

IRE214

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

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Fall 2019

Session 4: The History of German Nationalism I

On the Agenda for Today

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- **The German Economy**
 - A Global Economic Power
 - The nord Stream 2 Pipeline
- **German Foreign policy**
 - German US Relations
- **The History of German Nationalism**
 - Mid 19th Century Rise of German Nationalism
 - The Creation of the Second Reich
 - Unification (1862-1870)
 - Imperial Germany (1871-1918)



German Nationalism



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- **The Breakdown of Democracy**
 - The Weimar Republic (1918-33)
 - The Third Reich (1933-45)
- **Post WW2 Division of Germany**
 - East/West, Politics and Economies
- **Germany and the Cold war**
- **German Reunification- 1990**
- **Concluding remarks**



The German Economy



- Third largest economy in the world (**global economic power**)
 - Behind the U.S and Japan
- Largest economy in **Europe**
- Remarkable achievements in post-war economic development

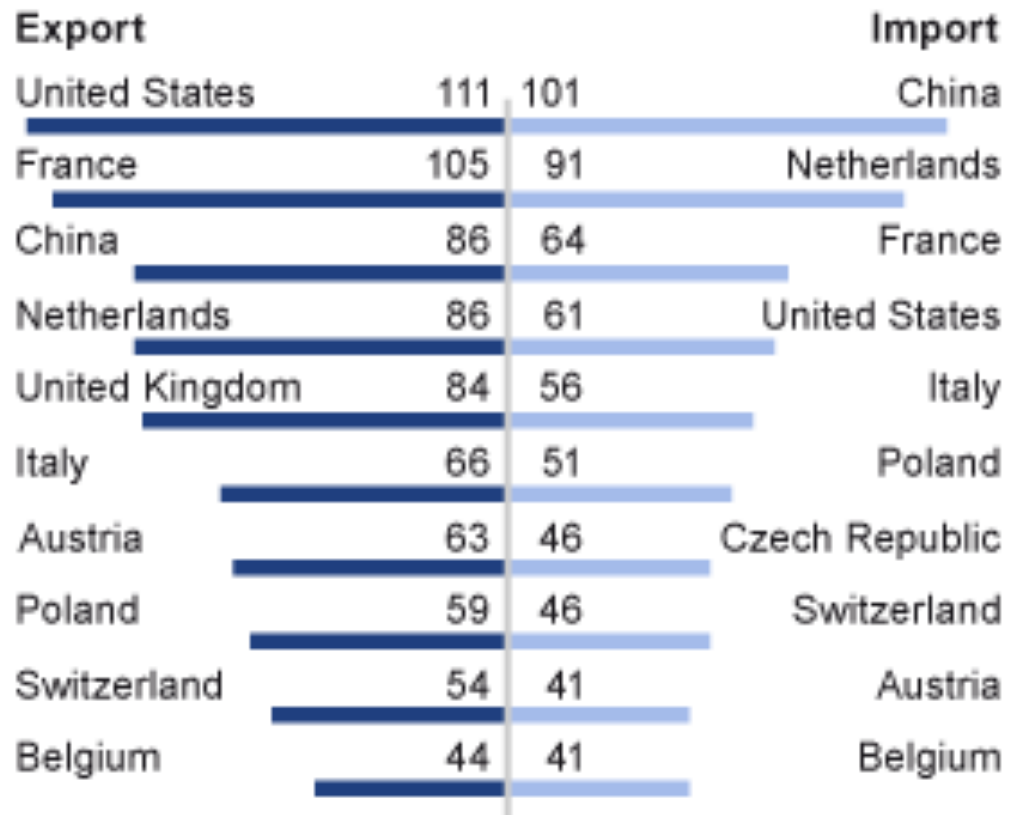




A Global Economic Power

Germany's major trading partners, 2017

in EUR bn



Preliminary result

© Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis), 2018

Main German trading goods (2017, € bn):

- Motor vehicles, trailers + semi-trailers 235
- Machinery + equipment 185
- Chemicals + chemical products 111
- Electrical equipment 83
- Basic pharmaceutical products 76
- Transport equipment 58
- Basic metals 54
- Basic food products 54
- Plastic products 46

