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THE PERSISTANCE OF NATIONAL IDEOLOGY AND MYTH:

ATTEMPTING TO RE-DEFINE GERMAN NATIONAL IDENTITY IN POST-WAR EUROPE

by

DANIELLE L. SMITH

(Under the Direction of Charles P. Crouch)

ABSTRACT

Germany emerged from post-war Europe economically, politically, and culturally devastated. The process of rebuilding the state meant severing German society from its pre-war roots, changing international and domestic acuity of the German people as violent and racially defined. These post-war leaders, however, were unable to convincingly portray and create a modern nation to shatter the myth of German origins, and accordingly shifted the blame for Germany's situation on Nazi leaders. Absolution of the German people meant denying opportunities for popular self-critique, creating an atmosphere which unwittingly condoned the Romantic national myth. Earlier articulated by the Nazis, this original movement urged Germans to purify and worship the *ethnie*, granting the state the ability to provide cultural protection, sanctioning racism, prejudice, and bias. The persistence of this ideology in post-war Germany, coupled with economic concerns and the instrumental inability to re-define the German nation led to programs aimed at shattering perceptions of racial ideals and cultural hatreds of the "other," rather than terminating the root cause of these biases. Tendencies to imagine the purity of a past Germany as extant, therefore, support Romantic popular images and feelings for a German nation that never actually existed.   In contemporary Germany, the this inability to re-define the national ideology and myth leads to a continuation of fear and violence towards minorities and "others," an issue frequently magnified by popular action and political rhetoric.

INDEX WORDS:De-Nazification, Düsseldorf, Europe, Fascism, Germany, Historikerstreit, Karl Arnold, Konrad Adenauer, Liberalism, Nationalism, National myth, National Socialism, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Pan-European, Romantic Nationalism

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DANIELLE L. SMITH

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DANIELLE L. SMITH

Major Professor: Charles P. Crouch
Committee: Charles S. Thomas
                 Robert K. Batchelor

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For Grandpa. I know you will always be proud of me.

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CHAPTER 1

UNKNOWN FEAR: CULTURAL DEVIENCY AND THE NATIONAL MYTH

The incident on the Düsseldorf rail line that happened on the afternoon of July 18, 2000 surprised, but inevitably did not shock, the people of Germany. During the early minutes of the afternoon rush hour commute, the footbridge at the downtown *Am Wehrhan* train station crowded with a group of students exiting their German-language class as they headed for the afternoon train to take them home.[1] The façade of regularity – indicated by thick warm air, overlapping voices, and rumbling trains - was shattered by the heat, sound, and shock of an intense chemical reaction. The deafening roar of the blast was replaced by a sharp ringing in the ears of those closest to the explosion, insuring that the ensuing panic and devastation would occur in a temporary silence. As the curtain of smoke lifted, the visible destruction set the scene for pandemonium, a cacophony of shouting and sirens.

Nine people sustained severe injuries, two critically so, including a man and a pregnant woman in her twenties who not only miscarried but also lost a leg as the bomb ripped through the pedestrian bridge.[2] Most of the injuries were not caused by the actual blast, but by shards of metal and other shrapnel placed inside the bomb in order to exact maximum damage within a small radius.[3] The majority of those injured shared one significant trait: they were Jewish immigrants from Russia, Azerbaijan, and Ukraine.[4] Presumably the terrorist bombers designed and planned their attack to target this group of individuals and send a grim message to all the minority groups of Düsseldorf and Germany at large.

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[1] Roger Cohen, "Germans Say Nine Wounded by Bomb Were Immigrants," *The New York Times*, July 29, 2000, http://www.nytimes.com (accessed 12 February 2008).

[2] "Düsseldorf Rail Explosion Likely a Grenade or Bomb, Police Say," *CNN*, July 27, 2000, http://www.cnn.com (accessed 12 February 2008).

[3] "Shrapnel Bomb Injures Nine," *BBC News*, July 27, 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk (accessed 12 February 2008).

[4] John Hooper, "Far Right Link Sought After Bomb Blast," *The Guardian,* July 29, 2000, http://www.guardian.co.uk (accessed 12 February 2008).

At the train station, the scene devolved into chaos and then similarly evolved into familiar news footage of the faceless enemy lurking within and yet functioning as a part of society. In cases such as these, the terrorist inevitably possesses a face. His own unique identity initially; and beyond that a face which represents a growing sentiment and dissatisfaction regarding the current challenges to the status quo which have been emerging in Germany. Though the perpetrators were never identified, their actions speak volumes about the prejudices, xenophobia, and racism which continue to penetrate German society. Historical ideologies and myths about the strength and superiority of the German nation still persist in the contemporary era, even as the logic and rational for defining the nation based on racial attributes was shattered at the end of World War II. The German government and population never concretely re-defined their identity, and now it is being accomplished for them, from below, by the influx of foreigners and minority groups raised with German socio-cultural traditions. In many instances, ethnic Germans view this as subversive to their identity and way of life, lashing out with violence in response to increased levels of forced interaction as minority groups continue to grow in number and influence.

Rush hour, on any evening in any place, rarely affords one the mental quiet to imagine anything out of the ordinary. The German town of Düsseldorf, located in the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen (NRW), in this respect provides no exception to the mad dash of the evening in either the superficial actions of the event or the symbolic gesture implied by such social interactions. The grit and grime of a summer city afternoon collides with crisp fabrics – worn by well-heeled businessmen – that seem to melt in the sweltering heat. A change in climate experienced following the work day metaphorically creates an impression regarding the dissolution of the barrier between private life and the reality of "what's out there," in the public sphere when class boundaries are removed from the equation. Rush hour produces something larger and far more important than traffic jams, hot buses, and crowded train stations. This daily ritual creates within the public sphere what may be the only true heterogeneous population mixture generated by necessity, where these businessmen share

transportation and space with petty-bourgeois shopkeepers and wage earners. Private automobiles

shelter the lucky few while buses, taxis, trams, subway cars, and commuter trains transport the

populace of the city regardless of ethnicity, religion, social status, or income. There is nothing

unusual to infer when viewing a white man of high income dressed in the latest designer suit and

reading the newspaper sitting next to a working-class Turkish immigrant wife, running the day's

errands with small children in tow. These forms of public transportation possess a very Habermasian

quality to them, breaking social barriers and forcing interaction between those individuals and groups

not traditionally given to associating with one another.[5]

Interaction during the rush hour commute therefore expands the area of the public sphere to

new boundaries not experienced otherwise and creates a forced inclusive society, representing a

microcosm of the interaction between German bourgeoisie and others in this Habermasian space.

German society is arguably comprised of two public spheres, based on dynamic factors of inclusion

and exclusion implemented by the growing numbers of socially and racially differentiated masses.

Throughout modern European history, a very bourgeois public sphere permeated society and set the

standard for values and identity, and Germany was no exception, especially during the revolutionary

era. This idea of a single public sphere rests heavily on the premises of an ethnically homogenous or,

at the very least, inclusive state.

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[5] See the discussion regarding the public sphere and community interaction by Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere:* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989). The term Habermasian is used to describe the meeting of the liberal bourgeoisie public sphere with mass society where lines between public and private, and state and society blur. It can further be argued that this blurring dissolved the public sphere for a more inclusive popular opinion. Habermas' work in theorizing the public sphere has proved especially popular in sociology, political science, and revolutionary France. Though highly influential Habermas received substantial criticism for everything from his elitist view of the public sphere (i.e., it was not public at all) to his writing style. Habermas' dedication to reason, and ethics, and moral philosophy often makes him the target of postmodernist, poststructuralist, and feminist critics. Edward Said is a vocal critic, often stressing the lack that critical theory and cultural criticism theorists take to curb or recognize oppression. Said implicates the entire Frankfurt School, and pointedly Habermas. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994). Gordon Welty harshly accused Habermas of "failing to recognize the signifigence of social classes and antagonism for morality and personality." Gordon Welty, "A Critique of Habermas' Proposed 'Reconstruction of Historical Materialism'," presented to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (August 17, 1989), http://www.wright.edu/~gordon.welty.

In the post-war era, the reality of German society provided no such basis for homogeneity and instead points toward a reluctance to create such inclusion. Migrants to Germany therefore found themselves inside of the state but outside of society, confronting cultural segregation hardened and enforced by the government's official policies regarding the presence of *Gastarbeiter*. The official government policies were enhanced by the ethnic German public's own desires for community preservation, a feeling that persisted long after the relaxation of Germany's immigration laws in 2001.[6] Survival for these ethnic minorities depended upon the creation of social hierarchies and cultural values that bound them together in a sphere mirroring and paralleling that of the German sphere. These two spheres exist within the same state simultaneously yet separately with one hoping to merge and thrive with the other, and one hoping to alienate the "other". The two rarely willfully interact except for such necessary moments as the commute and use of public transportation.[7]   It remains unsurprising then that such forced interaction with "others" - those sections of society considered cultural non-conformists by individuals who believe themselves representatives of the cultural norm – leads to increased social tension and acts as a time bomb for explosive moments of violence.

As a heavily industrialized and western city, Düsseldorf attracts an exceedingly large percentage of immigrants as it is the capital of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany's most populous state.[8] The potential economic growth of the region consistently offers the possibility of perpetual job creation and the chance to improve levels of wealth and education. Economic issues coupled with the steadily growing tide of immigrants to the country in the wake of World War II created

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[6] *Gastarbeiter* – "guest worker/s" refers to the German term for laborers recruited to live and work in Germany on a temporary basis by the government. Originally the majority of these workers hailed from Eastern Europe and the Middle East, though the majority is now mostly comprised of citizens from the Middle East and North Africa.

[7] The use of public as pertaining to transportation should not be confused with the Habermasian use of the word pertaining to intellectual debate and the definition of national culture.

[8] The population of Nordrhein-Westfalen sits at around 18 million people. Ministerium für Umwelt und Naturshutz, Landwirtschaft und Verbraucherschutz des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, "Action Programme Environment," n.d., http://www.apug.nrw.de/pdf/Outcomes_2002-2007.pdf (accessed 7 February 2008).

special problems regarding the highly volatile issues of nationalism and xenophobia. Germany's

economic needs after World War II and the negative natural population growth rate over the last few

decades meant that the state relied upon and still needs a constant influx of foreigners to support the

"economic miracle."[9] Their acceptance into German society however, remains anything but a

smooth process, creating social antagonisms and causing former chancellor Gerhard Schroeder to

convey his disgust in "reading almost every day about orgies of violence by right-wing gangs against

foreigners or minorities."[10] Within the scope of Western Europe, Germany does not represent an

isolated case when it comes to experiencing contemporary solvency of the nation, as French and

English governments also struggle to deal with a rising tide of immigration and increased social

conflict. The transference of social customs, practices, and habits by an immigrant population sets

the scene for a clash of nations, or in the extreme case civilizations, within the state.[11] Inhabitants of

traditionally European national origin often find themselves taking a reactionary position toward the

influx of foreigners perceived to be diluting the purity of and desacralizing existing values and

traditions. The phenomenon of anti-immigrant violence – at heart racially motivated – in Germany is

especially significant given its Nazi past. Inevitably, the historical implications of such racially –

based forms of violence makes Germany unique within Europe and this *Sonderweg* (special way)

provides continuity of ideology and development that continues into the contemporary era.[12] The

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[9] According to the U.S. Census Bureau International Data Base, the German population in 1950 stood at 68,374,572 and in 2008 is 82,369,548. Currently the calculated rate of natural increase of population is -0.26%, and has been negative for the several previous years as well. U.S. Census Bureau, "International Census Database," *Germany,* http://www.census.gov (accessed 14 June 2008).

[10] "Germany Agonises over Bomb Attack," *BBC News,* 30 July 2000., http://www.bbc.co.uk (accessed 12 February 2008).

[11] See the arguments presented by Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003).

[12] The *Sonderweg* is a distinctive and controversial topic in German historiography which emphasizes that German-speaking territories have developed along a unique trajectory in modern European history. Germany's desire to find a "third way" between western-style democracy and eastern-style Tsarist governments guided its path from aristocracy to democracy. World War I is considered a direct outcome of the *Sonderweg*, and more recent studies emphasize the National Socialist movement and World War II as part of Germanic historical continuity. Scholarship on the subject generally began in the two decades following the war when the debate was polarized between non-German and German historians. A.J.P. Taylor (*The Course of German History*, 2nd ed. 1945), pp. 213) notably argued that the Third Reich was "a tyranny imposed upon the German people by themselves," and this

ideology and subsequent practices of the Nazi Party pushed national purity to its most extreme

conclusion during World War II, violently attempting to eliminate those elements of society

considered to be "other," external to German identity and therefore undesirable.

These ideas regarding the racial homogeneity of Germany however, emerged in the century

prior to the Nazi regime, rooted in works by thinkers from Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-

1831) to Paul de Legarde (1827-1891). These writers used the tools of history and philosophy to

discern and describe the origins and components of the true German nation. Swept up in the tide of

nineteenth-century romanticism, this brand of intellectuals looked to pastoral and rural historical

settings to discover the natural national elements unspoiled by the onslaught of modernity. The

nation was considered an organic structure with the function of preserving and protecting peoples

with common cultures, distinguished especially by what may be considered the most organic and

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sentiment was re-enforced by Edmond Vermeil (*L'Allemagne contemporaine,* 1952). German historians such as Friedrich Meinecke (*The German Catastrophe*, trans. 1950) presented Nazi Germany as an accident of history and generally unrepeatable, and Henry Ashby Turner (*Hitler's Thirty Days to Power*, 1997) echoed these sentiments as the intellectual heir to the movement. Since the 1960s, the idea of *Sonderweg* has become more acceptable in mainstream historical study and many different versions of the theory began to emerge. Historian Fritz Fischer (*Germany's Aims in the First World War,* trans. 1967) explored the *Sonderweg* through the lens of partial modernization, viewing the failure of the liberal revolution of 1948 as the crucial turning point. Fritz Stern (*The Politics of Cultural Despair*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) and George L. Mosse (*Nationalization of the Masses*, New York: Howard Fertig, 2001) viewed the culprit as virulent anti-Semitism embraced by the cultural elites in their rejection of modernity. Currently, Jürgen Kocka ("German History before Hitler: the Debate About the German Sonderweg, 1988) is one of the most vocal proponent of the *Sonderweg*, speaking out about the importance of cultural and political varients to argue against Michael Stürmer's ("History In a Land Without History?" 1993) theory of a geographic reason for Germany's special development. The most extreme scholarship utilizing *Sonderweg* argues that the political and social evolution of Germany in the modern era was such that no outcome but the resulting Nazi regime was plausible. In the most current scholarship regarding Nazi Germany, Daniel Goldhagen (*Hitler's Willing Executioners*, 1996) is given credit for reviving debate about the subject when he argued that Germany is characterized by extreme anti-Semitism. *Sonderweg* theory still has many detractors who do not recognize Germany an historically special case. Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn are generally recognized as the leading critics of *Sonderweg* theory. Though a slightly older work, their book *The Peculiarities of German History* (1984) lays out the influential argument that historical development has no "normal" path, and therefore the German case cannot be unique. Many who deny the *Sonderweg* thesis believe it does not take into account similarities and differences with other violent regimes and dictatorships. For the most recent scholarship that is not yet included in the major historiography see Helmut Walser Smith, *The Continuities of German History: Nation, Religion, and Race Across the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Geoff Eley and Jan Palmowski, eds., *Citizenship and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007); Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, "The Pre-History of the Holocaust? The Sonderweg and Historikerstreit Debates and the Abject Colonial Past," *Central European History* 41, no. 3 (2008), 477-503.

basic identifying marker of culture: language.[13] Intellectuals extolled the virtues of not only

languages as ageless and superior in terms of cultural comparison, but often relied upon the emerging

field of biological sciences to apply these same qualities to the race which they belonged. An

incipient understanding of the differences between different social groupings (race, class, etc.)

characterized this goal for racial homogeneity, which predated the emergence of social Darwinism,

and later incorporated the pseudo-science emerging in the1860s.[14]

Bastardized versions of Darwinian evolution appeared in both forms of theoretical and

scientific evidence for supporting the inherent physically superior (biological) characteristics of the

Germanic race, reinforcing the idea of the nation as having organic origins. This organic nationalism

originated during the mid-nineteenth century turmoil of state-building as an effort to enthuse people

of separate principalities about the necessity for cultural unification and transference of the natural

strength of the nation into a large state structure capable of dominating continental politics and acting

as a cultural container. Transference from the fractured town, city, and principality-based

allegiances/identities to the state level could only occur at the behest of the nation, thus cementing

the use of popular nationalism as the driving force behind politicized romanticism and setting a

precedent for the proper use and function of the nation in generating congruencies between it and the

state. Congruency between the cultural and political units represents the culmination of nationalism,

where each unit informs the decisions and actions of the other. [15] Though the German states

officially unified in 1871, such congruency was not achieved, leaving the German

nationalist/intellectual movement wholly unfulfilled.

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[13] Many authors tackle the role of language in the process of state building. For an excellent reference see David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

[14] Stephen Tomlinson, *Head Masters: Phrenology, Secular Education, and Nineteenth Century Social Thought* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005). Tomlinson's work is dedicated to tracing the use of pseudoscientific theories and how their status as a valid educational and biological concept impacted the development of social theory in the late nineteenth century.

[15] Ernst Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1983), 3.

Thus the necessity for such race-based doctrines would remain central to the course of German unity. The most discussed and relevant of these events remains the World War II era, with the Nazi consolidation of power and process of territorial expansion set in motion in the 1930s. The National Socialist party generally built its platform around the basic understanding of national supremacy expressed through acceptable physical standards, but took on a more sinister application through the legislation of these attributes. Only those persons legally defined as physically and ethnically German received classification of citizen, thus relegating state membership to a biological qualification. The Nazis also desired to identify the biological "other," and to eliminate these newly identified and legislatively proscribed societal outcasts altogether. The program of National Socialism ultimately distinguishes itself in German history as the period responsible for pushing the ideological combination of romantic nationalism and social Darwinism to its most extreme limits. It is at this inception of the Nazi program where arguments in the historiography become pertinent in understanding the implication behind the implementation of a Fascist program by the state and manipulation of nationalism by political leaders.

Traditionally, many authors focused their efforts on discerning the primordial characteristics of nationalism, wherein the nation is a cultural component, existing independently of mandated actions and growing out of ethnic kinship, ancient tradition, and symbolism. In the mind of the true primordialist intellectual, nations possess "navels," a defined and central cultural core which comes into existence at no definitive emerging date, but does pre-date the modern era by centuries or even millennia.[16] Conversely, modernists believe the emergence of the nation received guidance from the intellectual traditions of modernism in its formation and relied on the presence of an existing state apparatus to develop control. These scholars typically adhere to an instrumentalist approach; they attribute modern characteristics of the state as a means for reaching conclusions about the state's role

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[16] For more in depth information on debates regarding the application of the "navel" to the nation see: Ernest Gellner and Anthony D. Smith. "The Nation: Real or Imagined?: The Warwick Debates on Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 2, no. 3 (1996): 367-368.

in the distribution and creation of a national culture. These premises lead modernists to the conclusion that the nation does not really exist as a cultural entity, but rather is a fictional construct manipulated by the state as a means to a political end.

Very closely tied to this historiographical argument about the nature of the relationship between the nation and state is the intertwining historiography regarding the functionalist versus intentionalist schools of interpretation used in determining the role of Fascism as a socio-political ideology.[17] Understanding and providing conclusions regarding this debate over the origins of the nation feeds into the larger external conversation pertaining to the nature and role of Fascism. The functionality or intentionalism behind Fascism – specifically whether state goals evolved over time or if a fully formed plan existed from the inception of the party, respectively – can either enhance the primordialist or modernist stance, depending on the initial conclusion.

Fascism as political ideology was not unique to Germany, but its conception in the form of National Socialism remains *sui generis*. While the Nazi example is too extraordinary to use as a useful comparative model, one must understand Fascism in order to comprehend fully the role of the nation in Nazi Germany and in the post-war era. Fascism here finds no limitations or compartmentalization in purely functionalist or intentionalist logic and is, in fact, rather a synthesis of the two schools, where functionalism is a component of intentionalism. The relationship between functionalism and intentionalism is better described as a process, a process which is linear with the ultimate goal revolving around a constructed idea of national supremacy and dominance through a vague idea of eliminating the "other".

Extermination was a means to that ultimate end; means are by definition an available opportunity and develop as unfolding conditions enhance or restrain the means of the end-goal. The sheer scope and scale of the intended goal (elimination) made it impossible for the National Socialist party to apply and adhere to only one process for implementing a pure nation-state. The complexity

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[17] See the further discussion presented in Chapter 2 of this paper.

of the goal forced the means to evolve and the top-heavy organization that marked the German bureaucracy made the process of evolution of the means simpler and more coherent. A synthetic process like this essentially made the state an instrumental opportunist for implementing long-standing German philosophic traditions and pseudo-scientific theories describing the ideal nation or more specifically an ideal Germany.

German political parties and the state structure merely existed as a conduit for further disseminating ideals about the nation which were already quite prevalent in German society and existed well in advance of the emergence of the Fascist system of government. National Socialism then did not generate the idea of the nation based on common culture and biological origin, but instead worked to make such an idea politically relevant and fully cement the bond between nation and state, reigniting nationalist fervor. In Nazi Germany, the nation still possessed a navel where the state merely acted as a body to protect and surround the nativist construction of the nation, bringing nineteenth-century organic nationalism into the twentieth. With this understanding in mind, the immediate post-war years in Germany are of key importance to explaining the role of the nation, citizenship, race, and violence during the state's contemporary development and existence.

Over approximately the next fifteen years, security remained the primary concern and responsibility of the Allied powers, and confrontation with the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (DDR) remained limited until the erection of the Berlin Wall in August 1961. For eleven years, the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (BRD) citizens and politicians maintained the luxury and ability to turn their attention inward and focus on domestic social and economic policy, in effect rebuilding the domestic infrastructure of the state from the ground up – a decidedly gargantuan task. Politicians in the immediate post-war period stood amid a crumbled Germany, overshadowed by the actions of their predecessors, those Nazi giants. The job of emerging political leaders at the time revolved around the capability to visualize the German state in an entirely new light, including politics, economics, society, and the nation itself. The majority of the years from 1945-61 therefore saw

much energy put into plans for breaking away from the organic national core and systematically and instrumentally using the state to replace the old historical interpretations of German nationalism with an innovative contemporary one.

This attempt to redefine German national identity in the post-World War II era consisted primarily of a conscious effort on the part of political elites to inoculate Germany, and thus its entire image, from the racist component which scarred it. Newly appointed and elected politicians generally found that after the war they had no choice but to drastically alter the perception of the German nation both at home and abroad. The requirement to rebuild Germany as an organized society or state, especially economically and politically, remained the most pressing issue at hand in the immediate aftermath of the war. Losing the war and the ensuing occupation led to fierce political divisions within the country, partially fueled by dissatisfaction with the promises and subsequent failures of Hitler's National Socialism. Parallel to this internal strife, German leaders also received a clear message from the international community: lack of political change would only hinder Germany's acceptance back into the world system. Following the Nazi era of outright hostility and disregard for international law, German politicians needed to illustrate the state's ability for international cooperation. Any program implemented hinting at strains of a fascist or national socialist platform in any way obtained no collective internal or external support. This new German political platform effectively needed to generate an idea of the nation through the use of policies which actively opposed the race-based agenda of the previous eras in German history.

It is precisely at this point where the system of nationalism attempted to shift from the organic "navel" form to a centrally created and instrumentally defined version of the nation. These changes to the German state originating in the 1950s and their impact upon the nation have become increasingly relevant to the function and composition of contemporary German society. In effect, the state apparatus of post-World War II Germany actively attempted to revise the perception of the nation and the meaning of "German" without changing the definition, with mixed results. Over the

course of the next several decades, the BRD government made a calculated effort to revise

Germany's image domestically and internationally. This new conceptualization focused on a shift

from international aggression to cooperation quite successfully, though a movement away from an

official race-based national definition to a different model in post-modern German society proved

difficult.

The 1980s, however, placed this revisionism under an academic microscope forcing the issue

as a means for addressing larger questions – about race, citizenship, and nationalism - through the

lens of revisionism's role in creating new social constructs and its impact upon the general

population. Such questions made research pertaining to the operation of post-modern German

nationalism increasingly relevant and academically pertinent. Opened in the summer of 1986 by

Jürgen Habermas, the *Historikerstreit* (Historian's conflict/quarrel) centered on the historical revision

of German history designed to meet the "perceived need of fostering a new German nationalism as a

means of legitimation."[18] Habermas argued that the political instrumentalism which attempted to

introduce a shift in values in the political establishment and a corresponding shift in national

consciousness forestalled any chance for critical self-reflection by the general population upon their

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[18] Jeremy Leaman, "The Decontamination of German History: Jürgen Habermas and the *Historikerstreit* in West Germany," *Economy and Society* 17, no. 4 (1988): 518. The *Historikerstreit* originated in the 1980 over the interpretation of the Holocaust in German historiography. The main debate revolves around whether the Holocaust was a defensive act in reaction to the Soviet system of Gulags or if there was an intentionalism to the Holocaust rooted in German character and the desires of Hitler. Originally the debates took place between Ernst Nolte and Jürgen Habermas, respectively, as a series of articles and letters, and received much attention in Western Germany where they originated. The debate continues to this day, though on a global scale, this Historikerstreit is often subsumed by the conversation about *Sonderweg*. Habermas received support from Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Jürgen Kocka, Hans Mommsen, and Eberhard Jäckel, while Ernst Nolte's allies in the argument included Andreas Hillgruber, Klaus Hildebrand, Hagen Schulze, and Michael Stürmer. Four main discussions comprise the *Historikerstreit* and they include the unique evil of Nazi Germany, the legitimacy of the *Sonderweg*, the comparison of other 20th century genocides to the Holocaust, and the validity that the Holocause was a reactionary activity to a Soviet threat. For arguments made by Habermas, Nolte, et al., see the complete letters, editorials, and notes of the *Historikerstreit* in James Knowlton, ed., *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?: Original Documents of the Historikerstreit, the Controversy Surrounding the Singularity of the Holocaust* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1993). For further current reading see Georff Eley, "Nazism, Politics and the Image of the Past: Thoughts on the West German Historikerstreit 1986–1987," *Past and Present* 121, no. 1 (1998): 171–208;; Jane Caplan, Norbert Frei, et al., "The *Historikerstreit* Twenty Years On," *German History* 24, no. 4 (2006): 587-607; Steffen Kaillitz, "Der *Historikerstreit* und die politische Deutungskultur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *German Studies Review* 32, no. 2 (2009): 279-302;

role in Nazi atrocities.[19] Bypassing this critical step only generated a severe lack of understanding regarding German actions during World War II, creating disconnects between state (government) and nation (populace) on the issue of blame. It furthermore allowed for the continuation of racial biases and the "othering" of minorities within German society, because when the general population receives little blame and is not subject to the same scrutiny and introspection as the government, there is no reason to perceive such biases as a fault. This further provided opportunities for recidivistic, nationalistic, and even crypto-Nazi movements to emerge as the change in national identity was superficial.

