

Liberal Nationalism's Role in the Development of the German Nation-State

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In German history, nationalism is the key to understanding the people and their history. The problem is that many see German nationalism as the events leading up to and following National Socialism, or Nazism. Others ignore the other major events in Germany's history or see them as insignificant in comparison. It is true that Hitler and the Nazis were a major component in German history and it is impossible to overlook their role in history, not just in Germany but in the world. But to see the development of Germany, and more specifically German nationalism, as only revolving around National Socialism is to ignore the other factors that influenced their history as a nation. Throughout German history, other possibilities existed as alternatives to the imperialist and chauvinist nationalism displayed in the Wilhelmine Era and later under National Socialism. In contrast, liberalism, the most influential alternative, had an important role in the development of German history. The German liberal and progressive tradition formed the development of a German nation-state in the 19th and 20th centuries. Liberal and progressive nationalism pervades German history and its importance cannot be overshadowed by the typical nationalism mentioned when discussing the development of a unified German nation-state.

The German national sentiment began when Napoleon united the German principalities from just under 400 to around 40 territorial units, destroyed the fading Holy Roman Empire, and brought an idea of a similar enemy to these newly united territories.¹ It was not until 1848 however, that a serious attempt at unification was made. The Springtime of Nations in 1848 sparked revolutions throughout Europe, beginning in France. Liberals in the German-state revolted as well, although they were eventually unsuccessful. This led many to believe that the outcome of the 1848 revolution was the liberals' only chance to vastly influence German history, but no revolutions in

Europe succeeded in 1848. Liberals believed in constitutionalism, an overall goal of unification, civil equality, the rights of smaller states over rights by birth, and were opposed to absolutism.² Liberals had a very strong belief in individual freedom. This value was demonstrated by all liberals, including the Progressives and the National Liberals.

The inability of the newly established Frankfurt Parliament was displayed by the conflict over Schleswig-Holstein when Prussia sued for peace without the approval of the newly formed, liberal based Frankfurt Parliament.³ The Frankfurt Parliament had been abolished by 1849, just one year after its creation. There were many other factors involved in the failure of the Frankfurt Parliament, which led to the failure of the liberal revolution.

The largest obstacle to the success of the liberals was the crisis over the Grossdeutsch or Kleindeutsch solution to uniting Germany. The Grossdeutsch solution proposed to unify Germany including Austria while the Kleindeutsch solution was the opposite, a united German state without Austria and consequently led by Prussia. The price of excluding Austria was too high for many and by the time the liberals had realized this, it was too late. The power of the Hapsburgs and the refusal of the crown of a unified Germany that the liberals had offered first to Austria and then Prussia, ultimately led to the end of the revolution.⁴ This idea of the Grossdeutsch or Kleindeutsch Germany did not see resolution until the Crimean War in 1854, which ended with Prussia emerging as the likely leader in a future unified Germany. The idea of unification was more accessible after the outcome of the Crimean War and could be one reason why Bismarck succeeded in uniting Germany two decades after the liberals' attempt failed. Although the liberals' attempt at unification in 1848 ultimately failed, liberal ideals were not defeated. These same ideas were an influential factor throughout German history. Many in Europe were not ready for Germany to become a major player in European politics. Historian Edgar Feuchtwanger stated that the British and Russians both had some influence over the failure of the liberal revolution. Both were very interested in the conclusion of the Schleswig-Holstein issue since they wanted the balance of power in

¹ Edgar Feuchtwanger, *Imperial Germany, 1850-1918* (London: Routledge, 2001), 1.

² Christopher Clark, "Germany 1815-1848: Restoration or pre-March?" in *German History since 1800*, ed. Mary Fulbrook (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 49.