A Global Economic Power



- Main exporter, **produces much more than it consumes**
- Needs markets => free trade within the EU
- 2008 economic crisis (Greece, Italy, Spain, Cyprus, Portugal)- demand for German products declined
- China, Korea, India- major demand for German goods
- In 2017, Germany exported \$1.33T and imported \$1.08T, resulting in a **positive trade balance** of \$251B



A Global Economic Power



- **Oil and gas are the lifeblood** of Germany's manufacturing economy
 - Germany is Europe's biggest natural gas consumer, but it produces **very little energy domestically** =>
- **Germany is dependent on imports for 98% of its oil and 92% of its gas supply**
- 2015 => **Russia** supplied the plurality of its oil and gas (40% + 35% respectively)
- The **controversial** Nord Stream 2 pipeline



The Nord Stream 2 Pipeline

- A sustainable way to ensure Germany's **energy security** or a proxy for Russian hybrid warfare?
- A pipeline currently under construction from Russia to Germany via the Baltic Sea
 - Should become operational in 2020
- Intends to provide Europe with a **sustainable gas supply** while providing Russia with **direct access** to the European gas market
- **What's the concern?**



The Nord Stream 2 Pipeline



- Concerns over **security** and **geopolitics**
 - Germany's **dependence** on **Russian energy** could make it susceptible to exploitation & more vulnerable to interference
 - **Rising tensions** between Russia and the West
- US Congress and the European Parliament passed resolutions calling for an **end to construction of the pipeline** => Russian dependence as a threat to the common market and the EU's strategic interests
- US plans to place **sanctions** on companies involved in the project (?)
- **Iran** as an alternative?

German Foreign Policy



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- **In general =>**
 - Oriented towards maintaining **freedom, peace & prosperity**
 - Driven by **commercial interests**
 - Liberal Trade Policy (France- important European partner)

- **European level =>**
 - Deepening & enlarging the European Union
 - Promote European integration
 - Further development of partnerships with regions bordering the EU (economical development & stability)



German US relations

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- The **US** is **Germany's largest export market**
 - Used to be Germany's closest ally outside of the EU (until Trump) =>
 - Germany sent troops to Afghanistan in order to support the American forces
- 1.10.2019 => An official statement that the American embassy in Germany has scaled back its spending (came in \$14 million under its budget for 2019)
- Time of **cooling diplomatic relations** between the two countries





German US relations

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- **Relations** have become **strained** over a range of issues
 - Trade policy => European exception from US' aluminum tariffs
 - Defense spending => sharing NATO expenses
 - Interventions in Syria
 - Iran's nuclear deal
- U.S. President Trump publicly criticized Germany's failure to meet the 2% NATO spending target and threatened to slap tariffs on German cars
- The 'America First' mission (protectionist trade policies) => pose a threat to German companies (automobile industry)

Nationalism

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- **Nationalism = Patriotism?**
- Civic/Ethnic nationalism
- Intense **pride** in/**devotion** to one's group or country
- Usually occurs within people who **share** a common **history/ethnic ancestry, language** (even dialects), **culture** (food, clothes), **religion**
- Self determination: The group posses a **territory** => Nation-state
 - Stateless nations, e.g. The Kurds



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** => The Holy Roman Empire, 962–1806
- The strongest political power in Europe (~ 1000-1300)
- The **Protestant Reformation** (1517-1648) sparked bloody conflict along religious lines
 - Southern German states remained **Catholic**
 - Northern German states became **Protestant**





The Rise of German Nationalism

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- The Treaty of Westphalia (1648)/peace of Westphalia ended the European religious wars
 - The **princes** of the empire became **absolute sovereigns** in their own dominions
 - Divided the German speaking population in Europe into many small political entities





The Rise of German Nationalism

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- German nationalism slowly materialized in the early 1800's following the Napoleonic wars invasions (1803-1815)
- A German desire for **unification** and **independence**





The Congress of Vienna (1815)

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- Napoleonic was defeated in Waterloo
- Austria, Prussia, Russia + GB, the powers instrumental in the overthrow of Napoleon met in
 - **The Congress of Vienna (1815):** Assembly that **reorganized Europe**
 - The Holy Roman Empire- dissolved
- German nationalists brought their demands for a **unified German state** to the Congress



The Congress of Vienna (1815)

