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GLOBAL SOCITY

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«THE SEDUCTION OF CULTURE» IN THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL GOVERNANCE IN MODERN GERMANY[1]

Abstract: The characteristic of "seduction of culture", which valued culture above all else, had exerted a dual influence on the modern history of Germany. On the one hand, its anti-political nature made the elite stay away from politics due to political apathy and provided opportunities for the emergence of totalitarian forces in the 20th century. On the other hand, the excessive worship for culture also profoundly shaped the form of national governance: the religious fanaticism of the Middle Ages gradually secularized and transplanted to the modern governance structure; the long tribal history and the governance of Holy Roman Empire gave birth to ethnic political belief and strengthened the obedience and worship to authority; romanticism and enlightenment, as well as culture and civilization, had been opposed for a long time, resulting in the estrangement and misunderstanding of modern parliamentary democracy and the deviation from democratic design in actual governance. The process of national governance in modern Germany was not only the swing between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, but also the tug of war between culture and politics at a deeper level. The dynamic balance between the two was conducive to effective governance and the construction of national identity, and the imbalance of the two was likely to trigger a serious governance crisis.

Keywords: Germany; national governance; seduction of culture; cultural identity; Sonderweg

As representatives of the rising later-developing countries, China and Germany were often compared by scholars at home and abroad on their special development paths, who tried to explore the governance experience of the "non-Western" route. "German Unique Path" (Deutscher Sonderweg) was formed and developed around the study of the political and social development path of modern Germany. Among them, the most representative scholar was Hans-Ulrich Wehler. Based on the discussion of "German Unique Path", he defined the development path of modern Germany as a series of conflicts between tradition and modernity[2]. Bernd Faulenbach, on the basis of analyzing the development process of German ideology, pointed out that "German Unique Path" was to a large extent produced as a unified concept. The concept of "Unique Path" not only defined the national identity of Germany, but also contained the profound connotation of opposing other nationalities[3].

After World War II, reflecting on the evil rule of the Nazis, a group of historians in the Federal Republic of Germany argued that the country's totalitarian disaster was triggered by a different development path from that of Western Europe and North America in the late 19th century. "German Unique Path" once became the moral summary of the national governance experience of modern Germany. However, out of sight of Germany, it was not difficult to find many unique patterns in the process of modern national construction and governance. The so-called "Unique Path" was the choice

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[1] The concept of "Seduction of culture" is quoted from *The Seduction of Culture in German History* by Wolf Lepenies.

[2] Wehler, Hans-Ulrich. *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte. B. 4. Vom Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs bis zur Gründung der beiden deutschen Staaten 1914-1949*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2003, p. 231.

[3] Faulenbach, Bernd. *Die Ideologie des deutschen Weges*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1980, p. 53.

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of a country based on its national conditions, revolution or reform practice, not the original sin of a country's disorderly governance.

Wolf Lepenies creatively proposed that Germany had the characteristic of "seduction of culture", that is, culture was above everything and the noble substitute of politics, so as to analyze the governance experience in the process of modern German history. In his opinion, "Unique Path" was not a unique German phenomenon. The characteristic of valuing culture over politics had played a greater and more intense role in Germany. It was a universal thought throughout the modern history of Germany[1]. His viewpoint provided a new perspective for the study of the development path of modern Germany.

Based on the characteristic of "seduction of culture" in Germany, this paper focused on the dual influence of culture on modern German history. On the one hand, the German nation attached importance to culture while neglecting politics, which led to the long-term political apathy of the elite class. On culture, on the other hand, the excessive worship highly made cultural factors such as religious, ethnic political beliefs and romantic values in the process of national governance in modern Germany had played a more lasting and stable role, and profoundly shaped the German national form in different historical periods, also in a great extent determined the choices of Germany in the key historical node.

