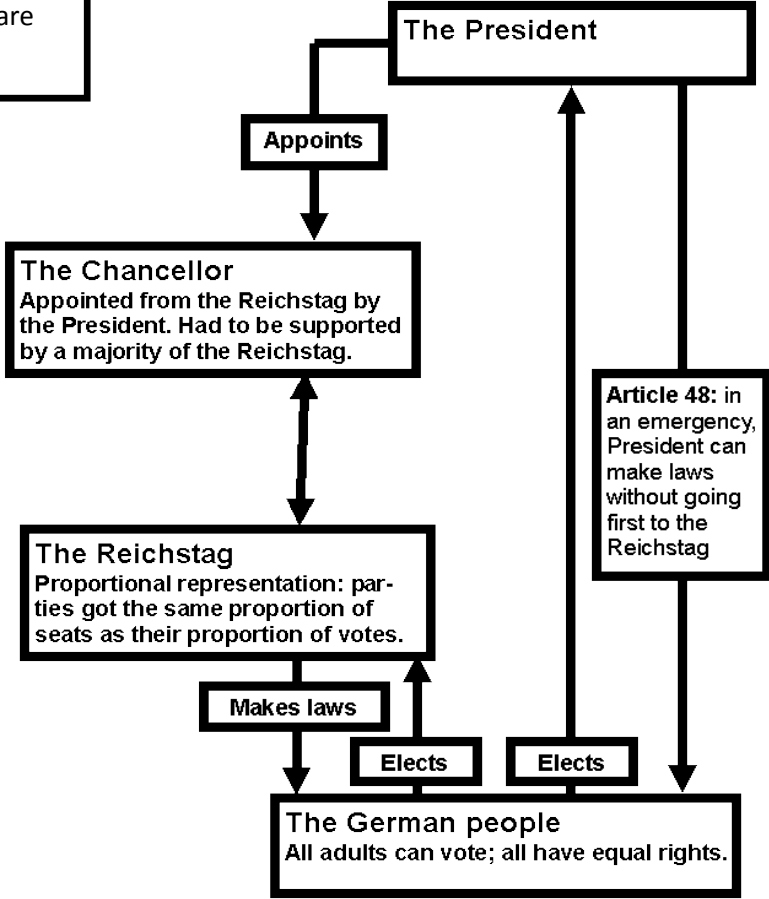
### Task 1: The Constitution of the Weimar Republic.

The Provisional Constitution of the new Federal Republic of Germany was drafted at the London Six Power Conference. Imagine that you are one of the designers of the new constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany. You have been asked to create a stable and democratic constitution. Use this constitution of the Weimar Republic and consider:

- What you would keep?
- What you would change?
- How might you change it?

The Länder: regional councils elected by the people.

Bill of Rights: freedoms such as speech, religion, assembly, political conscience and social rights (such as welfare provision)



The Reichsrat: Second, less important house in Parliament. Elected by the people.

Any of the German people can make up political parties, who can stand for election in any region and on any issue.

**Task 2: The Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany**

a) The constitution of the new republic was called the 'Basic Law' (*Grundgesetz*).

Using your textbook (page 311-315), what were the changes made to the following roles:

The Rights of the People	The Head of State (the <i>Bundespräsident</i> )	Parliament (Reichstag/ Bundestag and Reichsrat/ Bundesrat)
The Chancellor ( <i>Kanzler</i> )	The Electoral System  Key words: Pluralism/ 5% hurdle	The Supreme Court/ Constitution court ( <i>Bundesverfassungsgericht</i> )

b) CHALLENGE: Why do you think the following articles were part of the Basic Law?



Article 21: Political Parties

Political parties shall participate in the formation of the political will of the people. They may be freely established. Their internal organisation but conform to democratic principles... Parties that, by reason of their aims or the behaviour of their adherents, seek to undermine or abolish the free democratic basic order or to endanger the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany shall be unconstitutional.


Article 54: Election of the Federal President

The Federal President shall be elected by the Federal Convention. The Federal Convention shall consist of the Members of the Bundestag and an equal number of members elected by the parliaments of the Länder on the basis of proportional representation.

Article 67: Constructive vote of no confidence

The Bundestag (Reichstag) may express its lack of confidence in the Federal Chancellor only by electing a successor by the vote of a majority of its Members and requesting the Federal President to dismiss the Federal Chancellor. The Federal President must comply with the request and appoint the person elected.

c) Using page 314, do you think that they learned from the mistakes of the Weimar Republic?

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**Task 3: The Development of the Party System of the Federal Republic of Germany (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland*)**

a) What do the election results of the first 1945 Bundestag election reveal about the German’s response to their new political parties?

Party	Party Leader	Policies/ Views	Percentage of Votes	No. of Seats in the Bundestag
<u>CDU/ CSU</u> (Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union (Bavaria))	Konrad Adenauer (note: forms coalition with FDP and DP, 1 <sup>st</sup> Chancellor of FRG)	Conservative (with a small c) “Capitalism with a human face”- competition but safeguards for the poorest, and a welfare state.	31.0  (less than 1/3 of votes)	139
<u>SPD</u> (Social Democratic Party)	Karl Schumacher (followed by Willy Brandt)	Changed from a Marxist party to a more electable democratic socialism: hoping for a state regulated capitalist democracy (see the Bad Godesberg programme on page 169 of your textbook).	29.2	131
<u>FDP</u> Free Democratic Party		Liberal party: championed big business and liberal freedoms and held the balance of power.	11.9	52
<u>KPD</u> Communist Party		Marxist	5.7	22
<u>Others</u>			22.2	65 (note: the 5% hurdle is actually introduced in 1953)

a) What can you learn about Germany's response to these Bundestag elections?

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b) Why do the FDP end up being disproportionately significant? (HINT: think about the role of Liberal Democrats in the 2010 General Election)

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c) CHALLENGE: How democratic does the Federal Republic of Germany seem, according to this election?

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**Task 4: The Vanishing Opposition**

a) What does 'Vanishing Opposition' mean?

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c) Using page 170-171 of OCR AS Germany, Democracy and Dictatorships, complete the following table.