Revisionists answered the charge in a truly weak fashion, declaring the era of Nazism an unrepeatable accident of German history, and emphasized the role of dominant individuals, such as Hitler, et al. Indicating that Nazism was an unrepeatable accident allowed historians to ignore the need for Habermas' self-critique, and therefore bypass an opportunity to examine the historical connections between Third Reich policies and its predecessors. Without such an examination, proving the "accidental" thesis would be impossible.

The revisionist position had already been (or was further eroded) by earlier works. Most significantly, Fritz Fischer's *Der Griff nach der Weltmach* (Germany's Aims in the First World War), illustrated the clear continuity between Wilhelmian and Nazi era imperialist and military aspirations.[20] In light of such criticism, Christian Democratic party efforts to develop an entirely new conceptualization of Germany are even more significant in their attempts to completely break with Germany's past, while ignoring the realities of this past. Stepping down from Nazi shoulders meant a recreation of contemporary German society rather than a regression to Wilhelmian era (pre-Nazi) Romantic Nationalist social norms, which inherently lacked an element of realism, and a self-critique of those norms.

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[19] Ibid., 519.

[20] Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War.* trans. C.A. Macartney. London: Chatto & Windus, 1967.

This thesis aims to explore this instrumental attempt at recreation as well as its outcomes and implications for the future of Germany. Much of this work is dedicated to German history prior to the end of World War II as a means for making an argument regarding the continuity of the German national myth in modern history. The Nazis used Romantic nationalism and the national myth to further their political means, illustrating both why reverting to nationalist ideology in the post-war era remained unfeasible and the state forced this radical transition on the population. The second part of this thesis concentrates on the tactics used by state-level politicians to achieve the goal of national redefinition along with their success and failure in both the international and domestic spheres, respectively. Finally this paper closes with a reflection upon the historical significance governing Germany's national myths, both traditional and new, as well as what this means for the future of German society as it further integrates itself into Europe and the international community. In the end, studies in nationalism may very well prove the most successful tool for making sense of a disconcordant and incongruous German society in the twentieth-century.

CHAPTER 2

SYNTHESIZING THEORY: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE NATION

Relatively new in comparison to other fields of history, the historiography of nationalism tends to lack a complex established philosophical tradition capable of stressing its importance to the broader field. Indeed nationalism is a force at the root of how people define themselves, explain their origins, and create cohesive cultural units, leaving historians to make sense of nationalism in the face of vague definitions and broad implications inherent in its study. Historians now work to posit the events of the past in such a way that helps shape the understanding of the present and future of society. This is coupled with explanations about the historical origins of nationalism that leads to vastly different ideological interpretations about how to define and utilize nationalism. Prior to the twentieth century, most writings on nationalism consisted of foundational documents written by the likes of Jules Michelet, Giuseppe Mazzini, and other theorists, focusing on the implementation of popular sovereignty to remedy the ills of the absolutist state. Only in the wake of global conflicts where states used the values of the nation as a weapon did nationalism become a serious issue requiring intensive analytical study.

Most scholarly interpretations of nationalism concern themselves with creating an understanding of what constitutes the essence of nationalism. Doing so requires the application of several questions: can nationalism be defined, from where does it originate, what role does it play in society, and finally how does it inspire involvement. The existing major schools of thought revolve around two competing theories regarding the origins of nationalism. Scholars as diverse as Anthony Smith, Ernst Gellner, Benedict Anderson, and many others approach nationalism from either a primordialist (with biological roots now inherent with no record of inception of these qualities) or modernist (politics gave the nation reason or cause to exist, the nation is a derivative of the state) stance. Since a definition of nationalism is so elusive, historians of nationalism seek to quantify the

term in absolutes by applying popular versus official, process versus state of being, and constructionist versus devolutionist arguments to the schools of thought. The definitions provided by theorists easily differentiate the two schools, though they each are capable of broadly describing a variety of situations. While neither primordialism nor modernism has established dominance within the field, it is increasingly apparent that the modernist approach has become gradually more popular. Perhaps the most effective means to understanding the competing schools of interpretation is to examine the major theorists and their arguments.

The earliest of these modern theorists was Hans Kohn, whose most fundamental belief is that the nation is a state of mind. Although this does sound similar to the arguments made by primordialists, Kohn makes it clear that this state of mind developed only as a result of modern institutions and ultimately cannot be recognized prior to the 1750s.[21] When prevailing politics and civic nationalism intersect the nation-state becomes the only viable and ideal form of government. Political organization and nationality merge as a conscious result of this civic nationalism, generating the greatest difference between the new citizenship-minded nationalism and the primordial result of common histories with roots in a distant past.

Louis L. Snyder's work, *The Meaning of Nationalism* (1968), received tremendous accolades upon its release. As a student of Hans Kohn, Snyder was expected to and did follow in Kohn's intellectual path, viewing nationalism as ultimately a modern phenomenon. Snyder agrees with Kohn that nationalism was not a potent force in history until the French Revolution confirmed the incompatibility of absolute monarchy and popular sovereignty, providing the framework for nationalism as an important political tool which supports the will of the people. He furthers argues nationalism as an entity is so closely tied to modernity that it is *sui generis* and therefore contains no equivalent at any point in history prior to its conceptualization in the eighteenth century.[22]

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[21] Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1965).
[22] Louis L. Snyder, *The Meaning of Nationalism* (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968).

In his second work *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), Ernst Gellner established himself as one of the preeminent modernists. He maintained that nationalism was enabled by the emergence of modernity, itself a product of the revolution in politics and economics. For Gellner, nationalism is best described as a constructionist process from above fueled by the transition to modernity.[23] Gellner retained his status as the most influential of the modernists by arguing that the change from agrarianism to industrialism prompted a similar shift in the social structure as well. Therefore changes in the economic system are primarily responsible for changes in the social structure. These rapid shifts required greater political involvement in the maintenance of social stability in the face of change caused by increased class and spatial mobility and a decrease in the social distance between classes. Political action by the elites led to a deep relationship between the political and cultural units, breeding national sentiment. Despite obvious lacunae – role of state violence and persistence of separatist movements – Gellner's work is one of the most solid and influential of the modernist school.

Eric Hobsbawm remains the other pillar of modernist thought, whose work *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (1990) examines the role of the nation primarily in regards to the implementation of and claims to citizenship. Nationalism as an entity changes greatly from its pre-modern form in this relationship because it belongs to a historically recent period, where conscious involvement in the nation becomes increasingly important to identity. The nation is a social entity as it relates to the modern concept of territory and sovereignty and so is deeply intertwined with the state apparatus. Because the role and acceptance of a citizen is confined to the activities of the state, the question of nationality exists at the intersection of politics and the transformation of the state from a purely political entity to a national entity. Being a national becomes tantamount to obtaining citizenship because these identities are constructed primarily from above and people must conform to

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[23] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*.

the standards set by the state in order to be a part of the nation as well. Hobsbawm does argues that, though the nation can be constructed from below, this intersection of politics and transformation can also be analyzed in terms of a state because blanket implementation of citizenship removes the element of a pre-determined nationality from below. Importantly though, the state only possesses this power regarding the nation because the population gave their consent through active participation. Hobsbawm further posits that modern consciousness separates shared history from the modern reliance on nationalism to allow individuals to join forces.[24] In this way nationalism differs from common permanent group identities, such as family or religion, often mistakenly used as identifiers for the nation.

Primordialists offer a different interpretation of nationalism, one that concentrates on the pre-modern evocation of blood, kinship, and ethnicity. Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983) explores the idea that nationalism represents a popular constructive state of being where the ideology of nationalism is subject to the demands of society and evolves out of the imagined communities. The communities, Anderson argues, are only conscious in their modern form but in fact possess an antique quality.[25] Community operates as an abstract concept, stemming from a shared feeling or understanding of mutual existence that that state apparatus cannot replicate. The characteristic of language bound people together, existing as an important factor since times previous to recorded history. This language possesses antique qualities, but the model created by incorporating this vernacular into print created political and social models with a highly popular character. Language for Anderson is the ultimate mythical symbol promoting a common origin. Print, not economic changes imposed by the state, changed the nature of spatial relationships, bringing individuals closer together and binding them together through nationalism. The vernacular

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[24] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[25] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983 (1991)).

is the means of communication for the majority of the population, connecting them as a *Volk* with deep roots finally being utilized for the first time. Anderson's argument lies clearly in favor of primordialism with a nationalism originating from the people, or the nation possessing a "navel."[26]

If authors like Gellner characterize the typical modernist, then Anthony D. Smith plays the same role for primordialism. In Smith's mind, nationalism possesses the most primitive of origins, what he terms the *ethnie*. The pre-modern existence of an ethnicity is primarily responsible for the creation of a collective identity. Warfare and religion both influence the creation of this common ethnic sentiment, as the emotion from both components consistently undergo a process of integration, a process which continues through the interpretations of subsequent generations in the common memory of an *ethnie*.[27] From this process comes a linear myth of descent or origin, from the combined cognitive maps of history, reliant on the expression of solidarity. Myths of cultural origin are highly dependent upon the diffusion of symbols as a means for maintaining recognition of a social bond. Smith sees durability between the pre-modern *ethnie* and its modern form, the nation, which must supplant a pre-modern dominant *ethnie* while incorporating its symbols and continually disseminating myths of origin. This is a classic argument of the possession of an ethnic core by the nation and promotes the idea that "nations have navels" as Mazzini earlier suggested, and negates the nation as an inevitable product of modernity.

Though highly polarized, this debate provides a context for analyzing those political movements which use the ideology of nationalism to advance their rhetoric. One of the more predominant political movements of the twentieth century, Fascism, did so with severe repercussions. The issue of Fascism itself continues to generate conclusions regarding its role in the shaping of European and other twentieth-century experiences long after World War II. Vague understanding of the term coupled with an inability to reach an agreement regarding the purpose, origins, and meaning

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[26] The idea of the nation possessing a navel first credited to Giuseppe Mazzini in his efforts to unify Italy. This discussion is presented fully in Chapter 3.

[27] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations,* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 1986), 13-15.

of nationalism leads to lively academic debate, driving the historiography of Fascism forward. An attempt to answer these questions creates space for three major applications of the problems and issue surrounding Fascism. Firstly are those writings focusing on the general meaning of Fascism and obtaining a definition derived from theoretical applications to the subject.

Beyond the more abstract discussion of the nation is a system of argument derived from two major debates occurring within the current historiography of Fascism. Arguably, the debate here is that of functionalist versus intentionalist schools of interpretation; that is, determining whether Fascist state goals evolved or whether a fully formed plan existed at the ideology's inception. The next debate is smaller but is no less important in its outlook, that of populism versus instrumentalism. Both are important issues when addressing the role of the people; whether they consciously act on behalf of the will of the leader or are used as unknowing tools by the regime. None of these subjects is simplistic in its approach or scope, requiring the incorporation of complex matrices of causality and effect. The conclusions drawn may not merely be as neat as desired, but what is offered contains several implications for not only how Fascism is viewed as a historical incident, but also what it means in terms of the possibilities of a reoccurrence of Fascism in the present and future.

Fascism as a theory or political ideology is notoriously difficult to define, as evidenced by the main competing interpretations available based on many broad, and often inconclusive, generalizations. For depictions of the characteristics and meaning of Fascism, Robert Paxton and George Mosse offer their theories in the work *The Anatomy of Fascism* (2004) and *The Fascist Revolution: Towards a General Theory of Fascism* (2000), respectively. Both authors intend to illustrate the meaning of Fascism by using historical events to understand how certain actions work to define Fascism, as well as what the implication of these definitions is for the era of Fascism's development and the present. According to Paxton, certain cultures contain no pre-disposition to Fascism, and indeed the program acts as a source of political relief, a process capable of closing gaps in the political spectrum and providing a solid foundation in the face of cultural and economic

upheaval.[28] This allows for a greater understanding as to why Fascism is not a geographically

defined phenomenon. It is not static because the paradox of modernity and on-going contradictions

between rhetoric and practice create fluidity where every situation earns a response from nationalism.

Fascism, for Paxton, is defined as a form of political behavior where the popular masses committed

to the nation are preoccupied with community decline and abandon democratic liberties to pursue

redemptive violence.[29]

Paxton is a leading scholar in this debate, though like other contemporary authors the work

lacks the qualifications of an intellectually-based antecedent and influence, as skillfully argued in

Fritz Stern's *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (1974).[30] Stern argues that the intellectual trends for

romanticizing an imagined pastoral past served the Nazis very well. This culminated in the public

acceptance of the Nazi platform and gave them the votes needed to capture the election of March

1933 and, soon after, the government. By using this point of view, Stern makes the connection

between the era leading up to the end of Weimar and the beginning of Nazi Germany. The Nazis

then did not radically break with the past, but rather implemented their idealized version of a

historically purified German nation, which satisfied the desires verbalized by the general population

Many historians of Fascism find convincing arguments that the ideology was highly

intentionalist in nature, revolving around a pre-determined program, imagined and implemented

under the direction and oversight of a single individual. In this case intentionalism argues that Hitler

directly planned and perpetuated the nightmare of the Holocaust. Some authors such as Brigitte

Hamann (*Hitler's Vienna*, 1999*)* concentrate on the early years of Hitler's life, arguing that this

period and the time spent in Vienna by Hitler as a young man were formative in shaping his

viewpoint of the minority populations. Hamann presents a case for Hitler's lack of anti-Semitism in

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[28] Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 83-84.
[29] Ibid., 218.
[30] Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

the period of 1903-1913, but simultaneously reinforces his hatred of all things non-German.[31]

Intentionalists also tend to use Hitler's years in Vienna as the basis for his hatred of Jews, as

evidenced in his own personal account in *Mein Kampf*. For these historians, this writing is

tantamount to a confession of a desire to obliterate the Jewish population even before Hitler assumed

political office. Other authors such as Gerald Fleming (*Hitler and the Final Solution*, 1984) used the

events of the Holocaust to further the intentionalist position, arguing that the killing of Jews was

deliberate due to the long-standing intentions of Hitler, not because the program slowly unfolded as a

necessity for dealing with the mass numbers of Jews being transported to the East.[32] In *Hitler's*

World View (1972), Eberhard Jäckel capitalizes on this and takes the position that Hitler's

understanding of the world was rigidly fixed and that his *Weltanschauung* revolved around an epic

struggle between the Aryan race and all others.[33]

The intentionalist argument maintains that Fascism's program of violent racism is always

intentional and an ever evolving political tool, and relies upon the immediate need for conflict as a

means of national preservation. Ultimately the most popular position, these writers answer the Final

Solution arose because of Hitler's desires. Functionalists continue to believe intentionalism lacks

nuance, and authors such as Christopher Browning (*Ordinary Men*, 1993) therefore continue to argue

that the Nazis resorted to genocide only when the initial means used to expel the Jews from Europe

resulted in failure.[34] Increasingly though, there can be a measure taken to create a synthesis between

the two ideas, with an intentionalist and vague understanding of elimination of the Jews carried out in

its ultimate form of genocide as continually developed by evolving functionalist means.

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[31] Brigitte Hamann , *Hitler's Vienna: A Dictator's Apprenticeship*, trans. Thomas Thornton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 10, 14.

[32] Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

[33] Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitler's Worldview: A Blueprint for Power* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

[34] Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland, Reissue* (New York: HaperPerennial, 1993 (1998)).

The second central debate in Fascist historiography focuses on the role of the general population in the implementation of Fascist programs. Once again, Nazi Germany provides a key example in this trend. Two books, one by Thomas Childers (*The Nazi Voter*, 1983) and the other by William Sheridan Allen (*The Nazi Seizure of Power*, 1984), focus on the role of a very diverse cross-section and localized area of the population, respectively. Childers argues that the Nazi voting base contained much more class diversity than initially realized, and continually shifted to match changes in the economic and political spheres.[35] As a result, people consciously looked to the Nazi party and voted for them in an effort to ease the mounting tensions of economic uncertainty and social upheaval. New voters continually found themselves attracted to the anti-modernity rhetoric of the Nazis, and the destabilization of the traditional middle-class voting bloc only increased this effect. Though Allen perpetuates the idea of consistent middle-class support, he wholly supports the populist standpoint that the local popular level was central to establishing the Nazi seizure of power. Propaganda techniques, financing, and amount of assistance given to local Nazis all created a consequence of the townspeople cementing a belief structure in the Nazi party based on the middle-class psychological fear of economic and political disintegration within their town.[36] In either case, and no matter the class, populism maintains that the German people bore responsibility for allowing the Nazi regime to gain power and flourish in the interwar years. The population identified with messages targeting external and internal enemies of the state who weakened the German people, as well as pledges to solidify the nation and make Germany strong again.

As the functionalist perspective garners adherence, many authors continue to maintain the instrumentalist standpoint. Here, the people bear no direct liability for the actions of their government, but rather are victims of intense propaganda and indoctrination, forcing them to

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[35] Thomas Childers, *The Nazi Voter: the Social Foundations of Fascism in Germany, 1919-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).

[36] William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power: the Experience of a Single German Town, 1922-1945, Revised* (New York: F. Watts, 1984).

accommodate, accept, and participate in the violent nationalism promulgated by the Nazis. The book *Hitler's Army* (1992) by Omar Bartov is an excellent example of this view. Bartov argues that as the German war against Russia in the east began to disintegrate, troops became more disorderly, unstructured, and were unable to perform the will of the *Führer*. The Nazi leadership imposed a system of harsh discipline upon military conscripts in an effort to keep the army in fighting condition. This discipline instilled fear and legitimized barbarism, both of which warped the soldiers' ideas of reality and made them weapons and tools of the Nazi regime. Bartov then notes how the blurring of the lines between military and civilian life made this sort of indoctrination possible in the civilian sphere as well, giving the Nazis absolute control.[37] This directly contradicts Christopher Browning's populist approach that soldiers became killers for the Nazis based on personal will and the desire to maintain a cohesive social framework, avoiding the condemnation of being labeled an "other."

As with debates in any realm of academics, it is possible that no single view point can fully explain the complex and seemingly muddled idea of Fascism, though the functionalist viewpoint presents a more accurate account of Nazi-era Germany because it creates an account that involves the compliance – tacit or vocal approval – of the German people who participated in Nazi German socially and politically. It is more likely though that the historiography of Fascism, as illustrated by the Nazi presence in Germany, is not nearly as simplistic as it seems. A need exists to create a synthesis between the approaches in order to understand exactly why Fascism is so complex, why it was able to capture the support of so many people, and why it ultimately ended with such violence. The current historiography depends upon these debates and has led to some very interesting and enlightening conclusions, but it ultimately must move towards incorporating a synthesis of ideas to understand Fascism and its evolution.

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[37] Omar Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Although not a geographically restricted movement, Fascism is certainly characterized by its time-bound quality, experiencing its only real emergence in the period from the inter-war years to the collapse of the Third Reich at the end of World War II. Fascist movements garnered support and interest in many European countries outside of Germany and Italy, including France, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Romania, and Norway. The development of similar parties in Latin American countries further illustrates the fact that Fascism is not determined by geographic qualities. [38] Though each incorporated the same symbols and cultural qualities, it only tends to be remembered as European because that is where it experienced the most success and led to the most violent destruction. Many contemporary authoritarian regimes are often labeled "Fascist," but this is generally a misappropriation of the term. [39]

The ability to use this terminology correctly requires knowledge of the characteristics of Fascism, the forces bringing it into existence, and the forms it took, especially in its most successful structure. Fascism consists of more than simple authoritarianism or racism. To use only these qualifications creates a definition so broad that it severely limits the ability to analyze the movement fundamentally. Many authoritarian and/or racist regimes are acknowledged throughout history without earning the title of Fascist. Something else beyond these terms must be incorporated into the ideology of Fascism, placing understood limitations or conditions upon the term. Boundaries separate Fascism from typical tyranny and dictatorship, and take into account the general desires of the population at large. Although some arguments support the idea that these movements merely

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[38] For an especially enlightening narrative of Fascism outside of Europe see Sandra McGee Deutsch, *Las Derechas: The Extreme Right in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile 1890-1939* (Standford: Standford University Press, 1999).

[39] An instance of misapplication of terminology related to the study of Fascism refers to use of the expression "Islamofascism." Highly controversial, this term proved politically vogue for conservative pundits and politicians immediately following the advent of the "War on Terror." Criticism of the word as a pejorative neologism by members of academia had not been effective in preventing its dissemination to the public. Stephen Schwartz, Christopher Hitchens, and William Safire are each credited with popularizing the term in public discourse. Stephen Schwartz, "What is Islamofascism?: A History of the Word from the First Westerner to Use It," *The Weekly Standard*, 17 August 2006, http://www.weeklystandard.com; Christopher Hitchens, "Defending Islamofascism: It's a Valid Term. Here's Why," *Slate,* 22 October 2007, http://www.slate.com; William Safire, "Language: Islamofascism, anyone?" *The New York Times*, 1 October 2006, http://www.newyorktimes.com.

projected the powerful personalities of their leaders, too many similarities exist for their meteoric rise to power to be coincidental. Large popular support for Italian Fascism and German Nazism as a result of the unresolved issues and tensions created by World War I and modernity, combined with German and Italian intellectual traditions best explains the success of Fascism and further illustrates the reasons for its political success in Germany and Italy as opposed to other Fascist movement.

Many definitions of Fascisms offered thus far seem quite incomplete and based in ideology rather than visible action. These definitions focus on the victimization and decline of a dominant group in the face of a crisis and the need to reassert the primacy of the group under guidance of a strong male authority who promotes closer integration of a purified community.[40] While useful, this approach lies more in the category of violent nationalism rather than Fascism as it lacks the element of the nation-state as a religious entity. Some other designation based on action must be present to elevate this ideological underpinning of Fascism if it is to be understood as a process that actively seeks a following, alliances, and bids for power. Capitalizing on exercising this power encourages popular participation and the redefinition of the state, a hallmark of Fascism, and was bolstered by the use of propaganda. Fascism relies upon glorification of the state, racial purity, social Darwinism, denigration of reason, exaltation of will, rejection of organized religion, and expansion of the state through a program of war. These were part of the Nazi's effort to create a political religion to fill a secular void in society.

Fascism can accordingly be deemed violent nationalism driven by the totalitarian implementation of a purely secular *Kulturreligion*.[41] From this, it can be argued that Nazism was not an entirely separate monster from Fascism, but rather a branch of the original ideology. Its intense concentration on the deification of the *Führer* who represented the will of the nation differentiated it

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[40] Robert Paxton provides a list of these broad components in Chapter 8 of *The Anatomy of Fascism*, 206-220.

[41] Fritz Stern provides a detailed analysis of the intellectual origins and evolution of the concept of *kulturreligion* in *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, xxv-xxvi.

from the original Fascist form, as well as the creation of a single tangible demon in the form of the

Jewish ethnic minority. Overall, Fascism and Nazism deviated from each other only slightly and

leave the two ideologies with many commonalities, including the means they used to actualize their

programs.

Like any emerging ideology Fascism required, and relied upon, the presence of a gap in the

political spectrum, and like any successful ideology, it needed a *raison d'être* to mobilize the

population and attract people to its message. The situation on the continent following the end of

World War I provided Fascism with the opportunity to emerge and become successful. Germany's

crushing defeat lead to economic disaster and, coupled with the rise of Bolshevism, created a

polarized political environment where the ability of the traditional authority to deal with change was

highly debatable. It is apparent that two models illustrate those opinions which negated the existing

Weimar government's ability to deal with Germany's – and other states' - collapse. First to react

were the big-business industrialists and capitalists, the high-level model. Many feared Bolshevism

would spread throughout the continent in the wake of the 1917 revolution and topple an already

destabilized capitalist system. This fear drew the industrial middle-class into the Fascist party for

reasons of economic safety.[42] Little evidence suggests these business leaders believed in the tenets of

Fascism, but rather it provided the only viable alternative to the growing communist/socialist threat.[43]

The second model comes from a low-level popular approach based on the voting patterns of

ordinary citizens, also focusing on their economic troubles during the depression, whether real or

perceived. The problems faced by all states following such a massive war left behind a social,

economic, and political structure ripe with discontent. The population viewed Fascist parties as a

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[42] See especially the example of villainization of the Bolshevism by the Nazis in Lorna Waddington, *Hitler's Crusade: Bolshevism and the Myth of the International Jewish Conspiracy* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 98-110. The French Fascist movement also benefited from directing aiming anti-Bolshevik propaganda at business leaders. See Robert Soucy's *French Fascism: the Second Wave, 1933-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

[43] Ibid., 204-268.

form of expression devoted to negating the experience of the war and its legacies. Again then, whether or not the German population subscribed to all tenets of Fascist ideology in the inter-war period, they viewed it as an acceptable alternative to the other political offerings at the time. Programs offered by the Fascist leaders and their parties reflected all of these unresolved issues and provided an outlet for an unsettled and dissatisfied population. These programs and promises were much more than a projection of these forceful leaders' personalities. Rather, these men represented the physical embodiment of the ideals of the party and appeared to project the desires of the people. In this way, Fascism became a synthesis of strong wills and strong opinion based on the desires of the population which seemingly echoed those of the Fascist leadership.

Viewing Fascism from the benefit of the present provides hindsight surrounding the inherent danger and destructive tendencies of such an ideology. Using such knowledge about the nature of Fascism as it existed at its peak in the 1930s allows scholars and political leaders to understand the movement more fully. Inevitably, questions concerning the ability of Fascism to possess a future and play a role within the current political spectrum arise. Although several major European political parties, organizations, and activists appear to contain all the trappings of Fascism, further investigation exposes very little about these parties is truly Fascist.

The European origins of Fascism often give political observers and some academics cause for concern that the birth-place of such a movement naturally remains predisposed to a resurgence of the ideology. Critics of emerging far-right (or right-wing) parties often point out their anti-immigration platforms as evidence of regression to the Fascist movement; these same critics are also quick to illustrate the increasing violence between different nationalities on the continent. What fails to be noted however, is that this violence plays more of a role at the individual level than the state level. Right-wing parties of the modern political age, still facing repugnance and dark memories of the World War II era, have been forced to adopt moderate-right stances on many issues in an effort to gain wider public support and therefore cannot afford to create platforms based on racial violence.

