

Contents

VOLUME 1 From Shadow to Substance: 1945–1963

Foreword	xii
Preface	xv
Acknowledgements	xxiv
List of Abbreviations	xxvi
General Introduction	xxx

PART I

The Beginning and the End

Introduction	3
1 The Stage	5
2 Defeat or Liberation?	11
3 The Fate	15
4 Planning for Occupation	21
5 The Hour at Zero	30
6 The Potsdam Conference: Unworkable Compromises	47
7 Germany: Post Potsdam	57
8 The Trials	63
9 Denazification	74

PART II

Reconstruction and Division

1 Politics and Leadership	93
2 Adenauer and Schumacher	108
3 Berlin	119
4 Challenges of Occupation	125
5 Food and Labor	128

6	Unions	136
7	The Life of the Mind and Spirit	141
8	The Media and Literature	155
9	Education	165
10	The Engine of Recovery: Economic Structure and Reality	175
11	The Reorientation of US Policy	179
12	1947: The Year of Decision	186
13	Capitalism and the Free Market	191
14	The Currency Reform	198
15	The Berlin Blockade and the Emergence of a West German State	210

PART III

The Establishment of the Federal Republic, 1949–1955

1	The Basic Law, Sovereignty, and First Federal Elections	231
2	Chancellor Adenauer	250
3	The Petersberg Agreement	258
4	Economic Problems, the Schuman Plan, Co-Determination	261
5	First Steps towards Armed Forces	272
6	The Federal Constitutional Court	292
7	The Note Controversy and the EDC Treaty	297
8	The SPD and the Death of Schumacher	303
9	Refugees and Expellees	305
10	Restitution and the Debt Problem	311
11	The Ratification Debate Continues	316
12	Berlin 1949–1953	320
13	From the 1953 Election to Sovereignty	324
14	Society, Education, and Religion	335
15	Ten Years On	344

PART IV

Consolidation and Division, 1955–1961

Introduction	349	
1	The Geneva Summit and the “Rélance de l’Europe”	351
2	Adenauer in Moscow	358
3	The Bundeswehr	366
4	Dissent over Ostpolitik	373
5	The Coalition Breaks Down	378
6	The Founding of the European Economic Community	381
7	The European Power Balance: Strategy and Nuclear Arms	386
8	The Economic Miracle	392
9	The Defense Debate Continues	399

10	Fight Atomic Death!	406
11	The Spirit of the Fifties	411
12	The Franco-German Rapprochement Begins	426
13	The Soviet Offensive Begins: The Berlin Ultimatum	435
14	The SPD: The German Plan and the Godesberg Program	441
15	Geneva, Again	449
16	Foreign Policy East and West: Franco-German "Pas de Deux"	453
17	The Berlin Wall	462
18	The 1961 Elections	471

PART V

The End of the Adenauer Era, 1961–1963

Introduction	477
1 The Berlin Crisis Abates: Reappraisal and Realignment	479
2 The Succession Problem and Continued Rapprochement with France	491
3 The Spiegel Affair	499
4 Change through Rapprochement	510
5 Adenauer's Last Success: The Franco-German Friendship Treaty	514
6 The Succession Completed	523
Bibliographic Essay	526
Documents and Sources	534
Bibliography	538
Index	559

VOLUME 2

Democracy and its Discontents: 1963–1988

PART VI

Erhard as Chancellor, 1963–1966

1	Germany in Transition	3
2	Erhard Begins	11
3	Foreign Policy and Intra-German Affairs 1964–1965	14
4	Overcoming the Past?	29
5	A Government of Contradictions	37
6	West Germany's Dilemma: With the West, but in the Middle	41

7	Signs of the Times	47
8	Vietnam, US Policy, and the Fall of Erhard	53

PART VII

The Grand Coalition, 1966–1969

Introduction		60
1	The Cultural Revolution	67
2	The Grand Coalition: Stabilizing the Economy	82
3	New Ideas on Ostpolitik	90
4	Official Ostpolitik 1966–1968	95
5	Domestic Policy in the Era of the New Left	113
6	The Fate of the Grand Coalition	137

PART VIII

The Fourth Chancellor of Germany,
Willy Brandt, 1969–1974

Introduction		151
1	At Last: The New Ostpolitik	166
2	The First Phase of Negotiations	173
3	Poland	186
4	The Berlin Agreement and European Security	190
5	1972: The Year of Decision	202
6	The Third Eastern Treaty	222
7	Domestic Initiatives	224
8	Equality of Opportunity or Equality of Result: The Economy and Education	237
9	Welfare and the Law	244
10	Domestic Stability – Domestic Security	248
11	1972: Victory in the Bundestag Elections 1973: Chancellor Brandt's Popularity Wanes	252
12	Brandt's Resignation	265

PART IX

The Era of the "Macher," 1974–1982

Introduction		271
1	Two Germanies in the West	274
2	Dealing with Economic Crisis	281
3	Combatting Euro-Pessimism	297
4	Fighting for Detente	303
5	Ostpolitik	321
6	The End of Detente	332

7	The Greens	340
8	The Peace Movement	344
9	Combatting Terrorism	348
10	Party Politics and Social Trends	355
11	National Identity and Leadership	368
12	The Fall of Schmidt	376
13	Early Elections	380

PART X

The Pillar of Central Europe

Introduction	387
1 The Nature of Party Politics	389
2 Germany and her Allies: The Missile Debate of 1983	400
3 Ostpolitik: Government and Opposition	409
4 National Identity and the Past	415
5 The Politics of History and the Past	432
6 The Politics of Religion and the Past	448
7 Ostpolitik: Division, Cultural Unity, and Reunification	452
8 SDI, INF, and Gorbachev: Changing Foreign Policy Priorities	465
9 The CDU/CSU and SPD	475
10 INF Resolved? Implications for Germany	481
11 Honecker in Bonn and the SPD-SED Talks	489
12 Democracy: Its Contents and Discontents	493
Bibliographic Essay	513
Documents and Sources	521
Bibliography	525
Index	547