

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

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Fall 2018

Session 5: German Nation Building

German Nation Building



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- What is Nationalism?
- Mid 19th century rise of German Nationalism in 1800
- The creation of the Second Reich
- Post WW2 division of Germany
- German Reunification



Nationalism



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- **Nationalism**
 - Intense pride in/devotion to one's group/country
 - Usually occurs within people who share a common history, language, and culture
 - When the group also has its own independent government => a nation-state, self determination

Nationalism



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Commonalities that create a nation:

- Nationality- belief in a common ethnic ancestry (real/imagined)
- Language- Different dialects or forms of one language; one dialect chosen as the “national language”
- Culture- shared way of life (food, wear, behavior, ideals)
- History- common past/experiences (real/imagined)
- Religion- shared by all/most group members
- Territory- geographical territory that “belongs” to the group; “land”



The Rise of German Nationalism

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- First Reich => Charlemagne (800 AD)
- Germans developed the strongest kingdom in Europe (1000 AD), but it splintered by 1300
- The Protestant Reformation (1517-1648) sparked bloody conflict along religious lines
 - Southern Germany remains Catholic
 - Northern countries shifts to Protestantism

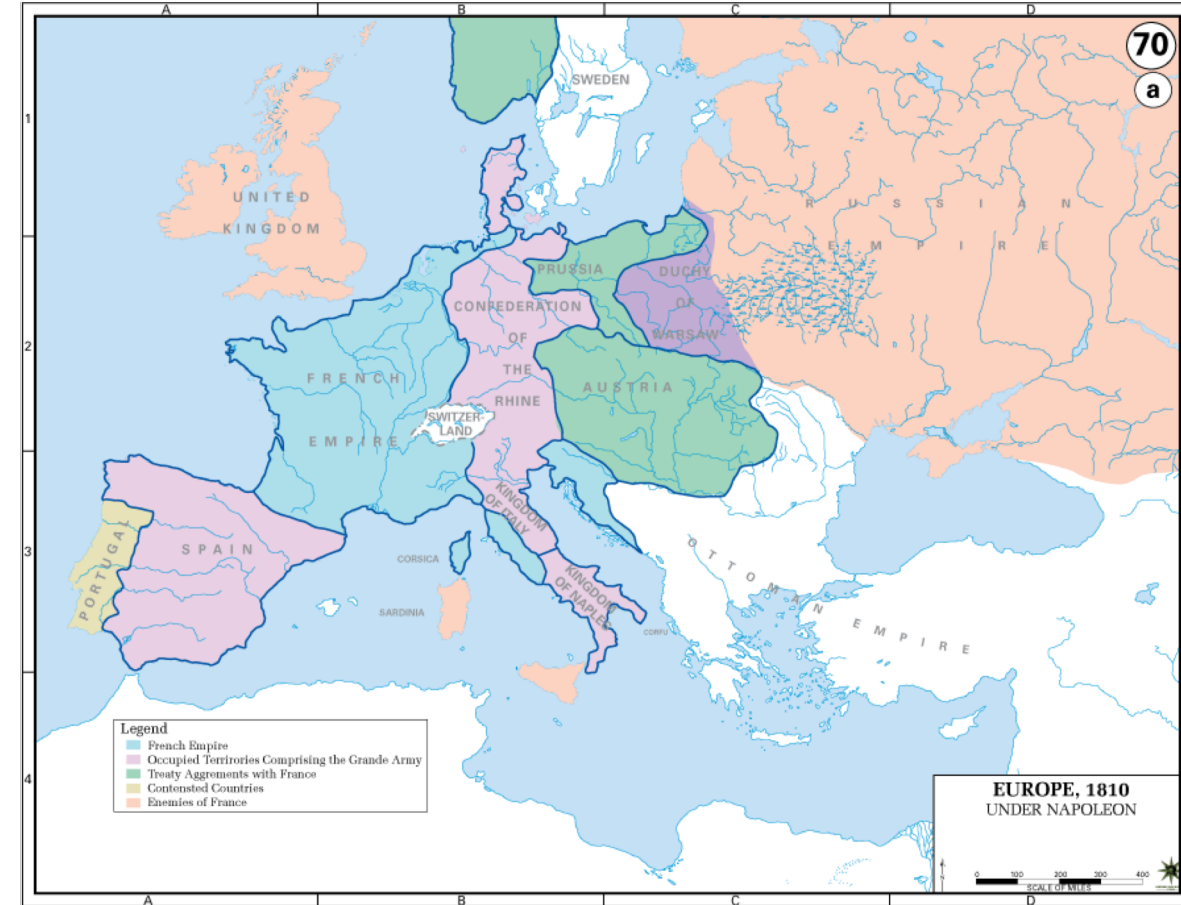




The Rise of German Nationalism

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- The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) divides Germany into 360 political entities
- German nationalism slowly began to show in the early 1800's
- Germany was divided into several small, separate states under the Austrian Empire and Prussia





The Rise of German Nationalism

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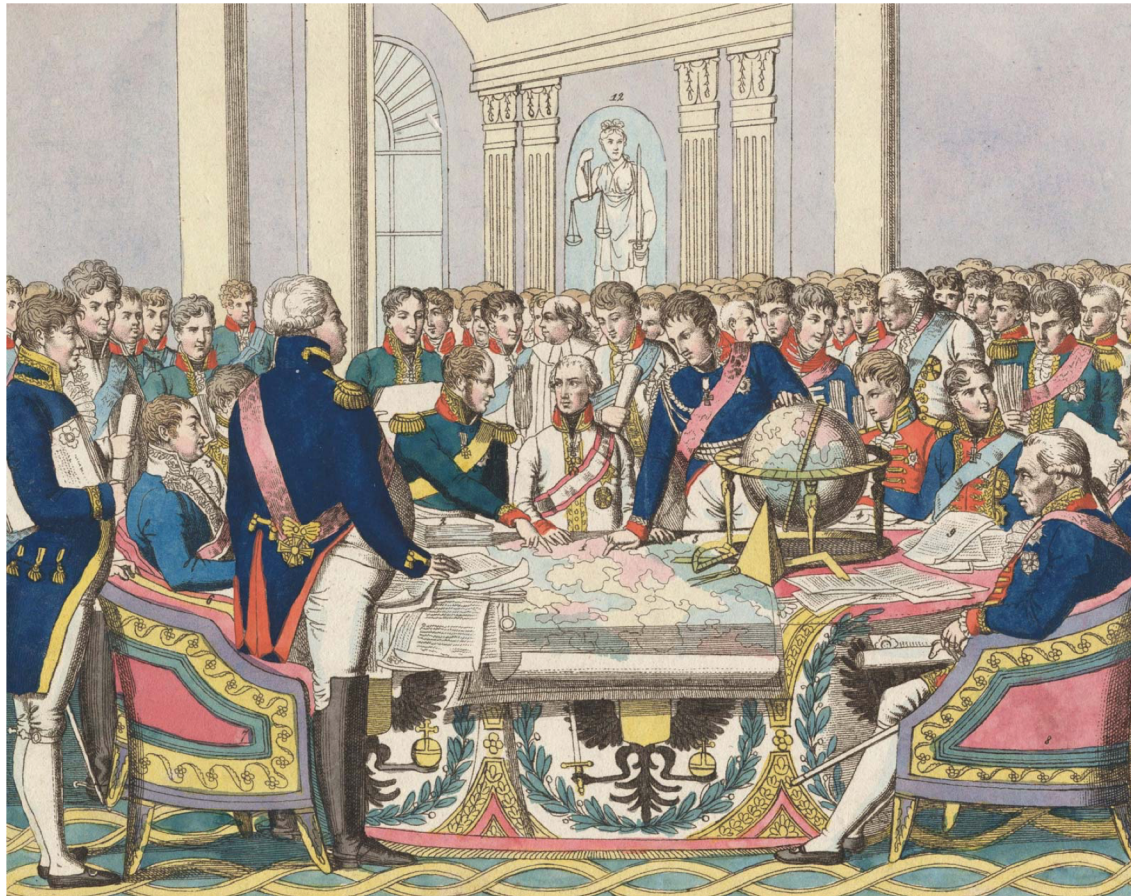
- Napoleon's invasions (1807) sparked German desire for unification and independence =>
 - Territorial changes:
 - Holy Roman Empire is dissolved
 - Several German states form the Rhine confederation
 - Trade in the region is easier