1.   The "seduction of culture" and national governance

The characteristic of "seduction of culture" in Germany contained the essence of attaching great importance to culture while neglecting politics, and its influence on national governance was firstly reflected in the German "obstinate" view of political apathy. The "two worlds" theory proposed by Kant revealed the philosophical root of this view of political apathy, that is, all general objects could be divided into "phenomena" and "noumenon"[2], and there existed an external world representing the material and an internal world representing the idea. For the German nation, the inner world was the paradise of romanticism, the kingdom of freedom and rationality. Therefore, Germany had a tradition of intellectuals and elites staying away from politics. Brilliant cultural achievements had built a strong internal spiritual world for the German nation, while the construction and governance of the external world were not worthy of attention. Norbert Elias further argued that the German understanding of culture had a distinct anti-political bias that pointed to aristocratic dictatorship in the 18th and 19th centuries and then to parliamentary politics in democratic countries[3]. Starting with Goethe and Schiller's "Storm and Stress" (Sturm und Drang), the German elite began to express their thoughts boldly and gradually pushed Germany to the top of world culture. Different from the Enlightenment, the criticism of the dictatorship of the aristocracy contained in German philosophy and literary thoughts in this period did not originate from the political ideal of establishing a modern democratic system, but from the need to explore the inner spiritual kingdom freely. In the 20th century, the negative attitude of the elite towards politics further hindered the interpretation and dissemination of modern democratic political theories to the public. Parliamentary politics lacked broad popular approval and support. These factors were at the root of the collapse of the Weimar Republic, the first democratic republic in German history, and the success of the Nazi party in establishing a totalitarian regime. After World War II, there was a debate among historians of the Federal Republic of Germany about whether ordinary people should be responsible for the Holocaust, which involved how many Germans knew about the holocaust. Some scholars called on the public to pay attention to political issues and avoid the

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[1] Lepenies, Wolf. *The Seduction of Culture in German History.* C. Liu &X. Gao, Trans. Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2019, p. 8.
[2] Kant, Immanuel. *Critique of Pure Reason.* X. Deng, Trans. Beijing: Renmin Press, 2004, p. 216.
[3] Elias, Nobert. *The Germans: Power Struggles and the Development of Habitus in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 126-127.

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recurrence of the tragedy in the state of collective delusion. Yet the German long-standing political apathy was unlikely to be reversed any time soon. To some extent, this special value had caused the separation between the upper governance design and the general public opinion, which posed a hidden danger and challenge to the effective governance.

Secondly, as an important part of German culture, religious factors also played an important role in the process of national governance in modern Germany. Before entering the modern society, Germany inherited a huge religious heritage from the long middle Ages, which was not only reflected in the influence and control of the Holy Roman Empire by the Holy See, but also reflected in the design of imperial governance and political system. Following the call of Christianity's highest calling, Frederick the Great and his descendants led many Crusades in an effort to extend the influence of the Christian world. In order to realize the grand blueprint of Christian cosmopolitanism, Frederick the Great gave extensive powers to the Dukes in the north of the Alps to maintain the governance order within the empire, which became the turning point of the collapse of the centralized authority of the empire. In 1273, the Golden Edict confirmed in legal form that the emperor was elected by three religious electors and four secular electors through consultation. Among them, Archbishop Mainz served as the prime minister of the Empire and was in charge of the election of the emperor, the imperial Council and other important agendas. Although the religious reform in the 16th century caused the division of the common belief of the German nation, the religious fanaticism left over from the Middle ages did not disappear, but gradually became secular and transplanted to the governance structure. During the Weimar Republic, the burden of war reparations and the damage to national pride made Germany eager to wash away its national shame. Parliamentary democracy had little appeal and was incapable of tackling the country's crippling inflation and unemployment crisis. The people needed a messianic leader to unify the country and led them back to imperial glory and revenge against the "West". Religious zeal found a new home in ideologies such as fascism[1]. Randall Bytwerk believed that Goebbels' exploration of the so-called "new religious way" reflected the pursuit of secular worship. From the perspective of propaganda, Nazi Germany showed "a quasi-religious phenomenon"[2]. From the perspective of world-view, Nazi Germany was committed to a perfect vision of history, and made it its mission to achieve that perfect vision of the world. From the perspective of secularization of religious zeal, one conclusion could be drawn that there was a striking overlap between the world order under the German nation that the Nazi party sought to establish and the Christian cosmopolitanism that the Holy Roman Empire pursued during the Crusades.