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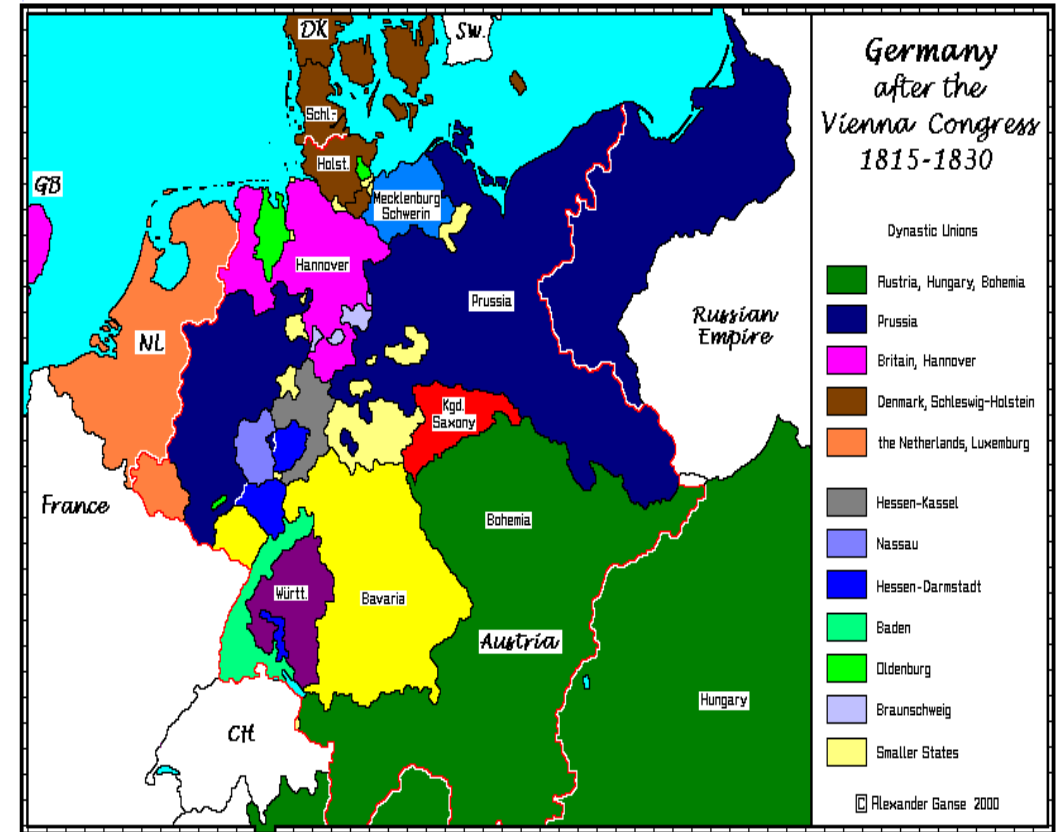
- Prince Clemens von Metternich of Austria **opposed**, stating that:
 - Dismantle existing governments
- Failed to achieve independence or to unite, 39 German speaking states formed a weak alliance
=> **the German Confederation**



Forming a Confederation

The German Confederation

- A loose political association
- Most of the rights of sovereignty remained in the hands of the member governments
- No central executive/judiciary, just a federal Diet in Frankfurt, consider common legislation





The German Confederation

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- In theory, the Confederation was empowered to adopt measures strengthening the political and economic bonds of the nation
- But in reality, the states were unwilling to sacrifice local autonomy to establish centralized authority
 - Localism and traditionalism
- Reflected the slow development of civic consciousness and economic integration of the German speaking countries



Democratic Revolutions (1848)

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- 1848 => Anti Democratic revolutions and civil rebellions broke in Europe
- Why?
 - Severe **economic depression** stopped industrial expansion + aggravated urban **unemployment**
 - At the same time, **crop failures** led to a **major famine** (from Ireland to Russian Poland)
 - In the German states, the hungry 1840s drove the lower classes (long suffered from the economic effects of industrial and agricultural improvements) to open rebellion



Democratic Revolutions (1848)

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- In the German states, the **hunger** and **hardship** drove the **lower classes** (long suffered from the economic effects of industrial & agricultural improvements) to open **rebellion**
- Liberals meet at the **Frankfurt Assembly**, suggested to **unite the German states under the Prussian king**: refused=> Failure of liberal 'bourgeois' revolution
- Prussia creates a liberal constitution, aimed at limiting the power of the King, but the German states remained divided





The New Era (1850s')