Congress of Vienna



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- 1815 => assembly that reorganized Europe after the Napoleonic Wars
- German nationalists brought their demands for a unified German state to the Congress
- Prince Clemens von Metternich of Austria opposed, stating that:
 - It would be difficult to unite the numerous governments into one
 - It would have dismantled existing governments

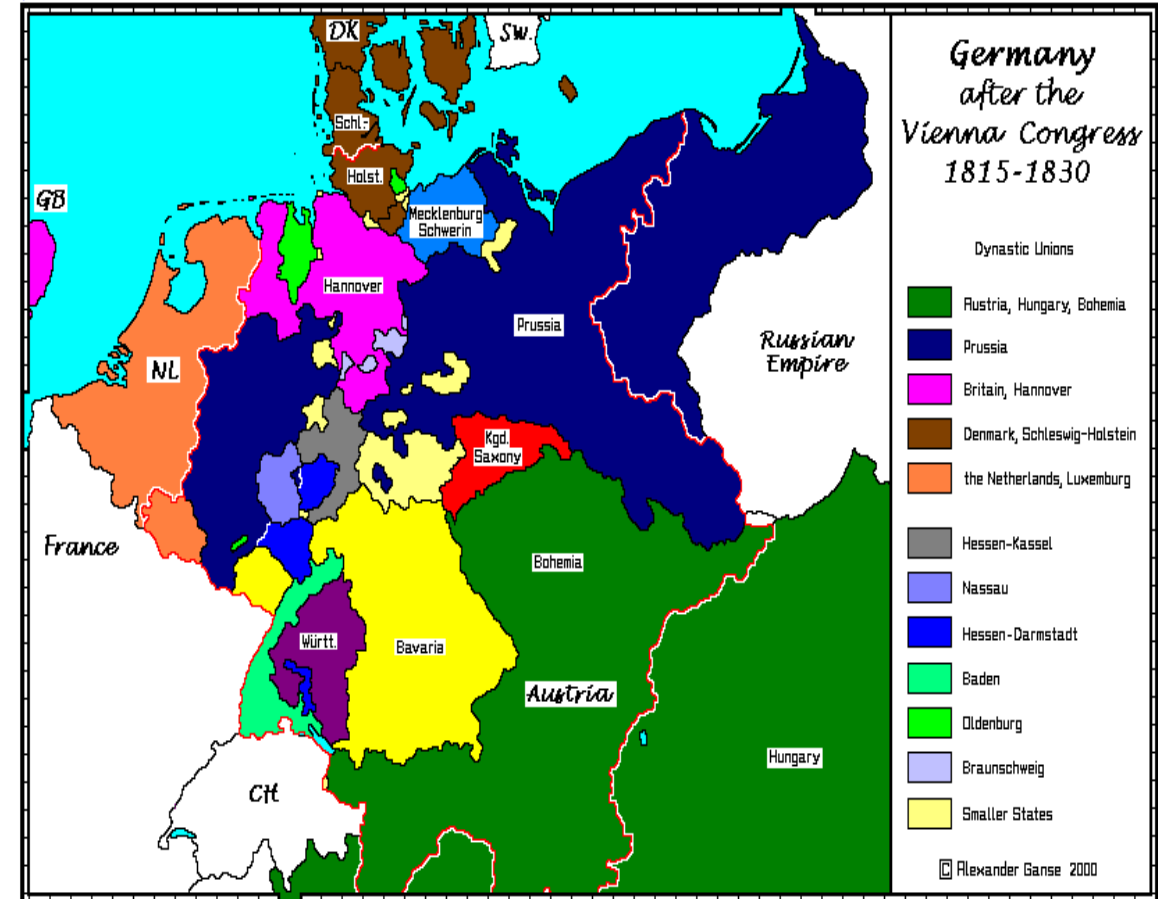


Congress of Vienna

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- 39 German states formed a weak alliance => The German Confederation
- Dominated by Austrian and Prussia

Confederation- a political unit where individual states have more power than the overall government

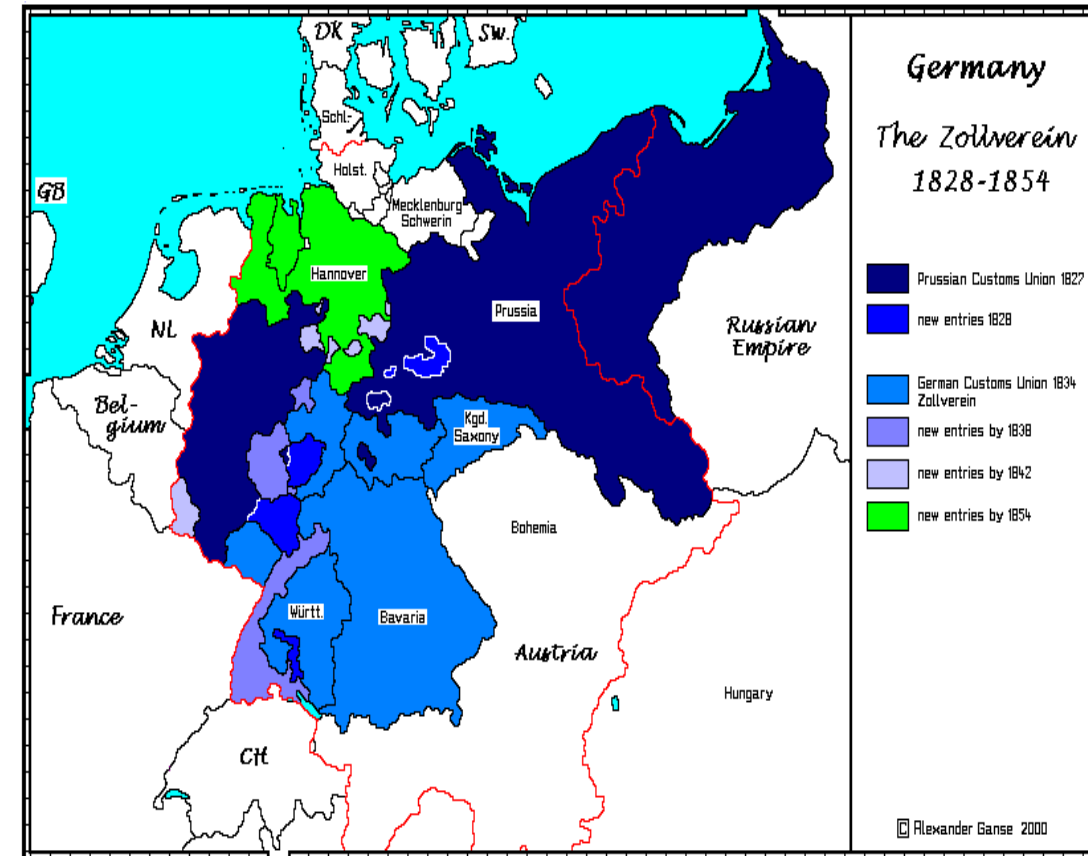




Prussia's economic union

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- 1830's => Prussia created an economic union (*Zollverein*) and removed the borders between the German states
 - Stimulate trade: no tariffs on products traded between members
 - Increase revenues
- By 1853, all German states were members except Austria
- States still remained politically separate- political fragmentation





