How European Nationalism Developed into Fascism
The Development of European Nationalism in Different Historical Periods

Ancheng Wang[1,+,*] Wenjiao Jiang[2,+] Xiantong Lu[3,+]

[1]*School of Art and School of Social Sciences, The University of Manchester, Manchester, M13 9PL, The United Kingdom, 2364048219@qq.com.*
[2]*Dulwich college Beijing, Beijing, 101300, China, wenjioatt@163.com.*
[3]*Shanghai World Foreign Language Academy, Shanghai, 200233, China, 13611691572@163.com.*
[+]*They are all first authors.*
[*]*Corresponding author. Email: 2364048219@qq.com*

ABSTRACT

Nationalism has existed for a long period of time since the Renaissance period. The world especially the European continent witnesses its birth in Renaissance and its first bloom in the 19th century as well as its continuous growth till today. Researchers have done a wide range of research regarding the European nationalism as this ideology is not only influential in Renaissance, 19th century and second world war but also influential in the post-modern society. Hence, this paper is going to address the evolutionary trend of European nationalism from initial stage to widespread ideology to fascism and then to liberal nationalism in these days with focus on the transition to fascism which impacted the whole Europe from its geographical centers—Germany and Italy.

Keywords: *nationalism, nation state, romanticism, ultra-nationalism, evolutionary humanism, national socialism, overmen (Ubermenschen) theory, Genealogy, fascism, liberal nationalism.*

1. INTRODUCTION

European nationalism is an ideology with a long history as it has already existed since Renaissance. The main content of the European nationalism varies in different historical periods. In the Renaissance period, the nationalism was merely a concept rather than a political ideology. Nonetheless, in the 19th century, this ideology has begun to seek to build up its corresponding political system including its corelative regime: the nation-state. This ideological system had been constantly developing, which has changed greatly in 19th century as more nation-states had been built up during the 19th century in Europe. The nationalism is also a base for fascism. Specifically, in Germany and Italy it had even developed into the ultra-nationalism after the first world war, after which it had even become fascism before the second world war in these two countries. It has developed into the liberal nationalism in the post-modern period.

The European nationalism is an ideology with a long history. It was contributory for the government of nation-states in the 19th century as governments in nation-states could apply nationalism as an ideological tool to stimulate the public consisting of the whole nation to fight for the best interest of the whole country, especially for launching the external war against other countries that were invading this nation-state. Apart from that, the nationalism could also maintain the internal harmony of the nation-state as it can also unite the citizens in the same nation together. Nonetheless, nationalism, in some cases, could also be extremely destructive and violative. Specifically, nationalism had developed into ultra-nationalism after the first world war, which had increased the potential of breaking more wars in Europe. Moreover, the ultra-nationalism had even developed into fascism and caused a tremendously a destructive impact to the whole human civilization. However, this ideological system has become less violate and destructive nowadays while still being influential and is still developing. Since this ideology has caused such a tremendously large impact to the development of the whole human civilization especially Europe, this paper is going to do investigation regarding

the development of this ideology from its historical phenomenon.

This paper is going to trace the history of European nationalism as a historical phenomenon, and its development into political ideology. This paper is divided into five separate sections excluding the 'abstract, introduction, and conclusion'. In the first section, this paper is going to explain and evaluate the development of European nationalism in the Renaissance period. The second section of this paper will explain its rapid development therein more nation-states are established during the 19th century, as well as the difference between the nationalism at the beginning of the 19th century and that in the end of the 19th century. The third section will provide more in-depth analyzes of the geographical center of the European nationalism during the 19th century. The fourth section is the most important section of this paper wherein the reason why nationalism evolved into ultra-nationalism and thereby developed into fascism are assessed and evaluated. The fifth section of this paper will analyze and evaluate the development of nationalism in the post-modern period.

2. EMBRYO OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONALISM IN RENAISSANCE

Although according to Benedict Anderson, the first conscious wave of nationalism happened in Europe during the 19th century as a "piration" of the very first wave of nationalism that take place in American colonies and the unity of "nation-state" is mostly associated with 19th and 20th centuries [1], the embryo of European nationalism can be found much earlier than that, tracing back to the Renaissance period.

The German warriors invaded and destroyed the Roman Empire by 476 AD. To maintain their governance of land and resources, illiterate Germans gave strong support to Christianity which became increasingly dominant after Constantine's support in 313 AD. Besides, churches smartly preserved Ancient Greek knowledge as evidence in favor of their doctrine. Over time, popes developed an equal position to the emperors and all the clergies-controlled knowledge and teaching partially due to their ability to understand Latin. Therefore, before around 1400 AC, the legitimacy of European rulers mostly came from Christian belief. As Hirst says, "learning is Christian, knights are Christian, the world is Christendom, the realm of Christ". However, the extremely sacred status of the churches went into recessions from the Renaissance. The world observed at the same time, the rise of the idea of nations. It offers an alternative explanation of suffering in the world and the meanings of lives [2]. Hence, it is obvious that these recessions marked the beginning of nationalistic thinking. But why can nationalism be seen as an alternative to Christianity?

According to Noah Harari, it is the imagination power of human beings that hold people together, they have to tell the same "tales" to cooperate, to associate and then build cities and strong countries [3]. The power of worship is crucial. People have to believe in something so that they can continue to develop. The object before was Christianity but generally turned into nationalism when enters the Renaissance period. There were two main reasons for this transformation.

Renaissance can be seen as a process of secularizing Europe [4]. The return to classics or the pursuit of traditional ideas led to inevitably, challenges of Christian doctrine. Deviation from religious thinking can be seen from the famous David statue by Michelangelo presented a perfect male nude, abandoning the teaching that nakedness is shameful, and body is evil. However, many works still told religious stories like Lamentation of Christ by Mantegna and The Kiss of Judas by Giotto. More importantly, Humanism which emphasized self-achievement became dominant from the revision of Ancient Greek writings. Everything that happened during the Renaissance told people that "the old Medieval order was no longer sustainable" says Tutino. Challenges became stronger when Protestant Reformation entered the stage in the 16th century. The key figure was Martin Luther. He insisted that the Bible instead of the pope had the authority. The churches used Latin which could only be understood by a minority of the population to hold the power of interpretation. Luther carved the Bible in German which was a vernacular to spread God's message. Catholics and Protestants came to an agreement at last, but the teaching involved more languages and interpretations in different languages and more people could work as clergy, which further weakened the power that the central church held. The monarch's power started to be seen not as given, and the talk of rule for the nation became possible.