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- The 'New Era' => The revival of the movement for liberal reform and national unification at the end of the 1850s'
- 1859 => Austria was defeated in the war against France and Italy, the military superior authoritarian regime in Vienna showed weakness
- Popular unrest in the empire began to increase

German Unification, 1862-1870



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- 1866: The Seven Weeks' War between Prussia and Austria caused a **revolution in Europe** => altered the **balance of power** established 50 years before by the Congress of Vienna
- Prussia ruled over Austria
- The **German Confederation** was **dissolved**



German Unification, 1862-1870



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- 1867 => The **North German Confederation** was established
 - A union of the German states north of the Main River
 - Under **Prussian** hegemony
 - Its constitution served as a model for that of the German Empire, with which it merged (1871)





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** the German states under Prussian rule by **force** => highly instrumental in establishing the **German Empire (Second Reich)** by winning 3 short wars

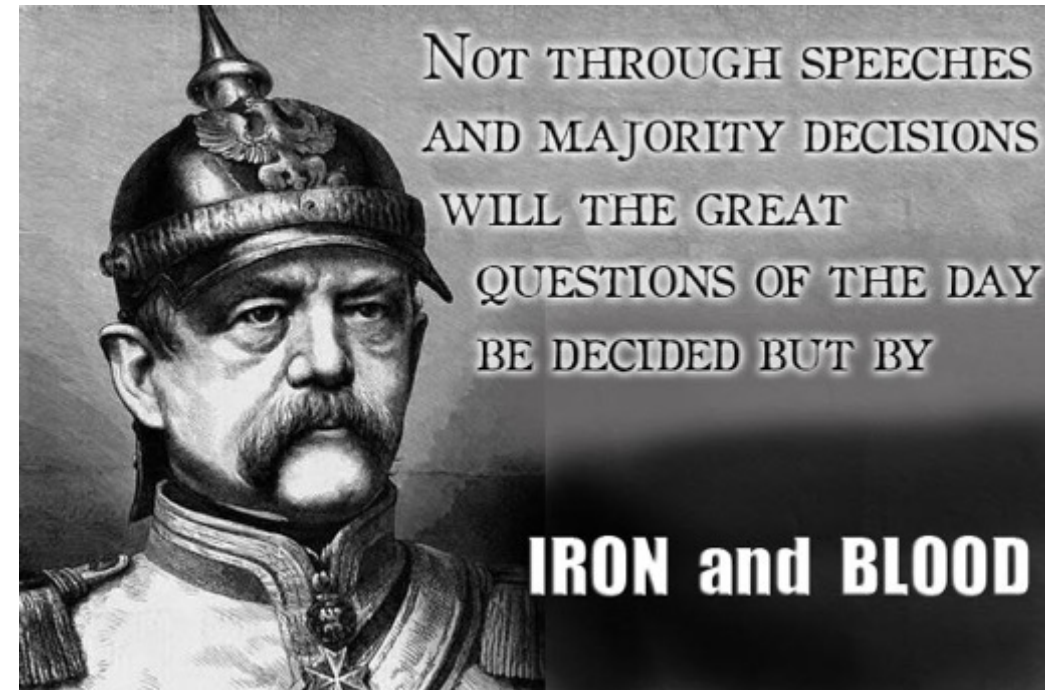




Blood and Iron

