ALEXANDROS SCHISMENOS

CASTORIADIS

AGAINST

HEIDEGGER

TIME AND EXISTENCE



Alexandros Schismenos, Ph.D.

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Alexandros Schismenos' *Castoriadis against Heidegger* pushes past the famous German philosopher's affinities for fascism and what Hannah Arendt called "the hidden king in the realm of thinking" to question what type of philosopher keeps a distance from commoners, avoids the public, and uses a mystical notion of *being* and *time* to reinforce servile inclinations?

Schismenos inquires how did Martin Heidegger come to encourage his existential followers to live authentically but define the political sphere as inherently falsified? The dynamic scholar of Cornelius Castoriadis (the Greek philosopher who made his name in France) as expected, carries out a tour de force. Adroit in discussing comparatively both Heidegger's and Castoriadis' sense of time, social decline, and anxiety about falling into the abyss, or the rising tide of insignificance, Schismenos contrasts to Heiddeger's mythic nationalist conservatism Castoriadis' sense of direct democracy and self-limitation.

Even those who have questions about Castoriadis' challenge to religious and naturalistic constructions of reason and the social imaginary will find the book stimulating. Schismenos' contemporary meditation on the digitalization of humanity through internet social relations, the author's interrogation of telepresence, is a dynamic means to measure these two philosophers' sense of the manufacture of authenticity, with and without self-limitation.

- MATTHEW QUEST – Ph.D. in American Studies at Brown University

This book is a tour de force that excites those who agree or disagree with the philosophy of Heidegger. With clarity and sophistication, Schismenos revives the public debate to reveal the rich possibilities for another world. A must-read for everyone interested in a philosophy that matters.

 VASILIS KOSTAKIS - Professor of P2P Governance at Tallinn University of Technology and Faculty Associate at Harvard University, author of PEER TO PEER: THE COMMONS MANIFESTO Alexandros Schismenos was born in Athens, Greece, in 1978. He holds a Ph.D. in Philosophy from the University of Ioannina and he is currently a post-doctoral researcher at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki. He has authored four books in Greek and several articles regarding social autonomy and political philosophy. He is also the co-author of *Castoriadis and Autonomy in the Twenty-First Century* (Bloomsbury 2021) and *Common Futures: Social Transformation and Political Ecology* (Black Rose Books, 2021)

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Foreword

The political actions of Martin Heidegger raise a compelling question to those concerned with philosophy: How was one of the most important philosophers of the 20th century

willing to ally himself with Nazism and what does this mean for philosophy? This question has been raised and brushed aside from the end of the Second World War, when Heidegger was tried for his involvement with Hitler's regime and forbidden to attain any official teaching position henceforth. Important thinkers, like his colleague and friend in the pre-war years, Karl Jaspers, testified at that point against him. But Heidegger's fame rose again above his indignity in the 1950s, when Hannah Arendt in the USA and Jean-Paul Sartre in France, among others, began once again to spread the word of his philosophy and translate his works. Heidegger's relationship with the Jewish descended Arendt is a unique and peculiar love story that we should treat with respect, given that Arendt was all too familiar with the horrors of Nazism, a regime that she thoroughly analyzed in her magnum opus The Origins of Totalitarianism.

After Heidegger died in 1976, the issue once again caught public attention in 1987, when Victor Farias published his, well-documented, book *Heidegger and Nazism*, a result of the writer's research in STASI records. Once again, the academic world was divided into two camps. French philosopher Jacques Derrida, famous at the time, came forward to defend Heidegger,

with the public statement that the book was "sometimes so rough one wonders if the investigator [has read] Heidegger [for] more than an hour". Words of an initiated specialist but without critical content, Derrida's remark failed to conceal the question of Heidegger being a Nazi.

Richard Wolin, among others, shed further light on that question with publications like *The Politics of Being: The Political Thought of Martin Heidegger (1990)*, *The Heidegger Controversy: A Critical Reader (ed., 1991)*, and *Heidegger's Children: Philosophy, Anti-Semitism, and German-Jewish Identity (2001)*.

These problems were recently intensified after the posthumous publication of Heidegger's *Black Notebooks (Schwarze Hefte)* in 2014, containing his notes from 1931-1941. Their publication caused seismic tremors in the field of philosophy, with Heidegger's opponents considering themselves finally vindicated by his own pen, and his supporters trying to separate thinking from actual life. The volume *Reading Martin Heidegger's Black Notebooks 1931-1941*, published by MIT Press in 2016 and edited by Ingo Farin and Jeff Malpas, brought together views from all sides, where the embarrassment of the philosopher's supporters is evident, with

many insisting that his anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi notes are few and scattered among the thousands of pages of the notebooks. The argument itself is specious and does not address the core of the problem. They are few and scattered but they exist and they were written as personal thoughts. And Heidegger himself, who took great care to provide detailed instructions for the posthumous edition of his writings, did not bother to remove them. So the problem becomes more acute.