Before further investigating the birth of nationalism, the idea of the nation needs to be clarified for easier discussions. Anderson raises the phrase "imagined communities" to highlight the fact that all the members of a nation imagine the existence of their fellow people. Himself also marked that Ernest Gellner proposes a similar claim saying that nations are invented instead of awakened, which hints at the existence of national communities. And nationalism emerges when the political principle of the congruent political and national unit is violated [5]. Thus, besides being an alternative belief, nationalism in political forms arose from the mass realization of the existence of others with common blood and the eagerness of gaining independence for all fellow members in the same nation.

The first main factor that contributed to this sort of realization was the emergence of cartography [1]. The need for maps was originated from the exploration

outside of Europe. Erich Auerbach said the exploration "abruptly widened the cultural and geographic horizon". (Anderson also claimed that this led to the recession of religious power). Various countries are closely bonded together in Europe with borders in between, maps visualized the differences between countries and national territories. The imagination of communities thus became easy by depicting people living within the borders in mind. For example, the Leo Belgicus on cartographies contributed to the "feelings of unity" that helped the Dutch Revolt and later independence in 1648 in the Seventeen Provinces [1]. The board game, 'Le nouveau jeu de geographie des nations' in 1675, has eight segments with each being the personification figure of European countries. Wintle marks that "national thought is evidently under way". Besides, maps could also be utilized to express nationalistic ideas. Williams Camden's Britannica published in 1607 places Neptune and personified Britannica next to British territory, highlighting the association "between the nation and the territory" [1].

Another process that paves the way to thoughts about nations is print capitalism [2]. The book market flourished during the 16th century and made the widespread of knowledge and ideas possible. Luther's translation had 430 editions by 1546 and became the first popular literature in Europe [2]. This encouraged the use of vernaculars to read and write books. Sacred languages like Latin were no longer the only languages used for books and books could be understood other than bilingual intellectuals. Mutual understandings of people speaking the same languages via printing were made possible as Anderson discovers that "they gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language field".

The Renaissance period did not witness the bloom of nationalism but paved the way for it. The seed of nationalism was planted into European soil by the recessions of the churches, and it was prepared for greater influence over a wider range of people when stages like industrialization and French Revolution started to happen.

3. RAPID DEVELOPMENT DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

Nationalism has also changed greatly during the 19th century. In the 19th century, the European nationalism was an ideology which held that the dominate nation had more superiority than that of other nations. Most importantly, it also aimed at establishing the nation-state, holding that all members in one nation-state must be unswervingly loyal to their own nation-state, which may also include fighting for their own nation-state and their own nation. This section is going to explain the development of nationalism from the

following five aspects: the first aspect is the impact of the religious environment in Europe on the development of the Nationalism during the 19th century, the second aspect is the political system's influence in promoting the development of nationalism, the third aspect is the international relations including the colonization and wars launched in Europe, the fourth aspect is the influence of the economic factor on the ideological development of nationalism, the fifth aspect is the impact of relevant policies including the compulsory education on the development of the nationalism.

Notably, the Protestantism had come into being and had been spread on a large scale in Europe during the 19th century. The Protestantism requires those who believe in it to prove that they are chosen by God. According to Protestantism, the God is the most supreme power in the whole universe, which means those who chosen by God must be the most superior person in the whole universe. While in Europe, the dominate nation in the Deutschland and countries in the Apennine Peninsula mainly believed in Protestantism, which means the dominate nations in these countries needed to prove that they were the most superb nation in the whole world in order to thereby prove that they were chosen by God. Consequently, the sense of Nationalism in these countries had been strengthened ideologically.

Meanwhile, the constitutional monarch and the capitalist republic political system had been gradually implemented during the 19th century, which had also introduced freedom for speech, freedom for publications, and freedom for news in Europe gradually. This had also promoted the spread of Nationalism ideologically and politically in the Europe more efficiently because it would enable those who believed in Nationalism or those who seek to establish nation-state to spread the Nationalism more efficiently.

In the initial stage of the 19th century, the first industrial revolution had been launched in Europe, enabling the European countries including the British Empire to colonize and capture the world more efficiently. In fact, the colonization was being conducted by European nations that were increasingly relying on the industrialization and trading [5]. What is significantly different from the middle age is that the European army, in this case, was fighting for their own nation-states and their own nations rather than the monarch or aristocrats while those European troops before the 19th century were fighting for the kings or queens rather than their own nations, which is why the sense of the European Nationalism had been strengthened to a large extent in 19th century compared with that in the middle age.

When conquering and colonizing the whole world, the distinct culture including the language of the Europe had been spread to the whole world, which had increased the confidence for the unique culture of the

European nations, thereby strengthening the sense of European nationalism in Europe as this had stimulated more Europeans to believe that their superiority was better than that in other area of the world.

While these European countries were colonizing the whole globe, the First French Empire was conquering the whole Europe, which also promoted the spread of the European nationalism politically and ideologically. In particular, the expand of the First French Empire had also spread advanced political concepts including nationalism to those countries that had been captured by this Empire, which indirectly liberated these subjugated countries from being ruled by feudalist ruling group such as the local monarch, thereby spreading the Nationalism in the whole Europe as citizens in these subjugated countries like Germany had begun to seek to build up nation-states. To begin with, this had strengthened the Nationalism in France because it would stimulate more French individuals to believe that their own nation had more superiority that that of other nations. In addition, the expansionism with regard to the territory and military power of the First French Empire had also greatly impacted on the feudalist political order in the occupied European countries, which led to the transformation of these countries from feudal countries to nation-states, thereby strengthening European nationalism ideologically and politically in Europe.