³ Feuchtwanger, *Imperial Germany*, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

Europe to remain as it was. Russia also supported the resurgence of the Hapsburg Empire as protection against revolution. This relationship changed with the outcome of the Crimean War, which led to a more favorable setting for German unity.⁵

Feuchtwanger suggested that outside factors aided in the failure of the liberal revolution, not the actual beliefs of the liberals. This reinforced the idea that the liberals, not their ideas, failed in 1848. Because of this, their influence in German history should not be weighed exclusively on this event. Those that write about Germany and its history seem to forget the achievements that the liberals achieved during the revolution. These accomplishments influenced later attempts at unification. Some of these include constitutions being left in place after the revolution, the idea of non-absolute monarchies, a three-tier voting system in Prussia, and the idea of providing direct suffrage.⁶ Feuchtwanger said that among the liberals “the prevailing mood was that in 1848 only a battle, not the war, had been lost... Liberalism retained the potential to prevail in the future,”⁷ and as will be demonstrated, it does prevail and is a major shaping factor on the rest of nineteenth and twentieth century German history.

The unification of Germany in 1871 by the conservative, Prussian Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck could be seen as a failure for the liberals and could also signify their decline in politics. The unification wars were more of a success than a failure, though, when examined thoroughly.

Often described as the revolution from above, the unification of Germany was hardly achieved solely by Bismarck and the conservatives. The idea that Prussia would be the one to unite Germany developed before Bismarck. After the Crimean War, many saw Prussia as the leader in German affairs. The *Nationalverein* also helped the idea of a Kleindeutsch solution develop. “The *Nationalverein* was founded in 1859, bringing together liberals and democrats, whose aim was to revive the project of forming Kleindeutschland under Prussian leadership that had foundered ten years earlier”⁸ This movement emerged before Bismarck had ever become Prime Minister of Prussia, meaning that the liberals must have helped in the national sentiment of unification under Prussia.

⁵ Ibid., 15.

⁶ Ibid., 5.

⁷ Ibid., 6.

⁸ Ibid., 20.

Bismarck, when he first came into power, immediately began talks of German unification, and on September 30, 1862 he described to the people of Germany how he was to deliver unification:

Germany does not look to Prussia's liberalism, but to her power; Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden may indulge their liberalism, but they cannot play the role of Prussia; Prussia must gather her strength and preserve it for the favourable moment, which has been missed several times...the great questions of the time will not be decided by speeches and majority resolutions-that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849-but by iron and blood.⁹

Bismarck acknowledged that liberalism was everywhere in Germany and drew on the reasons that the liberals failed in 1848, mainly the idea of Germany being unified without Austria. He specifically acknowledged in his speech the influence of the liberal revolution and the need to focus on a Kleindeutsch solution. He also drew on the liberal idea of becoming less ideological and more focused on realism, also known as *Realpolitik*. Although the wars of unification were a conservative “revolution from above,” the liberals played a prominent role in shaping the process that Bismarck used to unify Germany.

In 1861 many old liberals returned to politics with the creation of the German Progressive Party, a left wing liberal group in opposition to both the indemnity law and the new constitution. They claimed 104 out of 352 seats in the elections for a new chamber in December 1861. This was in contrast to the Conservatives who claimed only 14 seats. The Old Liberals, a traditional group that believed their power resided in the monarchy, still had a strong hold as well, although they did lose some footing, going from 195 to 91 seats. When the King of Prussia dissolved this chamber and called for new elections in 1862, the Progressives strengthened their position, holding over forty percent of the chamber.¹⁰

In regards to the actual wars of unification, many liberals were against Bismarck's actions and were only swayed by convincing victories. After the war against Denmark for Schleswig-Holstein a stalemate between Bismarck and the liberals remained. “Years later in retirement he (Bismarck) referred to those days as a time when he was ‘almost as close to the gallows as to the throne’.” Even after the successful war with Denmark, Bismarck's dismissal and replacement

⁹ Ibid., 28.

¹⁰ Ibid., 23-24.

by a more liberal ministry was still widely predicted.”¹¹ Bismarck, though, learned from the liberal mistakes of 1848, and although he felt unification would be achieved only through “iron and blood,” he knew the support of the liberals was necessary. After the defeat of the Austrians in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866, numerous liberals began to side with Bismarck and believe in the coming unification. This victory also led to the establishment of the North German Confederation, which drew on the influences of the liberals, specifically the idea of universal suffrage. “He (Bismarck) wanted a parliament elected on universal suffrage, such as he had already proposed earlier in the year and as had figured in the constitution that finally emerged from the Frankfurt Parliament in 1849.”¹² Many liberals did not accept Bismarck’s actions, though, as disagreement over the Indemnity Law of 1866 demonstrated. This controversy split the liberals into two parties, the National Liberals, those who accepted the indemnity law, and the Progressive Party, which eventually became the Catholic Centre Party.¹³ Many believe this split led to their decline. In the years directly after unification, though, the two liberal parties were the major parties in the Reich. This split was one of the main reasons that unification by Bismarck was seen as a failure for the liberals, when in fact many liberals were willing to support Bismarck because it would lead to the achievement of their goals. As previously mentioned, the main goal for liberals both in 1848 and in 1871 was unification. Thus, the unification of Germany under Bismarck was a success for the liberals. Even though it was not under their terms, many of their values and beliefs were represented in the newly formed society.