Even those parties which are very politically active, such as Italy's MSI (*Movimento Sociale Italiano*) and even Germany's NPD (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*), remain fractured and highly ineffectual. As a result they are regularly subjected to the political and social platforms of mainstream party coalitions, preventing further radicalization and control.

Fascism though contains many more aspects than the violence and brutish nationalism that new right-wing finds so appealing. These new groups and their leaders , Jean-Marie Le Pen in France, Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands, Jörg Haider in Austria, all support liberty of the markets, economic individualism, democratic institutions, and the rule of law.[44] It seems as though the only true connection between the modern radical right and Fascism is through the manipulation of nationalism as it is connected to the state. Even here though, doubt exists as to how closely connected they actually are. Fascism's promotion of the state as a cultural container for the national myth took place in an era before the advent of globalization and the general mobility of peoples. Post-World War I Germany and Italy found themselves under a very different type of economic duress than modern Europe. Nationalism then largely acted as a mechanism for finding a scapegoat in the face of economic and cultural despair, as well as a call for rebuilding the valor of humiliated peoples.

Historiographies of nationalism and Fascism in this respect are very much intertwined with one another. Arguments regarding primordialism and modernism provide a strong basis for the popularism versus instrumentalist argument behind the nature of Fascism. The characterization of the German nation as primordial and organic feeds into the understanding of Fascism as a political theory unable to exist or function without the popularist aspect, which in turn gives either functionalism or intentionalism a stage on which to operate. The same holds true for a modernist and instrumentalist connection, but the existing research clearly makes a more substantial case for popular nationalism within German history.

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[44] Their parties are the Front National, Pim Fortuyn List, and Austrian Freedom Party, respectively.

In many respects it is simple for the modernist to claim that the nation did not exist prior to the birth of the modern era, due to the fact that the nation as experienced in this era certainly possessed adaptations making its presence more relevant to the time period at hand. Importantly, the nation undergoes many changes under the course of history rendering the connection between its pre-modern and modern forms unclear or seemingly absent. These continuities do exist though, as illustrated by romantic intellectuals who strove to realize the pre-modern form of the German nation in the modern era by articulating the internalized popular knowledge about the nation and encouraging political involvement of the masses.

Ultimately the goal of Fascism and the Nazi party centered around the continuation of these romantic ideals, seeing inter-war Germany as the true heir to the modern form of a German nation corrupted early on by industrialization and business greed, alienating the working class. Again, the Nazi party's ability to complete this task required massive popular participation to determine the direction of state policies. This practice of national inheritance makes for interesting predictions for German society in the long-term contemporary era. Indeed, the ethnic nationalism which acted as an identifier of the pre-modern era was embodied by the romantic nationalists and the Nazis, further pushed into the modern era by coupling it with violence as a necessary means. Post-war state leaders deeming Fascism an inappropriate political tool in the wake of a German "accident" merely suppressed the ideology. It did not isolate these Romantic Nationalist ethnic values to the inter-war and World War II period. The failure to address adequately Romantic Nationalism and its violent aspects could be problematic in the post-modern era and this violent ethnic nationalism possesses the possibility of re-emergence. New political ideologies can motivate the population to realize the modern form of German romantic nationalism in a post-modern and post-industrial context, especially if the people are denied the chance to engage in forms of popular self-critique.

CHAPTER 3

ROMANTIC VALUES AND THE CHALLENGE OF LIBERALISM

Neither the instrumental nor the primordial arguments regarding the role of nationalism can

be fully understood without an evaluation of the emergence and composition of nationalism as an

ideological movement in the modern era. Though the French Revolution left many legacies in the

social and political spheres of Europe, none remains as virulent and relevant as the role nationalist

movements play in the construction of state interests and representation of the people. Though the

idea of the nation and the propagation of the national myth for political gain were firmly rooted in the

revolutionary struggle responsible for bringing France into the modern era, not until some thirty

years after the fact did these same tools become a European-wide phenomenon and one of the

hallmarks of the continent's political traditions. In order to understand nationalism as an end result

of an independent ideological tradition, one must look to the period immediately following the

Napoleonic era of the French Revolution and the consequences left in its wake, each of which added

momentum to the growing fervor of nationalist movements.

From this domino effect it can also be inferred that the goal and philosophy behind

nationalism was to topple existing state structures and replace them with governments embodying

ideals regarding expanded political participation and the need for congruency between political and

cultural units.[45] This goal effectively recognized the existence of a popularly understood culture, and

although best articulated by the intelligentsia, the entire process remained an anathema to the

instrumentalist argument as it acknowledges the pre-existing condition of a definable culture not

created by the state. Following Napoleon's lengthy effort to widen and deepen French influence

across the continent, in 1815 European aristocrats ached for the re-establishment political control and

the promise of greater stability. The first response to this effort, and hence the first major legacy,

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[45] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 3.

was the settlement at the Congress of Vienna and the *anciént regime* concepts implemented by the dominant political leaders to instrumentally curtail the idea of the nation. Ironically though, the congress spawned a new radical movement on the domestic political scene with the rise of liberalism and nationalism as an affront to the conservatism of authoritative monarchical rule and its adjuncts, the nobility and church.

Immediately following the defeat of Napoleon in 1814, a conservative backlash occurred across the continent in reaction to the French Revolution, which was the cause of instability and great violence. The conservative leadership of Europe – monarchy, aristocracy, and clergy -shared the viewpoint that liberalism remained a threat to their ability to maintain total control of the state and society. Although their analysis for the failure of absolute monarchy in the face of radical liberalism correctly articulated the core of the movement, their lack of foresight in allowing for the intertwining of popular sovereignty and monarchy made the situation more politically dangerous than necessary. The following year therefore saw representatives of the Quadruple Alliance – Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain – converging upon Vienna in an effort to affirm their commitments to, more or less, keeping France "in line" and preserving the status quo of continental powers.[46] Outwardly, the system projected the use of concessions and compromises to maintain order, but this practice was not reflected internally. On the domestic level these state leaders implemented ultra-conservative policies aimed at controlling the population and maintaining absolute power. Ultimately, an elaborate system of alliances and territorial shifts developed, creating an international mechanism for maintaining peace and stability on the continent for the existing governments. At the head of the system sat Austria's Chancellor, Prince Clemens von Metternich, the architect behind the Carlsbad Decrees and a model member of the political cosmopolitan elite, who consistently identified himself an aristocrat first and Austrian in a close second. Metternich remained deeply

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[46] Michael Sheehan makes some succinct observations regarding the balance of power system and their dedication to maintaining the status quo. Michael Sheehan, *The Balance of Power* (London: Routledge, 1996) 122-145.

loyal to and entrenched in the values provided by his social status and idealized pre-1789 Europe as a picture of political effectiveness, fearing the liberalism sweeping across the continent, and believing it to be responsible for the generation of war and suffering experienced.[47]

Metternich's political fears remained the underlying common factor shared by all representatives at the Congress of Vienna, whose eventual goals remained driven entirely by self-interest and the conservation of the balance of power system operated by the political elite.[48] These members of the Quadruple Alliance intentionally initiated a treaty with France that possessed lenient points and terms in an effort to reduce the risk of further inflaming the French liberals responsible for disturbing the peace. Although this leniency greatly served the French intellectual and political nationalist movement by saving it from complete repression, the treatment afforded to it in no way mirrored the domestic policies of alliance members who prided themselves on the stability of conservative regimes at home. The overall elitist nature of the Congress generated great tension on the continent for although the powers felt satisfied, in intellectual and popular circles opinions ran high that European politics remained a symbol of repression, disregarding the desires of the population at large. In the German Confederation, these restrictions forced on the population manifested themselves in the form of the 1819 Carlsbad Decrees. Aimed at curbing emerging liberal student movements, the Decrees officially banned *Burschenshaften* (student associations), mandated university inspections, and heavily censored the press. Local government reformers were forced out of their positions, and by 1820 reform movements of any significance were wiped out of the political spectrum.[49]

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[47] Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 405.

[48] Adam Zamoyski and David King both present an intimate looks at the personalities and relationships between the delegates and representatives at the Congress. These interactions ultimately influenced the course of the Congress. Adam Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008), 64-83; David King, *Vienna, 1841: How the Conquerors of Napoleon Made Love, War, and Peace at the Congress of Vienna*, Reprint (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2009).

[49] Schroeder, 583-636.

Besides using domestic policy controls as a means for maintaining the balance of power, members of

the Quadruple Alliance also incorporated territorial redistribution into its program, punishing the

offending state of France by shrinking its sovereign territory. Maps of the continent after the

dissolution of the Congress illustrate the striking feature that territorial shifts such as the

incorporation of lands on the French eastern boundary into Prussia did not take into consideration the

local populations and their nationalities. These actions of arbitrarily dividing and creating national

allegiances foreshadowed the large role of nationalism in European politics in the coming decades.[50]

Boundaries to states may change, but this does not change sentiment of the nation that they

incorporate, even after long periods of time. Historical evidence and contemporary studies both re-

enforce the theories that interaction and shared history promote nationalism rather than political

boundaries.

The conservative international response to liberalism in politics tended to mask the disorder

occurring on the domestic scene. At the time, each state experienced the effects of dual revolution,

comprised of economic and political components, intertwined and further emphasizing the rift

between conservative and liberal ideologies. While the aristocracy tended to dominate all branches

of politics, the middle classes showed a growing interest and desire for participation in domestic

affairs. As the middle class accumulated an unprecedented amount of wealth and success, the

growing economic power of entrepreneurs and factory owners drove their desire for greater political

involvement as well. These men found themselves drawn to liberal politics and the pressure for the

inception of a more representative form of government as their wealth made them highly susceptible

to and affected by economic legislation enforced by the monarchy. Greater incentive therefore

existed to instill a desire to participate politically, which slowly dispersed to the lower middle class

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[50] See Figure 3.1., Comparative Maps, "The Unification of Germany, 1815-1871,"
http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/shepherd/german_unified_1815_1871.jpg (accessed 21 July 2007).
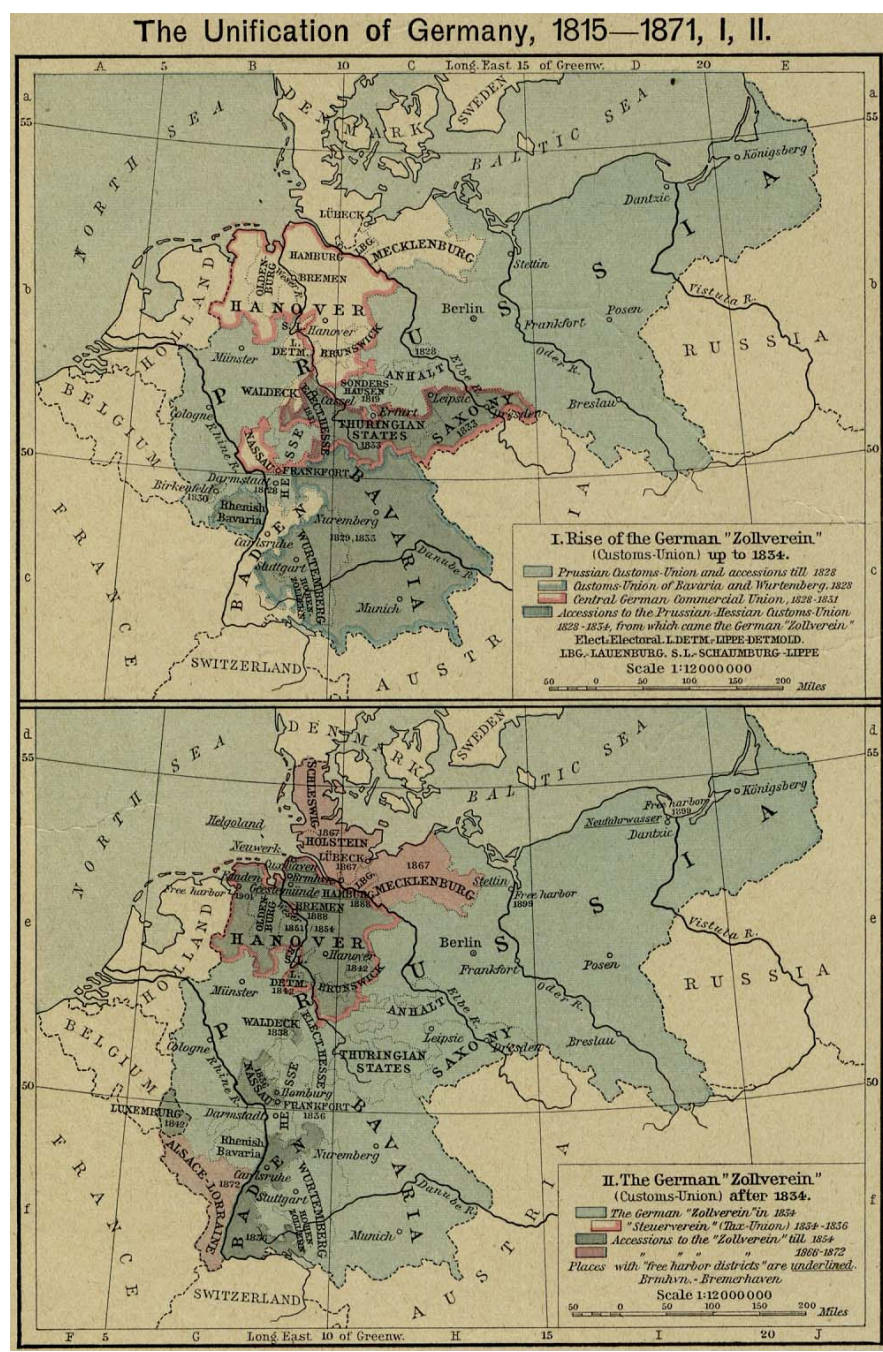
Figure 3.1. *Europe in 1815 and 1871* – The Congress of Vienna and later German unification succeeded in re-drawing the boundaries and territory of several German states and principalities. This action increased the number of peoples able to consider themselves "German," while disregarding language and ethnic barriers.

and led to the monarchy's response through the use of mechanisms of repression such as the Carlsbad decrees.

By 1848, reactionary activity and intellectual articulation of popular political needs culminated in a series of revolutions across the continent, driven forward by liberal dedication to popular sovereignty.[51] Numerous foundational documents and manifestos emerged prior to the onslaught of the revolutionary tide, each espousing views regarding the role of the nation and all rooted themselves in the cultural history of many peoples looking to validate political participation on the basis of their origins. These interpretations of history connected strongly to the writers and revolutionaries of the Romantic era who agitated for greater political strength for the nation. The revolutions of 1848 in Austria and Prussia – with the German states - were only the first in the series of events that made use of large scale nationalism inspired by idealistic demands for greater liberties within Germany. Following the actions of the French population in Paris earlier in the year, German workers, students, and members of the middle-class led revolts on the streets of Berlin and Vienna in an effort to force their absolutist monarchs to abdicate the throne. Citizens of both Austria and Prussia yearned for increases to their civil liberties and restrictions on the nobility in order to bolster their political power as citizen members of the nation and – under Romantic Nationalist ideology – leaders of the state.

The threat of overwhelming violence and complete loss of control forced Emperor Ferdinand and Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm IV to make concessions in accordance with the revolutionaries' demands. In the face of such rapid success, the liberal revolutionaries celebrated the success of the Romantic Nationalist ideology which appeared to fulfill its promises of state existence for the benefit of autonomous nations. Such celebrations, however, swiftly proved to be hasty. Once the revolution

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[51] The version of liberalism manifested itself as classic liberalism, which exploited the dissatisfaction of the population without expanding the voting franchise. Such political participation remained reserved for those at the top of the socio-political spectrum and advocated a constitutional monarchy. The continued exclusivity of this liberalism combined with its failure in 1848 led to the emergence of radical liberalism which incorporated republicanism and democracy.

ceased and the political work initiated, the liberal and nationalistic coalitions rapidly splintered. In Austria and Prussia, economic, social, and ethnic differences proved too incongruous to create any political consensus. Debates over representation and constitutional content generated frustration and suspicion among the assembly delegates, leading to a cleavage in the once-unified liberal front.

During these revolutions of 1848 Austria faced greater challenges from nationalism and Prussia faced greater challenges from liberalism. As an empire encompassing many nationalities, the Austrian delegates found it difficult to reconcile their liberal success with the failure of autonomy for each ethnic national group. For the Hungarians and Czechs, this autonomy always proved to be the largest sticking point, and their large presence in the empire forced the Emperor to accept their demands for greater representation and control over domestic matters. Though these gains served the Hungarian and Czech cause, the German group resented the gains made without. Constant bickering between political groups made it nearly impossible for the delegation to properly represent the masses and control the Austrian nobility. Fighting became increasing fierce until physical violence broke out between the Czechs and Germans in Vienna, which allowed the Emperor's military to regain control of the city, at which point Ferdinand reasserted his authority and annulled all previous concessions.[52]

The political situation in Prussia at the time followed a nearly identical trajectory, except liberal in-fighting, rather than ethnic, destroyed the popular coalition. The unity of political purpose that held the Germans together began to break down during the *Großdeutsch*/*Kleindeutsch* debate about whether Austria should play a role in the new Germany. The former provided Austria and members of the nobility with a role in German politics while the latter isolated Austria and restricted the role of the nobility. The new Parliament did eventually agree upon the *Kleindeutsch* solution, but not before the ideological differences between liberal factions became clearly evident; a situation

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[52] R.J.W. Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, eds., *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848 – 1849: From Reform to Reaction* (New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2002), 181-206.

exacerbated by the disputes over the issue of popular representation in the constitution. Classical liberals adopted a moderate stance on political change and found the Kaiser's restrained concessions agreeable while the radical liberals agitated for complete concessions and forms of republican and democratic representation in the government. Rather than attack the royal prerogative, both parties assailed each other and without a unified front, it proved impossible to impose any popular will upon the stubborn king.[53] Before long, political blows turned physical and Wilhelm handily regained control of his government in a style similar to Ferdinand.

These failures of 1848 left a lasting impression on German Romantic Nationalists, especially the radicals who hoped to push the revolution to a more extreme conclusion in the near future. Consequently, the Romantic Nationalist movement became increasingly radical as the moderate element was pushed out in favor of a more extreme version of nationalism. The form of Romantic Nationalism that characterized the second half of the nineteenth century viewed the 1848 revolutions as a failure of less radical Romantic Nationalism. This was an indictment of moderate liberal ideals and their lack of conviction in the ability and strength of the nation. 1848 was Romantic Nationalism with shared forms of ethnicity, but it lacked the necessary force to succeed because there was not true solidarity and the continued existence of right-wing repression tore the foundational ideology of the movement.

For German Romantic Nationalists then, the only recourse of action was to become more radical in ideology and action. Over the next two decades, shared language, culture, and blood became hallmarks of the true nation. The increased prospects of German unification gave the Romantic Nationalists hope of actualizing nationalism to create a sovereign ethnic space, providing true popular sovereignty and power to the genetically superior Germans. The state-building efforts of Otto von Bismarck only appeared further articulated the nationalistic mythos by combining race, geography, and citizenship. The unification of Germany in 1871 was not – according the Romantic

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[53] Gordon A. Craig, *Europe, 1815-1914*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Holt, Rheinhart, and Winston, Inc., 1971), 135.

Nationalist ideology – successful. Though Bismarck did believe in the inherent superiority of some

members of society, those beliefs were colored by Burke's classical conservatism rather than a liberal

philosophy. Superiority for Bismarck originated not with genetics, but instead elitism and moneyed

interests better prepared an individual to qualify for leadership positions in society.[54] Bismarck's

goal was to create a powerful central state where the elite or moneyed classes could dominate not just

German, but European politics and society because they were prepared for that task. This German

unification occurred without regard for ethnic nationalist interests created a conglomerate state of

several nationalities, ethnicities, and cultures. The official policy such as *Kulturkampf* attempted to

instill a sense of cultural uniformity upon the state, but ignored the issue of ethnicity and race that

increasingly the Romantic Nationalist movement used to define German identity.[55] For these ardent

ethnic nationalists, the nation-state remained an unrealized goal with no extant representation or

example of an ideal Germany.

Over the course of political evolution in the nineteenth century, the emergence of the

Romantic Movement as the dominant ideology in art and literature drew the radical intelligentsia,

and others, to move away from focusing on concrete representations of daily life. Rather, these

thinkers stressed the abstract representation of ideology that portrayed in an idealized and non-

existent past. Emphasis shifted to vivid use of the imagination and a desire to recalculate drastically

the course of society on a model of how it ought to operate, especially in terms utilized by this new

class of intelligentsia. Radical liberal thought combined with this new intellectual movement to give

rise to the ideology of nationalism as a means for incorporating a larger cross-section of the

[54] David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 1998), 225-243.

[55] Michael Gross argues that even though the *Kulturkampf* mainly targeted Catholics and did not account for ethnicity, it did contribute to an overall factor of intolerance and aversion to "others" perpetuated by radical liberal ethnic nationalists. Michael B. Gross, *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 240-291.

population into the political sphere, fostering a desire for greater public participation and dissatisfaction with the current regime.

This economic and social transformation fueled the intellectual challenge to both liberalism and conservatism though each answered the challenge with different forms of political and social rhetoric. Certainly, liberalism and nationalism are not the same beast. They are intertwined, but not equal, and one does not create the other. In fact, classical liberals and conservatives both feared nationalist masses and the idea of popular sovereignty. The principle hallmarks of conservatism are absolute monarchy, government involvement in the economy, social stability, and supporting the role of established religion. Conservatism then maintains the overall appearance and quality of a highly reactionary program designed to maintain the status quo. Classical liberalism's characteristics include the desire for limited monarchy, a *laissez-faire* economic program, the rule of law, and recognizing needs for essential reform. Liberalism represented a truly revolutionary change in both government sovereignty and practice and its followers deeply rejected conservatism. Radical intellectuals and middle class adherents equated liberalism with liberty and equality, focusing on the incorporation of popular sovereignty into mainstream politics and pushing the boundaries regarding notions of government.[56] Baron Charles de Montesquieu's theory proposing the necessary separation of powers, as compatible with the classic liberal ideology of constitutional monarchy, remains only one such example of the anti-absolutist sentiments growing among the intelligentsia.[57] Liberalism in its classic form, however, still continued the tradition of attaching qualifications of property

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[56] Again, in the classic liberal form, popular sovereignty still described a very restricted voting franchise classified by almost impossible economic standards. Radical liberal versions of popular sovereignty meant political participation based on broader economic qualifications, meant to expand to the petty bourgeoisie and rapidly change the foundations of the voting franchise. Conservatives views society as static and classic liberals viewed social change as a slow and tempered process.

[57] See Baron Charles de Montesquieu, *Montesquieu: The Spirit of the Laws*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, ed. Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

ownership to voting rights, limiting the idea of citizenship.[58] In response, development of more

radical forms of liberalism sprung up across the continent, including democratic and republican

variants.

 Not surprisingly then, this same environment which allowed for the birth of radical liberalism

also fostered the age of nationalism. Taking its cue from the political sphere, nationalist movements

drew from the notion of individual rights, which developed into the notion that national aspirations

for liberty, self-determination, and basic freedoms paralleled those of individuals. Since all members

of the nation automatically retained citizen status in a cultural capacity, if the nation determined its

own affairs politically then all would participate since their citizenship already existed. Hence being

a part of the nation meant participating in affairs of the state.[59] The idea behind nationalism

resonated throughout the war-weary intellectual community as a means for achieving peace and

stability on the continent, rather than the conservative method of instrumentally implemented and

carefully orchestrated alliances. Popular desires for liberty and free nations provided the only basis

for true freedom as the achievement of nationalism eliminated mechanisms for cultural oppression.

 This era in European history presented the perfect opportunity and timing for the

implementation of nationalism, giving it an almost explosive character. Rapid industrialization and

urbanization led to standards of language and communication between peoples, while symbols and

ceremonies were used to create imagined communities.[60] Perceived commonalities between large

numbers of strangers in these instances create connections based on components arising from

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[58] Theorists such as John Locke, in his *Two Treatises on Government* (1689) subscribe to such a view regarding the importance of property and limits on democracy. See John Locke, *The Selected Critical Writings of John Locke*, Norton Critical Editions, ed. Paul E. Sigmund (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005). Other compatible liberal ideologists include David Hume, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Voltaire.

[59] Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: 5 Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 284-286.

[60] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Chapter 5, 67-82. Again, David Bell's *Cult of the Nation* (191-197) provides insight into language standardization and Sudhir Hazareesingh expresses the importance of symbols and celebration in solidifying and providing a tangible quality to the nation. Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Saint-Napoleon: Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 227-229.

antiquity, and the nation simply represents these antiques relationships in a more modern and tangible way. Nationalism depends upon the fact that people believe they share a common history, culture, or language.

Concepts of the nation as an entity though remained notoriously vague and many grappled with largely abstract theoretical arguments. Prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution and the onset of the Romantic Movement, intellectuals and philosophers wrestled with ideas of the nation, citizenship, and the role of the state in political affairs. These foundational documents created the basis for articulating the beliefs and needs of the middle classes and the population in general. The answers formulated in regards to these debates mentioned above largely set the standard for characterizing the traits of the nation.

Intellectuals studied a variety of states across Europe during different revolutionary periods though their writings generated a common message regarding the concept of nationalism. Inciting the internal desires in men for the good of their brethren, authors such as Abbe Sieyès, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Giuseppe Mazzini all pressed for members of the nation excluded politically to band together as the single national unit they represented and force change upon the government. These intellectuals used public manifestos to push for political and cultural congruency upon an already existing nation, knowing that any such action must be called out at the popular level.

Rousseau recognized this capacity for providing stability by the general population when he put forth his recommendation for moving Poland away from the anarchy which threatened the state both internally and externally. For strength Poland required national institutions and nationalist zeal to speak to the hearts of the Poles.[61] Such anarchy exited because the Poles saw no reflection of themselves, as a nation, in the state and so pushed for movement away from the existing government. Only a natural republic based on a single nation could save Poland from vicious internal divisions.

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[61] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Government of Poland* trans. Willmoore Kendall (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1985).

Rousseau asserts that where love of fatherland prevails, Poles will "serve it zealously and with all their hearts because even bad legislation produces good citizens".[62] The argument here refers to the fact that once allowed to achieve nationalist aims, the people only have themselves to blame in the face of a poorly functioning state, preventing massive revolutionary upheaval and encouraging stability on the continent.