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



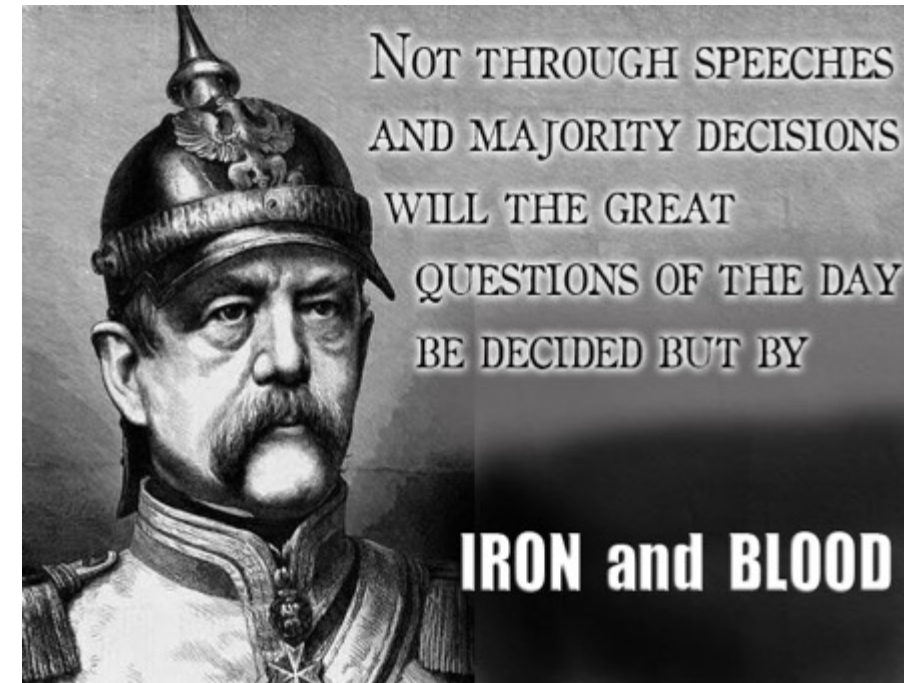
Realpolitik- Realistic politics, based on the needs of the state and not on idealism



Blood and Iron

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- Bismarck was **NOT** a **German nationalist**- he wanted to unify the German speaking states in order to **secure Prussian dominance** and eliminate French influence
- Quotes =>
 - *“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”*
- **How did Bismark unite the German states?**



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 over two border provinces (Shleswig + 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 + negotiated agreements of neutrality with France and Russia



Uniting Germany

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

1867: Dissolved the German Confederation and replaced it with the North German confederation





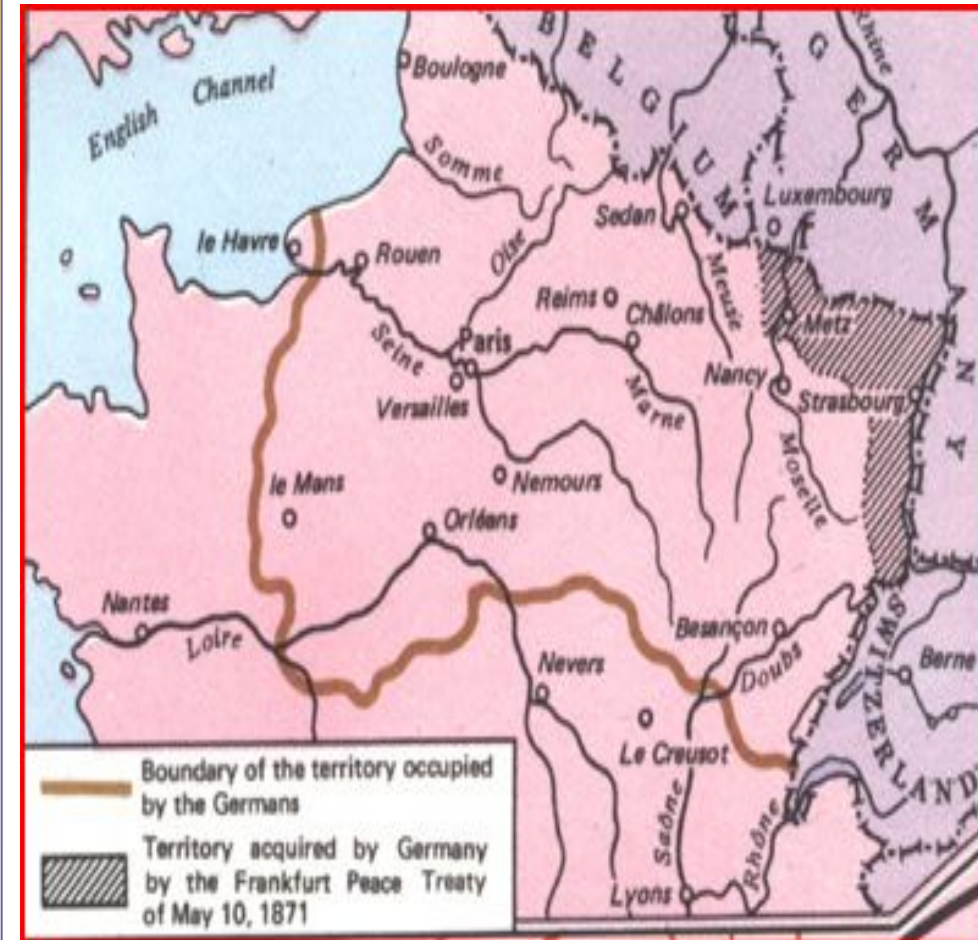
Uniting Germany

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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 speaking states remained independent of Prussia
- Bismarck set that he could win their support if they face an **outside threat**: war with France
- In response to a fake insult from Wilhelm I (Ems telegram) France declared war on Prussia (July, 1870) and defeated