The Prussian Liberals who made their peace with Bismarck, the National Liberals, could feel that much of what they had wanted had been achieved. Unity had come before freedom, but freedom could only be achieved in a unified country, not in the dwarf states into which Germany had hitherto been divided. Much could still be achieved under the new dispensation and was indeed achieved, especially in the social and economic sphere. A genuinely unified system of law would emerge from the collaboration of the National Liberals with the Bismarck government in the next decade.¹⁴

¹¹ Ibid., 38.

¹² Ibid., 44-45.

¹³ Ibid., 47.

¹⁴ Ibid., 47.

The creation of the Second Reich in 1871 with the defeat of France should then be seen as a success for the liberals, particularly the National Liberals. It accomplished many of their goals, including the unification of Germany, universal suffrage, and the economic amalgamation of the Reich. “A unified currency, the mark, was introduced, and in 1875 a central bank, the Reichsbank, was established.”¹⁵ The *Kulturkampf*, the cultural battle against Catholics waged by the National Liberals and Bismarck, was also seen as a demonstration of the liberals’ power, as was the unofficial holiday of Sedan, celebrated by liberals until 1895.¹⁶ The liberals were not only very involved in the unification of the second Reich but also in helping it develop in the years following its creation. The economic depression that started in 1873 began the liberals’ gradual loss of power, although they were still a force in German politics. Bismarck’s break with them solidified their downfall, but “a major reform of the Reich’s finances still required the cooperation of the Liberals.”¹⁷ The liberals played a pivotal role in the unification of Germany, although their power did begin to decline by 1873 and continued to do so well into the Wilhelmine era.

The pivotal period in German history was the Wilhelmine era. This was a low point for liberal nationalism, due mainly to the rise of the new nationalism associated with chauvinism, imperialism, anti-Semitism, and anti-socialism that was prevalent throughout the rest of German history. This change began to take place before the Wilhelmine era in the 1870s and 1880s and continued throughout the periods following it. Liberals still had influence during this time, but it was a low point in their history. There was only one liberal prime minister during the Wilhelmine period, Hohenlohe Schillingfurst, a Bavarian Liberal Catholic, ruling from 1894 to 1900.¹⁸ Otherwise all other prime ministers during this time were Prussian conservatives and this was another factor in the decline of the liberals.

The decline of liberalism beginning with the depression of the 1870’s and the change of course on 1879 eroded their ideology. The National Liberals became almost indistinguishable from the Free Conservatives and to some extent even from the Conservatives proper. They

¹⁵ Ibid., 67.

¹⁶ Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor, Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 35.

¹⁷ Feuchtwanger, *Imperial Germany*, 74.

¹⁸ Ibid., 105.

supported the new German nationalism, a strong army and navy, colonial expansion and *Weltpolitik*. They were a Protestant party and therefore competed for the same voters as the conservative groups...They were strongly anti-socialist, but opposed the more extreme proposals for the suppression of socialism...The position of the left liberals was even more difficult.¹⁹

The National Liberals went along with the idea of new nationalism mainly so they would not be left behind in domestic affairs, which would lead to their complete loss of power. Another liberal faction, the Old Liberals, did not follow the ideas of imperialism and *Weltpolitik*, which was seen as a reason for their decline. In 1879, Bismarck signed an alliance with Austria, mainly to protect Germany from Russia. This idea of getting involved in international affairs influenced Wilhelm's development of new nationalism. The scramble for Africa in 1884, the creation of the Schlieffen plan, the Navy League, and the Pan-German league were seen as examples of this growing idea of increasing Germany's influence around the world.