How did West German politics develop from a multi party system to one of a 'vanishing opposition'?		
Issue	How did it cause opposition to vanish?	Do you think this made the FRG a) more stable b) less democratic?
The constitutional emphasis to the 'free democratic basic order' and determination never again to allow democracy to be destroyed by democratic means.		
Electoral Systems 'two votes' system (First Past the Post, and Proportional Representation).		

5% hurdle at federal and <i>Land</i> level requiring all parties to either get 5% of the national vote or a direct mandate through a constituency election would not gain any representation in the Bundestag.		
Adenauer's policy of inclusiveness absorbing right wing parties into the CDU.		
(page 171) 1953 elections: despite greatly increased vote, Adenauer chose to run a coalition government.		
(page 171) 1957 elections: CDU got over 50% of the vote. 1961, declined slightly. Only two significantly large parties left (CDU/CSU and the SPD). FDP hold balance of power (Kingmakers).		
(page 171: 1966 SPD and CDU/CSU enter 'Grand Coalition' until 1969.		

**Task 5: Questions to consider**

a) In this table below; what do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of the West German constitution?

Strengths	Weaknesses

b) On lined paper, write an answer to this question: "To what extent was the Federal Republic of Germany actually democratic?"

c) CHALLENGE: Is stability an acceptable substitute for democracy?



## West Germany, 1949-1963

### Section 2: The political domination of the CDU/CSU and the economic miracle

#### Summary Task 1: The Problems of the new Federal Republic of Germany

You will need to complete this in stages.

STAGE 1: Explain the problems of the new FRG.

STAGE 2: Come back and summarise how the problem was solved.

STAGE 3: Explain who solved it.

This will provide a nice FRG summary for essay plans and revision!

<b>Problem</b>	<b>How was it solved?</b>	<b>Who solved it (was it Adenauer or another organisation/ body/ person)?</b>
<b>Economic:</b>		
<b>Social:</b>		
<b>Political:</b>		

### Task 2: The Aims of Adenauer


Use page 318-319 to expand your notes on Adenauer's aims. Why does he have these aims? What plans might he have to deal with them?

**Adenauer's Aims**

- To integrate with the Western powers
- To revise the Occupational Statute (the terms that the Allied Powers occupied Germany with) as quickly as possible.
- To reunite the FRG with the GDR but not if he had to make any concessions to Communism.
- To make the FRG so appealing to live in that East Germans would choose to join it- 'magnet theory'.
- To create economic stability for the new states.

### Task 3: The political domination of the CDU/CSU

a) Read page 319-320. How did the CDU/CSU dominate politics in the Federal Republic of Germany?

The Election of 1953	
The Election of 1957	

b) Why did Adenauer's political dominance **not** worry the rest of the Western world?  
(This is a challenge question, but it is worth attempting it regardless).



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**Task 4: The SPD during the Adenauer years**

Use page 321-322 to answer these questions.

a) What were the SPD's values in 1945?



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b) How did they disagree with the policies of the CDU/CSU?

The Economy



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"The German Question"



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c) What were the SPD's limitations?

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d) What happened to the SPD after 1957?

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e) Why did the SPD do this?

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**Task 4: The 'Economic Miracle'**

a) The economy of the FRG was superintended by Ludwig Erhard (former Economic Director of Bizonia and developer of the 1948 currency reform). He became economic minister under Adenauer and he believed in the 'social market economy' (these are in the diagram below).

Erhard was not different from many economic thinkers in his beliefs that more people buying things would grow the economy and stimulate demand. Where he did differ from others was the ability of the state to intervene in the free market. Classic liberal economists did not believe the state should intervene.


Aim to combine political and economic freedom with social justice and security, protecting private property, enterprise and investment but also the state could intervene to defend the common interests of the individual.

Believed that rising consumption (more people buying things) would promote economic growth.

Erhard became the symbol of economic recovery in Germany. His policies were described as a 'free economy with a social conscience.'

Ludwig Erhard. Note his cigar and his book, "Prosperity for all".

b) In your own words, what is meant by the 'social market economy'?

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c) What were the issues that needed solving in the German economy? (you will need pages 323-324 for this).

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d) Read the following statements regarding the economic recovery of the FRG and highlight the following:

- Short term successes
- Short term failures
- Reasons for successes
- Long term successes
- Long term failures
- Reasons for failures

Currency reform and the ending of government price controls made more consumer goods available for sale.
Initially, steep rises in prices were not matched by wage increases- poorest in society excluded from improvements.
Shortages of resources (especially coal) required for rebuilding industry led to a sharp increase in imports and a serious balance of payments deficit (where there is more money going out of the country to pay for imports than coming into the country by selling exports).
'Foundation crisis' in 1949-1950- the German economy faced recession because there was not enough demand to sustain growth and there was not enough foreign currency for investment.
Unemployment up to 13.5% and the cost of petrol went up by 50%, putting Erhard under pressure from many quarters by 1950 to return to state controls.
The Korean war led to an increase in demand for products that the German economy was well equipped to provide- such as armaments- thus leading to boom times for German industry.
Economic growth continued to be high and carried on (between 1951 and 1966-71) growing. It had growth rates of 10% and 12% in peak years (1951 and 1955) and its average growth rate was 8%. (To put this into context, it is considered a good year in Britain if growth rate is 2.5-3%).
1950-1955, Gross National Product (the value given to the market value of all goods and services produced by one country in one year) almost doubled.
More coal was being mined in the FRG by the middle of the 1950s than in the whole of Germany in 1936. *CHALLENGE Can you criticise this statistic?
The FRG contained extensive resources (coal and iron from the Ruhr) and a well educated, skilled population.
More people drove motorised bicycles, scooters and cars- and the dream was to own the Volkswagen ('Beetle')