Germany had played an indispensable role for implementing, maintaining, strengthening, and spreading the European nationalism. Initially, the Deutschland was merely a region consisting of 314 states. Nonetheless, the romanticism was the national culture of German, and it was highly unique, which strengthened the national identity of the German nation and therefore promoted the implementation of nationalism indirectly [6]. In addition, nationalist ideologues including Johann Gottlieb Fichte were developing and spreading the ideological and political theory of Nationalism which aimed at uniting the whole Deutschland into one nation-state, which also promoted the implementation of Nationalism ideologically and more details regarding it will be explained in the next section. Meanwhile, the military and territory expansion of the First French Empire had spread the advanced political concepts including the nationalism which required those who believed in it to be unswervingly loyal to the whole nation, which also included establishing the nation-state. This stimulated the Deutschland to unite in different aspects and thereby became a nation-state indirectly although the French nationalism was different from German nationalism. Deutschland had firstly united together in term of economics and this was a nationalistic endeavor, after which the nationalist revolution had launched in Deutschland, strengthening the political power and military power for uniting the Deutschland into a nation-state. Although this armed revolution had failed,

the Otto von Bismarck had succeeded in implementing the nationalism by leading the Prussia to use military power to unify the whole Germany into a nation-state. After uniting into the nation-state, the Prussia had implemented the constitutional monarch wherein the freedom for speech was partly suppressed, therein any information went against with nationalism were prohibited, had also maintained the sense of nationalism. Also, the First German Empire was also using the constitutional monarch system. Moose. G. L. (1999) had pointed out in his book *The Fascist Revolution. Toward A General Theory of Fascism* (pp. xvi.) that the leader including the head of a country could be the symbol of the whole nation [7]. This indicates that the Emperor of the First German Empire, which was the head of the state in this nation-state, could be the symbol of the whole nation including the whole nation-state in Deutschland, which means this kind of political system would also strengthen the sense of nationalism in Deutschland as this not only let German individuals fight for the best interest of the nation-state but also the symbol of the whole nation. More importantly, compulsory education had been popularized on a large scale and was directly spreading the nationalism to the next generation, which strengthened their willingness to protect and fight for their own nation-state. Apart from that, the Prussia had fought with France and had even captured the Paris that was the capital of France, which strengthened the sense of Nationalism of France as France, which was also a nation-state, did not wish to be ruled by Germany so that the people in France would have more willingness to fight for their own nation-state.

Overall, nationalism as an ideology increased throughout Europe by the end of the 19th century. Meanwhile, the sense of the Nationalism had been strengthened in the whole Europe to a large extent by the end of the 19th century compared to that in the beginning of the 19th century. To begin with, this is because the popularization of the religion with Nationalist elements including Protestantism had been popularized in Europe, thereby spreading the Nationalism ideologically. In addition, colonialism had stimulated more individuals to believe that the superiority of the dominate nation of their own countries was better than that in other areas of the world. Also, the military and territory expansion of the First French Empire had spread ideological and political concepts including nationalism to those countries that had been subjugated by the First French Empire, which had stimulated these subjugated countries seek to establish nation-states. Meanwhile, cultures that were highly related to nationalism also helped to spread the nationalism which aimed at establishing nation-states. Also, nationalist ideologues had also spread the idea of establishing the nation-state, which had also spread and promoted the implementation of the Nationalism.

Moreover, the increased scale of compulsory education that directly spread the information regarding the nationalism would also strengthen the public's willingness of fighting for the nation-state, which had in turn also strengthened the sense of Nationalism in Europe ideologically. Apart from that, wars launched in Europe would strengthen the sense of Nationalism in those countries that were being attacked or invaded.

Germany and Italy were both playing the most important roles in the European nationalism during the 19th century. Hence, more in-depth analyzation of these two countries will be explained in the next section.

4. GEOGRAPHICAL CENTER AND IDEOLOGUES OF NATIONALISM

Those countries who have strong nationalistic dominance on political actions all share several key conditions, for example, economic successes and population density as explained above. In the 19th century, geographical centers of nationalism located in Germany and Italy due to the surge of nationalistic ideas in political fields in these two countries, where both developed into fascist regimes later in the 20th century. What impacted them the most are early French nationalism and domestic key ideologues including Treitschke, Fichte, Mazzini on nationalism, which contributed to the rise of nationalistic ideologies.

France can be seen as the initiator of 19th century nationalism, which helped Germany and Italy to become geographical centers later on. Sign of French nationalism is evident when the French Revolution broke out in 1789. The motto of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" signifies the starting point of rational thinking and the demand for democracy. The legitimacy of governance began to be derived from the idea of the nation. Also, the works of J.J. Rousseau provided a foundation for it and fostered nationalistic ideas in young Napoleon Bonaparte [6]. Napoleon's actions then ensured the spread of it. Kohn describes him as the "earliest and greatest example" of "extreme movements of …nationalism". Militarily, several successes in the attempts of conquering boosted patriotism among the population and deepened French influence outside of the country. Ideologically, he was the one who initiated the spread of political concepts including liberalism, egalitarianism, philanthropism in French empires and then across Europe. More people demanded to be free from federalist rulers or even the governance of France for the good of their own nations, leading the wave of nationalistic thinking and led to the rapid development of nationalism in Germany and Italy.

4.1. Germany

Notably, romanticism was highly related to nationalism in Deutschland and was popularized on a large scale. Nationalism spread ideologically as romanticism in Deutschland stimulated individuals in Deutschland to seek to unite into one nation-state indirectly. This is because the romanticism had strengthened the uniqueness of the German national culture [6], which strengthened the cultural identity of the German nation located in Deutschland, thereby stimulating more German individuals to seek to unite the Deutschland into a nation country. Also, the spread of nationalistic ideological and political claim by ideologues like Fichte would also contribute as more individuals there would be more likely to seek to establish a nation-state in the whole Deutschland, which will be discussed later.