Democratic Revolutions- 1848

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- 1848 => Democratic revolutions broke out all over Europe
- Liberals meet at the **Frankfurt Assembly**, offer the throne to a united Germany to the Prussian king, but they were refused
- Prussia creates a liberal constitution. Aimed at limiting the power of the King
- Germany remained divided





Otto Von Bismarck

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- Prime Minister of Prussia under King William (Wilhelm) I (1862-1873)
- Known as the founder of the German Empire
- Was determined to unite Germany under Prussian rule by force
- Ignoring Liberal opposition, Bismarck built up the Prussian army



Otto Von Bismarck



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- Led the Germans to victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870
- Becomes Chancellor of a unified Germany in 1871 (-1890)



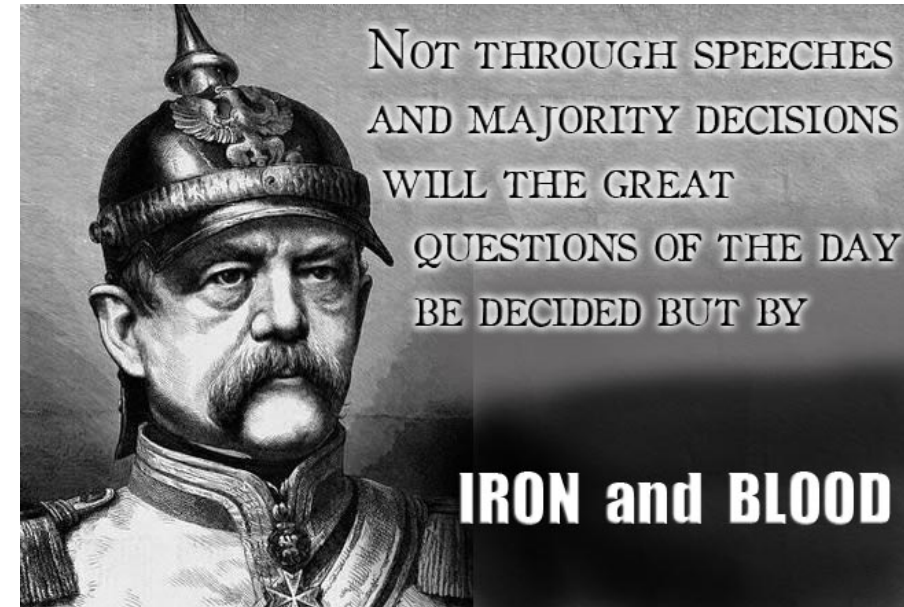


Blood and Iron

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- No more peaceful/diplomatic attempts to achieve German unity: “Blood and Iron”
 - Blood => war
 - Iron => industry (to create military weapons)
- Bismarck was a master of Realpolitik, willing to do whatever was necessary to accomplish his goals

Realpolitik- realistic politics) based on the needs of the state and not on idealism

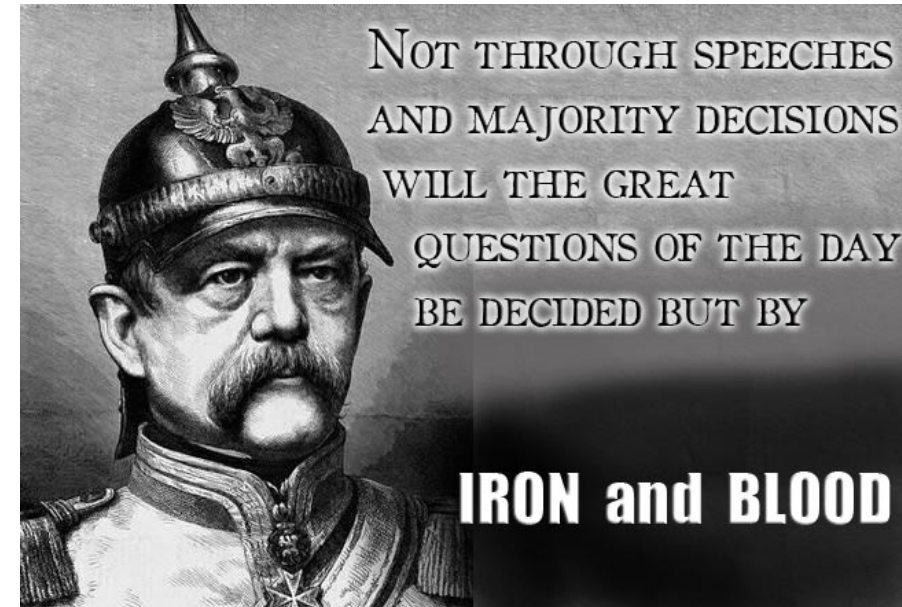




Blood and Iron

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- Bismarck was not a German nationalist- he wanted to unify Germany in order to secure Prussian dominance and eliminate French influence
 - *“A conquering army on the border will not be stopped by eloquence”*
 - *“Politics is not an exact science”*
 - *“Politics is the art of the possible”*





Uniting Germany

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Bismarck's methodical steps to increase Prussia's power and territory:

1864

- An alliance with Austria
- War against Denmark to win two border provinces (Shleswig and Holstein)
- Quick victory



Uniting Germany



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Bismarck's methodical steps to increase Prussia's power and territory:

1866: Seven Weeks War

- Bismarck purposely stirred up border conflicts with Austria over Schleswig and Holstein
- The tensions provoked Austria into declaring war on Prussia
- Quick victory, Austria was humiliated and lost territory



*** Bismarck pre-negotiated a secret agreement with Italy to get its support as well as agreements of neutrality with France and Russia

Uniting Germany



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- Following the Seven Weeks War, Prussia took control of northern Germany