Prussian rule (1865 to 1871)





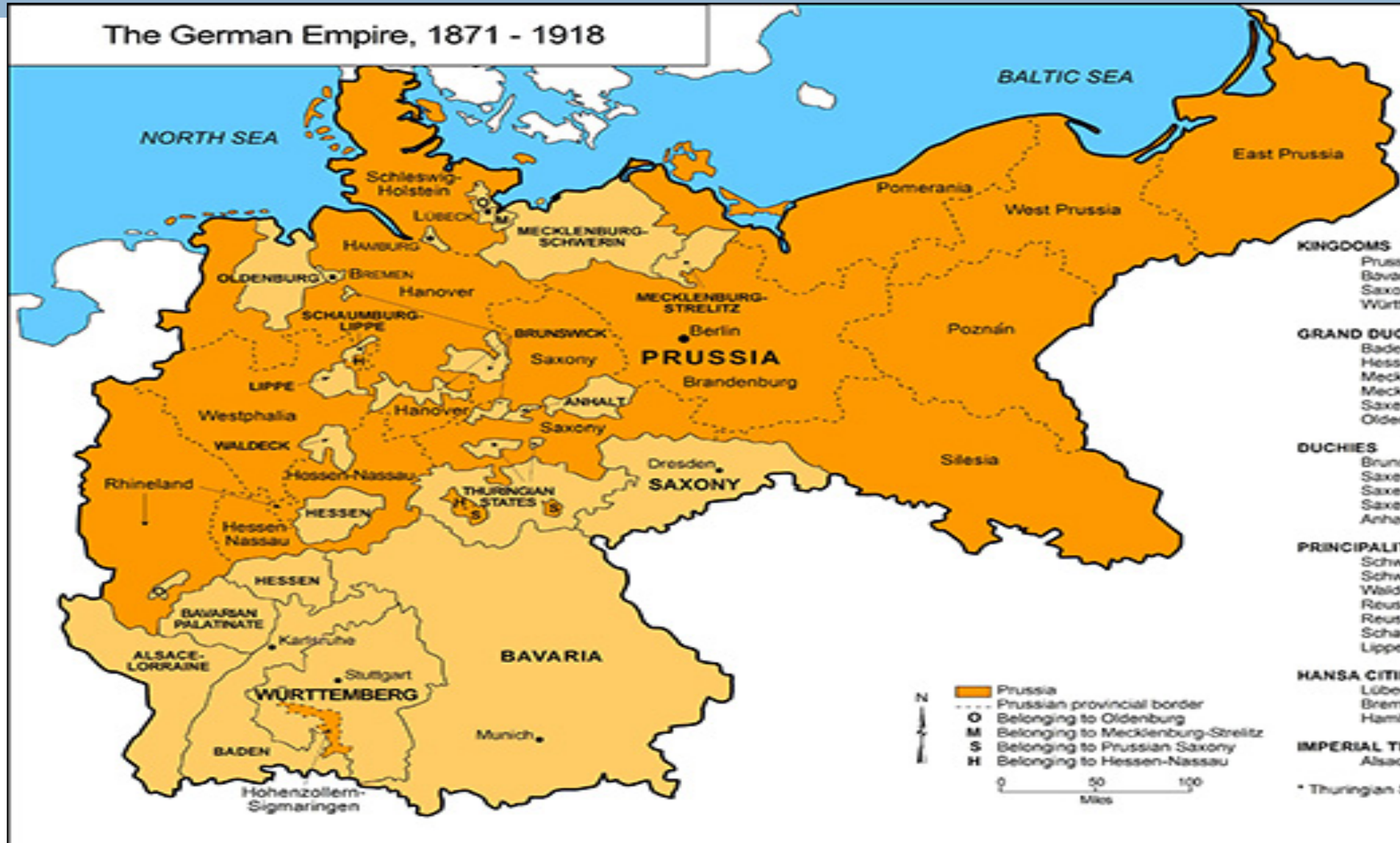
Imperial Germany, 1871-1918

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- After France's defeat => Meeting in **Versailles**
 - Leaders of the German states urged the Prussia's **King William I (Wilhem)** to embrace the title "**Kaiser**" (emperor)
- **January 1871** => **The Second Reich (German empire)** was proclaimed
 - The First chancellor was Bismarck