After defeating the First French Empire, Deutschland had firstly united together in term of economics. There were initially 314 independent states in Deutschland region, which had strengthened the sense of nationalism in Deutschland economically because it had increased the cost for transferring products and therefore obstructed the development of the economics in Germany. For instance, at the beginning of the early 19th century, those who travelled from Berlin to Switzerland needed to pass through ten states, with ten formalities and ten exchanges of foreign currency and ten customs duties, which severely hampered the internal trade and therefore obstructed the economic development of the German region. This would strengthen the German sense of nationalism economically as people in Deutschland would have stronger willingness to unite into one nation state partly with the aim of getting rid of the economic barrier. The establishment of Zollverein that lowered the tariffs is an example of the strong willingness of unity at least on the economic level. In this case, the Prussia, which was the strongest country in the whole Deutschland region, had followed and implemented the economic and political claim of Friedrich List: building up a customs union wherein all countries located in the Deutschland region were included, which had succeeded in uniting the Deutschland economically and therefore strengthened the Nationalism in Deutschland as it had become more likely for Deutschland to unite into one nation-state.

After finishing uniting the Deutschland in terms of economics, the nationalist revolution had launched in Deutschland in 1848 to unite the Deutschland into one nation-state. Although this armed revolution had failed, the Otto von Bismarck had succeeded in leading the Prussia to unite the whole Deutschland by using military power politically and militarily. After uniting into one identical nation-state, the Prussia had implemented the constitutional monarch wherein the freedom for speech was partly suppressed. In this case, any information that went against with nationalism would be prohibited, which would also maintain the sense of nationalism, and Moose. G. L. (1999) had pointed out in his book *The Fascist Revolution. Toward A General Theory of*

Fascism (pp. xvi.) that the leader of a country could play the living symbol of the whole nation [7]. It follows that the Emperor of the First German Empire, which was the head of the state in this nation-state, could be the symbol of the whole German nation, which means this kind of political system would also increase nationalism in Deutschland as this not only let German individuals fight for the best interest of the nation-state but also the symbol of the whole nation. More importantly, as it has been previously mentioned in the last section, compulsory education had been popularized on a large scale in Prussia, which also directly spread the nationalism to the public including the next generation, thereby further strengthening their willingness to protect and fight for their own nation-state. Meanwhile, nationalism ideologues in Deutschland had also promoted the development of nationalism including establishing the nation-state.

One of the main ideologues in Germany in the 19th century is Johann Gottlieb Fichte who hoped Deutschland to unite into one nation-state, which also in turn spread Nationalism there ideologically. Fichte (1808) had argued in his book *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Addresses to the German Nation) that each state in Deutschland was not supposed to go against with other German states because this could not protect the safety of the German nation, and the German individuals must fight for the whole German nation including the whole Deutschland otherwise the German nation would be ruled by foreign power [8]. His political claim was seeking for building up a nation-state in Deutschland wherein all German individuals are unswervingly loyal to the German nation-state and the whole German nation. Moreover, many ideologues also demonstrate the idea of organic nationalism which according to Sternhell is a key component of fascism. Another name for organic nationalism is tribal nationalism. In the same book, Fichte (Fichte (1808)) contributed foundational ideas of it. In his perspective, virtues like loyalty and diligence are shared among the German nation. Besides a strong sense of ethnocentrism, he claims that the German language is better than the others. He supports a "New Education" that encourages rationality to cultivate new German generations and will finally lead to the rise of Germany. The idea of "New Education" is only suitable for a nation with greatness like Germany, and the greatness of it will be spread by the German people to the whole world. From Fichte's work, emphases on national pride and greatness are obvious [8]. Another key figure at the time is Ernst Moritz Arndt, unlike Fichte, no major programs are designed in his works, but the idea expressed is similar. He suggests that German blood is pure for not being integrated with other nations. Ethnocentrism is highlighted from the approach he expresses to other nations. For instance, he calls Jewish people "refined bad Jews" [9]. Prominent politician Heinrich von

Treitschke also shows radical racism ideas in his works represented by *Politics*. He classifies people according to races, saying that they are genetically various and there is "strong divisions of white, black, red, and yellow". Offensive words like "nigger" are used. The superiority of the Germans is derived from "the unmixed Germanic blood" [10]. These ideologies all demonstrate the exclusiveness of German organic nationalism based on romantism. Racism can already be seen in these works especially those by Treitschke, which foreshadows the race-centered policies developed by Hitler later in his Nazi regime.

4.2. Italy

Another geographical center of Nationalism in Europe was Italy. Italy has been merely a geographical concept until early 19th century. The region was once the territory of the Roman Republic. However, ever since the perish of the Western Roman Empire in 476, the Italy region have become divided. In the 11th century the Italy region was mostly under the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. As the Holy Roman Empire's regime collapsed in the 12th century, the Italy region was divided into numerous kingdoms, duchies and cities. The small city states in Italy achieved prosperity in economics, culture and art in the following centuries and were the pioneers in the Renaissance era, but the Italy region has never been united in those hundreds of years.

The first unification of Italy as one was in late 18th century. Most of the Italy region were under the Austria Habsburg dynasty's rule since 16th century. However, in 1796 France under Napoleon's lead invaded the Italy region. Napoleon defeated the Austrian feudal lords and took over Italy. Napoleon established a republic as a puppet regime over the Italy regions he conquered. With the establishment of a republic, all the city states and kingdoms became united into one. At that time France had already experienced the French Revolution and formed a nation-state. The nationalism thoughts were brought along by Napoleon to the intellectuals in Italy. The unification of Italy by France helped the creation of national identity among the Italian people. However, France added high tax burden on the Italian people and forced them by conscription to join the French army. The French regime kept oppressing Italian people, which intensified the will of revolt among the Italian people. The oppression from a foreign regime made nationalism spread more rapidly among Italians, leading to some of the initial nationalism movements.