Thirdly, from the ethnic political perspective of German national governance, according to Anthony Smith's point of view[3], the road of German political modernization was not synchronized with the birth and development of nationalism, and Germany lacked the ideological foundation of enlightenment and democratic political ideas, hence "ethnic" nationalism tended to a common language, kinship and custom culture as a foundation for identification. The long history of the tribes and the rule of the Holy Roman Empire in Germany gave birth to the ethnic political belief. The lack of enthusiasm for the realization of individual rights strengthened the obedience and worship to authority of the German nation. Otto I, the first Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, was elected in the same way as the chiefs of the early Germanic tribes. Although the central imperial power gradually declined in the later period of the Empire, the Dukes always regarded the jointly elected emperor as the supreme leader of the empire. The unified Germany promoted by Bismarck was far from the western

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1 Fischer, Klaus. *The History of an Obsession.* K. Qian, Trans. Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin Press, 2007, p. 5.
2 Bytwerk, Randall. *Bending Spines: The Propagandas of Nazi Germany and the German Democratic Republic.* H. Zhang, Trans. Shanghai: Shanghai Sanlian Press, 2012, p. 1.
3 Anthony Smith divided European nationalism into "civic" nationalism and "ethnic" nationalism, quoted in Smith, Anthony. *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, history*. J. Ye, Trans. Shanghai: Shanghai Century Publishing Group, 2011, p. 43.

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parliamentary democratic political system in terms of governance structure, but with the development of German nationalism from the cultural field to the political field in the late 19th century, its structure was adapted to the governance needs of the new "ethnic" nationalist countries. In Germany, the emperor was not the symbol of absolute kingship, but the supreme authority of obedience and worship by all. After the collapse of the empire, the imperial system withdrew from the stage of history, but the "emperor in the heart" of the people did not disappear, and the leadership and charisma of the highest authority still remained. The people would continue to follow new secular leaders as they see fit.

Finally, the political and social development of modern Germany contained the antagonism between romanticism and enlightenment, culture and civilization[1]. When the Enlightenment movement was in full force in France in the 18th century, German intellectuals believed that their nation did not have to imitate its neighbors, but retreated to the construction of inner spiritual world. Although it was still too early for the divided German nation to promote political modernization and build a unified national country, the elite class put an end to this possibility in the field of thought and focused on the creation of domestic romantic art, which showed the powerful inertia force of "seduction of culture". According to Elias, who made a distinction between "culture" and "civilization", pointed out that the core concepts of "culture" in German including thought, art and religion, which expressed a strong desire to distinguish from economic, political and social realities; "civilization" referred to secondary values, including economic, political, technological level, development of scientific knowledge, etc[2]. Some scholars believed that the word "civilization" was commonly used in English to indicate the highest achievements of mankind, while "culture" was also used to express the same concept in German[3]. For the German nation, as a country of culture, Germany was superior to the Western countries with "civilization"[4]. The antagonism between romanticism and enlightenment, culture and civilization strengthened the self-consciousness of the German nation. For a long time, the German nation kept a distance from the process of political modernization in western European countries. As a result, when Germany hastily established a democratic republic in the defeat of World War I, to a certain extent, the elite class was unfamiliar with and misread the construction and governance of modern democratic politics and then deviated from the original democratic design in actual governance. The "curriculum" missing in the process of political modernization in Germany might be destined to be made up at the cost of a certain stage of governance disorder.

2. Historical perspective:
The tug of war between culture and politics

The course of Modern German history showed the swing between nationalism and cosmopolitanism: the establishment of "German world" or "World Germany". Fundamentally, modern Germany was always faced with the choice of establishing regional order or world order. Chinese scholars pointed out that the effective governance structure of a country was combined with the use of internal and external power.[5] From this point of view, effective governance depended on the dynamic balance of internal and external power distribution. If the distribution of internal and external power was unbalanced, it would cause a governance crisis. However, for Germany with the characteristic of "seduction of culture", whether it chose nationalism to ignore the use of external power, or

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[1] Lepenies, Wolf. *The Seduction of Culture in German History.* C. Liu &X. Gao, Trans. Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2019, p. 1.

[2] Elias, Nobert. *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*. P. Wang, Trans. Beijing: Life-Reading-New Knowledge Sanlian Bookstore, 1998, pp. 61-62.