In the months leading up the French Revolution, Sieyès rallied popular sentiments for national unification. Sieyès poses and answers the question, "what is the third estate?" He concludes the third estate, synonymous with the public and people, are everything.[63] The nation drives society and provides for the needs of all, including the nobility who are the parasites of society. The masses, therefore, deserve to control their political futures but this is only possible if they unite as a nation to implement their cause and take control of the state from the aristocracy.

Similarly, the movement for Italian unification prompted parallel proposals for transferring state control to the nation, this time in a forceful manner by the actions of the people. Keeping with the tradition of the peasants and working men at the heart of the nation, Mazzini pleaded to these specific groups that acting for the good of the nation lay not only in their best interests, but as members of the nation such actions were in fact their duty. Thus for Mazzini, ensuring the rights of all citizens by submitting fully to the nation and not infringing upon the rights of others remains the only way to improve the condition of the people.[64] Recognition of rights relating to "individual liberties becomes useless unless a means for exercising them are provided."[65] Nationalism provides an outlet for these rights while simultaneously enforcing the duty to uphold the rights of fellow men in the interests of the nation. Mazzini's writing formally introduced the process of intertwining the

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, "What Is the Third Estate?" *Modern History Sourcebook*, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/sieyes.html (accessed 13 June 2007).

[64] Giuseppe Mazzini, *An Essay on the Duties of Man: Addressed to Workingmen* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1898), Hanover Historical Texts Project, http://history.hanover.edu/texts/Mazzini/mazintro.htm.

[65] Ibid.

nation and citizenship by incorporating the notion of rights and duty as they apply to the nationalist aims driving Italian unification.

Historian Jules Michelet also examined the evolution of the role of the masses in European history, as society transformed from agrarian to industrial. Writing about the French Revolution some 50 years after its occurrence, Michelet credited the event to the misery of the masses, the lower-class peasants and workers of society, and petit bourgeoisie. These individuals felt marginalized and abused by the middle and upper-classes, left behind in the process of industrialization and the onslaught of modernity. According the Michelet, modernization and industrialization heightened conflict between political and ideological discourse and the masses are swallowed by the wealthy business owners and aristocracy in the process.[66] Michelet called for the masses to recognize and act upon their love of country to solve France's problems. It is again, the task of the humble nation comprised of inherently good masses to renew and provide for the progress of the state.

Those who provide for the nation represent the nation since the entity is, according to Ernest Renan who wrote in 1882, "the fruit of a long past spent in toil, sacrifice, and devotion."[67] The people built the nation with their dedication and sacrifice and are entitled to control the political institutions of the state. The existence of the nation is a daily plebiscite, and it is the right of its inhabitants to be consulted in matters of the state.[68] Unlike many of his counterparts, Renan's conception of the nation is not based upon race, but a community that shares common characteristics. Renan wrote his discourse on the nation in an effort to counter the developing race-based German form of Roman Nationalism, though he continued a tradition of rebuffing the privileged role of the aristocracy.

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[66] Michelet, Jules, *The People*, trans. John P. McKay (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973).

[67] Ernest Renan "What is a Nation?" *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 41-55. Written in response to racial, religious, and dynastic interpretations of the nation.

[68] Ibid., 41-55.

Nationalism, romanticism, and liberalism all combined to contradict conservatism in a scope broader than simply politics. This synthesis gained momentum and popularity across the continent after the onset of the French Revolution. Political instability during this time period created gaps in the political spectrum capable of generating support for radical new forms of thought and increasing their availability and the chance for widespread dissemination. Classified especially as a revolt against classicism and the enlightenment, romantic artists found their muse in the new political ideologies. No more did the shackles of rationality and restraint hold back the artist. Liberal intellectuals deeply influenced artists with their ideas of the individual and sources of unique potential. Painters and authors no longer worked to produce representations of reality as they could now produce possibilities for reality in the future, and in turn re-create idealized versions of the past.

Similarly, nature became a hallowed source of spiritual inspiration instead of the pantheon of science, evoking a strong sense of pastoralism and the knowledge that peasants and workers of the land represented the most pure form of the nation, untainted by modernity and excess. Romantic art reflects this creative wonder beautifully, embracing emotional exuberance and unrestrained imagination as illustrated in such paintings as "Wanderer above the Sea of Fog" by German artist Caspar David Friedrich.[69] Friedrich's work embodies the wild and unrestrained brush strokes used to depict the human spiritual connection to unspoiled scenes of nature, and the country provides a source of inspiration that contradicts the ugly economic and political despair of modern society. Art and literature of this variety allow perfectly the type of usage which reminds individuals of their heritage and past, bringing antique qualities of nations to the forefront of their culture. An excellent example of this process is provided by the Brothers Grimm and their "rescue" and revival of German fairy tales for reincorporation into modern society.[70] Not only did the Brothers Grimm recast old

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[69] See Figure 3.2., Kaspar David Friedrich, "Wanderer above the Sea of Fog," (1818), http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/his/CoreArt/art/resourcesd/fri_wand.jpg (accessed 15 November 2007).

[70] The "Grimm's Fairy Tales" page on the National Geographic Website contains an article relating the role of the Brothers' Fairy Tale project to German history. Thomas O'Neill, "Guardians of the Fairy Tale: The Brothers

folk tales in a context which provided modern sensibilities and lessons, but more often they actually

constructed new epics of German folklore as if they were old, creating a past that never existed and

yet convincing the public they had a right to connect with and control that same imagined history.

The effect of this movement upon society was monumental. In the wake of economic and

political transformation, radical liberal interpretations of the upheaval collided with the rise of the

Romantic Movement. This synthesis evolved to generate romantic nationalism, the form of

nationalism that dominated the first half of nineteenth-century Europe. By the second half of the

century though, Romantic nationalism increasingly incorporated more radical forms of liberalism in

reaction against the modern world. The ideology attached and abused by the Nazi movement of the

twentieth century relates directly to this virulent strain of romanticism where the excesses of the

modern world were inexplicably tied to the expansion of industrialism. This concept of society

ultimately provided Romantic nationalist adherents with a specific worldview guiding the

relationship between the race-based nation and the state, especially in Germany.

Romantic nationalist ideology depicts the state as an entity which derives its political

legitimacy as an organic consequence of the unity of those it governs; pertaining to its four very

important characteristics. First, it operates as a constructive force, with its goal being to solidify the

state in such a way that it incorporates all members of the nation and allows for their full political

participation. Next, it maintains the force of a popular movement. The idea of legitimacy in the

creation of the state automatically implies that this nationalism comes from below to influence a

government reflective of the population's national identity.

Thirdly, because of romantic nationalism's popular roots it will always entail the use of a

process where an end goal exists. During this process, the cultural majority becomes the political

majority over a given period of time, employing the use of violence if necessary to implement

Grimm" *National Geographic*, 1999, http://www.nationalgeographic.com/grimm/article.html (accessed 14April 2008). Jack Zipes. *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002).

Figure 3.2. *"Wanderer above the Sea of Fog,"* (1818) – Caspar David Friedrich's painting perfectly represents the style of romantic landscape painting, with imaginative brushstrokes and a wild, ideal, and untamed earth. Hailed as the ultimate German Romanticist, Friedrich's reputation as an artist suffered during the post-war period, when his works were associated with the German nationalism of the Nazis.

national popular sovereignty. Finally, the character of Romantic nationalism rests upon the idea of

primordialism. This sense of long-forged unity calls on people to defend their natural cultural

character based on the existence of national myths and the bond of common language. This pre-

modern evocation of blood, ethnicity, and language all combined to form a single political signifier

used previously in European history, such as the Frankish movement into Saxony in 779 and the

Statutes of Kilkenny passed against the Irish by the English in 1367.[71] It is, however, the

combination of these characteristics that differentiates romantic nationalism as a cultural force potent

enough to provide competition for the excesses and materialism of the modern era associated with

radical forms of liberalism.

This is not to say however, that romantic nationalism did not face ideological and practical

roadblocks in its implementation. Language as a political signifier often provided the most

complicated – and problematic - method for creating a nation and constructing a state upon such an

identity. Interestingly, a map of Europe in 1815 after the Congress of Vienna appears to possess,

with the exception of the German and Italian federations, quite a congruous landscape with states

covering large amounts of geographic areas.[72] By overlaying a language map over this landscape, it

becomes very clear that even traditional states were very divided internally by several languages and

local patois.[73] Here, the picture becomes so fractured that the use of language would, in essence, tear

states apart and contradict the idea of romantic nationalism as a constructive force. Although

language may therefore be used to evoke sentiment and emotion, as an identifier of the nation it

remains singularly ineffective. Language's general lack of cohesiveness makes the roles of national

myth, imagined communities, and tools of disassociation all the more important to nationalist

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[71] University of Rennes, *Les Statuts de Kilkenny (1366)*, trans., http://www.uhb.fr/langues/cei/statkkgb.htm (accessed 19 November 2007).

[72] See Figure 3.3., "Map of Central & Western Europe 1815 with German Confederation outlined in red," http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wggerman/map/cenwesteur.htm (accessed 14 November 2007).

[73] See Figure 3.4., Laboratoire européen d'Anticipation Politique, "Europe's Language Map," http://www.europe2020.org/spip.php?article508&lang=en (accessed 22 November 2007).

Figure 3.3. *Map of Central and Western Europe, 1815* – The Congress of Vienna also re-drew and consolidated the boundaries of all states in Western and Central Europe. All states involved contained peoples of many ethnicities and languages, creating civil tension and difficulty in creating and implementing the national myth.
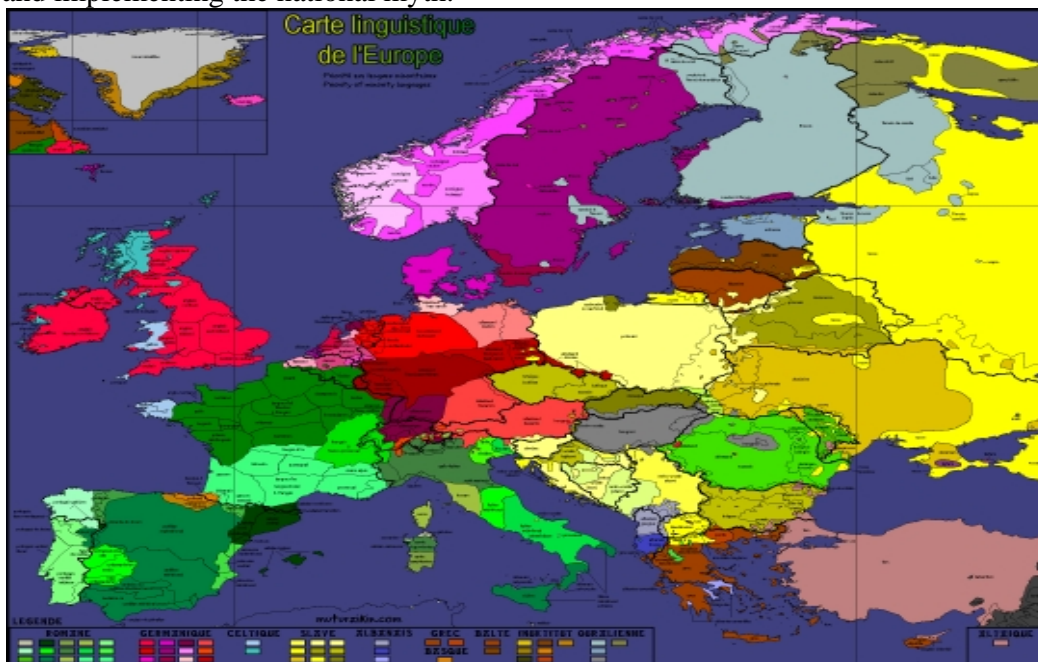

Figure 3.4. *Language Families and Dialects of Europe* – The fractured and localized language communities within – and often crossing – state boundaries prevents the creation of national myths and nationalism based on common language. This leads to invocations of common history, lineage, and symbolism.

movements – very fractured populations need to believe they possess deep commonalities even if not founded on anything as tangible as a shared language.

Romantic art in many cases acted a propaganda tool for the dissemination of nationalist ideas to the broader public. Artists ably transformed liberal ideas written in manifestos into strong symbolism and pictures for the broader public to easily access and participate in such intellectual debates, giving it a didactic quality similar to Christian art. Eugene Delacroix's "Liberty Leading the People" is an immediate example of such art created as propaganda for consumption by the general public.[74] With his wild, emotive brushstrokes, Delacroix depicted lady liberty in the foreground, bare-breasted and brandishing the tricolor and leading the French as a mother figure. Alongside her stand men of mixed social classes, bearing arms and fighting side by side in the street; a myth which never reflected reality as neither group actually fought. In the background Notre Dame appears to burn in a furious blaze symbolizing the destruction of the old conservative regime, closely tied to the church.

1848 also provided an impetus for the creation of German Revolutionary Art created in the Romantic style. Philipp Veit's "Germania" is perhaps the most widely recognized work in this genre.[75] Though at first sight rather plain, this simplicity actually defines the purpose of Veit's artwork and betrays his study in the Nazarene movement and the bold colors indicate his early fresco training. This simplicity serves to embody the honesty and spirituality in the painting. These objectives are achieved as the artist forgoes the use of layered symbolism, the singularity of the figure, and bold consistent use of the German colors. Undoubtedly Delacroix also influenced Veit with his allegorical female figure since Veit also uses a female image to represent a strong, nurturing Germany, though his Christian roots likely explain the increased modesty. Revolutionary art like "Germania" ably crossed socio-economic divides to more easily promote nationalist sentiments.

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[74] See Figure 3.5., Eugène Delacroix, "Liberty Leading the People," 1830, http://history.hanover.edu/courses/art/delalib.html .
[75] See Figure 3.6., Philipp Veit, "Germania," 1848, http://hass.glam.ac.uk/subjects/history.

In other cases of fractured language and national boundaries, many authors in the Romantic Movement often turned to ideas of ethnicity and race, incorporating the ideology of Social Darwinism that emerged in the 1860s. These intellectuals expressed an influence from new scientific ideas in their work and looked to the natural world to explain better the structure of society and how it functioned. Emerging scientists combined ideas about social hierarchy with pseudo-scientific infantilizing methods such as phrenology that evolved and were later employed in the imperial colonies.

Importantly, conceptualizations of Social Darwinism evolved based on the idea that people fall into social hierarchy because of their own failures, along with observations about the nature of human relationships from the imperializing world. Darwinism possessed two strains: domestic and racial. Domestic Social Darwinism is the more benign of the two models and supports the classical liberal views of society where all have an equal chance, but not all will succeed. Racial Social Darwinism gained momentum in the late nineteenth century exploited and popularized by the Romantic nationalist movement. Many proponents believed that within society existed peoples of separate genetic composition which made them inherently inferior and destined to be trapped somewhere between man and beast. Even though the science behind this idea greatly bastardized the work of Charles Darwin and others, notions of "survival of the fittest" remained very socially popular and their incorporation into intellectual works about the nation fostered stronger myths regarding the destiny of genetically chosen individuals. The discovery of genetics did not dispel the pseudo-science behind racial superiority theories, but rather served to enhance and seemingly verify the existing literature.

The German theorist most associated with incorporating racial social Darwinism is Heinrich von Treitschke, who dominated intellectual discussions regarding competition among races in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Treitschke fully believed in the assertion of racial power through the practices of imperialism and that a nation could only prove its virility by dominating a

Figure 3.5. "*Liberty Leading the People," (1830)* – Regarded as the ultimate propaganda in art during the Revolutionary Era, Eugène Delacroix's painting remains vital for understanding nationalism in art. Emotional images like these played a crucial role in disseminating and reinforcing the national myth for a wide audience.

Figure 3.6. *"Germania," (1848)* – Philipp Veit took capitalized on German nationalist sentiment during the Revolutions of 1848 by depicting the nation as a women with external strength and power to protect, but internally possessing the ability to nurture.

barbarian state. Certain nations were inherently weaker than others because of genetic predispositions and the strong, if assertive and advantageous, would play a dominant in the social hierarchy. National identity, according the Treitschke, is determined by these racial (genetic) characteristics, and the term "nationality" is used to convey the idea of common blood. The consciousness of this nationality, or common blood, was aroused as a reaction to the repressive Napoleonic era and culminated in the "attainment of political unity."[76] Undoubtedly, the eventual success of revolution and unification in Germany only fueled Treitschke's message of Germanic racial superiority. His belief in the special nature of the German race – Hegelian influence - shows in the proclaimed superiority of its cosmopolitan spirit, natural physical strength, and the indebtedness of other nations to the German spirit of inventiveness.

Although grand in scope, the fact remains that the German revolution of 1848 was quite unsuccessful. The real challenge to power on the continent did not take form until the 1860s and '70s with the unifications of Italy and Germany, respectively. Even though these two unifications made use of nationalism, the governments born out of them still relied on the use of conservative tactics to maintain the balance of power structure between state governments. The many secret treaties formulated during this period, such as the triple alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, were indicative of the aristocracy's fear of losing power. Each treaty reassured state leaders of an ally in the fight against revolution at home and abroad, though the reliance upon and collapse of these alliances ultimately led the continent into The Great War at the beginning of the twentieth century. These diplomatic failures further cemented in the mind of nationalists that only governments led by the people could alleviate the causes of war, suffering, and rebuild the dignity of peoples.

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[76] Heinrich von Treitschke, *Politics, Vol. 1*, trans. Blanch Dugdale and Torben de Bille (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1916), 271.

CHAPTER 4

THE NATIONAL RACE: BUILDING AN IDEAL GERMANY

While social Darwinism found a niche in the theoretical writings on nationalism by German authors, for the most part these authors represented a minority opinion during the nineteenth century. It appears that these theorists experienced marginalization from the mainstream nationalist movement for their promotion of such radical ideas. More popularly, the intellectual community supported ideas about the state as a derivative of popular national sovereignty rooted in the classic liberal notions of rights and liberty.[77] The emergence of Fascism after World War I however, set in motion a series of changes in the composition of nationalism which generated a dangerous break from precedent. Increasingly, Fascist regimes – specifically Nazi Germany in this case – focused on the use of biology and desire for racial purity as a tool for inciting the traditional hallmarks of Romantic Nationalism, such as popular participation, the necessary use of violence, and primordialism. Nationalism in its inter-war form allows for congruency between the cultural and political units by taking the basic tenets of Romantic Nationalism and giving the ideology racial "roots". Race arguably makes culture easier to define by eliminating external factors and creating a simplistic common denominator for establishing a single cultural unit.

National Socialist propaganda masterfully rose to this challenge by emphasizing the cultural and economic dissatisfaction and fear extant in the wake of the Great War. Hitler's willing audience accepted the declared existence of enemies to the state both internationally and domestically as it reinforced popular fears and political participation at the local level by solidifying and making the "other" a tangible entity. The Nazi program encompassed the pseudo-scientific theories espoused by German intellectuals in the prior century, individuals previously marginalized and who had

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[77] Foundational documents on nationalism show that popular their beliefs and participation are key to the success and of the nation. See the previous discussion in Chapter 3 regarding the writings of Mazzini, Renan, Rousseau, et. al.

experienced little influence domestically. The Nazi leadership then merely capitalized upon

popularly held beliefs articulated for the general population by German intelligentsia during the

previous revolutionary and state-building periods. Nazi leaders implemented these beliefs as state

ideology, but they did not necessarily create them or need to exert an undo amount of persuasion

upon all sections of the populace, German history.

Accordingly, voting patterns and the *National Sozialistische Deutche Arbeiters Partei*

(NSDAP)'s concentration of power underscores the necessity of popular participation and the

incorporation of ideals regarding racial and biological superiority prior to the Fascist era. The Nazi

leadership continued to propagate Romantic Nationalist philosophies regarding the nature of the

nation and state, but also ensured the continuation of national identity's popularism by exploiting the

German fear of outsiders and further using public support to implement theories of racial purity as

practice. Monopolized and originally implemented by Nazi leadership, the end intent to eliminate

"others" found its means and vehicle in popular nationalism. Although Nazi rhetoric and the party

platform originally indicated the necessary elimination of all non-German peoples, the process

evolved functionally beginning with the Jewish question and reached its final means by either the

vocal or tacit approval from the populace at large.[78] This consolidation of power by the Nazi party

was characterized by long-term planning and intense campaigning, especially at the local level for

the purposes of convincing the German people that the Nazi program was best suited for carrying out

these Romantic Nationalist ideals.[79] Through the formation and infiltration of small local clubs, Nazi

officials beginning in the 1930s conceived a platform for implementing the ideas driving the German

ideology of the nineteenth century.

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[78] The on-going academic debate has persuaded me that the arguments of functionalism and intentionalism are most convincing as a synthetic process.

[79] William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power: the Experience of a Single German Town, 1922-1945, Revised* (New York: F. Watts, 1984).

From the end of World War I until the 1933 election, local Nazis used wartime humiliation and economic turmoil to paint a portrait of an internal enemy responsible for destroying the vitality of the German people. This rhetoric resonated with cultural criticisms made by German intellectuals against the state regarding the nation's ability of create a strong state, and the destructive capacity of outsiders, effectively capitalizing on fears and myths already long in existence at the local level. Most famously, in the interwar period all segments of society largely accepted the *Dolchstoß* legend as an explanation for recent German historical events, blaming the disaster of World War I on the lack of action on the part of the ethnically German public to fulfill their duty to the nation, essentially producing feelings of shame and failure. This nativist inaction however, did not comprise the primary component of this myth. Rather, its proponents targeted internal scapegoats composed of "others" and their sympathizers whose actions during the war betrayed the community and prevented "true" Germans from supporting the war effort. [80] Ultimately, the Nazis further capitalized upon popular and historical myths by specifically indicting the Jewish race as the party responsible for the troubles of Germany and the public's inability to perform its national duties.

Though an argument can be made for "isolating the influence of Anti-Semitism" as the sole rationale for Holocaust activities, it appears that these racial prejudices mostly reflect a projection of this failure by the German popular majority upon ethnic and political minorities.[81] Beyond the reincarnation of the scapegoat however, the party simultaneously fed into popular myths of national cultural and physical superiority, generating public support for National Socialism and turning their proposition for the return to pure German nationalism into a viable political option.[82]

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[80] The Dolchstoß legend allowed Germans to reconcile themselves with losing the war without losing any territory. This feeling of failure was coupled with the creation of internal scapegoats and the idea that the war remained unfinished. Roger Chickering. *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 188.

[81] Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 467.

[82] In July of 1933 the government passed the "Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring" in order to sterilize the German population from hereditary illnesses and deformities, along with preventing the mixing of racial blood. Initially targeting interracial relationships between Germans and Africans, subsequent laws

        The Nazi party did not offer a program breathtakingly novel to the population. What they

effectively accomplished, however, was the re-introduction of these ideas to those alienated during

the Great War, bridging the generation gap of cultural criticism, a tradition of blaming the current

state leadership and internal enemies for the decline of the nation.   By re-introducing such ideas, the

Nazi party transferred the dissatisfaction with government and modernity originating with the

generations under Wilhelm II to the generation coming of age in the wake of the Great War. In doing

so, they provided their followers with the ability to embody this paradox of "seeking to destroy the

despised present in order to recapture an idealized past in an imaginary future."[83] To do so, the Nazis

relied on the writings of cultural critics discontented with modern society who systematically

attacked the liberal tradition of the Enlightenment, denigrated reason, blatantly spouted anti-

Semitism, and finally denied the ability of the modern state and its version of culture to nourish the

souls of its people. The condition of post-World War I Germany provided suitable circumstances for

the resurrection of corrupted Romantic ideals, and the National Socialists spent little time

indoctrinating the population and expended most of their energy reinforcing popular German

sentiments by further articulating already well-ingrained, centuries-old prejudices. Upon the political

implementation of National Socialism by public vote a Fascist state emerged – with the populous

fully aware of the implications of their voting behavior. This does not necessarily mean that any

right wing party would have established Fascism or that the German people chose the Nazis because

of the party's Fascist tendencies. As previously discussed regarding the definitions of Fascism

provided by Robert Paxton and George Mosse, Fascism is a political variation which can be

distinguished from other right-wing organizations. Both authors might indicate an existence of

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introduced in 1935 included the "Law for the protection of German Blood and Honor" as well as the "Reich
Citizenship Law" for the purposes of legally excluding "others" from the political process and *Volksgemeinschaft
(national community).* The increasing severity of these laws until 1940 effectively made it nearly impossible for any
individuals without full German blood (ancestry) to survive within the state.
        [83] Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley:
University of California Press, 1974), 327-328.

proto-fascist characteristics in German Romantic Nationalism that the Nazis adopted and fully articulated with ease, thus stressing the overt reliance on existing popular sentiments.

Fascism then, even at its height of political maturity, is defined as a form of political behavior where general preoccupation with the national community drives the nationally committed masses (*Volk)* to abandon democratic liberties and pursues redemptive violence.[84] This definition directly utilizes the principle of popularism as it invokes a spirit of the nation and precariously places control and direction of the state in the nation's hands. One can deduce from popular participation and voting patterns that National Socialism was viewed to be the manifestation of the nation, a manifestation in which Fascism represented the congruency between the nation and the state. Key to the manifestation of national sentiment, again, lay in the ability of local Nazi officials to articulate and resonate public feeling, mirroring understanding of the meaning of being "German." Nazi leadership, using popular dissatisfaction and the national myth, ultimately created a symbiosis between party leadership and the *Volk* in their articulation of public sentiment.

Nazi rhetoric echoed sentiments of the national theorists in its denunciation of Romantic Nationalism as infiltrated and subverted by liberalism, a liberalism associated with the Jews. This seditious activity – by Jews and Liberals – was responsible, according to the rhetoric, for the destruction of "German" morals and *Kultur*. One of these earliest influences is found in Johann Gottlieb Fichte, who is considered to be the father of German nationalism and later inspired Hegel. Fichte's original philosophical insights revolved around concepts regarding self-consciousness and self-awareness. Living in an era in which the intelligentsia focused on crises of national identity and participation doubtlessly influenced the way in which Fichte utilized his own philosophical theories. Foundation documents urging mass participation in politics based on common history and nation connection certainly influenced Fichte's ability to begin conceptualizing the self-awareness of the nation as a social phenomenon.

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[84] Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, 218.