Nationalism in Italy was closely related to oppression from foreign regime and revolt. In the early 19th century, the first nationalist party was established in Italy. They called themselves Carbonari, meaning party of burning carbon. The party consisted mainly of intellectuals and liberal nobles. Their strove for

expelling foreign invaders and creating an unified and independent state. The party adopted mainly liberalism ideology, hoping to establish a republic that promoted liberty and equality. The party led numerous revolts against France. As Napoleon gradually lost power in the early 19th century, Carbonari started to enlarge its power. In 1815, Napoleon was defeated, but Italy didn't become a unified sovereign state. Instead, it was divided into 8 different states under Austria's rule. The nationalism movement in Italy continued, changing their enemy from France to Austria. The power of Carbonari started to decline as it experienced many failures in revolting against Austria. Another nationalism movement called Young Italy lead by Giuseppe Mazzini continued the revolts against Austria. Revolt against foreign regimes played a significant role in Italian nationalism movements in the early 19th century. The oppression from foreign regimes created a sense of a common enemy. That urged Italians to unite and catalyzed the spreading of nationalism. While the common case of nationalism ideology is that it mostly spread among intellectuals at first, the oppression on Italians made nationalism in Italy also appealing to uneducated workers or farmers since they were also willing to fight against oppression on them. An imagined community and national identity were quickly formed among the people that were oppressed, the Italian people.

The main Italian ideologue in this period of nationalism movement was Giuseppe Mazzini. Mazzini has been both an ideologue and a political leader in Italian nationalism movement. He was a member of the Carbonari party and when the party failed, he turned to organizing another nationalism movement in Italy called Young Italy. Like Carbonari, Young Italy aimed at expelling foreign regime in Italy and establish a unified and independent nation-state in the form of a liberal republic. In his *Instructions to The Members of Young Italy* in 1831, Mazzini proposed that Young Italy is republican and unitarian, and that the aim of the association was revolution [11]. These were the three main features of Italian nationalism movement in the early 19th century. On republican, Mazzini's claim was that every nation should form a free and equal community of brothers. He resorted his claim to God and humanity, with the popular viewpoint back then that all men were created free and equal by God. The republican side of Italian nationalism movement was similar to many other nationalism movements in Europe such as the French Revolution. Mazzini hoped to establish a nation-state where the sovereignty lied in the hands of the nation. He believed that monarchy was the source of inequality and corruption, while republican state ensured that all members of the nation can share equal rights and popular sovereignty [11]. Mazzini supported his standpoint by referring to the history if Italy. He claimed that the prosperous history of Italy has

always been under republican regime. By saying so he was referring to the Roman Republic and the prosperous city states in the Renaissance era such as Florence and Venice. This also revealed the national identity proposed by Italian nationalist. They referred the Italian nation as the successor of the Roman Empire and all the city states or kingdoms within the geological region of Italy.

Another feature of Italian nationalism was unitarian. On this argument Mazzini showed a negative attitude towards federalism. He believed that only unity would create true nation, meaning that without an unified state, nation doesn't exist [11] Italian faced a different international political environment than other previous nationalism movements. At the time of Italian nationalism movement, there have already been numerous nation-states in Europe, some of them directly posing influences on Italy. Mazzini claimed that "Italy is surrounded by powerful, united, and jealous nations". Italy was in fact at the center of some international conflicts back in history. The Italian war between France and Spain, Napoleon's conquer, and Austria's fightback all took place in Italy. And some of the already established Nation-states did want to take over Italy. France had controlled Italy for the past few decades, and by Mazzini's time Austria have regained its power over Italy. Italy back then was already occupied by foreign nations and being oppressed through laws and tax. Having a foreign oppressor as the enemy made it easier for Italian people to unite and revolt against foreign regime. It was believed by Mazzini that only a unitarian nation-state would give Italy enough strength to fight back. In addition to that, the unified Italian republic established by Napoleon has already rooted unitarian thoughts in the mind of Italian people who have been separated in different small states in the past centuries. Unitarian thoughts became an essential part of Italy due to the specific situation Italy was in. Having expelled foreign regime and ending their oppression as their primary goal, Young Italy movement quickly extended to different parts of Italy, spreading nationalism ideology, and revolting against Austrian rulers. By examining Italy's history and current situation back then, Mazzini gave the answer to Italian nationalism as unitarian and republican.

Young Italy movement reached its peak in 1848. The 1848 revolution ranged all across Europe, challenging existing order and making new changes. The Italian nationalists utilized the chaos produced by the 1848 revolution and the wave of nationalist ideology it brought along. The Young Italy movement had achieved certain outcomes during that time. A republic was established in Rome. However, after the 1848 revolution Young Italy was defeated by foreign power and gradually faded out. The republic established by them didn't last long. However, Italy still successfully united and became a nation-state in the 19th century. In

1861 Kingdom of Sardinia, the only independent kingdom in Italy, was able to ally with French army and defeated Austrian regime. Then the kingdom of Sardinia successfully gained control of the Italy region and established the Kingdom of Italy. The kingdom sustained until 20th century after the second world war. Therefore, the unified Italy wasn't established as a republican state that Mazzini has hoped. The kingdom of Italy used constitutional monarchy, and a lot of feudalism elements were kept. Overall, the unified Italy wasn't a republic of liberty and equality Mazzini hoped for, and it didn't walk on the liberal path as Mussolini created a fascist regime in Italy in the 20th century. But the Young Italy movement led by Mazzini still created basis for the kingdom of Sardinia to unify Italy, and Mazzini's theory still affected and shaped Italian nationalism a lot [12].