The decision to build an ocean-going fleet and the Schlieffen plan are the two most notorious examples of decisions affecting fundamentally the course of German policy...German policy therefore became more militaristic in the direct sense under William II than it had been under Bismarck...After the victories in the three wars of unification the prestige of the army had rocketed sky-high, but it took time to overcome the distrust of the army that was evident in the Prussian constitutional conflict and in the aversion to Prussian militarism in southern Germany. Little of these negative attitudes were left by 1890.²⁰

This process of a changing new nationalism seemed to follow a steady path of radicalization stemming from Bismarck and continuing to grow until the outbreak of war in 1914, when the Wilhelmine era came to an end due to this new nationalism. Anti-Semitism was institutionalized by Bismarck in Germany, but can also be traced further back in Germany's history. The rapid industrialization of Germany, which the liberals helped bring about, also increased the separation between Germans and Jews. The ideas of industrialization, imperialism, anti-Semitism, anti-socialism, chauvinism, and militarism were all interrelated in the growth of new nationalism that developed. What role did liberal nationalism play in a society dominated by this

¹⁹ Ibid., 111.

²⁰ Ibid., 107.

new nationalism? The liberals' power obviously declined greatly during this period, but they did not lose all of their influence in German politics. The Social Democratic Party, or SPD, was a socialist progressive party that was influential during this period, starting after the anti-socialist laws were not renewed in 1890. The SPD was frequently linked to the rise of trade unions, but they were socialist, and the nationalism that developed in this period was not supportive of socialism.

The rise of the SPD and of the trade unions runs like a red thread through the history of Wilhelmine Germany. The fear and panic this inspired among their opponents explains a great deal. Repression and failure to integrate this huge labour movement positively into the political and social structures tied the party to a revolutionary rhetoric which disguised the non-revolutionary reality, but the rhetoric helped to freeze the defenders of the system into a rigid policy of exclusion.²¹

The development of the SPD could have helped the political structure of the Wilhelmine era, but instead labeled itself as a revolutionary group. The SPD applied pressure to rid the political system of the three-tier voting system and install universal manhood suffrage, a staple of the liberal party.²² It also gained 75 percent of the vote in a town like Berlin and gained one third of the voters in 1912.²³ The liberals were not extinct, but they did not experience the success they once had in the early stages of unification.

Overall, liberals of all persuasions could not recapture the position the movement had held in the early years of the Reich, let alone the dominance they had once aspired to. They remained strong, however, in German towns, helped by the restrictive electoral laws that continued to prevail there, especially in Prussia...Given the spread and vigour of municipal activity, it was an important presence.²⁴

Had the advocates of liberal nationalism been more influential during this time, it could have posed another option to the imperialist, nationalist sentiment that can be attributed to the outbreak of World War I and consequently, the end of the

²¹ Ibid. 108.

²² Ibid., 106.

²³ Katharine A Lerman, "Wilhelmine Germany," in *German History since 1800*, ed. Mary Fulbrook (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 206-207.

²⁴ Feuchtwanger, *Imperial Germany*, 112.

Wilhelmine era. The struggles of liberal nationalism do not end after the Wilhelmine era, however.

The Weimar Republic was established at the end of World War I and is remembered as the government that led to the rise of Hitler, but it should also be remembered as a period of democracy with influence from both the left and right wing political groups. The Weimar Republic was burdened with problems from the beginning, such as the problem of legitimacy, the “stab in the back” theory, and the strain on Germany economically and politically from the Treaty of Versailles. The Weimar Republic lasted until 1933 nevertheless, although the problems of the Great Depression began the collapse of the Republic and led to extreme right wing nationalism, most notably Hitler and the NSDAP.²⁵ Liberal influences were seen throughout the period of the Weimar Republic. Many say that had it not been for the Great Depression, liberalism may have actually prevailed and saved the Republic.

After World War I, Prince Max von Baden assumed the chancellorship of Germany and implemented reforms that were influenced greatly by progressive and liberal ideas.