<p>From 1952, FRG grew in exports to the extent where it had overcome the balance of trade problem it had previously. By 1954 it was the third biggest trading power behind Britain and the USA, especially in tools, machines, cars, electronic and chemical products. It sold its products with the label 'Made in Germany' standing for good quality at reasonable prices; the Deutsch Mark (DM) had been undervalued at first. West German banking became a symbol of financial correctness and the central bank (the <i>Bundesbank</i>) operated independently from the government to keep the currency stable, adjust interest rates to prevent inflation and to control money circulation. This helped foreign investment.</p>
<p>The need for housing- coupled with a consumer goods boom and incentives such as special subsidised savings programmes to buy your own property pushed up demand in general, helping German industry along.</p>
<p>Economic expansion reflected in job creation and decline of unemployment. By 1955 it was down to one million (or 4.2 per cent). Within a few years, it had a period of full employment that did not really end until the 1970s.</p>
<p>Three million people emigrated to the FRG to the GDR before 1961- and provided a cheap labour source that enabled industry to keep expanding. People were also prepared to move for jobs, enabling all areas of the FRG to grow. In fact more workers were coming in from Italy and Turkey due to a recruitment drive for labour to keep pace with German economic growth. There was a continuous supply of qualified, disciplined and highly motivated employees on the labour market who were easily satisfied with moderate incomes.</p>
<p>The Marshall Plan gave \$1.5 billion out of the \$12.7 billion to the FRG- a stimulus to the German economy and a boost of political morale to the emerging state. However, Britain received twice as much, and it doesn't give enough credit to Erhard's financial reforms (including the currency reforms) which are seen as the most significant factor.</p>
<p>The government's financial expenditure was reduced. They didn't have to pay reparations and defence costs were limited (it was only allowed an army in 1955). This meant that Erhard could spend more on social and welfare policies, which made the new democracy much more stable.</p>
<p>The Co-determination Law of 1951 (put workers on the boards of coal, iron and steel industries) and the Works' Constitution Law of 1952 (works councils for all employees of companies with more than 500 workers) which helped bring about peace between trade unions, workers and government by giving workers a voice in the government. This meant there were far fewer (virtually no) production hours/ working hours lost to industrial action (strikes).</p>
<p>Agriculture required heavy subsidies (government assistance in the form of money), and as the economy became even more reliant on industry, employment in farming was nearly halved- from 23% to 13%.</p>
<p>The mechanisation of agriculture did bring about a substantial increase in production- nearly 25% over the 1950s.</p>

e) Use the table above and the information on page 324-328 to create a mind map that will help you plan the answer to this question "How miraculous was the economic miracle?"

Your mind map/ plan should include:

- Evidence to support the "economic miracle".
- Evidence to suggest that the "economic miracle" wasn't really a miracle.
- CHALLENGE: Evidence to suggest that the economic miracle occurred at the expense of east Germany.



### Task 5: Conclusions

- Go back to Summary Task 1 at the beginning of this section and complete the task.
- How far was the success and stability of the west at the expense of the east? What kind of evidence can you find to develop your response to this question? List that on lined paper.

# West Germany, 1949-1963


## Section 3: Adenauer's Social Policy

### Task 1: Social policy under Adenauer

You will need to use the sheet on the following page, plus pages 329-334 of your textbook to complete the following tasks.

a) Use the sheet on the following page for information and answer the questions that are on that page (marked by a pencil).

b) Why do you think that Adenauer's West Germany had such peaceful trade union relations? (read page 330-331 carefully)

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c) Why was the education system in such chaos? (page 332-333)

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d) Using page 329-330, what impact did the 'Equalisation of Burdens Law' (1952) have on society?

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e) Using page 329-330, what impact did the 'Law 131' (1951) have on society?

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# Social Policy in Adenauer's Chancellorship

# Task 1a



**'Equalisation of Burdens Law'** passed in 1952. There was a property levy (tax) on capital and real estate that had not been affected by the war in order to give something to those that had. It redistributed DM 143 billion over 30 years, but did not change the social and economic structures of society.  
How would this stabilise FRG society?



**'131 Law'** of 1951 restored the employment and pension rights of civil servants (government workers who are outside of a political party— e.g. admin, research, advisors). This was expensive and controversial, but it did reintegrate ex-civil servants and the military into the new state administration to help its quick rebuilding (even if they had been Nazi sympathisers (e.g. Globke, secretary of state).  
How would this stabilise FRG society?



Trade unions were affiliated to one umbrella organisation, **The German Federation of Trade Unions**, which co-ordinated activities across all groups and operated outside politics. How would this stabilise FRG society?



A Consumer Society. Although 20% households were at subsistence level, there was a rise in living standards. By 1962, 63% owned a fridge (11% in 1955), 42% a TV, 38% a car. Many wanted to stay outside politics "ohne mich" (without me), they trusted Adenauer and got into Mass Media— e.g. US culture.

How would this stabilise FRG society?



To what extent was the stabilisation of democracy caused by social policies during Adenauer's chancellorship?



The Weimar welfare state was kept and improved: unemployment benefit, accident insurance, sickness insurance (sick pay increased in 1957), pensions (reformed in 1957— 60% of final years earnings, over double of Britain's), tax based child allowances and child benefit from 1954. The % of the GNP spent on social welfare rose from 17.1 in 1950 to 25.7 by 1970.  
How would this stabilise FRG society?



Women significantly outnumbered men (war) which meant they played an essential role in the survival and stability of German society. Article 3 of the 1949 Basic Law gave them equal rights. The Law of Equality of the Sexes (1957) gave women the rights to work without the permission of their husbands and to keep control of property after marriage. Also, full employment gave job opportunities and consumer goods (vacuum cleaners) helped with housework. But society (influenced by the Church) was conservative and patriarchal, and meant equal pay was not happening (on average 40% less than the average man's) and in higher education, female student numbers only reached 30% of total students by 1968. Traditional roles ruled.

How would this stabilise FRG society?



Education. The Allies did not agree on education policy. In the FRG, the schools did not really change (apart from the Nazi schools). Also; there was a lack of school buildings, teaching materials (apart from Nazi books), and qualified teachers had been removed by the Nazis or killed. Changes made were limited e.g. to holidays, exam standards and subjects etc (**Dusseldorf Agreement 1955**) This was known as *Shulchaos* (school chaos). There were some changes in 1959 to create a modern school system. There were some changes to the school system but it didn't really begin until the mid 1960s where it came in the age of student revolt.



Housing was increased. Public and private housing was subsidised— including council homes (half of new accommodation).  
How would this stabilise FRG society?





f) How far did life improve for each of the following groups in West Germany?