5. THE DEVELOPMENT INTO ULTRA-NATIONALISM AND FASCISM

Nationalism, nevertheless, had developed into ultra-nationalism after the first-time world war. Ultra-nationalism is an ideology which holds that the national country must eliminate other countries including other nation-states militarily and physically. It also holds that the dominate nation in this country is the nation with highest superiority and almost all other kinds of nations including the Jew and the gypsy must be eliminated physically or militarily. Nationalism had developed into ultra-nationalism owing to the five main following reasons: To begin with, the issue of sovereignty of the territory and military between Germany and Allies of World War I promoted the existence of ultra-nationalism. According to the Treaty of Versailles (released by Census Bureau (n.d.), Germany must let France handover Alsace-Lorraine and let Allies of World War I to have the oversea possession of Germany including the colony. This had impaired the national dignity of Germany and increased the sense of national revanchism in Germany, thereby transforming nationalism to ultra-nationalism. In addition, the Treaty of Versailles released by Census Bureau also shows that Germany was not authorized to build fortifications either in the left of the Rhine or the right 50km of the Rhine, and the total population of the German army could not exceed 100,000 individuals, which also harmed the military sovereignty of Germany and in turn increased the national sentiment of Germany, extremizing nationalism into ultra-nationalism [13]. Apart from that, Germany had to pay war reparations to the Allies of World War I, which prevented Germany from recovering and therefore increased the hatred of the German public to France, Belgium, and UK that were requiring Germany to provide war reparation that prevented Germany from recovering, in other words, the public of the Germany, in this case, was appealing to eliminate those countries that were gaining war reparation from Germany, which transformed nationalism into ultra-nationalism. Also, the Weimar Republic was using the democratic system wherein freedom for speech was included, which also provided political arena and political liberty for spreading the ultra-nationalism and in turn stimulated nationalism to evolve into ultra-nationalism. Meanwhile, UK, USA, and France were not completely conducting the content specified in the Treaty of Versailles for Italy, which also increased the hatred to UK, USA and France in Italy, extremizing the nationalism into ultra-nationalism in Italy. Apart from that, according to the article 'The Fiume Crisis' posted by the University of Chicago (18 February 2021), the Italian poet Gabriele D'Annunzio had captured the Fiume in order to expand the territory of Italy, which not only spread the ultra-nationalism as this ultra-nationalist movement had been widely supported in Italy but also later inspired Mussolini to become a fascist [14].

The ultra-nationalism, nonetheless, had later evolved into fascism. Fascism is an ideology which has the following main content: To begin with, Fascism emphasizes the concentration of the political power and appeals to apply the autocracy regime. This is because Fascism needed a supreme leader to play the living symbol of the whole nation and the fascist party and to provide a sharp focus of the whole nation and the fascist party [7]. Also, fascism suppress the freedom for speech. Apart from that, fascism frequently applies the methodology of the Evolutionary Humanism [3] whereby the fascist power slaughter out the minority ethics and appeal to improve the superiority of the dominate nation and the fascist power tried to eliminate other countries in order to survive. Specifically, Yoval Noah Harari (2015) had pointed out in his book *Homo Deus* (pp.145-146) that evolutionary thought that the war and struggle were desirable as they let those who were not advantaged to be eliminated and let those who were advantaged to live, and evolutionary was based on Darwin's theory that those who were advantaged should eliminate those who were not advantaged [3]. Consequently, fascism applies evolutionary humanism by letting the majority ethic to fight with the minority ethic including the Jew, which is also why fascist power slaughter out the minority ethics including the Jew on a large scale. And fascist power was eliminating other countries in the whole globe in order to survive according to the methodology of the evolutionary humanism. In addition, fascism puts the fascist countries in the state of permanent war, with the aim of releasing the potential energy of men and the foot solider of the civic religion [7], however, in the state of war, the freedom of speech and democracy would also be suppressed, which is also why fascism claimed for applying autocracy. Apart from that, fascism aims at eliminating other countries including France, UK, and so forth in order to protect the whole nation. Meanwhile,

fascism was the same as national socialism in Germany in the sense that it emphasized protecting the interest of the working class [7].

Ultra-nationalism had evolved into fascism with following reasons: First and foremost, France even did not wish Germany to unite into one nation-state and this had already become the political position of France even before Germany had united into one nation-state and this political position was not disappearing in France [15], and the required war reparation as specified in the 'treaty of Versailles(pp.10-197)' released by Census Bureau (n.d.) also reveals that France was preventing the German nation from recovering, which means the interest of the German nation was being constantly or maybe even, as suggested by Adolf Hitler , permanently threatened by France, which is why the hostility for France had been extremized in the German public, thereby extremizing the ultra-nationalism into fascism wherein the German nation aims at permanently eliminating France so as to end their permanent threat to the German nation. In addition, after the first world war, the German public who believed in nationalism universally believed that the only solution whereby the German nation could recover is launching the war against France. However, as it has been previously mentioned in this section, during the state of war, the country cannot apply democracy, and the freedom for speech will be suppressed, which is why those who believed in ultra-nationalism had begun to emphasize the concentration of the political power and had become willing for applying the autocracy regime, as well as prohibit any information that went against with fascism, thereby extremizing the ultra-nationalism into fascism. Apart from that, the romanticism merely included the unique national culture of the German nation, while the unique culture of other different nations like that of the Jew and so forth was not directly included in romanticism, which is also why the German nation was defining the culture of the minority ethics as a cultural threat to the German national culture, thereby classifying the minority ethics as the threat to the German nation. During the state of war, it is highly important that this war-state including the Germany get rid of the internal threaten, which is why those who believed in ultra-nationalism in Germany wanted to slaughter out the minority ethics including the Jew. This had in turn transformed ultra-nationalism into fascism. Also, the increasing development of the proletariat and the industrial revolution during the second half of the 19th century had created the idea of national socialism which held that the social question could be solved by the survival of the nation that demanded the peace between the proletariat and the body of society [16]. This kind of thought had spread into Germany and therefore stimulated the fascist power to fight for the best interest of the working class in the way of social nationalism, as well as implementing the methodology

of the evolutionary humanism on a large scale, which also promoted the ultra-nationalist to develop into fascism. More importantly, fascist ideologues, fascist elites and relevant social movements of fascism had also played an indispensable role in developing and implementing the fascism, which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