Most notable among the reforms were the introduction of ministerial responsibility to parliament, the control of the armed forces by the civilian government, and the abolition of the iniquitous Prussian three-class voting system. The removal of this system, along with the other reforms, constituted a progressive move in the eyes of democratic forces.²⁶

Not only were liberal reforms implemented, the Republic itself was formed by liberals. The Weimar Republic was a coalition of the progressive SDP, the liberal German Democratic Party, or DDP, and the Catholic Centre Party, with Friedrich Ebert, a Social Democrat, as the first President. The constitution, which was very progressive, was drafted by a left-wing liberal, Hugo Preuss.²⁷ The Weimar Republic was thusly created by the liberals, and despite its flaws, lasted for 15 years. For comparison purposes, the period of National Socialism, including World War II, lasted only 12 years.

²⁵ Detlev J.K. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic, The Crisis of Classical Modernity* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1987), 249.

²⁶ Mary Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation, a History of Germany, 1918-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 24.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

The period of the Weimar Republic accomplished much, including universal suffrage for both men and women over 20 years old, an idea of straight ticket voting, and proportional representation of parties. As historian Mary Fulbrook stated, though, “it was not so much the rules of the game, as the nature of the parties playing the game that rendered proportional representation a serious liability for Weimar Democracy.”²⁸ The Weimar Republic was brought down by the people in the positions of authority, not by the inefficiencies of the system.²⁹ The liberal Republic could have survived had it not been for the authority figures in the position of power and for the Great Depression of 1929, which led to a revival of the new right wing nationalist radicalism that was exhibited by Hitler and the Nazis. An example of the people’s role in the failure of the system is Fulbrook’s point that, “the two parties with the most progressive views on women’s issues, the SPD and the KPD (Communist Party of Germany), failed to attract a proportional share of the votes of women.”³⁰ This can also be exemplified by Paul von Hindenburg’s rise to power, which undermined the democracy of the Weimar Republic, paving the way for Hitler’s rise to power following the Depression of 1929.

The liberal system was not the problem of the Weimar Republic, but the steadying force in it. The people in place and the inability of the parties to cooperate and establish a coalition were the reasons for the failure of the Weimar Republic, not the liberal Republic.

The Left has often come into criticism on a range of counts. The bitter hostility obtaining between the KPD and the SPD has often been remarked on as a fateful split among those who should have been united in opposition to the greater evil of Nazism...The Social Democrats had faced a difficult enough task in guiding the Republic through its early stages...when pro-Republican forces were joined by a new, popular and virulent right-wing radicalism in the shape of the Nazis, there was even less possibility for democrats of the moderate left or centre to control developments.³¹

Even after the NSDAP’s big electoral breakthrough, it was still second to the SPD.³² The SPD and the Liberals still displayed power until the Weimar Republic collapsed. But their power had been

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 63-64.

³² *Ibid.*, 55.

reduced by new nationalists, their ensuing parties' lack of focus, and the influence of diverse political parties in the 1930s.

The twelve years of Nazi rule were an obvious blow to liberalism, along with all other types of nationalisms and political groups. The Nazis captured a majority through political maneuvering, but once a majority was established, Hitler institutionalized extreme right-wing nationalism. By doing so, all other political groups were severely limited, including all liberal parties. He did this by taking advantage of article 48 of the Weimar constitution, which granted the president emergency powers and permitted military intervention in local states.³³ Hitler's plan of *Gleichschaltung*, or the coordinating of power to "consolidate his hold on German politics and society,"³⁴ began the elimination of liberal opposition. Hitler eventually established a one party system and completely eliminated liberal resistance. The passing of the Enabling Law due to Nazi force led to the absolute destruction of democracy and the establishment of the Third Reich. The Social Democrats were the only party to vote against the Enabling Law, though it made little difference as it passed anyway.³⁵ Hitler implemented authoritarian rule and for twelve years, until the end of World War II in 1945, liberal nationalism, like every other political philosophy was non-existent in German politics. Had the liberal nationalism of the Weimar Republic succeeded, the brutal and shocking period of the Third Reich may never have happened.

Post war Germany was divided, but which Germany was the "true" Germany? The partition with the most liberal influences was the true Germany, because it best exemplified Germany's long history and was the Germany that united the two. The liberal influence throughout history, specifically through the example of the Weimar Republic and the liberal revolution of 1848, shaped West Germany and was a major factor in the eventual unification of the two Germanies. East Germany also drew on liberal influences from German history as well, but not as obviously as in West Germany.