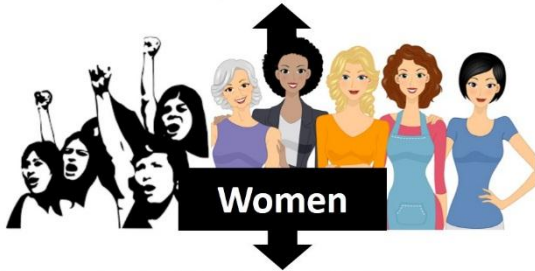
Using page 329 -334, annotate each of the following figures with what happens to them thanks to Adenauer’s social policy.

How did life improve for workers in the FRG?

Were there any ways that life did not improve for workers in the FRG?



How did life improve for women in the FRG?




Were there any ways that life did not improve for women in the FRG?

How did life improve for children in the FRG?

Were there any ways that life did not improve for children in the FRG?



g) Using page 329-330 of your textbook; to what extent had the success of West German democracy come from the reintegration of former Nazis and an inadequate ‘coming to terms with the past’?

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**Task 2: How far did society change/ stay the same?**

Use pages 334-337 to complete the following table

A consumers' society?		
<p>What were things like before 1955?</p>	<p>How had things changed in the second half of the 1950- mid 1960s?</p>	<p>Were all these changes for the better?</p>
		
Home sweet home?		
<p>How did people feel towards the FRG? (make sure you include <i>ohne mich</i> mentality)</p>		
		
A 'Coca Cola society'?		
<p>What is meant by this phrase? Did it apply to the FRG?</p>		
		
A modern industrial society?		
<p>Was the FRG a modern industrial society?</p>	<p>Was the FRG a society with much social mobility?</p>	<p>What kind of society had the FRG developed into?</p>

# West Germany, 1949-1963

## Section 4: Adenauer's Foreign Relations

### Task 1: The International Context

- By 1949, the Soviets had developed the atomic bomb.
- The Korean War, a conflict where the USA and the USSR both supported opposite sides. It confirmed Western fears about Communist aggression.
- As the place where East and West met regularly, with tensions over how both sides were administered, Germany was at the forefront of the Cold War.



With what you know of Adenauer, how do you think he would react to these events?

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### Task 2: Adenauer's aims

a) Read Adenauer's foreign policy aims and answer the question that follows:

- **To keep the GDR peaceful and free** (particularly considering that the Soviets had developed the atomic bomb by 1949, the Korean war had broken out by 1950 and divided Germany seemed to be on the frontline of hostilities).
- **To establish sovereignty for the new state** (as the country was still under the control of the Allied High Commission, the Western Allies had the ultimate authority and the GDR wasn't actually allowed a foreign office- Adenauer acted as chancellor and foreign minister).
- **To exploit the economic, political and military strength of the free Western world by fully integrating the GDR- ending in a united west Europe led and protected by the superpower USA** (thereby needing to prove to the west they were stable and reliable).
- **To ensure protection against communist aggression** (Adenauer had a violent antipathy towards Communism, mistrusted the Soviets and therefore was opposed to attempts at unification of Germany if it was going to be neutral, reunification could only be considered under Western conditions).

To what extent do Adenauer's foreign policy aims demonstrate that he was likely to abandon the east?

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### Task 3: What did Adenauer do?

Read the following information and use it to answer the following questions. It may also help you to highlight the consequences of these policies as you go along.


#### Eyes to the West: Economic, Military and Political Integration

##### Economic Integration

###### The Problems with Economic Integration:

- **Occupation Statute of April 1949** still gave the Occupying powers the right to supervise the country's trade.
- **The International Ruhr Authority** gave the right to France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg to control the distribution of the area's resources (coal and steel particularly).
- The coal rich Saar region was still under the control of the French.

a) How might Adenauer solve these problems?

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###### Adenauer's involvement in Foreign Policies

Adenauer was responsible for involving the FRG in the following international agreements.


- **The Petersberg Agreement**, autumn 1949: signed by the Allied High Commission. Primarily, to allow the FRG to join the International Ruhr Authority. This limited the ability of the Allies to dismantle industry in the Ruhr, allowed the FRG to establish diplomatic relationships with the other states and let them join the European Council in 1950.
- **The European Coal and Steel Community (April 1951)**: France's mistrust of the FRG began to give way under the idea that economic advantages would come from cooperating with the new Germany. In 1950, the French foreign minister (Robert Schuman) suggested a supranational organisation to oversee German and French steel and coal production (the Schuman Plan) and led to the foundation of the ECSC by its six members: the FRG, France, Italy and the Benelux States (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg). This allowed the FRG to be treated as an equal partner and brought France and the FRG closer together after three hostile conflicts between 1870-1945. This also increased production of coal and steel within the community by 44% (between 1952-57), leading the members to look to more integration between them.
- **The European Economic Community (EEC)**: Treaty of Rome signed in March 1957. This created a customs union between the FRG, France, Italy and the Benelux States which would harmonise measures of trade and prices in areas such as agriculture and fisheries. By 1964, 85% of FRG agricultural produce lay within the EEC terms and its success led to 'lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe' with its plans to coordinate transport, develop general economic policies, remove measures restricting free competition and assure the mobility of labour and capital. The EEC was known as the 'Common Market', and it became a turning point for Europe and the FRG. The FRG was the largest member of the EEC, given to political and economic influence.
- **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)**: Formed in 1948 with the main objective of reducing barriers to international trade. FRG joined in 1951.
- **Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)**: created in 1948 to administer the Marshall Plan and to continue work on a joint recovery programme by economic cooperation. The Bizone was one of the original founding members.

- **International Monetary Fund (IMF):** created in 1943 to stabilise exchange rates and supervise the world's international payment system to prevent financial imbalance. FRG joined in 1952. These all helped to bring the FRG into the international community.

b) Complete the following table to demonstrate your understanding of these notes:

<p>What shows that the FRG is starting to get more control over their own affairs?</p>	<p>What shows that the FRG is getting integrated into the west?</p>
<p>What impact did this have on the economy of the FRG?</p>	

c) How did the Foreign Policy of Adenauer improve the economic fortunes of the FRG?

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d) How far does this support the idea that the prosperity of the west came from the abandonment of the east?