1867: Dissolved the German Confederation and replaced it with one led by Prussia



Uniting Germany

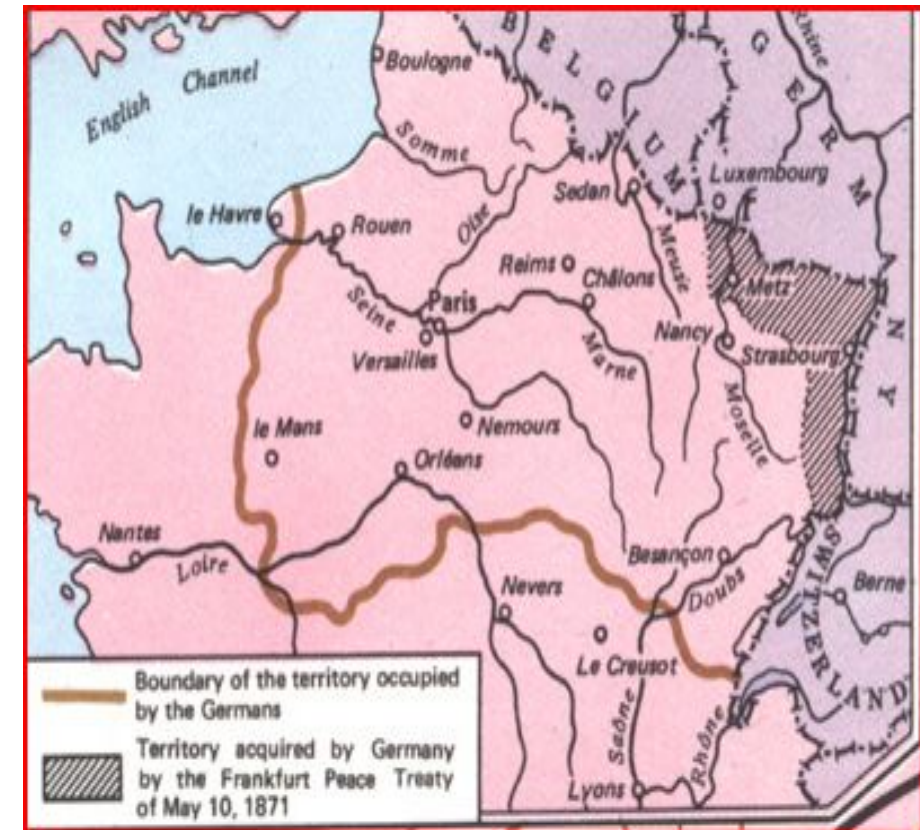


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Bismarck's methodical steps to increase Prussia's power and territory:

1870-1871: The Franco-Prussian War

- By 1867, a few southern German states remained independent of Prussia
- Bismarck set that he could win their support (rally) if they faced an outside threat: a war with France
- Responding to a fake insult from Wilhelm I (in a diplomatic telegram; Ems telegram) France declared war on Prussia on July 19, 1870
- France was defeated



Uniting Germany



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- The Franco-Prussian War was the final stage in German unification
 - Northern German confederation with southern German countries (which accepted Prussian leadership)
- France lost Alsace-Lorraine (region rich in iron with flourishing textile industry)





Prussian rule (1865 and 1871)



The German Empire- a united Germany

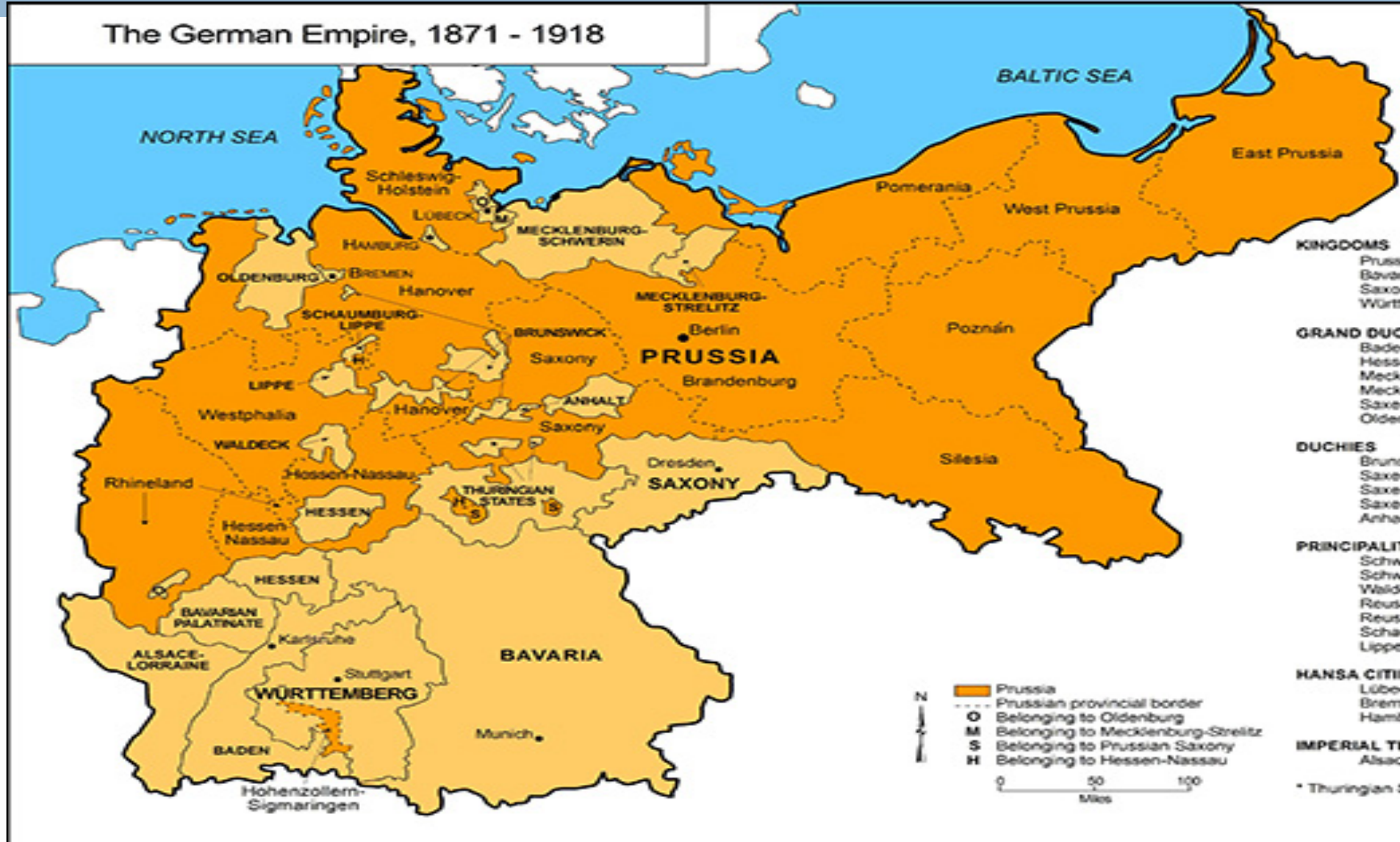


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- After France's defeat, leaders of the German states urged Prussia's **King William I (Wilhem)** to embrace the title "**Kaiser**" (emperor)
- **January 1871: The Second Reich (German empire)**
 - 1st Reich- Holy Roman Empire
 - 2nd Reich- Kaiser William I (Chancellor Bismarck)
 - 3rd Reich- Adolf Hitler



The German Empire- a united Germany





New Political Structure?

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- Under Kaiser William I, Germany set up a two-house legislature:

<u>Bundesrat (upper)</u>	<u>Reichstag (lower)</u>
Members appointed by rulers of the German States	Elected by universal male suffrage

- The Bundesrat could veto the Reichstag's votes at any time.**
- Political power stayed with the Kaiser and his Chancellor- Bismarck



Universal manhood suffrage is a form of voting in which all adult males within a political system are allowed to vote (regardless of income, property, religion, race etc.)