[3] С. А. Мальченков, Е. Н. Макшаева. Категория «особый путь» в социально-философском дискурсе Германии и России

[4] Lepenies, Wolf. *The Seduction of Culture in German History.* C. Liu &X. Gao, Trans. Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2019, p. 6.

[5] Meng, Zhongjie. *Reconstruction of Governance Structure in the Evolution of Countries——Revisiting the German "Unique Path"*. People's Forum · Academic Frontier, No. 10, 2014, p. 12.

cosmopolitanism to ignore the maintenance of internal order, it might not be the fundamental reason for the disorder of national governance. One of the key factors for the emergence of multiple national types and governance model experiments in modern Germany was the long-term antagonism between German culture and Western European civilization, which led to the German nation's estrangement and suspicion of modern western European democratic regime. German cultural achievements in the 18th century made it a "nation of poets and thinkers". The German elite once believed that Germany could take a unique development path different from that of Western Europe. With the invasion of Napoleon and the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire, the elite found that focusing on the unification of culture and the construction of internal spiritual world was no longer conducive to national governance, and German nationalism began to develop from the cultural field to the political field. It could be said that Germany was "forced" to start the process of political modernization, and its spiritual core contained a profound anti-political essence. Behind the process of national governance in modern Germany was the tussle between culture and politics.

2.1 The German Empire: Short-lived unification

The German characteristic of valuing culture over politics had been discussed above. In the confrontation with France in the 19th century, the German elite on the one hand called on the public to join the war against France and establish the German nation state. On the other hand, they pursued the establishment of a cultural kingdom, and the balance of the political blueprint still leaned towards culture. Ironically, it was the "combination of culture and politics"[1] that led to the successful construction of the German empire, led by Prussia, to achieve the political unification of the German nation (excluding Austria).

Prussia's rise began with Friedrich I's new deal in the 17th century, the creation of the first standing army to pledge allegiance to elector. In order to train the iron discipline of the army, Friedrich I imitated France, opened a martial hall and required the sons of Juncker aristocracy to join and serve. The new army received both cultural education and military training, and soon became a formidable military force in central Europe, which laid the foundation for the Prussian military establishment. It could be said that Friedrich I "established the premise of Prussia's internal structure and spiritual behavior"[2] and further strengthened the national worship of authority and obedience to order, which also became the cultural reason for Prussia to successfully achieve political unity and establish the German Empire through three dynastic wars.

During Bismarck's reign as prime Minister of the Empire, based on the complex contradictions between the central government and the federal states, the emperor and the Junker aristocracy, the imperial system was designed to be a mixture of centralism and federalism, monarchy and representative system. In addition, Bismarck was well aware of the fragility of the external environment of the empire and constructed the continental alliance system, which ensured the peaceful rise of Germany for nearly two decades. During this period, the political unification of the empire and the amazing construction achievements of the top-down capitalist development road promoted the further development of political nationalism. In the late 19th century, the political nationalist elite put forward the theory of "German Unique Path" and believed that the German nation was superior to other nations not only in the cultural level but also in the unique political and social modernization path. The power of cultural identity acted on politics and accelerated the birth of expansionism. "The World Should Wake Up from Germany's Presence" (Am Deutschen Wesen Soll die Welt Genesen) became the new slogan of national policy. Conservative cultural nationalist intellectuals, on the other hand, were more alarmed than ever at the establishment of empires. Political victory, they argued, had

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[1] Lepenies, Wolf. *The Seduction of Culture in German History.* C. Liu &X. Gao, Trans. Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2019, p. 13.
[2] Ding, Jianhong &Li, Xia. *Prussian Spirit and Culture*. Shanghai: Shanghai Social Sciences Press, 2003, p. 52.

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swallowed up the serious qualities of the German spirit, and the German philosophy that stood at the pinnacle of world culture was coming to an end[1]. The two forces played off each other. Combined with Bismarck's careful distribution and use of internal and external power, imperial governance once achieved a delicate balance between culture and politics.