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**Task 4: Eyes to the West: Military and Political Integration**


The outbreak of the Chinese Revolution (1949) and the Korean War (1950) heightened the fear of communism and led to a change in attitudes between US and West European politicians. The USA wanted European countries to be able to defend themselves without relying on the US, but German rearmament was still looked at quite warily. French PM, Plevin, planned to create a European Defence Community (EDC), under French leadership with a limited German contingent. Adenauer agreed to make the FRG a member of the EDC provided it would end the Occupation Statute. The agreement signed in 1952 creating the EDC caused some intense political opposition- the treaty was ratified by the Bundestag but there was serious resistance to German rearmament (from within the SPD and also some within the CDU). It was defeated by the French parliament and it was renegotiated. October 1954, the Paris Treaties were signed to settle openly all the major political and economic disputes between Germany and France. This time, they were signed by their respective parliaments and agreed:

- **German sovereignty;** the occupational statute was ended and the FRG was a fully sovereign state in May 1955. Western Powers kept their rights and responsibilities over West Berlin, the stationing of their troops in West Germany to guarantee its security was assured, and the question remained of German reunification and a future peace settlement • West

European Union; the EDC plan was put to one side, and instead the West European Union was set up (France, Britain, and the Benelux states<sup>1</sup>, the FRG and Italy). This was a defensive pact, which allowed the FRG to have its own army (Bundeswehr) instead of a European army that would have been created by the EDC.

- **NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation**, a military alliance formed in 1949. The FRG was allowed to become a full member in 1955 (although it abstained from atomic, biological and chemical weapons).
- **The future of the Saar**; autonomous status of the Saar and its close economic connection with France was agreed by Adenauer, but the population of the Saar were given a plebiscite. A 68% majority rejected these terms. 2/3 of the Saar parliament pushed for unifying with the FRG. Improved Franco-German relations allowed it to happen in 1957.

e) What would be the effect of these treaties between Adenauer and the Soviet Union?

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f) How successfully has Adenauer integrated the FRG into the west? You might find it helpful to look through page 342- the section marked **Conclusion**.

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**Task 5: What were Adenauer's relations with the GDR and the USSR?**

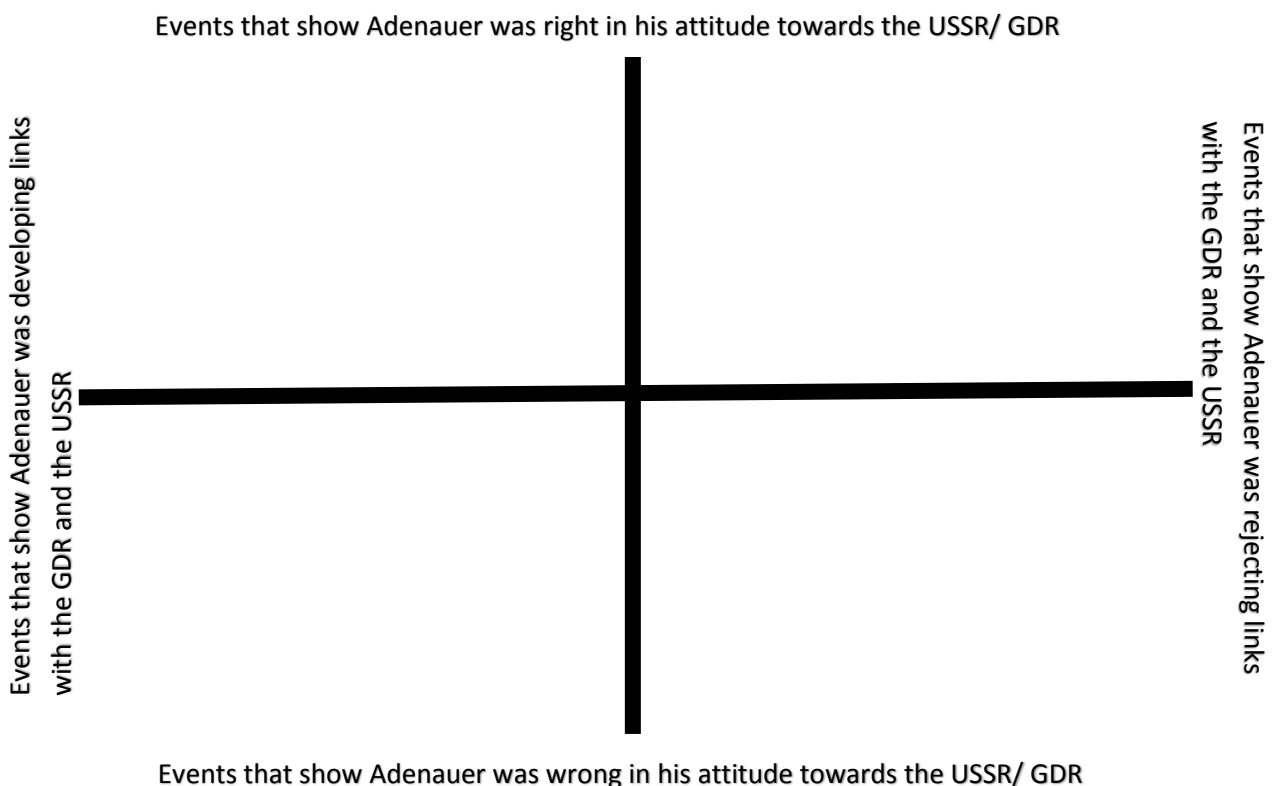
Use the following pieces of information to answer these questions

- In the official language of the FRG, East Germany was referred to as the '**Soviet Occupation zone**'.
- There were no official international diplomatic relations between the FRG and GDR.
- When the GDR signed a peace treaty with Poland in 1950, it was not recognised by the FRG.
- People generally spoke of it in derogative language, as '**drüben**' (over there) or '**Ostzone**' (the east zone).

