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**Four Ideas for "fundamental political ontology" by M. Heidegger**

*Idea of being-proportional possibility of "crossing" of fundamental ontological existentials with nazi-ideology of the earth and blood*

The inaugural address is a programmatic speech Heidegger’s written with the pathos of the feeling of being part of a promising historical revolution. It ends with the description of the magnificence and greatness of this new beginning (der neue Anfang).[[1]](#footnote-1) It is concerned with the future role of German science after the seizure of power by the Nazis. Heidegger interprets this situation as the historical possibility for Germany to regain its true spiritual world. This true spiritual world is not an empty cleverness (‘Weltvernunft’) or just a cultural superstructure. It is, Heidegger asserts, part of a primordial, knowing resolution in a particular mood that maintains the forces of earth and blood of the nation.[[2]](#footnote-2) Note that Heidegger uses core terms of «Being and Time» in the new - expressly political - context like Entschlossenheit (resolution) and being in a mood (gestimmtsein). The former describes the path to authenticity (Eigentlichkeit); the latter, in Being and Time, is the key to understanding that Dasein is always in a particular emotional state-of-mind (Befindlichkeit). The emergence of these terms can't be casual: these are two of the most fundamental claims of existential ontology. More likely, Heidegger considers productive to carry out "crossing" of existentials of fundamental ontology with nazi ideology of the earth and blood. It is surely wrong to say that Nazism was the only possible consequence of the political anthropology of «Being and Time». Its content is much too abstract and vague for that. But the fact that Heidegger has found possible "crossing" of fundamental ekzistentsial with nazi ideology of the earth and blood allows us to claim about a being-proportional (Seins angemessene) possibility of such version of political anthropology in all its historical concreteness and factuality (Faktizität). Heidegger’s support for the Nazis was clearly possible without doing sum violence to his own philosophical theory. The passageы from his speech fits neatly into his doctrine of destiny as the limitation of possibilities open to human beings to escape inauthenticity. In Being and Time destiny was determined by the concrete collective, of which Dasein was a part. In his inaugural address Heidegger makes clear what destiny meant for him in 1933: It meant to gain authenticity in the National socialist revolution and to support the Nazi movement in the felicitous Augenblick of the Nazi seizure of power.

*Not authenticity of the academic freedom and the Idea of authoritative university (German paideia)*

It is indicative Heidegger's argument in the context of his understanding how has to look the education model (the German analog of the Greek paideia). In concrete terms Heidegger argued for the *authoritarian university* with strong leadership and against academic freedom. In his view traditional academic freedom had been just negative (nonauthentical). True (authentical) freedom has to be bound by the community of the nation (Volksgemeinschaft), the honour and destiny of the nation among other people and the spiritual mission of the Germans.[[3]](#footnote-3)

*Idea of Germans as chosen people and the unic potential of German language*

Heidegger claimed to have broken with National socialism after his rectorate and there are without doubt passages, most notably in his Nietzsche lectures or in the Beiträge zur Philosophie (Vom Ereignis), that indicate distance from the Nazi state. These remarks, however, never transcend the idea that Germans are the historically and philosophically chosen people.[[4]](#footnote-4) This idea of the uniqueness of Germans is a persistent theme of Heidegger’s philosophy. At its core lies a vision of history that sees the world endangered by the Will to Power, embodied in technology, politically organised in Russia and America, that can only be overcome by Germany as it is, in Heidegger’s view, the “metaphysical people”.[[5]](#footnote-5) How deeply engrained this view is in Heidegger’s thinking is made transparent by his impression (as late as in the Spiegel-interview of 1966, published in 1976 posthumously and clearly intended by Heidegger to form some kind of intellectual testament): Germany has a special potential to bring about the needed turn of world history because of the special features of the German language. He even asserts that the French speak German when they start thinking.

*Idea of corruption of the Nazi-movement*

In Spiegel-interview Heidegger is remarkably outspoken. He states that one of the main motives for his engagement with the Nazis was hope. He saw in the movement the potential to renew the German nation and to make it fulfil its mission in the history of the occident.[[6]](#footnote-6) He writes that he saw the Nazis as an alternative to the universal rule of the will to power that dominates history in the form of Communism, Fascism or world-democracy.[[7]](#footnote-7) He than makes an utterly stunning comment: He asks what could have been prevented from happening if the Nazi movement had been purified by well-meaning people, clearly implying that the problem of the Nazis was not their Nazi-ideology in the first place, but that it was not purified enough to grasp the historic mission of the Germans.[[8]](#footnote-8) Even after the 1945 Heidegger defends the historic potential of the Nazi movement and deplores nothing but its corruption. This idea of the corruption of the Nazi-movement is of great persistence in Heidegger’s thought.

1. Heidegger, ‘Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität’, 19 [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Heidegger, ‘Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität’, 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Heidegger, Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität, 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Martin Heidegger, Beiträge zur Philosophie (Vom Ereignis), Gesamtausgabe, Bd. 65, 1989, p. 398. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Martin Heidegger, Einführung in die Metaphysik (Gesamtausgabe, Bd. 40, 1983), 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Heidegger, ‘Das Rektorat 1933/34, Tatsachen und Gedanken’, 23. Der Spiegel, 23/1976, 196. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Heidegger, ‘Das Rektorat 1933/34, Tatsachen und Gedanken’, 24f. Der Spiegel, 23/1976, 196. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Heidegger, ibid., 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)