Notably, in Germany and Italy that were the geographical center of European fascism, a wide range of fascist supporters including fascist ideologues and other kinds of fascist elites, as well as relevant fascist social movements had also played an indispensable role for promoting the development and implementation of the European fascism. To begin with, Friedrich Nietzsche had played a vital role for promoting the development and implementation of the fascist political system. In particular, Nietzsche (1887) had pointed out in his book *On the Genealogy of Morality* that the morality is always changing, and it varies in different historical periods, and the morality is defined and determined by the ruler [17]. While Mosse. G. L. (1998) had suggested that fascism is a type of revolution that retains its political wealth and outcome by constantly changing and updating the morality, and Italian fascism even emphasizes the revolution more so as to create the victory of the new over the old [7]. It follows that the theory of Genealogy the Nietzsche had developed promoted the development and implementation of the fascism especially the Italian fascism because the Nietzsche's Genealogy had even stimulated extremized nation-states especially the Kingdom of Italy to conquer the whole world and become the ruler of the whole human civilization in order to create and constantly update its moral rule so as to maintain its political wealth and outcome. Meanwhile, Nietzsche (1887) had also argued in his book *On the Genealogy of Morality* (pp.17) that the Jewish people classified those who were the most advantaged including the ruler to be highly vicious and defined those who were being ruled or exploited and disadvantaged to be highly moral [7]. This also reveals why fascism emphasized using the methodology of the evolutionary humanism whereby the fascist power slaughter out the Jew because the Jew constantly challenges the ruler including the nation that the fascist power thinks is the most superior one, and the existence of the Jew will prevent the fascist power from ruling the world, changing the morality and thereby destroying the political wealth of the ruling nation, which is why the fascism aims at eliminating the Jew. This in turn shows that the theory of Genealogy on Morality of the Friedrich Nietzsche had promoted the development and implementation of the fascism by letting the fascist power launching the armed revolution to change the morality and by applying the methodology of the evolutionary humanism whereby the fascist power capture and rule the whole world and eliminate the Jew, while updating the morality at the same time so

as to preserve the political wealth and outcome of the ruling ethics of the fascist power. Moreover, Nietzsche (1882) had also suggested in his book *The Gay Science* (pp.127-128) that the concepts like gods, heroes and overmen (Ubermenschen) and less superior kinds of humanoid life (Neben- und Untermenschen), evils, demons and fairies were put forward with the aim of protecting one's interest and rights: the liberty that each individual compromises to a god in his or her relation to other gods eventually provides this individual the relationship to law, custom, and neighbors [18]. This is the theory of overmen (Ubermenschen) put forward by Nietzsche, which not only prevented individuals in Germany and Italy from believing in the conventional god but also stimulated individuals there to support the autocracy regime as this theory had enabled the dictators including the Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini to become godlike and therefore became supreme.

Another fascist ideologue who promoted the development and implementation of fascism highly efficiently is the Carl Schmitt. In particular, Schmitt (1929) had argued in his book *The Concept of The Political* (pp.33-36) that the war is indispensable and inevitable as long as enemy exists, and in the situation where there is economic, moral or religious conflict, these three kinds of conflicts may turn into political conflicts [19], in this situation, it will become indispensable to defeat these enemies even by launching wars. This kind of theory had stimulated the fascist power to implement the methodology of the evolutionary humanism on a large scale because the Jewish morality and Jewish religion were different from that of the German nation and may even conflict with that of the German nation, which would stimulate the German nation to defeat the Jew by 'launching the civil war', that is, letting the German nation to slaughter out the Jew. This in turn had transformed the ultra-nationalism into fascism in Germany. Also, Schmitt (1923) had suggested in his book *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy* (pp.49) that the representative democracy was actually the most likely way of preventing the division of power, and it is impossible not to work with the committee under parliamentary democracy, while the committees were becoming smaller and smaller, which in turn would let the parliamentary democracy to be deviated from the public [20]. The atomization of the political power including that of the committee had stimulated the German nation to go against with the parliamentary democracy regime applied in the Weimar Republic and began to support the anocracy regime that would be more likely to bring political unification. Meanwhile, Schmitt (1923) added in his book *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy* (pp.50) that 'parliamentarianism thus abandons its intellectual foundation and that the whole system of freedom for

speech, assembly, and the press, of public meetings, parliamentary immunities and privileges, is losing its rationale.', he had also argued that the parliamentary democratic regime mainly served for the best interest of the capitalist class rather than that of the public [20]. It follows that Schmitt's theory had stimulated the German nation to suppress the political liberty including the freedom of speech, freedom for assembly or peaceful protest, freedom for publications and press, and freedom for public meetings that could be found in the Weimar Republic. This had changed the regime of the German from the parliamentary democracy to the fascist autocracy and therefore promoted the implementation of the fascist political system in Germany.

Meanwhile, fascist social movements launched by other fascist elites had also promoted the implementation of the fascist political system not only in Italy but also in Germany. To begin with, according to the article 'The Fiume Crisis' posted by The University of Chicago (18 February 2021), the Italian poet Gabriele D'Annunzio had occupied the Fiume by applying the military power in order to widen the territory of the Kingdom of Italy, which had inspired Mussolini to invent the ideological and political system of fascism [14]. This had later stimulated the Italian nation to believe in fascism and seek to implement this kind of ideological and political system because the Fiume Crisis had become a classical example of a fascist movement that inspired a large number of Italians. In addition, Mussolini who put forward fascism had marched to Rome in 1922 [7], after which the fascism had been implemented in Italy. Apart from that, Hitler government was elected in 1933 and had come to power in Germany that year [7], after which the fascism had been implemented in Germany. Meanwhile, the Nazi Party had launched the Reichstag fire in 1933, which eliminated other political parties including the German Communist Party, enabling the fascist power in Germany to build up the fascist autocracy regime. Also, the Hermann Wilhelm Göring had built up the Deutsche Luftsport Verband that year, which strengthened the fascist military power in Germany especially its air force although the military power in the Deutsche Luftsport Verband was not the official military power in Germany, which had enabled the fascist Germany to eliminate other countries more efficiently.

6. PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT IN POST-MODERN PERIOD

After the second world war, the world has experienced a series of changes in global order, political environment and economics. The traditional nationalism doctrines are being challenged by those new orders, yet nationalism in the post-modern world has still varied in its form and has been developing peacefully, meaning

no extreme humanitarian crisis such as Nazism in the second world war.

The United Nations was found as a production of reflection of the second world war. Fascism regime made people understand how far and how extreme nationalism could go. The United Nations, though, was not aiming at restraining Nationalism. The United Nation, according to its own charter, is "an intergovernmental organization aiming to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations, achieve international cooperation, and be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations" [21]. The United Nation doesn't distinguish between state and nation and it in default consider each state a nation. Therefore, the United Nation didn't restrain the development of nationalism in the post-modern world, it only mediates the conflict between nations.