The German Empire





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 the nickname **“The Iron Chancellor”**





Imperial Germany, 1871-1918

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- First approximation to a **state** in the history of Germany
- **Authoritarian government** + rule of law + democratic features
- Press censorship persisted, but laws were quite liberal
 - No human rights' laws
 - 1869=> Religious equality by law
 - Women had no say in politics + limited property rights (educational opportunities improved in 1914)



Imperial Germany, 1871-1918

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- Composed mostly of German speaking people
- Rapid industrialisation:
 - Increased prosperity + industrialization
 - Social mobility
 - Anti-socialist laws: The Police had unlimited powers of search, socialist meetings were banned
- No parliamentary sovereignty but no monarchy either
- Kulturkampf => series of laws that imposed compulsory civil marriage, dissolved all religious orders, and reduced the right of churches to self-govern

Flag of Imperial Germany



Imperial Germany, 1871-1918



- Social Democrats developed in 1890
 - Rising public support- Became the largest party (1/3 votes)
- The empire declined (two political crises: 1911, 1912-1914)
- 1914-1918 => Emergence of **aggressive nationalism & social unrest**
 - Economic hardship & military defeat in WW1 discredited the regime
 - The Monarchy collapsed





Imperial Germany, 1871-1918

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- WW1 (1914-1918): Sep 1918: Germany faced military collapse => the imperial constitution was amended to subject the military to the Chancellor
- Germany became a **parliamentary republic**
- The Germans were ashamed of losing the war and devastated by the Treaty of Versailles & its reparation payments
- 1919-1923 => 'Years of crisis'



Signing the treaty of Versailles





The Weimar Republic, 1919-1933

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- First experience of democracy
 - The Kaiser was removed

- An attempt to balance German political traditions with West European democratic traditions

- Decentralized unitary state, not a federation
 - Unitary- central government has all the power
 - Federalism- sharing powers

- Weak parliamentary democracy

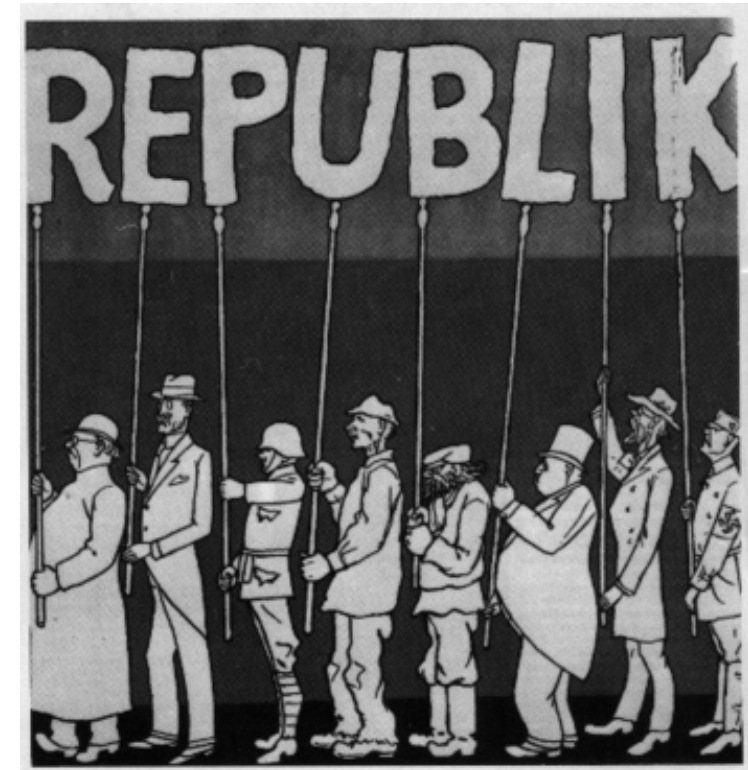




The Weimar Republic, 1919-1933

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- **Procedural Flaws** =>
 - President's political power
 - Can dismiss Chancellor even when retained parliament's confidence
 - Can appoint a Chancellor which isn't supported
- **General problems** =>
 - Lack of democratic traditions
 - Lack of legitimacy (imposed by the victorious allies), catastrophic economic situation (1920s hyperinflation)