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<sup>1</sup> The Benelux countries are Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg

- Adenauer's strategy was that of the **'magnet theory'**. If the FRG was politically and economically strong, it would be more attractive to the people of east Europe and therefore they would wish to join the FRG. 3 million refugees from the GDR came flooding into the FRG during the 1950s served to confirm that theory.
  - **The Stalin Notes:** these addressed the question of German reunification in March 1952. They suggested a negotiated settlement to the German question provided; there was a final peace treaty for a united Germany with free democratic elections; that all foreign troops would be removed from Germany, it would not enter a military alliance and would remain neutral; and a defensive army would be created for that new state. It was rejected by the Western Allies. The USA hoped for the EDC negotiations, Adenauer was concerned it left Germany weak and prey to communist power and influence and used all of his influence to ensure it did not happen. The Soviet offer was renewed again on several occasions after Stalin's death (1954- 5). Adenauer did not budge from his position. Adenauer was blamed by his opponents for not seriously pursuing these negotiations, but his supporters have seen Stalin's offer as a bluff to prevent remilitarisation and to block Western interests before restoring communist influence over Germany. The opening of the Soviet archives after 1990 suggests that Stalin was trying to keep the FRG from further integration with the west to allow Soviet influence, but subsequent offers may have been more about propaganda aimed at presenting the right image.
  - **The Hallstein Doctrine (after 1955):** it established that the FRG would not establish or maintain diplomatic relationships with any country that recognised the German Democratic Republic.
- a) Put these events on the diagram below, to assess what happened to the relationship between the FRG, the Soviet Union and the USSR.



- b) On lined paper: why do you think that Adenauer had this attitude towards USSR and the GDR?  
 c) On lined paper: how successful was Adenauer's foreign policy overall?

**West Germany, 1949-1963**  
**Section 5: Adenauer's Fall from Power**

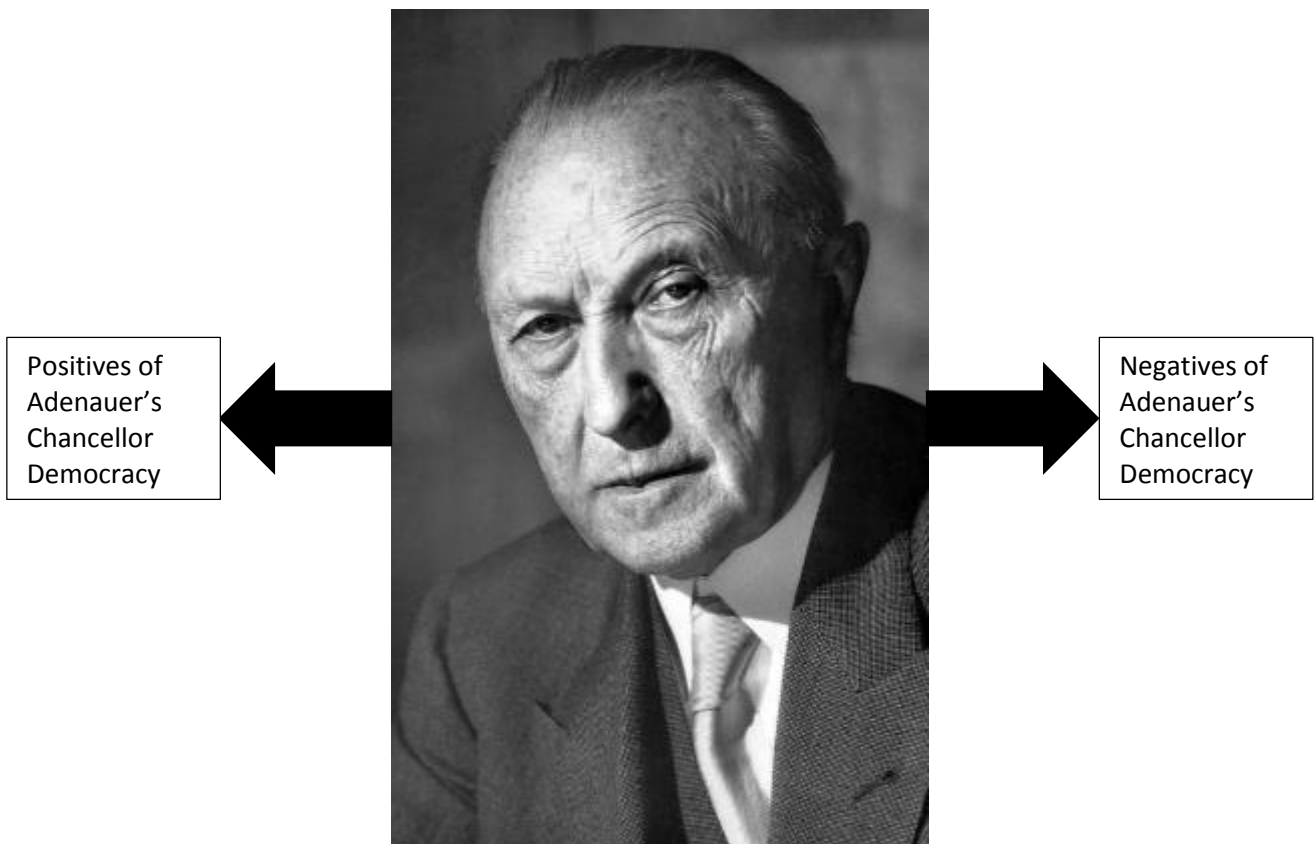
Task 1: Complete the table below with the details of Adenauer's fall from power (page 346-8).

Why did the events of spring 1959 lead to Adenauer's fall?	What happened during the 'TV dispute'?
What impact did the 1961 election have on Adenauer's position?	
How did the Der Spiegel Affair affect Adenauer's position?	
What was the impact of foreign relations on Adenauer's position?	Why did Adenauer resign?



Task 2: Adenauer's Chancellor Democracy

Use page 349-350 to assess the positives and negatives of Adenauer's style of government as labelled Chancellor Democracy.



## East Germany, 1949-1963

### Section 6: the SED Dictatorship and the Political Survival of Walter Ulbricht

Task 1: How totalitarian was the SED dictatorship?

We've already looked at the formation of the SED dictatorship, so we have some notes already. Use the more detailed reading in your textbook to assess how totalitarian the SED dictatorship was by completing the following table. You will need page 353-360 of your textbook.

Evidence it was ruled according to a political ideology/ theory	Evidence of secret police/ military control	Imprisonment for those with opposing political views
One Party System	Show trials	Mass organisations covering the whole population
Unfair legal system	Management of elections/ no elections	
Any democratic features?		