Wilhelm II came to power and his "World Policy" (Weltpolitik) immediately ignited the political nationalist elite's passion for military conquest. In their opinion, as a world cultural and economic power, it was necessary for Germany through a world war to acquire more territory and territorial sea and establish a world order in a larger scope led by the German nation. The "German unique path" was upgraded to the "Ideas of 1914", which advocated the unification of culture and politics. The World War I, declared the Sombart, was "a contest between German culture and Western culture"[2]. Faced with the national war frenzy, the scattered voices of cultural nationalist intellectuals were quickly drowned out. The characteristics of "seduction of culture" had been unable to control the integration and growth of political forces.

However, much to the disappointment of the political nationalist elite, Wilhelm II not only destroyed Bismarck's painstaking design of the continental alliance system, leaved Germany before the World War I in diplomatic isolation and geopolitical crisis. And there was a problem of rash advance with his military strategy. He led The Austro-Hungarian Empire's military action unchecked and lacked a long-term strategy for the world war. When the tussle of cultural and political was out of balance, it seemed to have foretold the disorder of imperial governance. With the defeat of the World War I, Wilhelm II stepped down in haste.

2.2   Weimar Republic: Cultural prosperity and political apathy

Germany's first democratic republic, the Weimar Republic, was hastily established as "German Empire" (Deutsches Reich) after the defeat of the World War I. The leaders of the Republic did not rule out the possibility of restoring an imperial order. Under the urgent pressure of finding an alternative regime after the collapse of the monarchy, and in order to appease the struggle of the left and right forces in the country as soon as possible, the Republic mechanically copied the parliamentary republican system in Western Europe. Because of long-term use of monarchy for national governance and lack of democratic political governance experience, Germany still needed a relatively stable internal and external environment to fit in with the new regime. But the reality did not give the Weimar Republic this opportunity: the Treaty of Versailles made Germany lose 1/8 of its territory and 1/10 of its population, Germany was forced to give up all its overseas colonies and local German public and private property, and faced a huge indemnity burden[3]. In the 1930s, the capitalist economic crisis led to severe inflation in Germany and a sharp increase in unemployment. The damage of national pride, economic hardship and revenge mood pervaded the country.

According to Klaus Fischer, the deepest division in the Weimar Republic was the cultural struggle between conservatives who adhered to traditional values and modernists who espouse a variety of innovative and radical ideas. Although such conflicts had begun under the monarchy, they eventually "erupted like a volcano" in the post-war republic[4]. The end of the imperial system made the development of culture without political constraints. Traditional intellectuals opposed Germany's copying of the parliamentary political system, which symbolized western civilization, and kept a distance from politics. Faced with the moral tenets of the capitalist middle class, the modernists produced a flood of avant-garde work and led a flourishing cultural movement.

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[1] Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Twilight of Idols*. M. Wei, Trans. Shanghai: East China Normal University Press, 2007, p. 98.

[2] Jing, Dexiang. *"The Special Road of German Development" Revisited*. Historical Theory Research, No. 4, 2003, p. 35.

[3] Liu, Debin. *History of International Relations*. Beijing: Higher Education Press, 2018, p. 297.

[4] Fischer, Klaus. *The History of an Obsession*. K. Qian, Trans. Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin Press, 2007, p. 185.

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Different from the prosperity in the field of culture, the political field of Weimar Republic presented the dual trend of political apathy and fierce conflict between the left and right forces. On the one hand, intellectuals and the traditional elite stayed away from parliamentary politics, which, to a certain extent, hindered the interpretation and dissemination of modern democratic political ideas to the public, and made parliamentary politics lack broad recognition and public support, thus providing an opportunity for more totalitarian forces to come to power. On the other hand, due to the long-term opposition between German culture and Western civilization, the political elites were unfamiliar with and misread the construction and governance of modern democratic politics, and often deviated from the original democratic design in the actual governance. In the absence of government orders, the regular army and the Freedom Corps suppressed repeatedly and bloodily the labor movement. Faced with the exploitation of war treaties and the impact of economic depression, the government was unable to establish an effective conflict resolution mechanism to ease the fierce struggle between the left and right forces, nor was it able to save the increasingly severe social and economic predicament. The people were losing faith in republican government and desperately needed an iron leader to lead them to change the status quo, return to the glorious age of empire and revenge against the "West". To some extent, it seemed that the split between culture and politics led to the tear between national governance and public opinion, each went his own way but the social contradictions had not been properly solved. It was by taking advantage of the deepening internal crisis in the Weimar Republic that the Nazi Party, led by Hitler, gradually seized power and successfully established a totalitarian regime.