As a result, Fichte turned to the field of political philosophy were he attempted to address the German nation and attempt to provide a definition for German identity. These early works not only attempted nation definition, but did so at the expense of ethnic minorities, especially the Jews. In 1793's *Beiträge zur Berichtigung der Urteile des Publikums*, Fichte plainly illustrated his distaste for the presence of Jews in Germany by referring to them as "a state within a state" capable of "undermining" the German nation.[85] He went on further to explain that the only possible way for Jews to obtain civil rights would be if "all of their heads were cut off and replaced with new ones devoid of all Jewish thoughts."[86]

Such explicit anti-Semitism was conspicuously absent from Fichte's most popular work on the nation, *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1806), delivered before a crowd in French occupied Berlin. Fichte's intent was to inspire the Germans by unequivocally defining the nation in tangible terms of language and culture. It can be argued though that this scholarly attempt collapsed into subjective diatribes concerning ethnic nationalism and was most likely mediated. Arguably, Fichte intended maintain a façade of neutrality and inclusiveness, but his markers for nationality had no choice but to devolve because of their inability to secure the immortality that ultimately provides motivation for the nation's existence; only ethnicity can provide this immortality.[87]

The writings of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel exhibit such traits and his *Der Philosophie des Rechts* (1821) remained devoted to explaining history through the current world order and the virtues of the strongest races in the world, based on success and failures of the past. Broken into four groups, the German Race comprised one of the nations destined to lead the world as their national

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[85] Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Beiträge zur Berichtigung der Urteile des Publikums über die Französische Revolution (1793)*, ed. Richard Schottky (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1973), 115-116.

[86] Fichte, *Beiträge zur Berichtigung der Urteile des Publikums*, 115-116.

[87] Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Reden an die deutsche Nation (1808)*, trans. Gregory Moore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). For the argument about Fichte's mediated ethnic nationalism see Arash Abizadeh, "Was Fichte an Ethnic Nationalist? One Cultural Nationalism and its Double," *History of Political Thought* 26, no. 2 (2005): 334-359.

philosophy gave them moral superiority over lesser nations.[88] Hegelian interpretations of history and

the impending future regarding certain peoples however, manifest themselves clearly in elements of

Hitler's foreign policy program, including the desire for *lebensraum* and alliances with Italy and

Japan, as well as the existence of a (believed unfulfilled) German realm as an epoch of world

history.[89]

Influenced by Hegel's proto-biological dominance theory, the National Socialist

Weltanschauung pulled elements from the writings of other German intellectual theorists frustrated

by the political and cultural situation of the modern German state who also focused on elements of

race. Paul Anton de Lagarde's *Deutsche Schriften* (1878-81), Arther Möller van den Bruck's *Das

Dritte Reich* (1923), and Julius Langbehn's *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (1890) are three prominent

examples of the intellectual theories culled by Nazi party leaders. These nationalists attacked modern

culture by indicting the population's complacency with liberalism and allowing it to minimize and

destroy the culture of Germany. Many of these thinkers viewed the failure of the revolution of 1848

as a fault of modernity, whereby liberalism and the will of the state took precedent over the Romantic

Nationalism responsible for unifying culture and generating political success elsewhere on the

continent, initiating an intellectual and popular tradition of cultural despair that carried over to the

subsequent century. Attacks on modernity found its strongest roots in Germany based upon the fact

that these intellectuals and their political criticisms genuinely reflected German cultural traditions.[90]

This internal dialogue further focused on real weaknesses, highlighted the faults, and presented a new

outlet for despair in a country more politically divisive than its neighbors.[91] In the face of such

cultural despair these intellectuals worked to create new terms on which to accept society, and by

doing so created social conditions and mores which incorporated popular prejudices. Romantic

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[88] Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945), 730.
[89] David A. Duquette, "Hegel: Social and Political Thought" *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*,
http://www.iep.utm.edu.
[90] Stern, *Politics of Cultural Despair*, xxiii.
[91] Ibid., xxviii.

intellectuals and their supporters remained driven by the desire to once again purify German culture based upon historical traditions and myths about German society subscribed to by the population.[92] In the end these men began the "conservative revolution" for *Kulturreligion* which emphasized the rejection of rationalism, internationalism, and pacifism. German Fascists implemented this revolution following the resurrection of support for such ideas at the popular level, as evidenced by the democratic process at work in the election of 1933.[93]

This brand of intellectualism sought to reconcile the popular movement of Romantic Nationalism with conservative ideological tenets, thoroughly inspiring the National Socialists. Paul Lagarde, author of *Deutsche Schrifter*, proclaimed that in order to emulate the liberals, the German people succumbed to a loss of faith, disunity of people, a decline of morality, and a poor education system which further instilled these hallmarks of modernity. Lagarde remained the most vocal proponent of *Kulturreligion*, or roughly, the religion of the people's culture. The nation, in his view, housed the complete soul of the people, of which each individual possessed a portion as a means for creating a whole out of many. The materialism of modernity however, destroyed this purpose by emphasizing the role of the individual rather than the national consciousness, thus creating disunity.

Only when the needs of the soul become recognized as greater than material needs can all souls be fed and the unity of the nation restored. National religion then will spring forth from the *Volk* (ethnic people) and supplant the political aspect of the state with a religious one. Once Germany reached this level of internal strength, the only option was to validate this power through conflict with external enemies, romanticized by the righteousness of the action. By propagating this mystical nationalism with a Christian façade, Lagarde found his scapegoat in the Jewish population. By equating them with the liberalism destroying Germany, and thus validating his own Anti-

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[92] Fritz Stern describes cultural despair as a dangerous preoccupation with the decline of cultural conditions that inspire nationalist fantasies and create preconditions for tendencies.

[93] The works of William Sheridan Allen and Thomas Childers both capture this process very thoroughly in their respective works *The Nazi Seizure of Power* and *The Nazi Voter*. For further reading, Peter Fritzsche also follows this development in *Germans into Nazis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Semitism, he required the removal of the Jews to initiate social change as a means for spiritual reform.

In *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, Julius Langbehn articulated his argument against liberalism and modernity, exploring facets of Anti-Semitism and the rejection of reason and science and explicating ideas for *Kunstpolitik* (political art). For Langbehn, art represents the highest source of good, providing true knowledge, virtue, and ultimately morality in all of its forms simply because art allows for the fusion of many ideas that in reason are irrational or contradictory by nature. According to Langbehn, a new moral order must precede the development of *Kunstpolitik* through a revolution in morals and politics which actually depoliticizes the process. *Kunstpolitik* in its truest form can only exist in this manner because, according to Langbehn, the right kinds of art for providing national moral and cultural salvation are undemocratic and unscientific.[94] When art portrays the absolute moral and political truth it becomes undemocratic because, according to Langbehn, only one interpretation of the work exists and liberalism promotes competing analyses which fracture national politics and sentiment. Creating *Kunstpolitik* requires the formation of a link between art and politics with the *Volk* to remind people of their deep historical roots and awaken the existing desire to return to them.

Although this desire to regenerate the nation lost to modernity remained a popular movement, Langbehn asserts the people required the strength of a *Führer*. Chosen by the people, this *Führer* should unite the *Volk* and abolish politics by nationalizing the Social Democratic Party in an effort to rescue the romantic peasant and therefore the true German identity.[95] The intent then never focused on the Germanic movement as political in nature but a Romantic Nationalist one based on historical and cultural bonds and expanding imperially under the direction of the popularly chosen *Führer* to create a German *Weltreich* identified by the authority of its people (and not the state apparatus) who

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[94] Stern, *Politics of Cultural Despair*, xvi.
[95] Ibid.

rejected modernity and therefore liberalism and Jews. Though Langbehn's final theory created a paradox, for he opposed economic expansion while promoting territorial gains, it quickly took root among the more idealistic members of society finding commonality with reactionary and proto-Fascist groups and the emerging nationalist youth movement.

In the grand tradition of German romantic philosophy, no work embodies the scope and origins of Hitler's National Socialism than Arthur Möller Van Den Bruck's *Das Dritte Reich* (1923), written to acknowledge Germany's current cultural upheaval and combine the existing ideologies of *Kulturreligion* and *Kunstpolitik* by further attacking liberalism and the lack of culture embedded in modern civilization. Van Den Bruck viewed modern culture as a clash between old and young peoples, with the Germans as a group of young people who endured years of hardship, struggling to exist within the evolutionary process. Because the evolutionary process meant the necessity of violence, Van Den Bruck stressed the need for imperialism as war evoked unity and a collective purpose among the people and became a means for release from old culture and creating a new *weltanschauung*. This world view focused on the *Primat der Aussenpolitik*, using foreign policy to divert attention from internal issues and enhancing the unity and prosperity of the nation.[96]

By effectively following this program the Third Reich would be capable of ending all domestic strife, reconciling classes, and embodying the new German Empire through a single *Führer*. Van Den Bruck, an overt proponent of race-based ideology, frequently used Anti-Semitism as a tactic for discrediting and attacking both Marxism and liberalism as intellectually inferior to the conservative movement.[97] Ultimately, *Das Dritte Reich* promoted the ideal state based on a synthesis between individualism and collectivity, and reconciliation of the nation. It did provided a myth of redemption for Germany, influencing the idealists and romantic conservatives of the era. By appropriating ideas from each of the three authors' manifestos and synthesizing them with Hegelian

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[96] Van Den Bruck's implementation of *Weltanschauung* ultimately influenced Hitler's imperialist aims to achieve *lebensraum*.

[97] Stern, *Politics of Cultural Despair*, 257.

and Social Darwinist views of history and society, the National Socialists created their own program

of German redemption and race-based ideology readily recognizable to the German population.

An ideological program then existed, accompanied by a general plan of action. But,

framework is not an equivalent for implementation, making the intentionalist approach problematic

for the Nazis. This led the party leadership to adopt a functionalist approach, thus becoming a

synthesis of intentionalism and functionalism. Hitler and his staff constantly used a strategy of

Massenpsychologie, perfecting mass suggestions in speeches, condoning Anti-Semitism, and re-

evaluating the use and value of existing institutions.[98] Importantly though, there is a difference

between brainwashing and the exploitation of existing fears and beliefs. The program of

Massenpsychologie exploited the collective unconsciousness and the ability of unconnected

individuals to influence each other in their opinions and behaviors. Spontaneity does not affect the

masses, but rather group participants are a product of their modern lives, which is the position

Theodor Adorno takes in his essay "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda" (1991).

Large rallies and spectacles linking the *Führer* to the crowd in public representation are superficial at

best, negated by the leaders' recognition of crowd consciousness.[99] Furthermore, both the

Convergence Theory and Emergent-Norm Theory of mass psychology state that people in crowds

express existing beliefs and values, guided by norms and conscious decision-making, with crowds-

people moving into different and clear roles.[100] Hitler then, did not brainwash the German

population, he merely played a leadership role in the crowd (as predicted by Langbehn), expressing a

collective pre-existing belief and value system. This analysis of the psychology behind Fascism

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[98] *Massenpsychologie* is the German term for mass psychology, though it tends to denote a more conceptual and abstract understanding of the group think process and its susceptibility for exploitation.

[99] Theodor Adorno, "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda" in *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991), 132.

[100] Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1993).

challenges the notion that the success of Hitler's Nazi party was a historic anomaly, because he did not create these sentiments and emotions for a blind irrational crowd.

Without unique ideas about causes of dissatisfaction with life in Germany to present and the cultural siege on the nation long-entrenched in the minds of the nation, Hitler's program required no indoctrination of the population with a completely new national ideology; he merely needed to reassure the *Volk* that the goal of purity was indeed the correct path for the state to revive the glory of the nation. Even if unprepared for the continual radicalization and functionalist implementation of this nationalist program, the population undeniably allowed an individual leader, who mirrored their sentiments, to take charge of the state government in an effort to satisfy their desires for stronger nation. The democratic process, after all, permitted Hitler's party to gain the necessary number of seats in the Reichstag and become the largest single party in the legislative body, making the takeover of power possible.[101]

Individuals at all levels of German society participated in elections, rallies, and clubs that built popular support for National Socialism and pushed the group into a powerful position of federal state politics. Traditionally, Fascism faces characterization as a phenomenon of the lower-middle classes, radicalized by depression and fear of the proletariat.[102] In reality though, the force driving the population to the party is not so simple. National Socialism focused on presenting messages of cultural loss and despair in conceptual terms in addition to concrete fears of economic distress and revolution, the latter two offering less of a national incentive to participate. Incorporating only studies on lower-middleclass segments of the population ignores the wider cultural function and appeal of the rhetoric; it also ignores the fact that the lower-middle class did not have sufficient voting power to place the NSDAP in a dominant position in the Reichstag. In Weimar Germany measures of social identity eclipsed levels of income, including occupational status. The economic

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[101] Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power*, 141-158. Chapter 10 represents the author's general understanding of the influential elections of 1933.

[102] Childers, *The Nazi Voter*, 3-14.

conditions were enhanced by the government policies which did not uniformly affect the German population. Accordingly, the constituent base changed as a response to economic conditions: hyperinflation and stabilization practices, depression, and unemployment. Furthermore, the proposed measures to deal with the crises did not uniformly affect all income levels.[103] Public support for the Nazi party shifted based on the priorities individuals or interest groups possessed regarding which policies affected their specific income levels, not because lower-income individuals were more dissatisfied than any other group.

In different communities, *Länder*, and regions, voting patterns provide a more reliable portrait of popular support than reviewing the membership numbers of the NSDAP as gaps exist between the number of registered members and votes cast. Since a disproportionate number of registered members existed as compared to number of votes cast, one cannot conclude that only these lower-middle class members cast a vote in support of the Nazis. From 1924-1933 voting trends tend to support the conclusion that the social composition of Nazi constituency evolved in accordance with economic and cultural views of the period.[104] Distaste for invasive government, big business, Christian values, and ethnic beliefs all swayed voters outside of the lower-middle class to cast a vote for the NSDAP. Party rhetoric provided those individuals with larger incomes with an incentive to cast a ballot for the Nazis. Large business owners feared government involvement and strict stabilization controls. Small shop owners feared uncontrollable competition from big business. Christians feared the rise in an atheistic communism. All feared the subversive nature of Jews and "others." The Nazi electoral process relied on knowledge of possible voter bases and the specific factors driving all segments of the population to Nazi rhetoric to make the party successful and skillful at interacting with the population on a local level. Often small towns and urban centers behaved as microcosms of the larger state, leading to studies in popular psychology and groupthink

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[103] Ibid., 3-14.
[104] Childers, 3-14.

in the face of NSDAP propaganda.[105] Creating a sense of action, progress and an end to unemployment, the Nazis infiltrated many social, sporting, and other types of clubs susceptible to this rhetoric because of their infusion with a great sense of nationalism.

In many cases these towns possessed characteristics of Anti-Semitism which did not yet rely on the use of violence to approach the issue of purifying the German nation by forcibly removing the offensive "others." Lack of action by National Socialism's political competition and the fear of unfamiliar rhetoric (especially the SPD in the case of petite bourgeoisie and their fear of the Marxist worker element) drove many Germans to the NSDAP as the party provided an aura of familiarity and comfort regarding many of the crucial issues. At the local level, many found a revitalization of their passions and a radicalized belief in the party to protect the nation through the state apparatus. In many cases local Nazi leaders worked on their own initiative with no direction from above to mold and customize party rhetoric to meet the demands of the *Volk* and alleviate the fears of the local population. Opposing parties needed equally intelligent and credible forms of national radicalism, yet failed to respond to economic and cultural conditions in a suitable manner.[106] The failure of the KPD, SPD, and others to address the desires of the public majority left these parties in openly vulnerable to the rhetoric of the NSDAP.

An inability to appeal to masses based on unifying expressions of national strength, honor, and purity created a gap in the political spectrum for a form of politics that foremost demanded and encouraged unfiltered displays of emotion for that entity which may be the most emotional of them all: the nation. The opposition remained too pragmatic during a period of idealistic regression in the face of so many wounded national egos. National Socialism undoubtedly filled this emotional gap, representing the will of the German population and successfully using the democratic process to gain

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[105] For reading on the subject in connection with the Third Reich see Wilhelm Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1986).

[106] Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power*, 276. Sheridan argues that the SPD, especially, failed to combat or negate a failing economic system, leading to their vulnerability and democratic failure.

power and install Hitler as the *Führer* of the Fascist regime, meeting the romantic nationalist goal of politicizing cultural uniformity.

The Nazis did indeed establish a regime using these national myths and romantic theories, ably launching a horrifically successful extermination plan as well as a hugely destructive war. Their ability to institute this regime depended on a combination of economic, emotional, and political factors related to the national myth. Financial instability of individuals and the German state led to dissatisfaction with daily life that drove many Germans to the NSDAP. The attraction was exacerbated by the inability of normal, existing parties to counter Nazi rhetoric or offer viable solutions. Beyond economic concerns they also provided emotional comfort to German citizens by providing concrete ideas about an idealized German nation that could rally around a strong leader and actualize their internal strength as a people. The popularity of this Nazi program proved a defining moment in German history, creating a stigmatizing identity that forced subsequent governments to dedicate great effort to re-defining and changing perceptions of Germany and the nation.

CHAPTER 5

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: BALANCING POWER IN POST-WAR EUROPE

Following the defeat of Nazi Germany and the Allied occupation, the victorious Allies essentially took control of the state and kept a watchful eye over the German people, something akin to a wise adult carefully watching a small child. The entire process of occupation and division indicated nothing less than the total lack of trust felt by the Allied Powers toward Germany and its ability to control itself politically. American, Soviet, British, and French governments all feared the re-emergence of a brutal and violent Fascist regime, and so decided to insert themselves as a moderating force. Overall, the feeling surely persisted that in the end the War Guilt Clause of the Versailles settlement was not overly zealous in its punishment of Germany, but rather pre-mature in its application. German culpability for the destruction of Europe during World War II validated the necessity for a re-defined national identity. The exact definition for the meaning of German though, remained ambiguous. The only certainty was that this new Germany must be radically distinct from its predecessors; internationally this meant a retreat from the offensive posturing and unchecked aggression of the Nazi regime.

The result of German actions in World War II confirmed the massive collapse of a security system designed to maintain a balance by keeping rival state interests in check and at a distance from one another by suppressing state projections of power rather than accounting for them. The outbreak of two catastrophic world wars forced leading European politicians to realize that the persistence of security systems based on the premise that state interests are mutually exclusive will ultimately fail. An international system based on independently acting sovereign nation-states was inherently unstable, creating an environment where state interests asserted primacy over European interests. In the era of modern warfare, such instability proved ruinous. Continent-wide destruction reinforced

the notion that the actions of one state affected the well-being of those around it, and that the same principle held true for successes and failures of international relations, both political and economic.

This concept laid the foundational basis for instituting a co-operative European body designed to clarify and pointedly involve the notion of collective security through the process of first economic and then political integration, which legalized the recognition of mutually dependent goals and inseparable links between states through a framework of treaties. These treaties began institutionalizing a meaning for the vague abstraction that is the term "European," capable of ostracizing and "othering" non-participants. The general site of the German state, location, size, population, and precedent for strong leadership in European affairs meant that no European coalition could effectively function and find success without the participation of Germany.[107] Although the French and British states remained eager to see payments of reparations and the fault for war placed squarely on German shoulders, it was understood that political and economic isolation as a punishment might only lead to a repeat of circumstances leading to World War II. The potential for Germany to regress back into a pattern of Fascist leadership remained the overarching concern and ultimately led many European leaders to keep Germany at arms' length and regard that state as a defeated subordinate rather than a peer.

After the federal elections for the newly united *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (the BRD referred to in chapters 5 and 6 as "Germany") in 1949, the new democratic leadership realized the need to lay new groundwork in order for the Western world to trust Germany again. Passive co-operation would not suffice, however, as this risked repeating the mutually exclusive political distance that proved so disastrous during the first half of the century. If Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and President Theodor Heuss ever hoped to re-integrate the state into the international community, then Germany required an active and radical shift in the ideology behind the nation's international

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[107] John McCormick, *The European Union: Politics and Policies* (Cambridge: Westview Press, 2004), 33-52.

relations strategy. Knowing that the identity and image of Nazi-era Germany needed complete erasure, both men first looked to the international arena. To rebuild the domestic economy and generate new forms of political satisfaction German state leaders needed to participate in the general rebuilding of Europe by cooperatively inserting themselves in international affairs. Rejecting the Nazi brand of international relations, Adenauer and Heuss sought to create a feeling of rapprochement, border security, and humility within the international community. A lifelong opponent of Nazism, Heuss attempted to promote security and stability in Europe by firmly advocating for denying the necessity that Germany rearm itself following the war.

Though the Bundestag ultimately voted in favor of rearmament, the continual presence of influential leaders with pacifistic views and dissenting opinions within the government, especially at the federal level, gave their peers in other European and world government's greater confidence in the German ability to normalize and maintain peaceful relations. The French though remained nervous and uneasy after two violent wars. Sharing a common border with Germany almost 448 kilometers in length, France considered itself the most vulnerable to German aggression.[108] As a remedy, French foreign minister Robert Schuman presented the Shuman Declaration, his idea for linking the economies of France and Germany, thereby creating a sense of unity and replacing the rivalry and friction of the past. Initiated in 1950, the agreement was rather simplistic but nonetheless important in outlining its assumptions. Central to the Shuman Declaration was the necessity of pooling the production capabilities of the French Lorraine regions with the valuable industries of the German Ruhr: coal and steel. Despite the economic considerations, the plan was at heart political. The two working economies were tightly interwoven and highly dependent on one another in maintaining the level of prosperity required to rebuild the two states, forcing both governments to work in tandem when producing economic policies.   According to Shuman, war between France

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[108]Herbert Wilmes, "The German Border and the Work of the Boundary Commission," Bundesamt für Kartographie und Geodäsie (BKG), 2006, http://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/ibru/conferences/thailand/germany.pdf (accessed 3 December 2007).

and Germany in this case would become "not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible."[109] Ergo, not only would Germany be unable to instigate conflict, but if it did it would damage its own economy and political relationships.

Most surprising to the international community though was not French ratification in the face of socialist opposition, but rather that the leadership of West Germany showed immediate signs of warm reception to such an alliance. In both his official and private correspondences to Robert Shuman, Adenauer reassured the French statesman that he had "no doubt that the decision [by the German cabinet] would be favorable" to German entrance into the Council of Europe.[110] In light of the previous 70 years of Franco-German conflict, active acceptance of the Shuman Plan - more than any other action thus far - represented Germany's willing commitment to abandon National Socialism and embrace the cause of Europe. Adenauer's ultimate concern and goal for the Schuman Declaration, in addition to the inauguration of a collective security system, rested equally on the desperation to rebuild the Germany economy into a viable force capable of supporting its citizens and gaining international acceptance.

The Schuman Declaration was only the first of several means for attaining this goal. As a former politician and resistor of the Nazi-era state, Adenauer possessed an acute awareness regarding the correlation between economic stability and the success of Nazi propaganda at the popular level. As chancellor, he set about moving beyond the Shuman Plan to deeper levels of cooperation with other European states. In this task, Adenauer had significant help. Since the creation of a single territory out of the Allied Tri-Zone and the re-instatement of the West German government in 1949, the new German government found a powerful ally and supporter in the United States. The same

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[109] Robert Schuman, "Declaration of 9 May 1950: Speech presented from the French Foreign Ministry" *Selection of texts concerning institutional matters of the Community from 1950 to 1982* (Luxembourg: European Parliament - Committee on Institutional Affairs, 1982), 47-48, http://www.ena.lu/, (accessed 7 July 2008).

[110] Konrad Adenauer, "Personal reply by Konrad Adenauer to Robert Schuman," Bonn, 9 May 1950; "Official reply by Konrad Adenauer to Robert Schuman," Bonn, 8 May 1950,.*L'Europe une longue marche*, trans. The CVCE (Lausanne: Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Centre de recherches européennes, 1985), p. 63, http://www.ena.lu/ (accessed 10 July 2008).

year as the formation of the Bundestag, the United States signed the North Atlantic Treaty to form

NATO along with a host of other Western European states including, France, Great Britain, Italy,

Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands (the latter three as the Benelux). All signed onto and

supported the alliance for its key feature: a mutual defense clause. Lord Ismay, first Secretary

General of NATO, summed up the situation by stating the organization's goal: "to keep the Russians

out, the Americans in, and the Germans down."[111]

In contrast, the U.S. desired a plan calling for the acceptance of Germany as a full NATO ally

and militarization of the state. Rationally, NATO needed German terrain though several signatory

states and members of the German government opposed such a move. Without it, the strategic plans

of the organization's command lacked sufficient depth for defensive maneuvers.[112] The French

though, showed their dissatisfaction with a strengthened German military by introducing an alternate

plan of action in 1950. Originally named the Pléven Plan after the French Defense Minister René

Pléven, it became the framework for the European Defense Community (EDC) with the purpose of

essentially limiting the role and effect of the U.S. in developing a German defense system. The

French suggested that the Germans only obtain the opportunity to re-arm under the supervision of an

integrated continental army.

Adhering to his pattern of support for cooperation and integration, Adenauer enthusiastically

pursued the implementation of the EDC. Speaking before the Bundestag on February 7, 1952, the

Chancellor forcefully communicated the need for participation in the EDC on the practical basis of

defense against the Soviet threat and the ideological step toward German reunification:

> *"Der Generalvertrag enthält zunächst eine Präambel, und in dieser Präambel stehen folgende wichtige Punkte. Zunächst wird festgestellt, daß es das gemeinsame Ziel der Signatarstaaten ist, die Bundesrepublik auf der Grundlage der Gleichberechtigung in die europäische Gemeinschaft einzugliedern, und jetzt kommt ein sehr wichtiger Satz, den ich Ihnen wörtlich*

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[111] Michael Lind, *The American Way of Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 134.
[112] Morton A Kaplan. *The Rationale for NATO* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1973), 15.

vorlessen möchte: 'die sich interseits in die sich entwickelnde atlantische Gemeinschaft einfugen wird'. Es it dann in einem weiteren Passus festgestellt, daß die Schaffung eines völlig freien and vereinigten Deutschlands auf friedlichem Wege und die Herbeiführung einer frei vereinbarten friedensvertraglichen Regelung ein grundlegendes and gemeinsames Ziel der Signatarstaaten ist."[113]

"This treaty contains, first of all, a preamble, and in this preamble are the following points. First, we will realize, that the joint aim of the signatory states is the incorporation of the Federal Republic [Germany] into the European Community on the basis of equality. Now comes a very important clause that I must read aloud to you word for word: 'their part would fit into the emerging Atlantic community.' It is then in a later passage ascertained that the creation of a completely free and united Germany, agreed upon by a path of peaceful leadership and a peace treaty settlement, is a fundamental and common goal of the signatory states."