West Germany was the more liberal of the two states. It focused on capitalism, which in turn led to a focus on individualism, while the East was socialist and opposed to individualism. Denazification was handled differently in East and West Germany. The United States and Britain followed the ideas of *Realpolitik* and focused on West Germany's economy.

³³ Ibid., 29.

³⁴ Ibid., 66.

³⁵ Ibid., 68.

Although the major war criminals were brought to some kind of justice at the Nuremberg Trials, the more general denazification policies were of little long-term effect. By March 1946, denazification had been reduced to a matter of individual self-justification, and the process was essentially wound up with few long-term effects by the early 1950s. Similarly, by 1946 Britain and the USA had come to the view that it was in their interest to rebuild the West Germany economy. The announcement of the Marshall Plan in June 1947, and the introduction of the currency reform on 20 June 1948, consolidated this shift.³⁶

When the western zones stabilized the currency in West Germany in 1948, the Soviets responded with their own currency reform and implemented the Berlin Blockade, which after almost a year was removed and strengthened the division of Germany.³⁷ Following in the footsteps of the liberals, whose overall goal in the nineteenth century was unification, the western sphere prepared West Germany to survive on its own and sequentially for unification. The Eastern sphere on the other hand, seemed like the reason that the two remained divided. They repressed the people of East Germany and took heavy reparations, which hurt East Germany's productivity. The Berlin Wall, erected in 1961, also solidified the separation of West Germany, then called the Federal Republic of Germany, and East Germany, referred to as the German Democratic Republic, or the GDR.

Another example of liberal influence and its success for the Federal Republic was the construction of the Basic Law. This informal constitution was written to avoid the problems that the liberals of the Weimar Republic suffered from.

The writers of the constitution in 1948-9 had an ever present regard for the failures of the Weimar Republic, and although the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*) was the result of many positive considerations, it was also a document written with an eye to perceived weaknesses in the Weimar constitution...The constitutional framework could not in itself guarantee the success of Germany's second attempt at democracy, but it at least provided certain safeguards and provisions to protect the new democracy against some of the problems experienced on the first attempt.³⁸

³⁶ Mary Fulbrook, "Ossis and Wessis: the creation of two German societies," in *German History Since 1800*, ed. Mary Fulbrook (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 413.

³⁷ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation*, 157-158.

³⁸ Ibid., 168-169.

The Basic Law was not the only reason that the Federal Republic of Germany thrived and eventually accepted the GDR, but as Mary Fulbrook stated it protected it from the weaknesses that the Weimar Republic experienced. The liberals had believed in constitutionalism since 1848. This constitution was crafted according to the failures of the Weimar constitution and the basic ideas of liberal nationalism. The writers tried to balance the power between small and large parties by giving each voter two votes, one for the party and one for an individual. “The Federal Republic was to be, as its name implies, a federal state: the separate regional states were to have considerable powers over their own internal affairs. Locally elected land parliaments (*Landtage*) were to control such matters as cultural policy and education.”³⁹ The Basic Law also guaranteed civil liberties and individual rights, but also made sure no individual could overthrow the government, as Hitler did in 1923.

The success of the Federal Republic’s government in the unification process in 1990 and their emergence as the true German government drew from the influence of nineteenth century liberal nationalism. They continued their liberalist ideals, but for the first time in German history, the liberal nationalists were the dominant party and successfully unified the country.

The story of Germany developed parallel to the development of nationalism, but it was not only the familiar right wing nationalism. From the failed attempt at unification in 1848 to the successful unification almost one hundred and fifty years later, liberal nationalism was present throughout German history. It has been overshadowed by the extreme nationalism of the Nazis or Bismarck’s conservative nationalism, but liberal nationalism was a key component in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, specifically in the Weimar Republic and in the post World War II period. Had it been a greater influence, Nazism may never have left such a huge impact on German and world history. Nazism and other right wing nationalism had an unfathomable impact on German history, but liberalism as an alternative nationalism and its role in creating a united German nation was just as impacting. Liberal nationalism played an intricate part in the development of the present strong democratic Germany.

³⁹ Ibid., 170.