Another significant in Europe in the post-modern era was the establishment of the European Union. The European Union was founded as a economic and political body aiming in recovering European countries from the damage of the second world war and enhance Europe's international influence in response to the new rising power such as US. Yet the European Union has exceeded the field of economics and politics and has started to diversify European countries' culture through its loose immigration policy and visa policy. While the establishment of the European Union shows European governments' inclination toward pan-nationalism, meaning that considering the whole Europe as one nation, many normal citizens are still against the large-scale international cooperation among European countries through the European Union because they believed it harmed the benefits of their own country [12]. The result of this conflict between pan-nationalism and traditional nationalism is still unpredictable. Yet the European Union has shifted the traditional nationalist countries towards liberal nationalism.

Liberal nationalism is a combination of liberalism's emphasis on personal choice and equality and nationalism's emphasis on collectivism and communal membership. The role of traditional nationalism and nation-state is becoming weaker in the post-modern era. One major claim of traditional nationalism is maintaining a national economy, keeping most of the production chains within the state to ensure the benefits of the state. Yet in the post-modern era international economy started to prevail with the overall global trend of globalization. International economy, which is part of Liberalism's doctrine of free trade, has proven to be more efficient most of the times than national economy. The boundaries between traditional nationalist states have also been dimmed. Nationalist states no longer seek for a completely independent nation-state. For example, after the independence of Ireland from Britain,

the two states still remained closely related. The immigration and visa policies were very loose and dual nationality was accepted. While Irish nationalists did arguably establish a nation-sate by the independence of Ireland, it was no longer the traditional nation-state proposed by nationalism that marked clear boundaries between nations or states [12].

Liberal nationalism's main claim is that self-autonomy and personal choices are developed on the basis of national identity and communal membership [22]. The ideology doesn't view liberalism and nationalism as two mutually exclusive ideologies. It uses liberal thoughts as complements to shortcomings of traditional nationalism. While traditional nationalism usually resulted in disadvantages on the minor nations, be it discrimination, weakened political influence, or even massacre. To ensure the benefits of themselves, the minority nations seek for establishing their own nation-state. Yet liberal nationalism believed that the benefit of nations can be ensured by political arrangement instead of nation-state. Therefore, liberal nationalism holds that different nations should form different communities in the state and express their political requests with increased political influences. By doing so the benefits of the minority nations, which reflects the self-autonomy of people of that nation. The United States was an example for liberal nationalism. The minority nations such as African Americans are forming community that express their needs and are gaining increasing political influence. With the development of liberal nationalism, nations can ensure their benefits through peaceful political requests instead of using violence which for most cases is essential for establishing a new independent nation-state.

7. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the European nationalism had not developed into a political ideology during Renaissance. Nonetheless, nationalism is contributive for protecting a nation from being exploited and offended by other nations during the 19th century as nationalism had promoted those ethics that were conventionally vulnerable including the German nation to unite and build up their own nation-state. This in turn had prevented them from being invaded from other foreign countries, although the nationalism was relatively aggressive to foreign countries as it may stimulate the nation-state to invade other foreign countries. And according to the historical evolution of nationalism we will find that the religious environment, the political system, the economic factor, the ideologues, the conducted policies, and international relations all impacted on the development of nationalism during the 19th century. Nonetheless, nationalism evolved into ultra-nationalism after the first world war, after which the ultra-nationalism even evolved into fascism.

According to this paper, it is the international relations, economic factors including war reparation and inflation caused by war reparation, the political system and political liberty like freedom for speech, the contribution of relevant ideologues, and relevant social movements that altogether extremized nationalism into ultra-nationalism and thereby let it evolve into fascism. To begin with, it is highly important that the whole human civilization establishes a relatively efficient national order that does not harm the national dignity of the defeated countries. As it has been mentioned in this paper, the Treaty of Versailles signed after the first world war was not treating the Germany including the German nation in a relatively acceptable way. Instead, France that won the first world war was not providing the Germany including the German nation a chance to recover, which had strengthened the hatred to other foreign countries and extremized nationalism into ultra-nationalism, thereby even letting it develop into fascism. At the same time, it is highly important that the national order protects the interest of the minority ethics in order to prevent them from being harmed, exploited, or even killed by the majority ethics. This is because since the national order failed to protect the human rights of the minority ethics in Germany and Italy including the Jew, the evolutionary humanism had been applied on a large scale in European fascist countries and caused a volume of death of the minority ethics. Also, it is highly important that each country respect the sovereignty of other countries as failing to do so may lead to the implementation of fascism, thereby causing a tremendously destructive impact to the whole human civilization. Apart from that, any information that claims for implementing the fascism must be prohibited in order to prevent nationalism from developing into fascism again. However, the nationalism has developed into liberal nationalism and is protecting the interest including the human right of the minority ethics all over the world. This is also highly related to the contribution of the United Nation. This in turn shows that it is indispensable for the whole human civilization to establish a national order that protects the minority ethics, as well as regulating the behaviors of each country so as to prevent the nationalism from developing into fascism again.

This paper has analysed how nationalism has developed into a political ideology in the 19th century from different perspectives including the religious environment wherein the reason why the large-scale popularization of Protestantism had increased nationalism in Europe had been explained, the political system, the cultural environment including the German romanticism, the international relations, the economic factors. In addition, this article has also provided an in-depth analyse of the Geographical centre of nationalism and why nationalism in these two countries had developed into fascism from the perspectives of the

international relations, the economic factor, the political system, the unique contribution of social elites including that of Nietzsche and Schmitt respectively from a set of unconventional, critical, and innovative ways, and how social movements had also developed nationalism into fascism in these two countries. Apart from that, this paper has analysed the way how political and philosophical theories of Nietzsche has developed European nationalism into European fascism especially that in Italy from an unconventional way. It has also evaluated why Carl Schmitt's political and philosophical theory has turned German nationalism into fascism.

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