Even with Adenauer's constant lobbying, ultimately the EDC failed, rejected first by the British and U.S., and finally later by the French themselves in 1954. The EDC's failure continued to limit the German role in continental affairs to economic collaboration under the Schuman Plan, though many parties hailed the process as a success that created a space for future political and military negotiations and collaborations. The U.S. proclaimed the creation a framework for an enduring peace between the French and German people.[114] Chancellor Adenauer said of the Declaration, "It's our breakthrough."[115] This statement not only illustrated the Chancellor's satisfaction with Germany's current re-integration progress, but also emphasized his outlook for positive future and further involvement in European affairs as a working (and friendly) partner. The Schuman Plan successfully integrated the economies of Germany and France, and other Western European states saw the profitable and peaceful benefits of implementing such a system, specifically Italy and the Benelux, which comprised the oversight committee of the Schuman Plan.

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[113] Konrad Adenauer, *Deutschland und die europäische Verteidigungsgemeinschaft: Rede von Konrad Adenauer vor dem Bundestag, 02.07.1952*, trans. by the author (Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, 2 September, 1952), no. 17, 159 – 163.

[114] U.S. Congress, *The Shuman Plan: Extension of Remarks of Hon. Daniel J. Flood* 82nd Cong., 1st sess., 1951, A6595.

[115] William Diebold, *Schuman Plan: A Study in Economic Cooperation, 1950-1959* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1959).

In 1951, Germany, Italy, France, and the Benelux assembled in France to sign the Treaty of

Paris and establish the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) which provided the original

model for later attempts at deepening European integration, with Germany playing a key and leading

role. Provisions of the treaty included a High Authority to manage the industries, a Common

Assembly, and Council of Ministers to manage the day-to-day effects of close economic interaction

in a supra-national capacity. The resulting common market for these industries operated on freely set

market prices and without artificial mechanisms of import/export tariffs. A stronger treaty

integrating more economies as well as the political systems of the states involved reaffirmed

Germany's commitment to a peaceful Europe, cooperation instead of antagonism, and a complete

reversal of the National Socialist foreign policy. When the ECSC formally began operating in 1952

under the direction of French Minister Jean Monnet, Germany further assuaged any fear about its

intentions by willingly entering into an agreement to guarantee coal to the French steel industry,

upgrade Belgian and Italian coal mines, and dismantle its own steel cartels, further gaining the

respect of the international community.[116] To advance these ideas to a wider audience, the German

Chancellor brought his message to the United Kingdom. Speaking on May 14, 1953 in London,

Adenauer clearly emphasized European integration and the necessity of the United Kingdom's

participation.[117] Presenting this message personally before the International Press Institute served to

bolster Adenauer and his message as highly influential, making his the leading voice in the debate for

integration and solidifying the German position as highly cooperative. Certainly, the fact that the

German government's actions met the expectations provided by their rhetoric also increased their

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[116] John Gillingham details the process involved for the ECSC's and the integration beyond. John
Gillingham, *Coal, Steel, and the Re-birth of Europe, 1945-1955: The Germans and French from Ruhr Conflict to
Economic Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 97-177. For a similar discussion, also see
Jan Jönmark, *Coal and Steel in Western Europe, 1945-1993: Innovative Change and Institutional Adaptation*
(Göteborg: Department of Economic History of the University of Göteborg, 1993).
[117] Konrad Adenauer, "*Integration Europas eine gebieterische Notwendigkeit, 14.05.1953*" (Bulletin des
Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung. 16 May 1953), no. 91, 774-775.

legitimacy in the eyes of the international community; a detail that Adenauer and his cabinet did not

neglect.

The success of the ECSC both economically and in its minimal political role encouraged the

six states to expand the market beyond coal and steel to all internationally traded goods, or a total

customs union. Germany, France, Italy, and the Benelux states summarily signed the Treaties of

Rome in 1957 creating the European Economic Community (EEC) instituting a common market with

no internal tariffs and a uniform external tariff. Along with the EEC though, *Rome* also constructed

the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), a body designed to oversee the joint

development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Participating statesmen believed in the

necessity for nuclear energy development in an attempt to ensure energy security by "tackling the

general shortage of conventional energy of the time."[118] Since Germany's re-armament in 1955, the

state made no moves to build up arms or intimidate its neighbors, though many signatory states

remained uneasy about the lingering potential for German aggression. The emphasis of Euratom

therefore indicated a commitment to coordinated, controlled nuclear development by regulating

facility investment, uniformity of safety standards, dissemination of information, and safeguards to

prevent the diversion of civil nuclear materials to other, mainly military, purposes.[119] Dedication to

the *Treaties of Rome* by all ECSC members further illustrated both Adenauer's commitment to peace

and the official changes to the German government's rhetoric and policy.

Germany's continued devotion to economic integration resulted in a gradual spill-over into

the political sphere as well. With the EEC's inception also came the creation of a host of political

bodies designed to carrying the weight of supra-national authority and subordinate state interests to

European ones. To govern and oversee effective cooperation and organization, the EEC possessed a

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[118] European Coal and Steel Community Representatives, "Treaty Establishing the European Atomic Energy Community, 25 March 1957," (Luxembourg: Publishing Services of the European Communities, 1957), http://www.ena.lu/ (accessed 14 April 2008).
[119] European Coal and Steel Community Representatives, "Treaty Establishing the European Atomic Energy Community, 25 March 1957."

Council of Ministers, Commission, and Parliamentary assembly as an outlet for the opinions, desires, and interests of all participating states. Furthermore, it also set up an independent non-partisan Court of Justice to interpret *Rome* as well as settle disputes between the members that might ensue from decisions of the community. These EEC institutions were extensions of the original bodies created by the ECSC, including the High Authority, Common Assembly, Special Council of Ministers, and the Court of Justice. With the advent of *Rome* and the expansion of organization, the EEC needed greater oversight to match the pace and depth of spillover occurring in the political sphere. By the end of the decade then, this process deeply entrenched Germany in European affairs, making it an ally and full partner to its neighbors rather than a threat to stability or progress on the continent.

Importantly, these international changes to the German government's official foreign policy took place in a purely instrumental manner, influenced by the external forces of the United States and France as well as the decision of political elites internally.[120] The emplacement of Germany in the international community and Europe regarding issues of supra-nationalism and the decision to forgo total sovereignty in favor of cooperation remained very much a top-down process as the state never called a referendum for popular opinion in determining the matter. The assumption for this course of action certainly lies with the German government's understanding of public political opinions of the time. In the immediate aftermath of World War II and during the reconstruction process, a sizable portion of the population still held favorable views of the National Socialist Party and, barring outright support for the NSDAP, certainly at the very least an even larger number held strong pro-German nationalistic sentiments.[121] Popular attitudes supporting the superiority of Germany would doubtlessly provide a roadblock to European integration. Many of these nationalistic sentiments gained traction based on the history of memory, re-enforced by the experiences of World War I and the occupation of the Ruhr valley by the French. Given this past, an element of distrust existed

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[120] British occupation forces and policy were also instrumental to the emergence of pro-Western democracy, discussed further in Chapter 6.

[121] See note 115 and page 75 for survey results regarding German attitudes toward minority populations.

regarding the French motives for not only participating in, but also initiating the ECSC through the Shuman Declaration. Providing the German population with a referendum on the matter generated a greater chance of yielding a negative outcome than seeing large-scale support for such policies. Adenauer and his political allies realized they needed to disregard popular opinion in order for their program of re-defining German national identity to take root successfully.

While there had been prior flirtation with European integration, the EEC far exceeded anything previously experienced in the Pan-European movement. The purposes and logistics for the process made the EEC (and the European Union in its current form) unique in the scope of integration movements. The conviction behind this Pan-Europeanism, and likewise the inspiration for the coalitions and treaties discussed above, emerged from the notion that only politically unified states could overcome the history of the continent that bore responsibility for recent catastrophic human events. Pan-Europe then theoretically functioned to secure peace internally by creating a supranational structure based on obligatory arbitration and multi-lateral cooperation. The general assumption in this process revolves around the understanding that state sovereignty in the present form cannot remain permanently intact, as Europeanization naturally involves the state's forfeiture of some of the obligations previously reserved solely for its discretion. This, of course, affects the state's distinct privilege as a protector of the national culture. The use of Romantic Nationalism for justification of the state as a cultural container placed the movement at odds with Pan-European ideals.

Conceiving further of Pan-Europe meant the beginning of a conscientious procedure regarding the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, or the active process of deciding what constitutes – defines - Europe. This provides an important context for discerning the practicality of the idea of Europe. Even in the initial stages of integration, state sovereignty originally presented a strong obstacle to overcome, presumably on a deeper level as the nature of this integration theoretically requires "building blocks," or steps, to work correctly. This effort to build a single united Europe is

in accord with Austrian Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's expectation that Europe, and not the nation or state, shall act as the constituent socio-cultural entity.[122] In other words, Europe as defined during the future stages of deep-level integration will provide the sole cultural container, not the state, in an effort to include and create a plane of equals among varying and existing cultures. A process such as this, in theory, provides a level of tolerance and cultural stability previously considered untenable and protects minority populations against discrimination through an emphasis on human rights. This ideology of dedication to human rights and cultural relativism stemmed from the recent severely violent manifestation of Anti-Semitism in the Holocaust as well as the consistent repression of "othered" peoples. Undeniably then, economic integration must operate as the primary component in the integration process as it tends to force human/cultural interactions.[123] Strong supporters of the Pan-European ideal first rooted themselves within the French and German governments through the likes of Schuman, Monnet, and Adenauer at the international level. These men laid the foundation for the evolution of the European Union and the longest period of peace at any time in modern European history.

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[122] Coudenhove-Kalergi affirmed his beliefs in Europe's impending political disaster in 1937's *Totaler Staat – totaler Mensch:* "We are experiencing the most dangerous revolution in the world history: the revolution of the State against the man. We are experiencing the worst idolatry of all the time: the deification of the state." Not surprisingly, Adolf Hitler was one of his largest detractors. Graf Richard Nicolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Totaler Staat – totaler Mensch* (Glarus, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1937).

[123] See, for example, Amitai Etzioni, "The Dialectics of Supranational Unification," *American Journal of Political Science Review*, 56 (1962): 927-935; Ernst Haas, *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

CHAPTER 6

NEW GERMAN POLITICS: GOVERNMENT POLICY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Rebuilding international relationships required German leaders to break radically from the foreign policy carried out by their Nazi predecessors. Not only did this allow for the state's reception into world politics, but it also planted the seeds for economic regeneration. The success of this external re-imagining, however, could not continue to be successful for a substantial period of time without a parallel domestic program. Re-defining Germany required a total re-invention of the state on an internal scale, re-working the political, economic, and ultimately cultural systems. The core need to change entirely and the idea of "German" proved to be the driving force of the era. Politically and economically, the state remained shattered, with faith in Germany's strength as a nation wavering after two crushing defeats in a row.

Although international rebuilding efforts proceeded swiftly and rather smoothly, state and regional politicians realized that Germany would never be independently strong or taken truly seriously in the international community if domestic changes did not occur as well. They therefore set out on a program to re-imagine German national identity domestically while simultaneously making those international changes. A program of this nature required the creation of a new meaning of "German" and so a radical change in the nationalism used to connect the nation to the state occurred. In the past, the emphasis rested on popular forms of nationalism, relying on the consent of an imagined community created by the masses who transferred their will onto the political state. Now though, post-World War II Germany experienced the implementation of the instrumental form of nationalism where the political state transferred its will onto a culture, community, and society; in this instance identity is mandated for the masses. Though the majority of this program originated at the federal level in the Bundestag, accordingly the implementation largely took place at the level of the *Länder* by regional politicians more adept at handling such a change of identity in the face of

localized barriers and challenges. At federal and local levels, political leaders attempted to distance themselves from the inflammatory, race-based, primordial nationalist ideology of the Nazi era. It appears 1945 is the year Germany attempted to lose its navel.

With the intent to initiate an ideological shift in the state, the occupying Allied powers engaged in a rigorous program of "de-Nazification" as the method for purging Nation Socialist party members – and therefore Holocaust perpetrators – from all level of government and public society. Formally the occupying powers created a system designed to punish active Nazis and militarists leading to a broader agenda. As a de-Nazification Report from 1948 reiterates:

> "All members of the party [NSDAP] more than nominal participants . . . shall be removed from public and semi-public office, and from positions of responsibility in important private undertakings. Such persons shall be replaced by persons, who, by their political and moral qualities, are deemed capable of assisting in developing genuine democratic institutions in Germany."[124]

Instituted primarily as a form of punishment and an act to cleanse Germany for Allied political purposes, ultimately such actions functioned to derive an apologetic myth suggesting the blame for perpetrating such large-scale violence lay with powerful individuals. De-Nazification was originally an Allied impetus for the re-definition of Germany and the targeting of specific individuals for retribution. This absolution of the German population, however, only served to re-enforce the notion that the ideology of National Socialism remained an acceptable viewpoint to subscribe to since popular National Socialism only allowed collective Romantic Nationalist myths about "German" *Kultur* to remain present in popular society. In the new myth of National Socialism formulated at the end of the war, the general population was responsible for celebrating and protecting German heritage and culture and not for perpetuating racially motivated violence. The problem with this new myth, however, is that it condones the perpetuation of racially motivated

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[124] Germany here refers to territory under Allied occupation, 1945-1955, especially the U.S. Zone. Office of Military Government. Civil Administration Division, *Denazification: Cumulative Review, Report, 1 April 1947-30 April 1948.* (1948): 7, http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu (accessed 2 April 2008).

forms of discrimination that, since they claim legitimacy as truly German, rely on the state apparatus to protect their cultural viewpoints and heritage from "outsiders." In essence, the occupying forces carried out de-Nazification on the false basis that National Socialism was a purely instrumental movement.

The pervasive affects of such a fallacy yielded immediate and measurable results of the de-Nazification program. When the program began in 1945, an emphasis lay on the process of reducing the numbers of National Socialist leaders and engaging in a mental evaluation of the population. Armed with teams of psychologists, the U.S. Army under General Lucius Clay proceeded to distribute *Fragebogen* in the American and British occupied zones in order to collect data on the extent of Nazi participation.[125] These lengthy questionnaires required German citizens to provide a detailed history of their activism with the NSDAP.[126] Of the 12 million *Fragebogen* returned 3.6 million actually received indictments for the willing involvement and participation in crimes against humanity.[127] Of these millions of indictments, only about 5,000 convictions were handed down, ending with a total of 486 executions by 1947.[128]

These findings indicated that participation in National Socialism in an active manner – or even more passively such as through youth groups, women's societies, or professional organizations – permeated society at the popular level more deeply than realized. Leaders of the occupied zones remained hard-pressed to locate civil servants, administrators, educators, and press members somehow not involved with the Nazi party. In order to differentiate between levels of collaboration, the Allies systematically divided all returned *Fragebogen* into five separate categories. Thus

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[125] This use of psychologists is an early indicator of the usefulness of the de-Nazification program, as the Allies treated extreme German nationalism and anti-Semitism as psychological issues rather than viewing Nazi participation in the broader social/economic context. It should be noted that French zone officials did not require average German citizens to register nor did they rely on the *Fragebogen*, instead choosing to focus on known NSDAP officials and perpetrators.

[126] See Figure 6.1., *Fragebogen* for Robert Mulka, http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org.

[127] Richard J. Barnet, *The Alliance: America-Europe-Japan, Makers of the Post-war World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), 30.

[128] Tony Judt, *Post-war: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 53.

Fragebogen

(Anlage zum Antrag auf Aufnahme in die Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei)

A

Vor- und Zuname (bei Frauen auch Mädchenname): Karl, Ludwig, Robert Mulka

Beruf oder Art der Tätigkeit: Export- Handelsvertreter.

Wohnort: Hamburg 13.   Wohnung: Ise Straße Nr. 127 hpt.

Geburtsort: Hamburg   Geburtsdatum (Tag, Monat, Jahr): 12. April 1895.

Staatsangehörigkeit: D.R.   Wenn staatenlos, frühere Staatsangehörigkeit: entfällt.

Sind Sie erbgesund? Ja.

Vor- und Zuname des Vaters: Matthes Mulka

Geburtsort des Vaters: Kolkwitz b/Cottbus   Geburtsdatum des Vaters (Tag, Monat, Jahr): 30.Jan.1857

Volkszugehörigkeit des Vaters: Deutschblütig.

Vor- und Zuname der Mutter (Mädchenname!): Marie, geb. Bock.

Geburtsort der Mutter: Beeskow.   Geburtsdatum der Mutter (Tag, Monat, Jahr): 31.März 1867.

Volkszugehörigkeit der Mutter: Deutschblütig.

B

Familienstand (ledig, verheiratet, verwitwet, geschieden): Verheiratet.

Vor- und Zuname des Ehegatten (bei Frauen Mädchenname!): Erna, geb.Beckenbach.

Geburtsort des Ehegatten: Altona/E.   Geburtsdat. d. Ehegatten (Tag, Monat, Jahr): 26.Mai 1895.

Ist der Ehegatte frei von jüdischem oder farbigem Rasseeinschlag? Ja.

Waren Sie früher mit einem nichtarischen Ehegatten verheiratet? Nein.

Wodurch ist diese Ehe beendet worden? (Tod oder Scheidung) entfällt.

Wann? entfällt.   Bei Scheidung, durch welches Gericht? entfällt.

Sind Kinder aus dieser Ehe vorhanden? entfällt.   Wieviele? entfällt.

C

Haben Sie früher einer Freimaurerloge angehört? Nein.   Welcher? entfällt.

Tag des Eintritts? entfällt.   Tag des Austritts? entfällt.

Welches Amt und welchen Grad haben Sie in der Loge bekleidet? entfällt.

Haben Sie früher einer logenähnlichen Vereinigung (Odd Fellows und Druiden-Orden) oder einem Geheimbund angehört? Nein.   Welcher oder welchem? entfällt.

Figure 6.1. – *Sample de-Nazification Fragebogen*. A member of the *Waffen-SS*, Robert Mulka was assigned to the concentration camp at Auschwitz. Mulka claims he was unaware of the deaths in the camp, though he was tried and sentenced to imprisonment.

administrative problems of finding capable and politically "clean" Germans among millions placed greater pressure on the Allies in their bid to reenergize the state economically and politically. De-Nazification arguably impeded this process a great deal and as a result the British and French proceedings against German citizens remained consistently proportionally lower than the U.S. occupied zone.[129] The industrial nature of the British and French sectors and their necessity for quick economic recovery no doubt contributed to this lack of tribunal proceedings, especially in the newly formed state of Nordrhein-Westfalen (NRW).[130]

By 1946 however, the tribunals for convicting National Socialist war crimes were set up under the Germans with Allied oversight as the Allies were more focused on other issues. Though still requiring Allied approval and guidance for most decisions, this charge to the Germans to punish themselves was the first step in regaining control of domestic affairs and politics. The general consensus, then and now, indicates the failure of the de-Nazification program in accomplishing its goals for psychologically "re-wiring" the German population. Only one year after the war, 1 in 3 Germans still agreed that Jews should not be granted the same rights as members of the "German" race.[131] Noticeably, de-Nazification had a slight overall positive effect on society. Pressure of de-Nazification in the year following German defeat forced hardcore Nazi enthusiasts to keep a low profile at a time when the embryonic institutions of the West German state – political parties, *Land* administrations, the press, and the educational system – were being established.[132]

Such effects might be regarded as marginal and temporary considering the Allied inability to eliminate completely National Socialist feelings in the immediate post-war years, and most likely play a significant role in contemporary right-wing politics and violence in today's unified Germany.

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[129] British and French forces tried 22,296 cases as opposed to the 169,282 carried out by the United States. Barnet, *The Alliance*, 29.

[130] NRW was formed in an effort to create a consolidated government for the oversight of industrial output and rebuilding. NRW contained the majority of the largely industrial Ruhr region within its borders.

[131] Judt, *Post-war*, 58.

[132] A.J. Nicholls, *The Bonn Republic: West German Democracy, 1945-1990* (London: Longman, 1997), 19.

Merely keeping Nazi ideology out of state politics did little to alter popular sentiment as by 1952

roughly 37 percent of the population surveyed believed Germany would be better with no Jews on its

territory, an increase in numbers and possibly a radicalization in sentiment since the 1946 survey.[133]

Simultaneously, 25 percent still possessed a good opinion of Hitler.[134]

Considered an impediment to healthy economic and social growth in Germany, de-

Nazification began to receive criticism from even the most anti-Nazi officials. In 1947 NRW

President Konrad Adenauer voiced his dissatisfaction with the policy on the grounds that it was

doing no good, lasted too long, and would eventually provoke a nationalist backlash.[135] By all

accounts Adenauer's conceptualization of the de-Nazification problem rang true. The ineffectiveness

and length of the process proved a futile measure destined to fracture the nation and marginalize

those citizens deeply committed to German *Kultur*, ultimately forcing the ultra-nationalists to react

with violence. This instability coupled with shortages of civil servants and other employees created a

major obstacle for the post-war state. Maintaining a functioning society and expanding economic

growth meant that de-Nazification could not occur in its most thorough form as it left the state

without enough employees to fill jobs openings. Despite high rates of firings due to Nazi

involvement or sympathy, by 1948 the *Land* of Bavaria rehired 50 percent of fired teachers in an

effort to bolster a weakened education system, creating an overall trend of universities, legal system

members, and businessmen receiving little or no penalty.[136] As overall rates of unemployment

remained high due to economic contraction, many employers hired the most qualified workers,

regardless of past associations with the NSDAP. Considering the scope of popular political

involvement, it is imaginable that the number of employed NSDAP members and supporters

remained proportionally high. Until the late 1950s after a period of strong economic growth the state

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[133] Judt, *Post-war*, 58.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Judt, *Post-war*, 57.
[136] Ibid.

did not aggressively pursue policies of incorporating refugee Germans and *Gastarbeiter* into the

workforce.[137] Combined with the rehiring of former National Socialist party members these policies

worked to reduce unemployment in Germany from 9.1 percent in 1951 to 1.3 percent in 1960.[138]

Even within Germany many *Länder* with high levels of industrialization magnified the effects of de-

Nazification, refugees, *Gastarbeiter*, and post-war economic conditions. These *Land* represented the

German effort to implement policies aimed at encouraging social, economic, and political growth.

Of the West German *Länder* at the time, none provides a more compelling case study of the struggle

for national re-definition than Nordrhein-Westfalen (NRW).

Located in the Rheinland with its capital at Düsseldorf, Nordrhein-Westfalen proved the

breeding ground for several of immediate post-war Germany's most famous politicians, such as

Konrad Adenauer and Karl Arnold, as well as the birthplace of the new Christian Democratic Union

party (*Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands*; CDU) which emerged after the war and the

dissolution of National Socialism. As a highly industrialized *Land*, it also experienced both the

benefits of German war-time military production and the devastating blows of economic ruin at the

end of the war. NRW remained one of the *Länder* in greatest need of economic rebirth and

international reintegration. Experiences with the ECSC, migration patterns, population shifts, and

new political developments make it an exciting microcosm of the policies and practices occurring at

the federal level. In the same stroke, this region also highlights the failure of politicians to

implement fully the new idea of the nation.

Part of the reason why the post-war German government struggled so greatly to implement a

new German national identity is possibly because they lacked a solid definition. Pressed by the

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[137] "German refugees" refers to two larger groups of citizens considered ethnically or historically German. The first group is comprised of families who fled or were forced into exile upon the establishment of the Third Reich. The second group largely focuses on German peoples living in Eastern Europe. These groups have lived outside of the state for many generations, but fled for the safety of their ancestral homeland in the face of Soviet control in the East.

[138] Nicholls, *The Bonn Republic*, 229.

immediacy of rebuilding the state, political leaders operated on the basis that they were not Nazis and that therefore "German" no longer included a dependence on racial ideology. The post-war concept of the nation focused on respect for German cultural traditions with a broader inclusion of cosmopolitan elements to reflect the agenda of internationalism promoted by the political and intellectual leadership of the era. Ideally, "German" then related to one's residence and participation in existing traditions rather than a place of birth or ethnic heritage. This idea represents a shift in describing a true "German" from one who is loyal to the nation to one who is loyal to the state. Intellectual elites, though, proved unable to articulate such a definition in terms applicable and appealing to the general population.

The ideology of National Socialism remained politically invisible, but post-war politicians inadequately countered the race-based view of the nation and fear of outsiders that characterized Nazi ideology and seemed to permeate society. Often policies and practices contradicted one another, leading to inconsistencies in the implementation of the new nationalism. Politicians feared to bring this issue to the public when the preoccupation with economic developments rather than social and political ones influenced political opinion. This places the responsibility for the failure to re-imagine German identity squarely on the shoulders of politicians, promoting the current political ties to the problem of xenophobia. The problem, clearly, resided in the inability to create a more encompassing definition of German within the ever broadening and changing idea of Europe.

In light of the massive immigration to West German, an inability to re-define "German" was problematic as socio-cultural differences often exist independently of ethnicity. It is common for immigrating ethnic Germans to practice unique non-German social and cultural rituals, while immigrant peoples of separate ethnicities practice and incorporate traditionally German social rites and culture into their lifestyles. Incongruencies such as these further blur the lines when it comes to using ethnicity as a measure of the nation. Allowing the continuation of ethnicity as the deciding

factor of national identification in the immediate post-war period did nothing to eliminate fear of outsiders and the practice of excluding "others."

Domestically, the *Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* – or constitution - played a primary role in legally reconstructing the political post-war identity of the state and combating National Socialist ideology.[139] Comprised of 141 articles, the idea for the document originated with the three Western occupying powers, which approved the re-creation of the German state and ended the legal non-entity period. These Allies only granted this approval, however, upon the complete rejection of the ideology of the German people as the master race and a renewed commitment to human rights in a legally recognizable format. Passed by the Parliamentary Council on May 8, 1949, and never approved by popular vote, the document did not have the effect of fundamental law until first receiving approval by the occupying powers four days later, followed by *Länder* ratification on May 23. The significance of this procedure is not to be overlooked. An initial approval and dictation of terms for the constitution later ratified by the *Länder* definitely generates a pattern of state-building from the top down, with an external force and political elites determining and enforcing these new values on the German people.

Unlike the previous Weimar constitution, state power in the *Grundgesetz* was directed towards protecting basic rights, including human dignity, rights of liberty, equality before the law, and freedom of faith. Equality before the law illustrates one of the most interesting articles for the purposes of discussions about rights and citizens in the new Germany. Roughly translated, section 3 of article 3 states, "No one may be prejudiced or favored because of his sex, his parentage, his race, his language, his homeland and origin, his faith, or his religious or political opinions."[140] Nowhere else in the translation of the document are any references made to race, language, or place of origin.