2.3   Nazi Germany: The birth of a new religion

In 1933, the Nazi Party comprehensively seized the power of the state. The first experiment of republicanism in German history ended after only 15 years, and the state once again chose to follow the authority.

For the German public, the Nazi Party's special appeal lay not only in its strong commitment to restoring German economic and military power and returning to glories times of world leadership, but also in its creation of a new religion. The uniform, the ceremony, the fanatical crowd atmosphere and the grand goal of the Nazi Party infected the general public and even part of the elite deeply. Secularization of religious fanaticism inherited from the Middle Ages and transplanted to the structure of political governance. The Party's heavy-handed control of central and local power also made it easier for totalitarians to carry out their ideas in every area of human life[1]. When Randall Bytwerk studied the Hymns of the Fuhrer during the Nazi period, he found that some works even used religious language, such as "praise", "Messiah" and "sacrifice", and that some people had seen Hitler as "a Christian figure"[2]. In addition, the world order view of the Nazi Party also reflected the perfect religious assumption, which had some striking overlap with the pursuit of Christian cosmopolitanism in Frederick the Great's period. During this period, obedience to authority and worship of the religious Messiah achieved a considerable degree of unity.

Most of the bourgeoisie and most of the intellectuals in Germany were first attracted by the violent aesthetics of fascism and then infected by the cultural charm of national socialism.[3] In the early years of Nazi Germany, a series of iron-fisted measures, such as solving unemployment problem, restoring economic order, breaking the peace treaty of defeat and rebuilding military force, made the

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[1] Bytwerk, Randall. *Bending Spines: The Propagandas of Nazi Germany and the German Democratic Republic.* H. Zhang, Trans. Shanghai: Shanghai Sanlian Press, 2012, p. 4.
[2] Bytwerk, Randall. *Bending Spines: The Propagandas of Nazi Germany and the German Democratic Republic.* H. Zhang, Trans. Shanghai: Shanghai Sanlian Press, 2012, p. 8.
[3] Lepenies, Wolf. *The Seduction of Culture in German History.* C. Liu &X. Gao, Trans. Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2019, p. 40.

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people see the hope of returning to the era of glory. The official propaganda of racism, chauvinism and social Darwinism subtly catered to the cultural pride and superiority of the German nation, and also made the domestic ultra-nationalist movement more and more intense. After the "Ideas of 1914", the elite once again saw the possibility of realizing the unification of culture and politics, that is, under the guidance of excellent German national culture and new values, the German nation would realize the unification and become the leader of the world. The youth community was mobilized extensively, "national socialism did not mean dictatorship, regulation of speech and repression, but freedom and adventure"[1].

The Nazi Party's world war plan was the beginning of the disorder of national governance. In order to realize the blueprint of "The Great German Empire" (Großdeutsches Reich), Hitler tied countries and peoples to the chariots of world war. His internal governance structure was fundamentally designed to serve the external military expansion. The political field was filled with pure and absolute national socialist ideology, so that the implementation of political instructions was tainted with an absolute style, but few people thought about whether the policy implemented was just, and whether it conformed to the law and morality. As Wolf Lepenies pointed out, when culture was seen as an alternative to politics, it was easy to accept moral failings in the public domain[2]. However, the purity and absolutism of the spiritual realm could not substitute for politics, which requires compromise and adjustment. To a large extent, the governance disorder of this period was due to the wrong combination of culture and politics. While the totalitarian party armed its dangerous political intentions with seductive ideologies, it seemed that Germans had regrettably fallen into a collective blind condition[3]. The whole country was drawn into a war that was doomed to failure. With the depletion of human and financial resources brought by the long front and the gradual decline of the state's ability for smooth operation, coupled with the wrong military strategy layout at the decision-making level, Nazi Germany was doomed to collapse.