However, the influence of Heidegger's thought - as well as that of other representatives of German anti-humanist nationalistic conservatism, such as Oswald Spengler - continues to spread, not only in academic but also in broader social and political circles. In the face of this spreading influence, which is combined with the influence of some disciples such as Nick Land or Giorgio Agamben, a biographical-type confrontation is not enough.

We should confront Heidegger directly at the core of his philosophy. We cannot afford to ignore him or bury him under any king of superficial gossip. Instead, we should confront him philosophically. We might be able to clear the ground for such a confrontation, if we resort to the philosophical concepts of autonomy, temporality, and human freedom.

In my opinion, the most important philosophical challenge to Heideggerian thought, in this context, has been expressed by Cornelius Castoriadis. In the following chapters, I will argue in favor of this position, outlining the Castoriadian philosophy of time in contrast to the Heideggerian and highlighting the main points of their opposition.

The book is divided into two parts. Part one, "Castoriadis against Heidegger" deals with the basic concepts and arguments of both philosophers around human existence, the individual, society, and temporality. We discuss Heidegger's scandal in the social-historical context but also with the help of Hannah Arendt's last assessment of the thinker.

We move on to outline the basic concepts and structures of Heidegger's philosophical thinking in parallel with Castoriadis' criticism as regards politics, ontology and technoscience. Part two, "Time and existence" first examines the relevant approaches of Lukacs and Ricoeur in comparison to Heidegger and Castoriadis, to elucidate the basic concept of temporality and then presents an outline of Castoriadis' insights

on time and existence, before finally applying socialconclusions contemporary to phenomena redefine historical that and transform human existence and social temporalities, like space exploration, digital cyberspaces and online communications.

It is my hope that this book will contribute to reviving the public debate around politics and philosophy and illuminating the importance of critical philosophical and political thinking.

Part One

Castoriadis against Heidegger.

The Heidegger scandal

Of all the cases of intellectuals who have collaborated or co-operated with authoritarian regimes, starting with Plato's travels to the court of the tyrants of Syracuse, none has been more scandalous than Martin Heidegger's (1889-1976) involvement with National Socialism. The scandal was raised immediately after the end of World War II and the collapse of the Third

Reich, when the Denazification Committee of the Allies deemed Heidegger a 'follower and sympathizer' (Mitlaüfer) of Hitler's regime and, consequently, banned him from teaching until 1951. Since then, numerous studies have been written in an attempt to elucidate the meaning of his involvement, and, in particular, the relationship between Heidegger's philosophy and his dark political choices.

Following George Steiner (1979), we could divide them into three categories:

In the first category, we place those who argued that Heidegger's philosophy per se had nothing to do with his political views and characterize the German professor misguided philosopher whose high-minded reflections made him 'blind' to the horrible reality unfolding before him. 'The political error of 1933 lasted only a short time, 'writes Walter Biemel (1976). The leading example of this attitude and also one of the most important exonerating testimonies came from his former student and former lover but also a great philosopher of Jewish origin, which in this historical context acquires special importance, Hannah Arendt, who in 1969 published an article entitled "Martin Heidegger at Eighty".

In the second category, we place those who considered the issue of Heidegger's commitment completely the aims of Nazism to be secondary and tried prove that to philosopher overshadowed the politician, seeking philosophical authority even in texts that his moderate supporters would like to erase from history.

We may consider Jacques Derrida's text *De l'esprit: Heidegger et la Question*, and Philippe Lacoue-Labarth's books *L'imitation des Modernes* and *La fiction du Politique*, which, among other things, comment on the aesthetics of the Heideggerian "Rectoral Address" (1933), to be prime examples in this category.

In the third category, we will place those who treated the problem of Heidegger's political directly relevant positioning as philosophy. The extent of the identification of Heidegger's philosophical thought with the Nazi worldview varies from author to author, with some raising it as an ambiguity to be explored, such as George Steiner, and others highlighting the obvious relevance of Heideggerian existential philosophy to the nationalist conservative nihilism, though certainly not to the racism, of the Nazis. Among the latter, we can single out Heidegger's former student Karl Löwith, who

wrote about The political consequences of Heidegger's existentialism, as early as 1939 and published in 1946, as well as Theodor Adorno's Jargon der Eigentlichkeit, published in 1964. As the former concludes, Heidegger's commitment was not philosophically innocent: "On the contrary, it corresponds to the radical character of the actual historical situation with which Heideggerian existentialism is explicitly identified. temporally understood historically." (Löwith, 1946) We can place Castoriadis in this category, as well.

Heidegger himself, during his long life, did not help his supporters at all. His post-war silence, became notorious as an indication of, to use Adorno's words, his "inability to reflect on Auschwitz". evident in his post-war correspondence with Herbert Marcuse, where Heidegger refuses explicitly to account for his choices. The publication of his Black Notebooks of 1933-1945 came to disprove his defenders who downplayed his attunement to fascist worldviews. These publications came too late, however, and even Arendt, who passed away before Heidegger, was not aware of them. Keeping her ignorance in mind, her position toward Heidegger, who she knew as close as anyone could ever, would be a good starting

point for our investigation. Let's see how Hannah Arendt, assessed his attitude during their lifetime.

[.....]

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