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[139] Translates as the "Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany." In English, the closest equivalent for this type of document is "Constitution," and it is commonly referred to in this manner. However, in German the official translation for this term is "*Verfassung*."

[140] Deutscher Bundestag, "Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, May 1949 (with amended articles)," http://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/rechtsgrundlagen/grundgesetz/index.html.

Likewise, the preamble states "this basic law is valid for the entire German people," implying the necessity of membership in the nation in order for these basic rights to have any force. The constitution also frequently invokes the terms "Germans" and "German people" and goes as far as defining "German" in Article 116 as one who possesses citizenship.[141]

Herein again lays the difficult issue of race, ethnicity, and citizenship. Even though the constitution extends citizenship to all Germans, the co-existing *Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz* – Nationality Law - traditionally based citizenship on the principle of *jus sanguinis*, meaning citizenship status may be granted to those able to prove a Germanic bloodline and true ethnicity.[142] Within the borders of the state not all peoples living within post-war Germany were ethnic Germans. The combination of the two laws created a system where granting state citizenship meant acknowledging legitimacy as a member of the nation. This Nationality Law, though a prejudiced model for determining citizenship, remained in effect until January 1, 2000, when the principle of subsidiarity behind the European Union essentially forced the German government to relax its citizenship requirements. Currently, children of foreign parents born in the country are extended citizenship while adult foreigners are granted greater rights in the process of naturalization. The goal is to integrate the migrant population and better accommodate the needs of immigrants.

Legal applications of national identity such as this one indicate that the issue of race, though no longer an official policy of the government today, is still a highly politicized issue in defining the German nation and using citizenship tied to ethnicity as a tool of exclusion. The government inadvertently promoted racial divides while simultaneously officially rejecting race-based ideology, a pattern initiated in the post-war period with the failure to re-define the German nation. The German government, furthermore, sent another series of mixed messages regarding the role of racial ideology during the state's reconstruction. Concerning measures of social reform, German leaders needed to

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[141] Ibid.

[142] Auswärtiges Amt, "Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz - German Law on Nationality (Amended Jan. 1, 2000)," *Welcome to Germany*, http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de. The law was originally enacted in 1913.

implement social welfare practices proven to work, and kept in place many welfare practices of past regimes (including Nazi-era programs aimed at encouraging high birth rates).[143] This policy choice further blurred lines and provided no real break in continuity between pre- and post-war Germany.

Few policies illustrate the post-war Government's inability to demonstrate or provide a model of the new national identity better than the *Gastarbeiter* program, which invited foreigners to work and live in Germany. The German government and population treated immigrants as outsiders temporarily occupying space in the state, when these *Gastarbeiter* provided the boon for Germany's economic miracle. The demographic catastrophe of World Wars I and II had removed the most skilled and able workers from two generations, greatly reduced the population, and left large gaps in the employment sector. Rebuilding industry quickly as part of such a massive reconstruction project required a greater number of workers then were available among the extant German population. To remedy the situation, initially the government began opening its borders to a number of so-called *Aussiedler*, ethnic Germans of other states and German speakers expelled from their homes during either World War. According to the new constitution, these people retained the rights to their citizenship as they had been forcibly removed. Between 1950 and 1955 *Aussiedler* comprised the majority of the 275,000 migrants entering the country.[144] Even this influx of workers did not alleviate the employment shortage in the industrial sector, prompting the government to initiate its *Gastarbeiter* program.

Beginning in 1955, the federal government entered into a series of agreements to import able-bodied working men, first with Italy, followed by Spain and Greece in 1960 and Turkey in 1961. Between 1955 and 1960 the migrant population shot up to 721,000 and reached an astounding

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[143]Judt, *Post-war*, 74.
[144] Migration Policy Institute, "Germany: Estimates of the Net Number of Migrants, by five year intervals, 1950 to 2000," Source: United Nations World Population Division (2001), http://www.migrationinformation .org.

899,000 over the next five year period.[145] Nordrhein-Westfalen's position as a heavily industrialized state and important part of Germany's backbone for participating in both the Schuman Plan and the ECSC opened it up to high levels of immigration, and today it has a foreign population of 1,914,424 individuals, or 10.6 percent of the *Land*'s total population.[146] Continued levels of migration and citizenship acquisition between 1950 and 1970 correlate well with the spectacular economic growth that made up Germany's miracle and indicated that the state's economic policies cannot continually remain isolated from social policies of citizenship and the nation. The economic policies of inviting foreign workers to Germany directly affected the organization of society, by changing the complexion and cultural make-up of the German community. Those foreign individuals, responsible for providing necessary labor to rebuild the German economy, lived in a system that made it legally impossible to normalize themselves as "Germans."

The government's position on withholding citizenship from *Gastarbeiter* because of ethnic differences sends the mixed signal to the general population that foreign workers do not belong in Germany as a permanent group. Useful to the German population, but not accepted as members, *Gastarbeiter* worked for the benefit of the official population, subservient "others" meant to exist temporarily. Ideas of racial superiority and ethnic divisions persisted in citizenship policy; national identity based on "othering" was a significant factor for the state even as it offered up a rhetoric promoting tolerance and security for all people.

Primary responsibility for the promotion of tolerance and unity belonged to the *Länder* since the new political system of post-World War II Germany was a federalist system. This provided the *Länder* a framework in which to operate with greater sovereignty. A multi-party system implemented at the state and regional level supported the democratic process and provided a plethora

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[145] Migration Policy Institute, "Germany: Estimates of the Net Number of Migrants, by five year intervals, 1950 to 2000."

[146] Statistische Ämter: Des Bundes und der Länder, "Area and Population - Foreign Population," 10 January 2008, http:// www.statistik-portal.de.

of ideological options to the general public. Noticeably, in accordance with the illegality of race-based ideology, the NSDAP and other parties related to the hateful rhetoric and discriminatory practices of National Socialism and its offshoots remained absent from the political sphere. In its place emerged two dominant parties, representing political ideologies of the moderate left and right. Re-emerging on the left, the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD) supported the interests of the working class and represented itself ideologically as a beacon of Marxist principles though in an evolutionist manner to appeal to a larger cross-section of the voting public. Often the SPD's platform focused on the working conditions, rights, and wages of workers: unionized German citizens.[147]

With the re-establishment of the SPD in 1946, chairman Kurt Schumacher (1946-1952) and his successor Erich Ollenhauer (1952-1963) worked progressively to emphasize their anti-National Socialist roots by using the SPD's legacy as the only party to vote against the Enabling Act as well as strongly backing President Heuss' stance against German re-armament. Locally the SPD tended to find its greatest support in the coal mining communities of the Ruhr regions, with its high percentage of unionized laborers. Even though the SPD thoroughly disconnected itself from racist rhetoric, its emphasis on unions placed its support on those with German citizenship, working for the good of the ethnic group generally and easing the fears of those German workers worried about the influx of migrant laborers. Considering the number of jobs the German government and private sector were unable to fill in the post-war era there is reason to believe that fears of immigrants had their basis in ingrained social beliefs rather than economic ones.

Similarly, the more right-oriented *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* (CDU) worked to promote a platform distinguishing itself from National Socialist programs. Born immediately following the end of World War II, the CDU was based on an agenda in opposition to

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[147] Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, "Der Deutschland-Plan: Die Arbeti von mogen – politik für das nächste Jahrzehnt," http://www.spd.de/.

NSDAP and was built by political leaders who had opposed the Third Reich even during the height of its power. Christian-based in theory, the party aimed to apply non-denominational Christian principles to the practice of democracy as man's duty to uphold Christian ideals in society, a complete anathema to the desires for *Kulturreligion* of German history and Nazi Germany. Furthermore, the CDU platform includes tenets of environmental protection, a social market economy, and securing equal rights and freedoms for citizens.[148] Externally the CDU strongly favors a European Union that is market oriented and supports the process of integration, though ultimately its goal remains the protection of German values. Since the CDU is Christian based, generally its religious base draws primarily from Catholics and Protestants who traditionally comprise the religious element in Germany. To this day the party's Christian based-agenda and voting base places it in an antagonistic relationship with non-Christians, especially Muslim immigrants from Turkey, as illustrated by its continued opposition to Turkish membership into the European Union.[149]

The CDU's belief system creates a moderately nationalist conservative strain of thought, and though again a race-based ideology is not explicitly part of the party's agenda, the implications for using race as political and social factors do exist. Political dominance of these CDU social and political values at the time of the bilateral *Gastarbeiter* program implementation fully perpetuated the notion that these "other" people outside of German values were never meant to settle within the state as the emphasis lay on the ability of these people to return home. The central agenda of the CDU focused on creating a Germany only for Germans and redeveloping old policies in new packages. *Gastarbeiter* programs legally indicated that the usefulness of visiting workers lay in their economic contributions, not social or cultural additions to the German nation. Re-iteration of a closed an easily definable nation most likely contributed to the political appeal of the CDU under Adenauer.

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[148] Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands, "Die Politik der CDU von A-Z auf einen Blick," http://www.cdu.de/.
[149] Ibid.

Initially the majority of the CDU's political capital was aided by Konrad Adenauer, who co-founded the party within his home *Land* of Nordrhein-Westfalen. As a result, Adenauer and the CDU both found a firm support base within the NRW and ably transitioned from local party to state power with Adenauer acting as party chair until 1966 and Federal Chancellor until 1963. Although Adenauer later operated as the face of the CDU at the national level, locally in NRW Karl Arnold played a visible leading role, garnering substantial support for the party and steering the CDU towards a nine-year dominance in the *Land*'s parliament and acting as Minister-President for that same time period. Arnold also tried to provide the crucial link between political ideology and the public sphere made by using the press. Often overlooked, in addition to his government activities, he played a critical role in developing the press' opinions of the CDU and the party's political platform.

With Allied permission and British press license, Arnold established the *Rheinische Post* in March 1946 with fellow NSDAP opponents.[150] As one of a few major papers in Nordrhein-Westfalen, the *Rheinische Post* attempted to disseminate and support the Christian-based, pan-European platform of the CDU. In an effort to increase political competition, the SPD also created a press organ to counter the political influence of the CDU. Licensed in 1946 to Fritz Henßler and Hentry Sträter – local politicians affiliated with the SPD – the *Westfälische Rundschau* promoted the party's desire to implement a socialist government. Both parties focused on establishing their political positions in these papers, but little evidence suggests either the CDU or SPD directly addressed the issue of citizenship. Instead they spent time competing for readership and increasing circulation by printing articles about issues directly affecting potential constituents, such as the economy.

The early establishment of these two papers provided an advantage in terms of readership. Within the former British zone the *Rheinische Post* and *Westfälische Rundschau* were the only party

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[150] The German Historic Museum offers a helpful time line regarding Arnold's public career. German Historic Museum, *Biographie: Karl Arnold, 1901-1958* (Stiftung Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland), http://www.hdg.de.

papers to circulate constantly at over 200,000 copies, mainly within NRW.[151] The struggle between

the two press organs to lead in circulation mirrors the political competition occurring at the *Land* and

national levels. In the immediate post-war period, the Allies carefully controlled and regulated the

number and content of licensed newspapers. In 1949, the *Grundgesetz* proclaimed Germany's free

press and licenses became more widely attainable. The single year of 1949 to 1950 saw an increase

in the number of newspapers from 160 to over 1,000, and into the 1950s this continued to grow with

the average circulation reaching about 10,500 copies by 1953.[152] Furthermore, it illustrates the

problems between the press, ideological dissemination, and popular participation. With fierce

struggles at local, *Land*, and national levels to sell issues, this competition consistently affected the

contents of all newspapers as they yielded their message to popular tastes in order to increase sales

numbers. Overall, non-political articles outweighed political ones, showing the population's

weariness with politics and pre-occupation with economic needs. Most local and provincial presses –

which accounted for 50 percent of publications – seldom wrote their own political stories, instead

obtaining and compressing leading articles from larger papers in order to keep down costs.[153] The

Rheinische Post and *Westfälische Rundschau* were not immune to these effects.

Though high circulating, these party papers had to compete with the emergence of major

critical, non-partisan papers of NRW including the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* and *Handelsblatt* in

Düsseldorf, and *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in Essen. All three papers consistently show

strong sales numbers – which continue today – while engaging in article borrowing from major

national papers such as *Die Welt* and *Die Zeit*. The borrowing of these articles allowed the papers to

cheaply provide stories of national interest while avoiding partisan stories or supporting a specific

ideology. Undoubtedly, the CDU and SPD engaged in these tactics and focused on economic issues

over politics similar to the practices of other regional papers; it is unlikely these party papers would

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[151] Claus Jacobi. "The New German Press," *Foreign Affairs* 32, no. 2 (1954): 326.
[152] Ibid., 325.
[153] Ibid.

have reached their sales numbers by traditional means or highly politicizing themselves. An inability

to sell political messages designed to instruct the population with new ideologies further illustrates

the failure of popular re-education. The CDU, SPD, and their politicians did not utilize this

advantage to press for a new identity because they did not have one to present. This failure,

combined with Germany's free press law, and the employment of former NSDAP propaganda editors

at printing presses – they were the only individuals knowledgeable in the economics and logistics of

newspaper printing and production – created space for the eventual re-emergence of more radical

papers. This became a greater issue later in the 1950s, but early in post-war Germany, the small

number of newspapers allowed the CDU and SPD great flexibility and success in controlling the

political message.

Election results clearly show that in the immediate post-war period, the SPD and CDU

remained the most viable political options, though neither party gained a clear majority and public

support remained spread widely across the board.[154] Two reasons come to mind when determining

why the political scene possessed two largely cohesive parties yet remained so fractured, and both

stem from the Fascist state's blocking of the development of normal politics within Germany. First,

because the system only allowed the expression of a single viewpoint in the political sphere for such

a lengthy amount of time, the collapse of National Socialism saw the emergence of long-suppressed

opinions and thus began a scramble to create parties to express these beliefs.[155] Secondly, all of the

political parties of the new German state formed so recently or had been inactive for so many years

that the competition to attract the public proved difficult in the official absence of the race-based

ideology previously defining the nation.

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[154] CDU, SPD, FDP, REP: The Republicans; PDS: Party of Democratic Socialism, KPD: Communist Party of Germany, and Zentrum were the major available parties for the first post-War election in NRW. This post-war Zentrum party differed from the inter-war party. With its rejection of a broad overarching Christian ideology, the post-war Zentrum continued to cling to a stricter Catholic ideology.

[155] Walter Stahl, *The Politics of Post-war Germany* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1963), 12-23.

In Nordrhein-Westfalen's first election in 1947, the results clearly illustrate this fracturing

with the SPD gaining 32 percent, the CDU gaining 37.5 percent, the *Freie Demokratische Parti*

(FDP) gaining 5.9 percent, and an array of other parties gaining 24.6 percent of the votes, placing

Konrad Arnold in the Minister-Präsident position.[156] Over the next twelve years (three election

periods) Arnold and the CDU in the NWR – taking their cue from Adenauer and the party's state

organization – worked tirelessly to increase their share of the votes by competing with the SPD for

votes from parties in the Other category. Overall in NWR, the FDP as a liberal upper-class

intellectual movement remained a negligible force of opposition to both the CDU and SPD because

of its elitist position, and both parties avoided stumping for these voters. In the Other category were

the struggling *Kommunistiche Parti Deutschlands* (KPD) and Centre Party (*Zentrum*) with 14.0

percent and 9.8 percent of the votes in 1947, respectively.[157] This does not equal the total Other

votes though, and undoubtedly the last remaining percentage represents tiny splinter parties, perhaps

even crypto-fascists; remaining elements of the National Socialist movement with no legal political

outlet for their beliefs. Abolishing Nazism as a political option did not eliminate the corresponding

ideological sentiments. This task proved nearly impossible without a valid and clearly defined

meaning of German identity in the post-Nazi era. As a result, small groups of political marginalized

voters continued to exist.

By 1958 however, the CDU surged ahead with 50.5 percent of the votes while the other

smaller parties dwindled to a mere 3.2 percent.[158] What most likely helped the CDU was their

unifying stance between Catholics and Protestants, which weakened the *Zentrum* (traditionally

politically Catholic) by pulling the Catholic vote toward a party with a proven successful track record

in economic restructuring and revitalization. The KPD in NRW faced even greater challenges,

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[156] Detlef Briesen u.a, *Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Rheinlands und Westfalens* (Köln, 1995), 287.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.

further weakening the voting strength of other minor parties. Emerging initially as a reaction to the

dissolution of the highly anti-Marxist National Socialism, the KPD simply could not deny the success

of capitalist market integration for rebuilding Germany's economy or offer a viable competitive

alternative. Simultaneously, the onset of the Cold War and the intensification of the conflict from

1950 on made communism an unpopular political affiliation as party members became targets for

ridicule in the face of Soviet demonization, especially considering the proximity of capitalist West

Germany to communist East Germany. Industrialization of NRW also made it difficult for the KPD

to compete as the SPD offered protection for unionized workers and a less threatening socialized

democracy, drawing heavily from the KPD's "proletariat" base.

This 10-year comparison in the voting records help reveal several interesting trends regarding

the role of political parties in post-war Nordrhein-Westfalen. First, the CDU had a natural advantage

inside the *Land* for NRW provided the party with its geographical roots. Konrad Adenauer, of Köln,

oversaw the creation of the CDU nationally, initiating the official first meeting in January 1946.

Within the borders of Nordrhein-Westfalen Karl Arnold, of Düsseldorf, led efforts to organize a local

Christian-Democratic party in his hometown; later merging this association with Adenauer's larger

political movement. The principles and ideology of the party, therefore, remained closely tied with

the *Land* from which many of its most prominent members originated. When Adenauer and Arnold

both gained political positions of national importance the ideology of the party resonated in their

messages.

The de-Nazification process also bolstered the popularity of CDU leaders from Nordrhein-

Westfalen. Like post-war Vichy France, the process of cleansing high-profile Nazis within Germany

generated the national myth of popular innocence and naïveté in the face of control and oppression

by the NSDAP.[159] The understanding of collaboration and resistance grew to include different levels

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[159] These national resistance myths helped fuel German myths of victimhood during the War. For a full
explanation of these exercises in selective memory and resistance see Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search*

of participation from national level participation and implementation of Nazi policies all the way to explicit and dangerous forms of resistance. Allied-created *Fragebogen* encouraged these categorizations and the myth of resistance by placing *Fragebogen* registrations into one of 5 clearly defined groups dependent on the answers provided.[160] In the absence of established political leadership, both Allied forces and the general population relied on politically experienced resistors to lead Germany's rebirth.

In this light, the idea of a few men performing acts of heroic suffering for the benefit of courageous mass resistance became especially influential. Both Adenauer and Arnold derived their initial appeal from this movement, celebrated for their past actions and the Germany they popularly represented. Adenauer began his political career two decades prior to WWII as an active and visible member of the Roman Catholic Centre Party (*Zentrum*). As mayor of Köln from 1917 to 1933 he was forced to flee the city when elections provided the NSDAP with a political majority. Twice imprisoned, briefly in 1934 and later in 1944, Adenauer remained a threatening figure to the National Socialist party agenda, noted by Hitler as being "politically and principally inconsistent with the views and aims of the NSDAP."[161] In Düsseldorf Karl Arnold also faced intense pressure and government scrutiny for his political views. Like Adenauer, Arnold's pre-War political activities and personal beliefs led him to participate vigorously in the Centre Party. From 1920-1933 he sat on the Düsseldorf town council as an advocate for the Christian workers. Never yielding to NSDAP politics, Arnold continued to contribute to politically subversive actions, leading to constant surveillance by the Gestapo and his eventual arrest in 1944.

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for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 21-50; Bill Nevin, ed., *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Hans Mommsen, *Alternative to Hitler: Resistance Under the Third Reich*, trans. Angus McGeoch (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 23-41. Though Robert Gildea's book deals exclusively with Vichy France, his work provides readers with the distinct levels of collaboration as viewed through national myths. Robert Gildea, *Marianne in Chains* (New York: Picador, 2002).

[160] The 5 groups were: (1) Mandatory removal, (2) discretionary removal, adverse, (3) discretionary removal, non-adverse, (4) no evidence, (5) anti-Nazi activity. Office of Military Government. Civil Administration Division, *Denazification: Cumulative Review, Report, 1 April 1947-30 April 1948*.

[161] Albert Speer. *Spandau: the secret diaries.* (New York, NY: Macmillan. 1976), 137.

In post-war Germany, these very actions transformed both men from dangerous political dissidents into celebrated saviors. The new foundational myth of Germany supported the CDU, whose leading members' wartime activities generated a social stature unmatched by other emerging political participants. Even Theodor Heuss, as President of the *Bundesrepublik*, bore the stigma of voting for the 1933 Enabling Act along party lines against his, later admitted, better judgment.[162] Though the SPD's Kurt Schumacher earned credibility as a resistor jailed for his political activities, several factors worked against his ability to build a wide political majority across the BRD and specifically within Nordrhein-Westfalen. Ultimately, a resistance legacy proved useful but not the sole determining factor in political popularity.

Nationally, Schumacher and the SPD's largest obstacles proved to be both the Soviets and the Allies, especially the Americans. The formal division of Germany into the BRD and DDR severely reduced the SPD's constituent base since many of the party's original members and strong pre-War area now belonged within the Soviet-controlled DDR.[163] Although the BRD contained socialist voters – 32 percent in NRW - the territories remaining under Western Allied control traditionally contained the more conservative and center constituents loyal to the *Zentrum* and *Deutsche Demokratische Partei* before the Nazi era. As these conservatives and centrists looked to move away from far-right politics, the SPD's policies and programs proved too be too liberal and out of touch with political sentiments. Increasing news of Soviet atrocities and treatment of German citizens in the DDR also did little to gain Schumacher any sympathy or support for his socialist - and often communist – agenda. Preaching socialism, Schumacher and the SPD found themselves fighting a losing battle with the Allies. Certainly the pro-democracy sentiments of the CDU gained

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[162] Theodor Heuss, "Zustimmung zum Ermächtigungsgesetz, 23 March 1933," *Research Library of the Foundation's President Theodor-Heuss-Haus*, http://www.stiftung-heuss-haus.de/html/drittes.html (accessed 5 March 2008).

[163] Looking at 1928 pre-war voting records, it appears as though almost 3.5 million (roughly 37%) SPD voters resided within the DDR. Statistical voting information for the May 1928 federal German election: "20. Mai 1928, Wahl zum 4. Reichstag," *Gebietseinheit: Deutsches Reich*, http://www.gonschior.de.

the attention and support of the Allies, especially as the Americans attempted to build a strong wall against USSR. Adenauer's obvious special relationship with the Allies proved a detriment to Schumacher and his ability to run a successful campaign in 1949, with some speculation that the Americans and French were specifically grooming Adenauer to streamline and strengthen his pro-Capitalist, Western, Pan-European agenda.[164]

The political microcosm of Nordrhein-Westfalen also mirrored these national issues with far greater intensity. This particular *Land* historically provided the Roman Catholic Church with one of the largest voting blocs within the country. Traditionally a conservative stronghold, the CDU ably regained the group of voters lost during and in the lead-up to World War II. The firm beliefs of CDU leaders combined with the backing of the Allied forces led the party to re-emerge legally in January 1946, created out of remaining elements of the *Zentrum*. To re-imagine the nation successfully, former *Zentrum* leaders needed to re-imagine their own party, meeting the challenges and needs of a politically diverse population. Filling the political vacuum left by the collapse of the Third Reich required a party willing to meet the ideological needs of many social classes and ethnic groups. Ultimately a *Sammslungpartei* (omnibus party) emerged, combining the basic moral principles of the Catholic and Protestant faiths, middle class values, and social democracy into an omnibus organization. The new CDU platform remained loyal to the religious element of the *Zentrum*, but also stressed the necessity of economic development pledging to meet the needs of Germany's bourgeois class while remaining loyal to its Christian labor roots.

Still, beyond these Christian social and economic principles, the CDU failed to explicitly define the new German nation or unequivocally reject the racist ideology of the NSDAP. This remained problematic because the CDU could no longer assume itself a party free of racial prejudices. Proving a lack of racial prejudice in *Zentrum* members prior to World War II is

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[164] Thomas Banchoff, *The German Problem Transformed: Institutions, Politics, and Foreign Policy, 1945-1995*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

impossible, though the party's Catholic values and continued opposition to the NSDAP clearly

illustrate an official dedication to tolerance. Changes in voting options, party availability, and

expansion of the CDU voter base, especially in Nordrhein-Westfalen, highlight the party's post-war

ideological issues. Comparisons in federal election results from 1928 and 1933 create an accurate

depiction of CDU member composition prior to World War II and its effects on national identity

politics in the post-war era.

The elections of May 20, 1928 show a generally evenly distributed number of votes between

the two largest parties in Nordrhein-Westfalen, *Zentrum* and its historical rival the SPD.[165] Trailing

slightly was the KPD and in a weak showing the NSDAP had a negligible following. Typical of the

region, *Zentrum* in NRW collected close to 50 percent of the party's entire national share with

1,577,831 votes though within the NRW territory the SPD showed slightly behind with 1,175,700.

KPD voters generated a strong showing with 710,946 votes and the National Socialists gained only

72,533 votes in total.[166] Comparatively, the percentages are as follows: *Zentrum* 29 percent, SPD 22

percent, KPD 13 percent, and NSDAP 1.4 percent. Traditional popularity and party loyalty explain

the large share of votes for *Zentrum* and the SPD, but the KPD's popularity is attributable to general

economic dissatisfaction. The NSDAP's low numbers at this time stem from an incohesive rhetoric,

lack of voter awareness, and trepidation about the party. An important fact stemming from this

election, however, is that the territory of Düsseldorf Ost – the modern capital of the *Land* – had the

greatest number of NSDAP voters in NRW with 19,962 out of 1,085,088 votes in the territory for a

percentage of 1.8 percent; slightly higher than the *Land* average.[167]

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[165] Officially, the British military administration formed NRW on August 23, 1946. Voting records prior to this date are based on the combined records of the territories joined to form NRW: Westfalen Nord, Westfalen Süd, Köln-Aachen, Düsseldorf Ost, and Düsseldorf West.

[166] Statistical voting information for the May 1928 federal German election: "20. Mai 1928, Wahl zum 4. Reichstag," *Gebietseinheit: Deutsches Reich*, http://www.gonschior.de.

[167] Ibid.