The Iron Chancellor

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- As Chancellor, Bismarck used the same **realpolitik** methods he used to achieve unification → *the ends justify the means*
- He **worked to erase local loyalties and crushed all opposition to the new government**, especially the Catholic Church and the Socialists
- Earned him the nickname **“The Iron Chancellor”**





Kaiser William II

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- Kaiser William II was a nationalist and believed in a strong military
- Provided many funds for the German military and launched a campaign to expand the German navy and obtain an overseas empire like that of France and Britain
- Strongly believed in his divine right to rule and opposed any democratic reforms

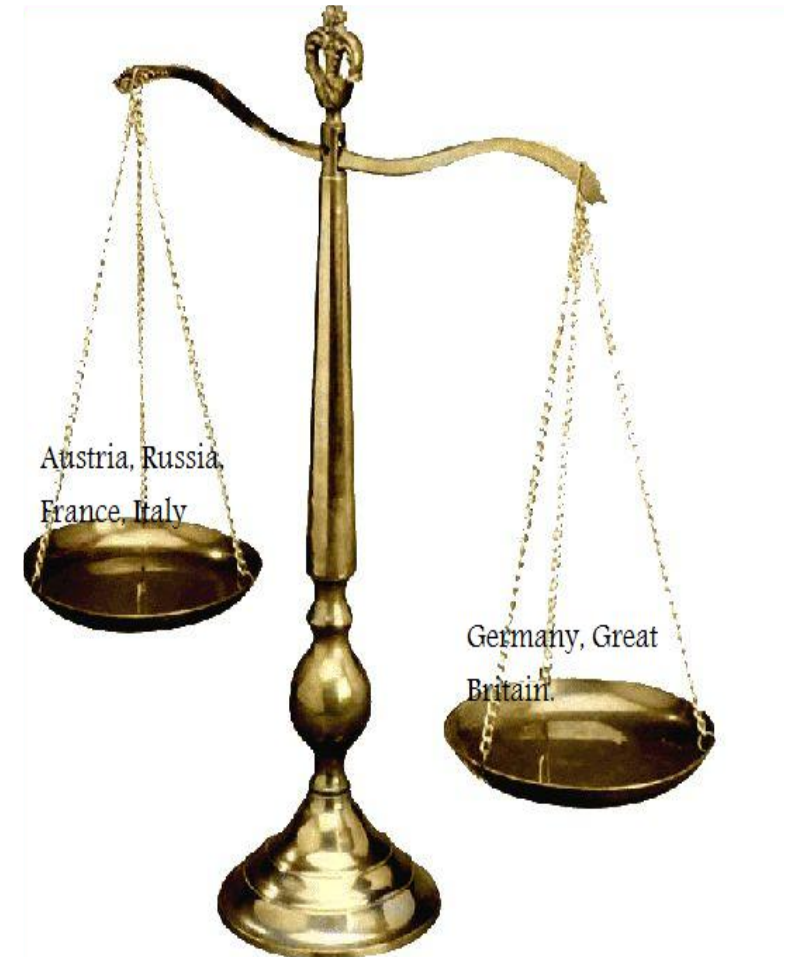




The Balance of Power Shifts

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- The Congress of Vienna established five Great Powers in Europe: Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia
- Yet, by 1871 Britain and Germany were clearly the most powerful
- 1871-1933 => German Empire & Weimar Republic fostered loyalty to state
 - Focused attention on language as a unifying factor and promoted linguistic purism



Late unification Issues



- Difficulties to developing a modern state
- Nationalism and militarism
- Authoritarian culture
- Expansionism (Colonization in Africa) and engagement in wars, until WWI in 1914- dramatic defeat:
 - The Versailles Treaty blamed Germany for the war
 - Removed its colonies
 - Imposed significant reparations

German Nationalism



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- 1919 => The Weimar republic
 - Kaiser was removed
 - Weak parliamentary democracy.
 - Lack of democratic traditions, lack of legitimacy (imposed by the victorious allies), catastrophic economic situation (1920s hyperinflation)
- 1933-1945 => Nazi regime (first politically unity of all Germans)
- February 1945, Postdam (post WW2): the Allies (USA, UK, USSR, France) divide Germany (and Berlin) into four military occupation zones (administered by them)

Dividing Germany



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- May 1949: Britain, France, and the U.S. combine their zones (**west Germany**) =>
 - **Federal Republic of Germany** (FRG)/Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD)
 - Self-governed since 1949 (Bonn)
 - Chancellor Adenauer (1949-1963) (CDU)



Dividing Germany



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- October 1949: Soviets rule **East Germany**
 - Create the German Democratic Republic (GDR) /Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR)
 - Government in East Berlin

Modern Germany resulted from foreign intervention



East Germany, 1949-1990



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- A fully functional one party Soviet republic
- Preferring Socialism over Capitalism as a means of preventing future Fascisms
- Powerful and watchful government
- Lagged behind west Germany
- 1950s: rapid industrialisation
- Berlin wall => 1961: cementing partition

East Germany, 1949-1990



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- 1961-1970: greater material benefits, GDR becomes a socialist State
- By 1980s had become stagnant & riddled with corruption: starts opening and relies increasingly on the West
- 1985-1989: increasing unrest, liberalization and attempts to reunification
- Collapsed in 1989



West Germany, 1949-1990

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- Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD) comprised of the Allied zones in the west and south of Germany
- Free market traditions
- Rapid economic recovery in the 1950s
=> prosperous society
=> stable 5 party republic



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Protests in the 1960s and 70s yet the system itself wasn't challenged

Election Campaign (West Germany) 1949



CDU	SPD
Social market economy	Plan economy
Close cooperation with occupying powers	A more independent policy
German unity (priority- Western integration)	German unity (free and democratic, but neutral is also ok)
Anti-communism	Anti-communism
Konrad Adenauer	Kurt Schumacher

Elections (West Germany), August 1949



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Elections August 14, 1949



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Party	%
CDU/CSU	31,0%
SPD	29,2%
FDP	11,9%
KPD/DKP	5,7%
DRP	1,8%
DP	4,0%
BP	4,2%
Zentrum	3,1%
Sonstige	9,1%

Adenauer's plan for West Germany =>

- International recognition by integration
- Democratisation by Westernisation
- Reconciliation with France
- Close relationship with United States – essential for security in bipolar international system