**Task 2: Life in the GDR**

What was life like in the GDR if you were this person (page 360-361)?

I'm a Christian

I'm a teacher

I'm a journalist

I am not keen on the current government

I am a middle class businessman who owns my own shop

I'm a farmer

I'm shopping for groceries

I'd really like to buy some nice things for my house

I'm a worker

**Task 3: The workers' uprising of 17<sup>th</sup> June 1953**

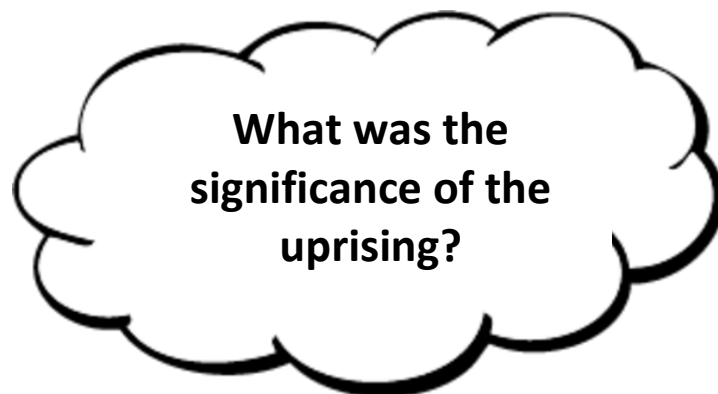
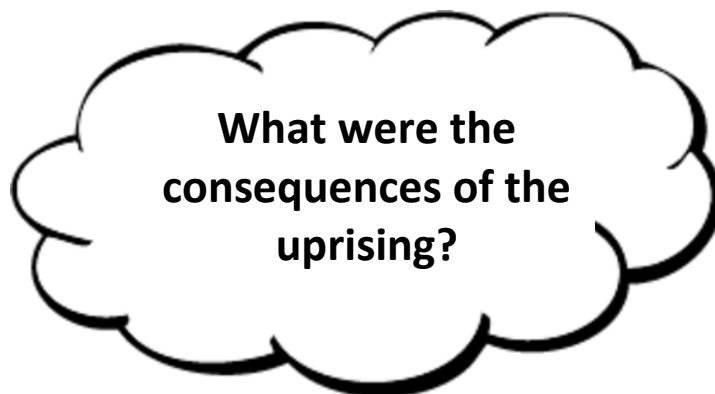
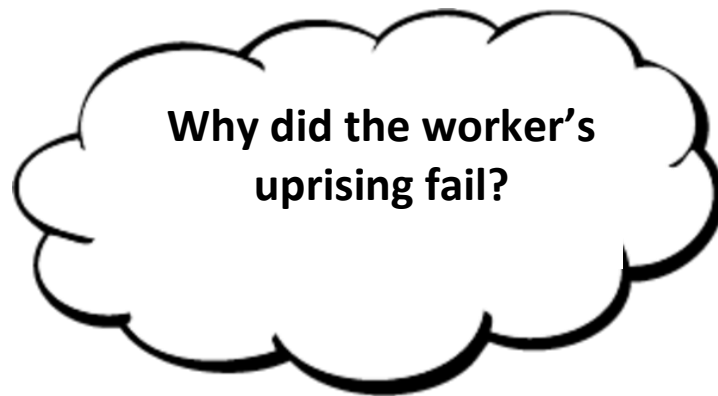
a) In early 1953, there were two events that caused an emerging crisis. Your job, is to explain how using page 361 of your textbook.

Stalin's death, 5<sup>th</sup> March 1953:.....  
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Raised work norms (a ten percent rise in productivity and working hours without increased pay):.....  
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b) How did the uprising take place? Write your answer in this box.

c) Why did the workers' uprising fail? Use page 362-365 to create spider diagrams of the following aspects of the workers' uprising.



**Task 4: De-Stalinisation (page 365-366)**

a) When Khrushchev proclaimed the end of Stalinism in a secret speech in February 1956, how did this compare with Ulbricht and the SED leadership's attitude?


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b) What impact did Khrushchev's speech have on Communist states in eastern Europe?


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c) What happened within the SED following these events?


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d) What impact would this have on Ulbricht's position within the party?

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**Task 5: The Hungarian Uprising (page 366)**

Use this box to explain what happened in Hungary and how it affected Ulbricht's position.

**Task 6: Why did Ulbricht survive? (page 366)**

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# East Germany, 1949-1963

## Section 7: the GDR Economy

### Task 1: The International Context

- Before the war, industry in eastern Germany relied on resources from western Germany and it could sell its products in the larger Western markets.
- After the war, trading links between the two Germanys became more complicated because of the GDR's unique position.
- Stalin had refused to let the GDR join the Marshall Plan but the country still looked to the West because of its ongoing currency shortage. The 1951 Berlin Treaty between the two Germanys facilitated trading- providing the GDR with tariff-free access to the West German market and allowed it to pay in goods rather than currency, and giving the GDR some interest-free overdraft privileges.
- In September 1950, the GDR joined Comecon and from that time became economically integrated into the Eastern bloc.

Using page 368-369, how did the GDR's economic integration affect the GDR's economy? Complete the table below with the consequences of those actions.

The GDR could not keep up with the pace of the development of modern technology.	The GDR was the second largest industrial power after the USSR.
The GDR's membership of Comecon	
The GDR's trade relationship with the USSR	

### Task 2: Industry

Read page 369-371 of your textbook to answer the following questions.

a) How did the SED live up to its slogan, "to learn from the Soviet Union means learning to win"?

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b) What did the short transitional Two-Year Plan do to the GDR economy?

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b) What did the first Five Year Plan do to the GDR economy?

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c) How successful was the first Five Year Plan?

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d) Why was the overdependence on heavy industry a problem for the SED leaders?

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e) What was the effect of centralised planning on the economy?

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f) What was the effect of the productivity quotas on the workers?

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g) What did the second Five-Year Plan aim to achieve?

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h) What were the effects of the second Five Year Plan on the GDR?

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i) How far did the lives of the people in the GDR improve as a result of the second Five Year Plan?



Cultural life and education



i) What problems did these stabilising social improvements cause for the GDR?