By 1933, the unrelieved crippling economic situation coupled with articulation of the NSDAP's ideology caused a radical swing in voting numbers. The March 5 federal election clearly illustrates the gains made by the NSDAP in a stunning, if not frightening, fashion. Like the majority of Germany, the NRW elections show the Nazis earning the political support of the population. Within a span of 5 years, the percentage share of the vote received by the NSDAP climbed from 1.3 percent to just short of 34 percent.[168] The large change in NSDAP numbers and almost 1.6 million increase in voter turnout indicates that National Socialist ability to radicalize and motivate the German populace to participate politically. This change in turnout affected the percentage share of the votes even as votes cast for *Zentrum*, KPD, and SPD numbers saw less fluctuation. *Zentrum* dropped slightly to 26 percent, SPD tumbled to 13 percent, and KPD climbed slightly to 16 percent.[169] Again Düsseldorf Ost presented the highest share of NSDAP support with a higher than *Land* average of 37 percent. Even with strong traditional parties, the NRW political system experienced the same fate as the national system. In a short span of time, the National Socialist party convinced 37 percent of the German population in Düsseldorf - including over 1.5 million new voters - to either support or overlook their racially charged ideology in favor of economic development and promises of glory and strength for the – racially defined – German people. In November of the same year, the National Socialists ran a final, highly orchestrated, highly partisan election with only the NSDAP on the ballot. Though turnout numbers for the *Länder* remain unclear, the estimate is 92% of votes cast nationally in support of the NSDAP and 7.8% of submitted ballots invalidated by protest votes.[170]

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[168] Statistical voting information for the March 1933 federal German election: "5. März 1933, Wahl zum 8. Reichstag," *Gebietseinheit: Deutsches Reich*, http://www.gonschior.de.

[169] "5. März 1933, Wahl zum 8. Reichstag."

[170] Several international news articles at the time report these or similar results. "Germany's One Party Election," *The Canberra Times*, 14 November 1933, http://newspapers.nla.gov.au (accessed 13 July 2008).. "All Germans Rounded Up to Vote" *The Guardian*, 13 November 1933, http://www.guardian.co.uk (accessed 13 July 2008).

Considering the sheer number of NSDAP supporters, following the Allied occupation the new reorganized CDU faced an intimidating ideological struggle. This is when the CDU maximized public support by engaging in a comprehensive and inclusive political message based on Christian principles and economic strength for Germany, as well as utilizing the history of the party and its members. In Nordrhein-Westfalen, this policy building process generated the most clear and troubling implications for contemporary Germany. In its new rhetoric though, the CDU failed to confront the post-war issue of individuals who joined the party and brought their racial definitions of Germany with them. In this environment, the CDU did not directly foster race-based ideologies, but provided a safe haven for these ideas because the CDU did not counter these definitions with one of its own.

On June 26, 1945 the CDU made its first appeal to the German people by appealing to the sense and desire for national strength, a tactic the National Socialists perfected. Rather than framing this nationalist ideology in racial terms, the CDU under Adenauer focused on re-energizing and encouraging Christianity in Germany. Adenauer's nationalism possessed pretexts of religious faith, and the CDU pressed citizens to return to the "culturally formative and spiritual forces of Christianity, and draw upon it as a source of strength for our people."[171] Within this appeal the CDU quickly re-enforced the myth of popular German absolution, claiming the country suffered "victimization of an insane leadership."[172] This message condemns Hitler's treatment of the German people by highlighting the sacrifices, suffering, and death forced upon them. This new foundational myth created severe implications for the German identity, and a dangerous precedent regarding race relationships. Fomenting ideas about German suffering without separately denouncing the Holocaust, Anti-Semitism, or racism equalizes the experience of both groups and negates the unique racial anger extant in National Socialist ideology and supported by the general population. The idea,

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[171] National Christian Democratic Union. "Appeal to the German People, June 16, 1945" *German History in Documents and Images*, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3070.
[172] Ibid.

therefore, becomes that the racist ideology was not at the center of the *Reich's* failure, it was the

economic and political treatment of the German people. When the CDU promised "to expunge every

last trace of the system that is to blame for terrible sacrifice…and…misery," those traces emphasized

were a crushing economic system and lack of political transparency at home, and a lack of political

co-operation abroad.[173] This appeal discussed the rights of all people, as well as democracy, and

economic policy, but there are neither any direct negations of Hitler's brand of racially motivated

nationalism nor a new definition of "German" identity.

Adenauer did work diligently over several years to build up support for the CDU, and sought

with varying degrees of success to impose his particular ideology on the party. Adenauer's personal

beliefs stressed the dignity of the individual, considering communism and Nazism materialist

worldviews that violated this dignity. This belief often put him at odds with other CDU leaders who

supported a platform uniting Socialism and Christianity.[174] In their system, economics and

democracy were the imperatives, not the dissolution of racial divides.

Following this mass appeal, the CDU's general plan of action began spreading popularly,

especially in NRW. The CDU actually used the *Land* to launch its official political platform,

capitalizing on the popularity of "hometown heroes" like Adenauer and Arnold. On July 15, 1949

political elites unveiled their vision for the party and country in Düsseldorf, creating a set of

guidelines named for the city which played such a central role in NRW's politics. These guidelines

set the standard for economic and social policies in order to differentiate the platform of the CDU

from that of the re-coalesced SPD. In this case, economic and social policies are not separate

entities, but overlap to institute a social market economy. Social policy for the CDU represented

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[173] Ibid.

[174] Charles Williams, *Adenauer: The Father of the New Germany* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 2000), 307. For more information on Adenauer's personal and public life see Robert J. Granieri, *Ambivalent Alliance: Konrad Adenauer, the CDU/CSU, and the West, 1949-1966* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003); and especially Adenauers personal memoirs. Konrad Adenauer, *Memoirs*, trans. Beate Ruhm von Oppen (Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1966).

actively and aggressively decreasing gaps in wealth distribution, outlining a market concept

reflecting the party's basic principles of an economy neither planned nor liberal-capitalist.[175]

Nothing presented in the social policy actively pursued policies aimed at repairing race relations or

the re-defining the German identity to force greater inclusion.

Düsseldorf played a central role in CDU development, because its voting numbers prior to

the National Socialist era made it highly receptive to a Christian-based party. Local political

sentiments provided the CDU with an opportunity to fine-tune the party's message in order to

maximize potential voter loyalty and support. If the CDU could generate large numbers of registered

voters in Düsseldorf, then their message would ultimately prove popular throughout Nordrhein-

Westfalen. The CDU threw its weight behind the influence of Karl Arnold, well respected in the

political arena by the center-right due to his long and successful career at the municipal level.

Admiring citizens of the center-right elevated Arnold for his resistance activities, though many

citizens celebrated the heroism of one of their own in the face of myths of suffering. To maintain

their political strength in the face of fierce competition from the SPD, the CDU purposefully avoided

racial themes for fear of blaming Germans for their participation in NSDAP politics. Such blame

would have alienated potential voters and weakened Adenauer's ability to carry out his social market

and re-integration agenda for Germany. Unfortunately, this avoidance of racial ideology and its

result inhibited discussions about German nationality and bypassed a crucial opportunity for foraging

a new identity definition for "German." Instead, the discussion revolved around generic discussions

about rights for all people and human dignity. Support of these two items does not equate to an

expansion of German identity, allowing the CDU to accept members who preferred to describe

German in discriminatory racial terms.

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[175] National Christian Democratic Union, "Düsseldorf Guidelines for Economic Policy, Agricultural Policy, Social Policy, and Housing, July 15, 1949" *German History in Documents and Images*, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3094.

Avoidance of redefining identity combined with the SPD's less popular political platform generated strong voter support for the CDU. In the SPD's first public appeal following the war – issued on the same day as the CDU – party leadership further perpetuated the suffering German myth by preying on fears of political exploitation proclaiming, "the German people must never again be abused as the trusting victims of unscrupulous political adventurers."[176] Consistently the SPD referred to "the German people" in its appeal without providing any indication if their definition of German identity encompassed the same ideology of the Nazi party, or if it rejected "German" as an ethnic, race-driven term. The SPD also avoided issues of race and German identity, distancing itself from National Socialistic rhetoric by "firmly rejecting any return to totalitarian thinking and behavior."[177] From the Socialist Party's appeal though, it is not apparent that totalitarian thinking and behavior applied to the socio-cultural elements of Germany. Point one of the SPD's agenda called for "complete elimination of all traces of the Hitler regime in legislation, jurisprudence, and state administration," generally a removal of the National Socialist agenda from all levels of government operation.[178] Neither party then distanced themselves officially and clearly from racial agendas, admonished Germans who adhered to such rhetoric, or offered a new national definition. The only clear idea presented is that Germany must be different than it was before, focused mainly on political and economic modifications.

Since the two parties did not compete over social identity definitions, the economy and government remained the issues most likely to attract voters throughout the country and in Nordrhein-Westfalen. In this *Land* the SPD came up short for several reasons. Initially, Kurt Schumacher failed to capture the imagination of NRW citizens with his resistance activities because

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[176] National Social Democratic Party, "Political Principles of the Social Democratic Party, May 1946," *German History in Documents and Images*, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3014.

[177] Ibid.

[178] National Social Democratic Party, "Call to Rebuild the Party Organization, June 15, 1945," *German History in Documents and Images*, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3013.

local loyalties created preferences for resistors from the *Land* with ties to the traditionally strongest

party. While the SPD eventually garnered many votes and popular interest, it is likely these voters'

backgrounds largely represented the lower-class wage earners of the industrial sector. The CDU,

however, still managed to win many of these votes with the promotion of its Christian labor roots.

Schumacher's personal beliefs further contributed to the SPD's weakness during post-war elections

in Nordrhein-Westfalen. His desire to implement a strong central administration, especially the

presidency, met with great skepticism and resistance by the CDU, Allies, and general population.

None of these groups found any appeal in re-instating a strong central government after the havoc

caused by unchecked behavior by Hitler. Popularly as well, Schumacher's idea performed poorly

among a constituency which consistently showed strong devotion to local and regional ties over

national ones, especially in the face of *Land* restructuring after the occupation. The opposition to this

idea proved too great, and the approved version of the *Grundgesetz* in May 1949 contained a federal

system granting greater power to the *Länder* and representative legislative branches, and a weak

presidency acting as a ceremonial head of state.

Finally, the SPD under Schumacher strongly opposed the pan-European movements

supported by Adenauer and the Allies. Schumacher did favor a united Europe on his terms: a Europe

united by socialism and only occurring after Germany reunited and healed itself internally.[179] This

political opinion proved unpopular in NRW, where many citizens were eager to integrate with the

international community as a way to improve the desperate economic situation. Many bourgeois

business owners felt the CDU's economic goals benefited them more directly and immediately than

the SPD's. In this case, Adenauer's push for urgent pan-European integration proved correct and

successful, leading to the *Wirtschaftwunder* and industrial revitalization of the Rhein-Ruhr region.

By 1960 industrial production had risen to two-and-one-half times the level of 1950 and far beyond

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[179] Dr. Kurt Schumacher, "Our Place in Europe," *News from Germany* 3, no. 2 (1949), http://www.ena.lu/ (accessed 22 September 2007).

any that the Nazis had reached during the 1930s.[180] This policy success generated vital support for the CDU over the next decade, significantly increasing the party's voting percentage over the SPD in both *Land* and *Bundes* elections.

By the end of the 1950s, although politically NRW operated as part of a multi-party system, the only two real options remained the CDU and SPD, each attempting to define this new Germany according to a set of social principles rather than race-based ones stemming from efforts to solidify the state and its regions as economic powerhouses. A strong economy therefore rather than a dominant biology made a strong people. In the end, in NRW the CDU capitalized on this best, with Arnold using his connections to Adenauer and the strength of the party's economic policy over the SPD to support promises of strong economic development and the later success of economic integration and international recognition as initiated by the CDU.

Numbers provide very little information about feelings and identity possessed by voters. There is no way to tell whether people voted for these parties because they believed in the new national identity message of the elites, or whether the votes went to these parties simply due to the fact that there were few viable options to choose from. Economic questions largely guided the political rhetoric of the post-war era, and the outcome of these elections may largely be an issue of "voting the pocketbook." Neither party openly initiated a revival of racist rhetoric, but nor did they openly speak to condemn the practice of "othering" outside peoples. Race and ethnicity, aside from defining German as a citizen, generally received little treatment, was ignored, and made a non-issue rather than instituting programs aimed at promoting tolerance and integrating different segments into society. Both parties seemed to believe that proclaiming themselves anti-National Socialist equated to anti-racist, but this in fact does not change German national identity. Only a program that actively

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[180] W.R. Smyser, "The Economic Miracle and Beyond - A Country Study: Germany" *Library of Congress Country Studies*, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1996), "The Economic Miracle and Beyond," Sec. 1.

works to provide alternative outlets for anger and frustration, rather than using minority groups as scapegoats, can properly re-imagine German national identity.

In the post-World War II setting, the articulation of German national identity emerged from the collapse of the Third Reich very broken, indicating a flaw in German culture in Romantic Nationalist terms. The fractured setting required the implementation of instrumental nationalism for two reasons: first there was no well-articulated definition of the nation extant; secondly, instrumental nationalism was the best option for preventing the re-emergence of a race-based ideology. Although newly emerging political leaders deftly handled the economic possibilities, they let the matter of race settle, a "touchy subject" that might only serve to reawaken hard feelings and re-introduce bitter enemies. Without a leadership that proved to the populace that minorities can exist within German borders without diluting the power of German culture, the government did not eliminate distrust and, in some cases, hatred of other cultures. Try as they might to distance themselves from National Socialism and its ideology, the government failed to change the general undercurrent of racism within the state and therefore the national identity. The program in the international arena met far more success as German leadership convinced the international community to re-imagine the identity of the German nation. At this level, national re-imagination presented a much simpler task because it did not touch on the very sensitive issue of what it meant to be German or what German *Kultur* represented.

EPILOGUE:

THE NEW GERMAN QUESTION

For the contemporary German state, this inability to re-imagine the nation beyond the scope of popular nationalisms based in racial ideology presents severe implications for the state and how its population interacts in present-day society. Over the last decade of 1999-2009, violent crimes against immigrants, foreigners, and minority groups continue to grow in number and severity, especially in Nordrhein-Westfalen, which remains the most densely populated of all the *Länder*. In the year 2008, the *Landeskriminalamt* calculated that of the 4,668 politically motivated crimes, 3,349 of them (71 percent) had right-wing origins, an increase of 2 percent from 2007.[181] These racially motivated crimes show no sign of dissipating either, considering the number of immigrants to Germany continually increases each year.

Recently, members of the government, not only the general population, have found themselves caught up in xenophobic hype, and in NRW members of political parties are legally limiting the cultural activities of minorities, rather than address the attitudes of the ethnic German population, in an effort to stop the rising tide of violence. In April 2001, the *Rheinische Post* reported that Interior Minister of NRW Friedrich Behrens (SPD) complained that Turkish immigrants make insufficient efforts to integrate themselves into German society and that knowledge of German language and customs should be made compulsory.[182] In 2006, the government of NRW joined seven other states in forbidding teachers in public schools to wear the Muslim *hajib*, a measure passed by the majority CDU party. Measures such as these only reinforce the notion of "otherness" through the desire to require all minorities to conform to government norms about German society; it

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[181] Innenministerium Nordrhein-Westfalen, "Zahlen zur PMK," in *Verfassungsschutzbericht des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen über das Jahr 2008* (Düsseldorf, 2009), 153-162, http://www.im.nrw.de (accessed 13 March 2009).

[182] "North Rhine-Westphalia wants to change the laws concerning foreigners: SPD warns the Turks—learn German or get less money," *Rheinische Post*, April 9, 2001, final edition.

is apparent that the politicians are following the lead of the ethnic German majority who are thus defining the identity of the German nation.

Even those political parties long associated with anti-Nazi activity are not immune from ethnically motivated rhetoric. Such comments and ideas are now gaining more traction within majority and mainstream parties like the SPD and CDU, especially in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Evidence for this exists in comments like those made by Friedrich Behrens, and the appointment of Jürgen Rüttgers to the position of *Minister-Präsident* by the NRW *Landtag* in 2005. Chairman of the CDU in NRW, Rüttgers made his views on minorities widely known, building his career on staunch anti-immigration views and making headlines with quotes like, "Kinder statt Inder"("Children before Indians") and proclaiming the superiority of Christianity. Until recently, sentiments like these remained marginalized to parties like the National Democrats (NPD), who only gained 0.9% of the vote in NRW's 2005 election.[183] Paradoxically though, as anti-immigration sentiment continues to increase, the NPD may actually experience a decrease in voter support, drawn away by the major parties. As this rhetoric becomes more widespread and acceptable among the political majority, the CDU and some SPD members will continue to incorporate racially motivated language and platforms into the ideology of the party. Unfortunately, the government succumbing to the racially based desires of the population in this way only continues to validate, and condone, violent behaviors and reduces these minorities to a subhuman status because of their condition of exclusion from the nation.

The national unit, as simply put as possible, refers to the shared identity and culture of particular communities.[184] There is nothing political or territorial about the definition as such, which requires the maintenance of specific boundaries or purity. The nation will occupy a territory due to

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[183] Landesamt für Statistik und Datenverarbeitung Nordrhein-Westfalen, *Die Gemeinden Nordrhein-Westfalens 2005* (Düsseldorf, 2005).

[184] Richard Caplan and John Feffer, eds., *Europe's New Nationalism: States and Minorities in Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 86.

its nature, but is not identified by its geographic boundaries or its political system within said territory. Shared culture, customs, and history represent the true basis for beginning to define a nation. These items though are not static, existing fluidly to incorporate changes created by time, interaction, re-interpretation. The attempt to define the modern nation through the lens of idealized past experiences negates these elements and denies the true cultural experience, futilely endeavoring to implement a national ideal which never existed, indicative of the Romantic Nationalist model. Such an approach seeks to impose a permanently defined structure upon the nation, reducing its fluidity and increasing its resistance to change. The purpose is to provide the nation with the same structural benefits that the state possesses; including sovereignty, political control, and a monopoly on violence. This is not an unusual mission in contemporary society considering the widespread practice of using the words "state" and "nation" interchangeably. The overall effect though increases devotion to the state as a cultural container.

It is oppositely the nature of the state to act as an apparatus that has a monopoly over the use of politics, violence, and the social division of labor within territorially defined boundaries. The states comprising Europe today and the people within them often refer to themselves as nation-states, creating many difficulties in the transition from individual states to a fully integrated regional body. It is becoming increasingly clear however, that the ability of the EU to embody Pan-Europeanism or Europe is impeded by issues surrounding the perpetuation of the myth of the nation-state on the continent. If there is any single hurdle to the completion of integration and the creation of the embodiment of "Europe" in one entity, that hurdle is undoubtedly the continued existence of the myth of the nation-state on the continent, as evidenced by the difficulty in passing the recent Treaty of Lisbon. The German state perpetuates this practice, using legislation, citizenship requirements, and other tools granted by its sovereign status to protect the nation. The CDU and liberal parties both continue to perpetuate this strong state apparatus with their programs supporting market integration

of Europe but keeping at arm's length when it comes to social integration as it infringes on state

sovereignty and may remove legislative tools designed to protect the nation.

This conflict is illustrated most recently by the government's slow incorporation of European

Council Equality Directives 2000/43/EC and 2000/78/EC. [185] After six years of heated argument and

three potential bills, in the summer 2006 the Bundestag finally incorporated these Directives into

federal law. Some of the arguments against these directives included attacking their pointlessness

because such discrimination did not exist, as well as warning that these directives would ultimately

promote discrimination. In German politics as well as in German society the disadvantaged position

of migrants or minorities is hardly perceived as a result of direct discrimination, but primarily as

caused by a lack of qualification or "human capital" of the migrants.[186] Consequently, anti-

discrimination provisions are not viewed as a viable solution to the "integration problems" of

migrants. The German government and peoples' belief in the rights of the nation-state are obstacles

to both the integration of minorities into society, as well as German integration into the European

Union.

Two issues firmly associated with the nation-state are those of sovereignty and nationalism.

Nationalism is a great force among peoples, used to tie those of similar cultural and ethnic

backgrounds together into a singular collective unit, the nation. Not only does it bind those people

together, but it also perpetrates the desire, even necessity, for self-determination based on the

uniqueness of the nation and desire to preserve those similarities and maintain their seeming purity.

To achieve these goals, the nation must have a sovereign state which more or less is coterminous

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[185] CD 2000/43/EC created a framework for combating discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin, the principle of "equal treatment." CD 2000/78/EC created a framework for combating discrimination in employment on the grounds of religion, belief, disability, age, or sexual orientation. European Commission, "Council Directive 2000/43/EC, July 19, 2000," *Official Journal of the European Commission* L 180 (2000): 22-26. European Commission, "Council Directive 2000/78/EC,November 27, 2000," *Official Journal of the European Commission* L 303(2000): 16-22. Both from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/ (accessed 23 March 2008).
[186] Mario Peucker, "Equality and anti-discrimination approaches in Germany" through the European Forum for Migration Studies, University of Bamberg (Germany), January 31, 2007, http://www.efms.uni-bamberg.de/pdf/Anti-discrimination_in_Germany.pdf (accessed 19 April 2007).

with the nation. Sovereignty then is the political and spatial manifestation of this nationalism. To be

sovereign is to have a population represented by the political entity within a specific geographical

territory, the state. Therefore nations are cultural and states are political. The terms *nation* and *state*

have been used interchangeably, so much that their real meanings have been comingled; for too often

they are mean to express the same unit, giving rise the term and myth of the nation-state.

Contemporary nationalism as it exists is weak and used to maintain a culture rather than as a

means to achieve self-determination. By enabling a sentiment of nationalism, a government creates

the notion that they are protecting the interests of the majority nation and its culture to ensure their

own continued political success. By insisting on the purity of a national culture, Europeans are

consistently denying their own histories and the deep common background and culture they have

come to possess, including those ties and bonds with the "other." These include Jews, Gypsies, other

traditionally European Christian groups, and ethnic and religious minorities with former colonial ties

to the continent. Sovereign political boundaries are incapable of containing a culture and preventing

the infusion of foreign elements into that culture.

The persistence of the idea of the nation-state then is rooted in the misrepresentation of

nationalism. Nation-states have always been truly based on the existence of a cultural majority

within a territory, and not a cultural purity. For many governments, the claim to legitimacy is based

on homogenous popular unity and sovereignty based on that unity.[187] Culturally, the German

language distinguishes *Staatsangehörigkeit* from *Nationalität*, citizenship from ethnic identity,

though politically it still very much allows one to inform the other.[188]   Under German nationality

law, one cannot be granted citizenship without first receiving recognition as a member of the German

nation. Divisions of civilian loyalty within the sphere of mass politics are present at local, regional,

and national levels, while the elitist sphere resides both at the national and supranational levels of

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[187] Anthony D. Smith, "National Identity and the Idea of European Unity," *International Affairs* 68, no. 1 (1992): 62.
[188] Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 177.

European society.[189] This remains especially true at the popular level where fears pertaining to high levels of immigration and the dissolution of existing cultures due to the admittance of other values and traditions are very much ingrained. These German fears do not exist in a vacuum, however, and this pattern of misrepresenting the nation in support of the nation-state exists across the continent.

Many European state leaders are hesitant to openly support Turkish inclusion to the Union because of sentiments expressed by their constituents on the popular level. With the already high levels of Turkish immigration to Western Europe and the existing backlash against that segment of society, the elites are aware of the popular fear that the entrance of Turkey to the EU and its ability to be party to the Schengen Agreement will only provide greater opportunity for Turkish immigrants to enter these countries – now legally. Surface arguments concentrate on effects to the job market: rising unemployment rates, lower incomes, status, benefits and opportunities of the native population. This breeds fear of racial "war," that is the debasement of European culture and civilization driving the arguments against the EU Equality Directives. An opinion poll conducted by the Eurobarometer in June 2005 showed that seventy-eight percent of Austrians feared an increase in immigration, with similar numbers in both Germany and France.[190] German attitudes towards discrimination also prove troubling. While heated debates about Directive 2000/78/EC occurred, Eurobarometer conducted another poll comparing attitudes towards discrimination in the EU. Startlingly, the results showed that the number of Germans opposing discrimination was proportionally lower than in any other EU state. While the Union average of all Europeans was 82 percent, Eurobarometer found that only 68 percent of Germans rejected discrimination.[191] What this

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[189] William M. Downs, "Regionalism in the European Union: Key Concepts and Overviews," *Journal of European Integration* 24, no. 3 (2002): 171.

[190] "Why Was Austria a Sticking Point," *BBC News*, October 3, 2005. http://news.bbc.co.uk (accessed 3 November 2005).

[191] European Commission for Employment, Social Affairs, and Equal Opportunity, "Discrimination in Europe." in *Eurobarometer 57.0. Executive Summary*, 2003, http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/publications (accessed 2 July 2007).

indicates is a deep lack of sympathy regarding culturally ingrained discrimination and is a sign of the pervasiveness of German ideology in society.

Statistics regarding the number of violent crimes reported have surely been increasing as well given the number of incidents reported by the international media. Official documents released by German police departments of each *Land* make it difficult to tell though, as the number of crimes committed based on race, sex, or ethnicity are social designations and it is the decision of the *Land*'s judicial affairs officer whether or not to release such statistics.[192] This example regarding the reluctance to implicate Germans for hate-crimes provides more evidence for the damage done by the programs of de-Nazification, instrumental nationalism, and the suppression of German memory. Without such a political and social discussion in the immediate post-war period, the German populace was unable to face its past and therefore remained blissfully ignorant regarding the role of the general population in the perpetration of National Socialist policies.

The Romantic understanding and definition of the German nation never received the negation at the popular level necessary to disintegrate such popularly ingrained myths of biological superiority, defects of modernity, and such cultural despair. The decade of the 1950's offered Germany the ability to re-imagine itself though the new program of instrumental nationalism only served to suppress such a *Weltanschauung* rather than re-formulate the popular understanding of German identity, as evidenced by the study of Nordrhein-Westfalen and the inability to provide for a new ethnic presence socially and politically even though it accommodated for them economically. Immigrants in this capacity remain working tools and not individuals capable of joining the German nation. Overall, Germany remains susceptible to strains of Romantic Nationalism, focusing on the transition of pre-modern to modern to post-modern. This transference occurred in such a way that the values of organic primordialism still remain and the emergence of a nationalism in contemporary

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[192] Criminal Statistics released by the Polizei of Düsseldorf and Nordrhein-Westfalen do not include specific categories for hate crimes, or racially motivated criminal activity. Polizei des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, "Kriminalstatistik 2008," 2009, http://www1.polizei-nrw.de (accessed 26 October 2007).

Germany illustrates a genuine sublimation between pre-modern and post-modern forms of

nationalism and the capacity for violence against minorities and the "Other" appears to grow on a

daily basis.

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