West Germany- Dealing with the Nazi Past



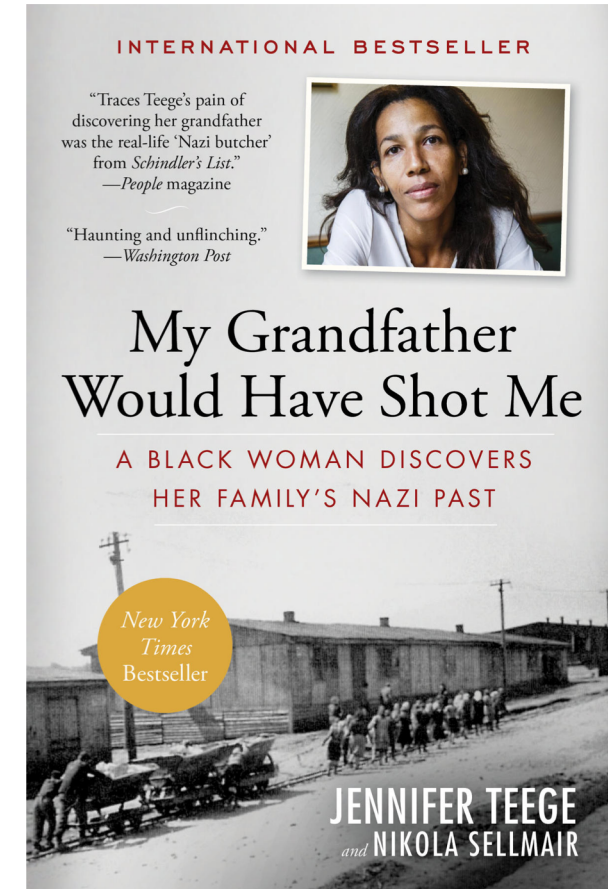
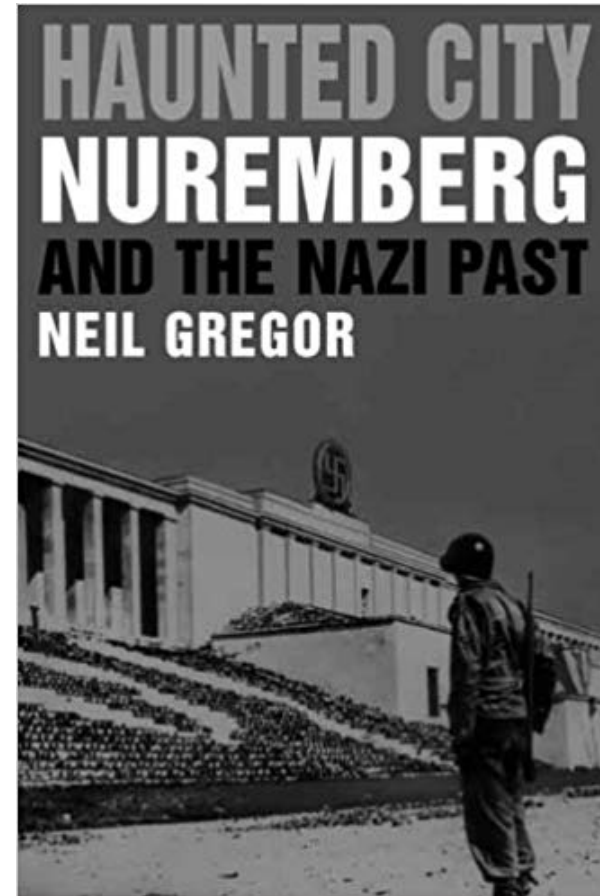
- Conscious effort to create a liberal, democratic, western Germany
- Rehabilitation of the Wehrmacht
- Integration of old elites, including leading members of Nazi organisations
- 1952 Signing of the Reconciliation Treaty between Israel and West Germany + Financial compensation for Jewish property



West Germany- Dealing with the Nazi Past



- Critical novels, poems, theatre productions, films on Nazi past
- Stabilizing effect => no strong nationalist (national socialist) opposition – potentially absorbed by CDU/CSU



West Germany- Dealing with the Nazi Past



German prosecution of war crimes

- After the country was formed in 1949 => Germany declared plans to prosecute its own war criminals
 - Actual prosecutions- very limited
- Amnesty laws (1949 +1950) for people with 'minor' crimes allowed many to avoid prosecution
- By 1960, murder and abetting murder were the only Nazi-era crimes that prosecutors could charge



West Germany- Dealing with the Nazi Past



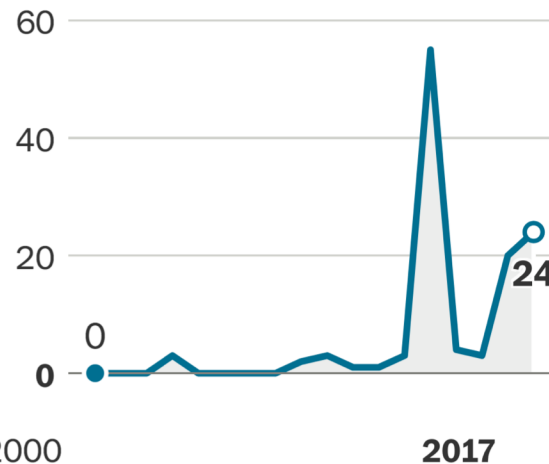
German Prosecution of War Crimes

- Prosecutors needed to provide evidence that guards murdered Jews/other Nazi opponents
- The **Demjanjuk Precedent** (2011) => His mere presence at the Nazi death camp was sufficient to establish responsibility for the killing
- Demjanjuk later appealed but died before a court could evaluate

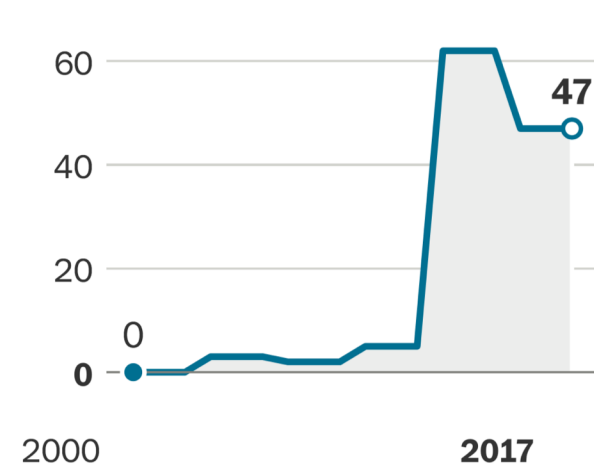
More than 7 decades on, Germany's hunt for Nazi criminals is gaining new momentum

The number of charges filed against suspected Nazi death or concentration camp guards has dramatically increased since 2013.

CASES PER YEAR



3 YEAR AVERAGE



Only includes cases filed before June 2018

Source: German special prosecutors' office

RICK NOACK/THE WASHINGTON POST

German Reunification Oct 3rd, 1990



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- November 1989 => Berlin wall falls
- The Berlin border opens
- March 1990 => GDR's first free election
- West Germany offers generous economic package to East Germany



German Reunification Oct 3rd, 1990



43

- October 1990 => **Unification** under the formal title 'Federal Republic' Germany ('Bundersrepublik Deutschland')
 - Thought to be impossible (politically and socially)
- 5 East German Länder added to West-Germany
- West-German Basic Law applied nationwide