3.   Outlook: Reasonable path and European identity

For Germany with the characteristic of "seduction of culture", its cultural identity inevitably is likely to have a profound impact on the road of political, economic and social development. Throughout the process of national governance in modern Germany, first of all, the cultural and political fragmentation may, to a considerable extent, create a tear between national governance and public opinion, and cause hidden dangers and challenges to effective governance. Second, culture as a substitute for politics may cause the absence of collective morality and fall into the trap of being deceived and exploited by extreme political forces. Third, the imbalance of cultural and political tussle is also likely to trigger a serious crisis of governance. Having lived through many lessons of dysfunctional state governance, especially painful collective memories of World War II, heavy guilt for the Holocaust and hard-won unity, Germans have come to "associate political realism with lofty moral postures"[4]. When politics is given moral meaning, Germans, who always value culture above all else, are at least gradually shedding their prejudice against politics and participating in democratic political governance with a calm and objective attitude.

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[1] Aly, Götz. *Hitlers Volksstaat: Raub, Rassenkrieg und nationaler Sozialismus.* Q. Liu, Trans. Nanjing: Yiliin Press, 2011, p. 4.
[2] Lepenies, Wolf. *The Seduction of Culture in German History.* C. Liu &X. Gao, Trans. Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2019, p. 50.
[3] There were sporadic resistance movements in Nazi Germany, but they were soon brutally suppressed, such as the resistance of a few communists and social democrats, the "White Rose Movement" in 1943, and the "Operation Valkyrie" in 1944, etc.
[4] Lepenies, Wolf. *The Seduction of Culture in German History.* C. Liu &X. Gao, Trans. Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2019, p. 249.

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Nowadays Germany is facing the challenge of multicultural society: in the historical development process with unity and division as the main line, how to construct the national identity and citizenship identity is still an important issue for Germany; the process of political integration within the former East and West Germany has not been completed; the challenge also has to do with how Germany plays a leading role in the European Union.

From the perspective of the positive effect of "seduction of culture", on the one hand, grasping the reasonable path of its role can better facilitate the promotion of cultural policies and the construction of national narrative and national identity. On the other hand, "seduction of culture" can, to a certain extent, help to promote the cultural identity of Germany in other countries, make Germany better play a leading role in the European Union, and expand the basis of European identity. In the course of modern history, the intellectuals of the European continent dreamed of European unification through the common culture, while the autocrats tried to conquer by force to achieve this goal. For the EU, which faces multiple challenges such as Brexit, the impact of refugees and the deviation of Eastern Europe from the "European Route", taking an objective view of the differences in each other's political, economic and social paths, strengthening cultural identity and common dialogue may help the EU to cope with challenges together more effectively and continue to deepen regional integration cooperation.

In addition, faced with the integration of ethnic minorities and refugees in recent years, Germany should also guard against the resurgence of extreme social thoughts such as racism and neo-Nazism, and avoid the spread of differences in cultural identity into the political field, otherwise it may pose a challenge to the national governance order.

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6. Fischer, Klaus. *The History of an Obsession.* K. Qian, Trans. Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin Press, 2007.

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«СОБЛАЗН КУЛЬТУРОЙ» В ПРОЦЕССЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ СОВРЕМЕННОЙ ГЕРМАНИЕЙ

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Аннотация: *характеристика "соблазна культуры", которая ценила культуру превыше всего, оказала двойственное влияние на современную историю Германии. С одной стороны, его антиполитический характер заставил элиту держаться в стороне от политики из-за политической апатии и предоставил возможности для появления тоталитарных сил в XX в. С другой стороны, чрезмерное поклонение культуре также глубоко сформировало форму национального управления: религиозный фанатизм Средневековья постепенно секуляризировался и пересаживался в современную структуру управления; долгая племенная история и управление Священной Римской империей породили этническую политическую веру и укрепили послушание и поклонение власти; романтизм и просвещение, а также культура и цивилизация долгое время противостояли друг другу, что привело к отчуждению и непониманию современной парламентской демократии и отклонению от демократического замысла в реальном управлении. Процесс национального управления в современной Германии был не только колебанием между национализмом и космополитизмом, но и перетягиванием каната между культурой и политикой на более глубоком уровне. Динамическое равновесие между ними способствует эффективному управлению и формированию национальной идентичности, а дисбаланс между ними может спровоцировать серьезный кризис управления.*
Ключевые слова: *Германия, Национальное управление, соблазн культуры, культурная идентичность, Зондервег*