The Weimar Republic, 1919-1933

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- The decline of the Weimar Republic
 - Unstable and short-lived coalitions
 - 1929: Economic recession, hyperinflation
 - Communist Party + Nazi party grew steadily and exponentially
 - 1930 onwards: Germany was ruled under emergency powers (A. 48)
 - Lost popularity + the support of the elites



Democracy broke down



The Rise of the 'Third Reich'

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- The Nazi party (National Socialist German Workers' Party) had **12 seats** in the Reichstag in 1928, **230** by July 1932- became the largest party in the Parliament
- Feb 1932 => Full emergency powers were given to Hitler's government
- 1933 => Hitler was appointed Chancellor
 - Institutions of Weimar Republic dismantled
 - About 30k political opponents prisoned

The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945

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- The Nazi party became the only political party in Germany
- August 2, 1933 => Hindenburg (elected president of the Weimar Republic) dies
- Hitler combines the office of the President and Chancellor (and is granted full emergency powers)
- Attempts to **reshape the German society** in accordance with the **Nazi ideology** =>
 - Destruction of 'unGerman' culture
 - Abolition of trade unions

The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945



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- A Police state, ungoverned by the rule of law
- Boycott of Jewish owned business
 - Book burning, The Nuremburg Laws (1935)
- November 9, 1935—*Kristallnacht*
 - Mass destruction of Jewish homes, synagogues and businesses
 - About 25,000 Jews deported
 - Jews forced to wear yellow Star of David

The Nuremburg Laws were antiemitic, racial laws enacted by the Reichstag. Included the Law of Protection of German Blood and German Honor and the Reichstag Citizenship Law.

The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945

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- The National Socialists easily **gained confidence** and **support** due to political, social, financial vulnerability
- Nationalist **propaganda** united the German people (Identity Politics)
- Economic revival in 1930s
- Many jobs were created (unemployment dropped from 6M to 0,5M)



The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945

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- WWII started on **Sep 1939** when Nazi Germany invaded Poland
- Shortly after, the Soviets invaded from the East
- Nazi Germany later invaded Denmark, Finland, Norway, Eastern & Southern Europe, Greece, France North Africa etc.
- Over 150k mentally and physically ill were euthanized until the practice stopped due to Catholic protests



The 'Third Reich', 1933-1945

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- Nazi Germany established work and extermination camps across Europe, especially in southern and eastern Poland
- Over 11 million people in Europe killed/murdered:
 - 6 million Jews- Holocaust (genocide of European Jews)
 - 2-3 million Soviet POWs
 - 2 million Poles
 - Over 1 million Roma (Gypsies)
 - Over 10k Homosexuals

The Demise of the 'Third Reich'

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- June 6th 1944 => "D-Day", 156k Anglo-American + Canadian allied forces landed on the beaches of Normandy (France)
 - **Battle of Normandy** (June 1944 to August 1944), "Operation Overload" resulted in the liberation of western Europe from Nazi Germany
 - By late August 1944 all northern France was liberated
- Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945
- February 1945 => Germany divided





Germany Post WW2

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- WW2 lasted for 2,194 days
- 30 states + 110 million army men and women were involved
- Neutral states: Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland
- **WW2 left Germany in ruins:** morally, economically, socially, coupled with Food scarcity



Germany Post WW2

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- Morally- 4.3 million dead and missing military personnel, 350k to 500k Civilian deaths
 - Systematic destruction in Europe done in their name- collective guilt
- Economically: heavy damages to industry and transportation infra, poverty, black market
- Socially: May 1945 => massive expulsion and displacement of Germans (e.g. from Czechoslovakia and Poland)



Germany Post WW2

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- Summer 1945; Potsdam's conference => Stalin, Truman, Churchill, Attlee
- The 4 'D' Plan:
 - **Demilitarization**
 - No more than 370k soldiers in the army
 - East Germany- a Nuclear Weapon Free zone
 - **Democratization**
 - **Denazification**
 - **Decartelization**





Thank You For Your Attention!

Questions???