German Reunification Oct 3rd, 1990



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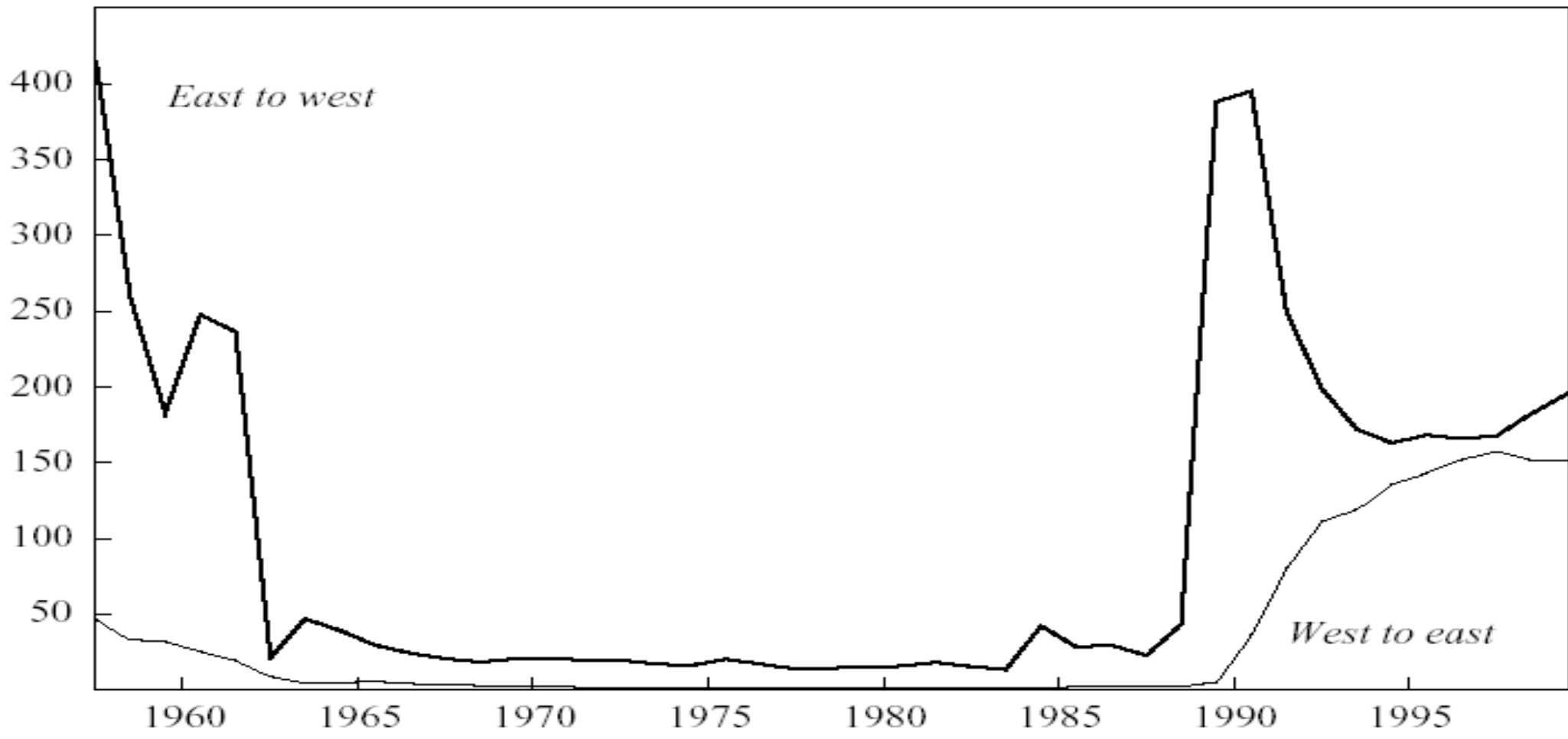
- Capital was moved to Berlin
- Political union was achieved peacefully and smoothly
- A functional federal republic was created
- Migration- powerful force for Integration





Figure 7. Migration between Eastern and Western Germany, 1957–99^a

Thousands



Source: German Federal Statistical Office.

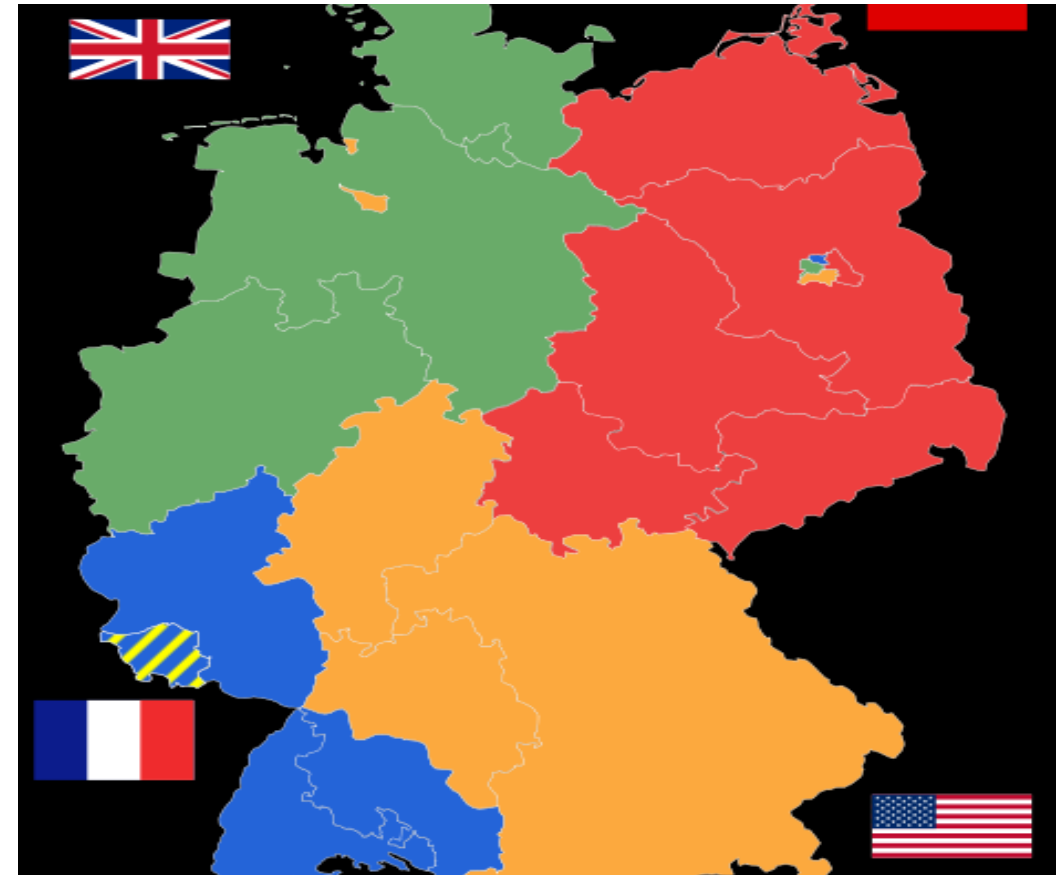
a. East Berlin is included with eastern Germany and West Berlin with western Germany.