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j) At the Fifth Party Congress, Ulbricht proudly proclaimed that the GDR aimed 'to catch up and overtake' West Germany by 1961. How was this done?

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k) What were the aims of the Seven Year Plan?

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l) What were the problems? Why were those aims unrealistic?

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m) What were the consequences of the Seven Year Plan?

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**Task 3: Agriculture**

Use pages 372-373 to develop your notes on agriculture.

Complete the following table to create your notes.

	What happened?	What were the consequences?
What initial changes happened to agriculture under Soviet Occupation?		
The First Five Year Plan.		
The introduction of voluntary collectivisation		
The Second Wave of Collectivisation		

### Conclusion Tasks

To what extent was communism an economic failure for the GDR? (this could be an essay question). You can use page 374 as well as your notes to create this essay plan.

The impact of Communist ideology on the GDR's economy
Positives of the GDR economy
Significance of those positives:
Negatives of the GDR economy
Significance of those negatives
Conclusion


# East Germany, 1949-1963

## Section 8: was East Germany a fair society for all?



### Task 1: Note Taking

Use pages 375-383 to create your notes on the different sections of East German society.

Healthcare/ Pensions/ Insurance/ Benefits




Accommodation/ Housing



How much of a fair society was the GDR?

Education  
Pre-School

School



Higher Education



The impact of educational policy

Youth Organisations  
Good points

Criticisms



Churches

The Jugendweihe





**Task 2: A Summary of Social Change**

Use pages 384-386 to complete the following notes.

Standard of Living	A 'workers' state?
Was the GRD an equal society?	
How much conformity and dissent was there in the GDR?	

## East Germany, 1949-1963

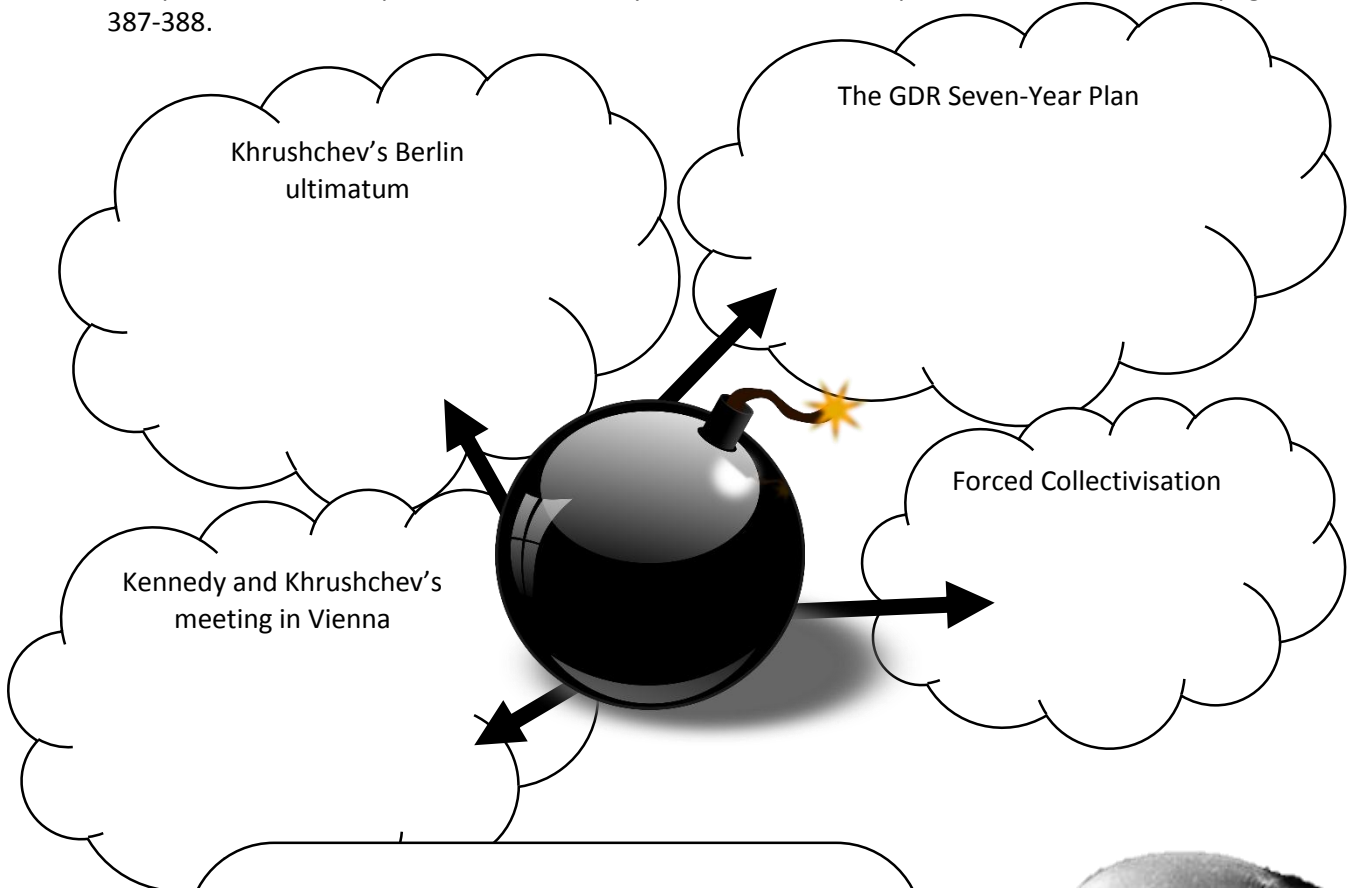
### Section 9: Putting up the Berlin Wall

#### Task 1: the problem of Berlin

Use page 387 to summarise what the problem was with the division in Berlin.

#### Task 2: The Berlin fuse

Complete the mind map below to assess why Berlin reached crisis point in 1961. You can use page 387-388.



**"No-one intends to build a wall"**

Apart from me, Walter Ulbricht. And pages 388-389 is how this happens



**Task 3: How far was the Berlin Wall a turning point for East/ West relations?**

Use pages 389-390 to complete these sections.

Is this a turning point for FRG, GDR and the world?

What impact did it have on the Western Powers?

What was the impact on the GDR?

What was the impact on the FRG?