The impact of German Reunification



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- Unification or assimilation of the East?
 - Imbalance (FRG institutions prevail)
 - East colonized?
- Economic and social problems
- Ossies v. Wessies
 - Westerners felt they had to pay for the integration
 - Easterners did not feel their situation improved (many lost property/jobs)

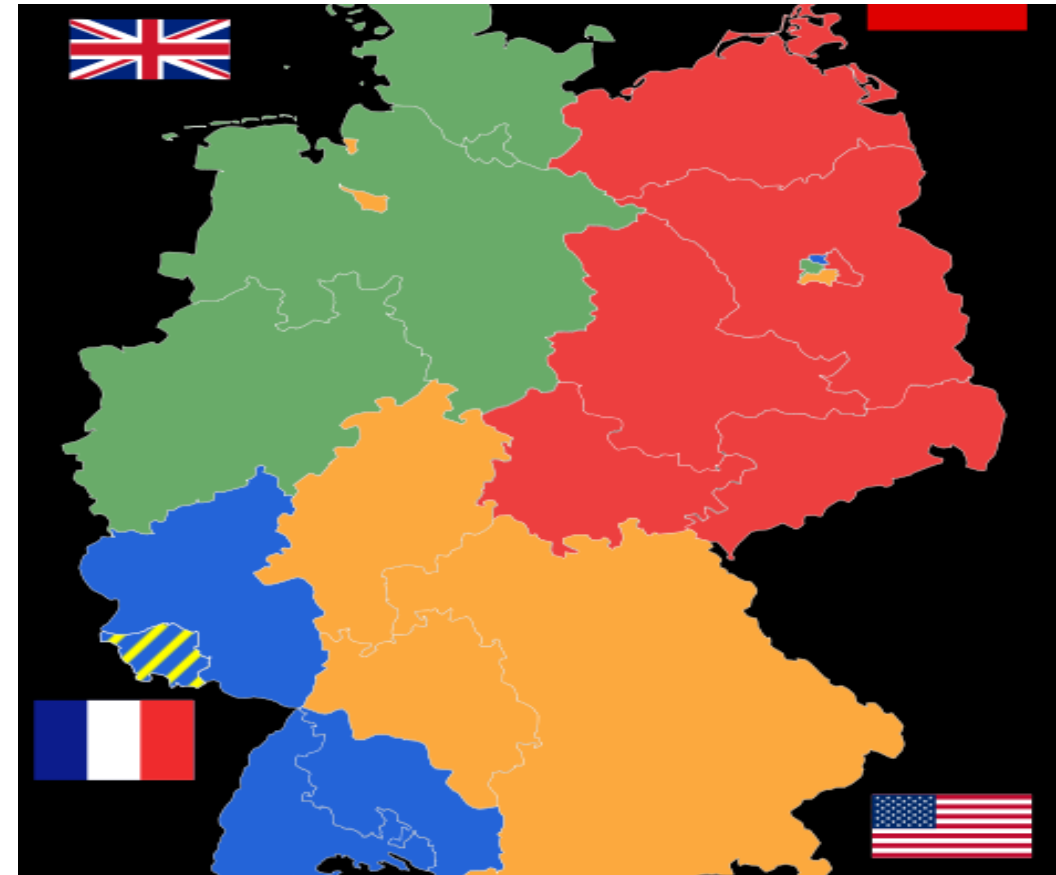


The impact of German Reunification



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- Xenophobia and resurrection of neo-nazism (problem “solved” in 1992/3)
- Gaps still exist between former East Germans and West Germans

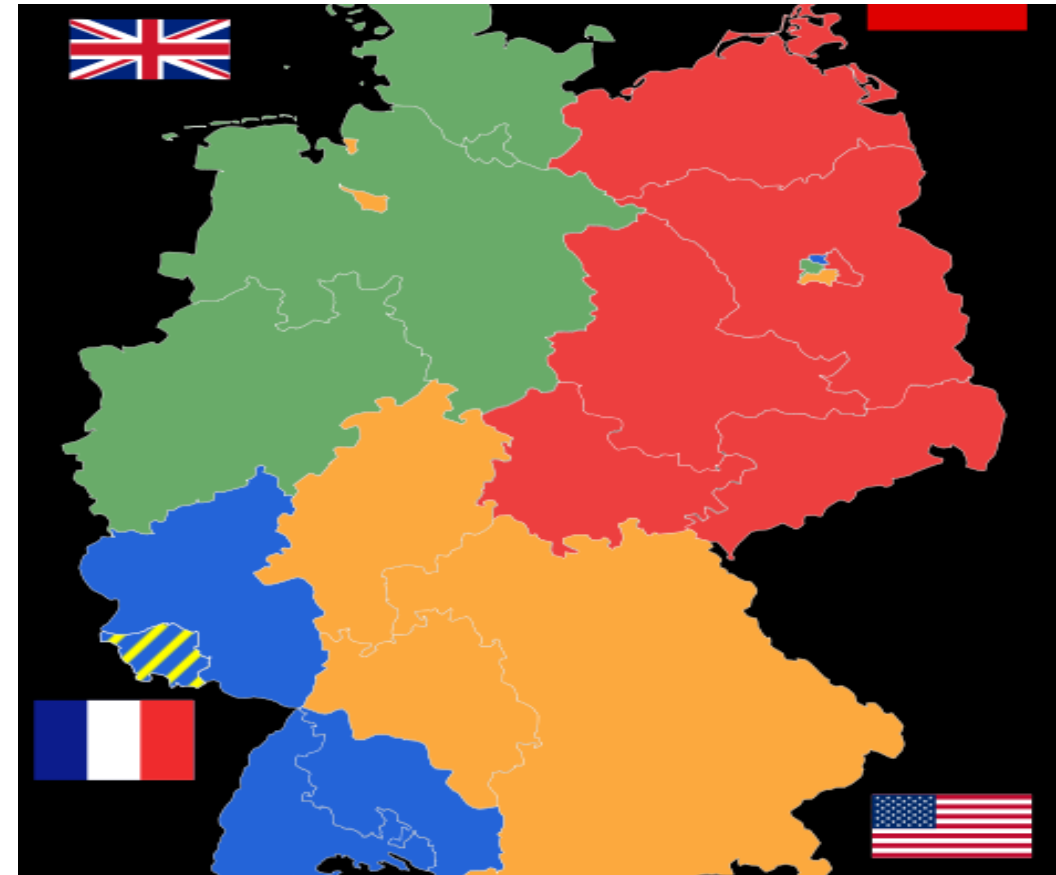


Democracy 'remake'



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- 1945 => 'year zero'
 - Mass destruction of German political, social, economic systems, infrastructure
 - Required almost total reconstruction;
- Partition and reunification of Germany;
- How can democracy be (re-) establish where it did not flourish before?





The German Question

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- The "German question" refers to the division of Germany and the ways to unify or reunify Germany
 - Existed for 184 years
 - Concerned with its national identity within a European context
 - Arose on August 6, 1806 when Franz II, the last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, bowed down to an ultimatum from Napoleon, thus dissolving the "Old Empire"
 - Resolved on October 3, 1990, when the four former occupying powers approved the German reunification



Current/Future Challenges



- Population decline
 - Social welfare system in peril
- Growth in immigration
 - Competition for jobs
 - Strain on welfare system
- Rise of the right wing
- Terrorism





In Conclusion

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- In 1848 German revolutionaries tried but failed to unify Germany through democratic methods by electing the Frankfurt Assembly
- Germany became unified only in 1871 as a result of three bloody wars launched by Prussia under Bismarck
- Bismarck perceived such threats to national unity that he sought to crush the Catholic Center Party in the 1870s, and outlawed the Social Democratic Party in 1878
- Germany's fractured & fragmented history is the key to understanding its development in the 20th century

In Conclusion



- Germany became a nation-state comparatively late, which led to the development of an unstable national consciousness & national inferiority complex
- History of particularism made it difficult to integrate different groups into German society after 1871, leading to the growth of an assertive nationalism (Wehler – ‘negative integration’)

Next Session...

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- Minorities in contemporary Germany
- Afro-Germans
- Turkish Germans

- ...





Thank You For Your Attention!

Questions???