

UNIVERSITAS ATMA JAYA YOGYAKARTA
GEDUNG SANTO THOMAS AQUINA

Hannah Arendt & Günther Anders in Yogyakarta

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

Dr. Marcel M. Baumann

DAAD Guest Lecturer

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Please feel free to contact me!!



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Don't be shy!

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There are no stupid questions. There are only stupid answers!!



Lecture Series



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Travelling to Indonesia with German Thought

*Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta Lecture Series on New Trends
in Applied Social Theory and Conflict Studies*

speaker

Dr. Marcel M. Baumann

Areas of expertise:
Peace and Conflict Studies, Social Theory,
Terrorism, Conflict Transformation

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PUBLIC
LECTURE

10

NOV
2016

Dialectic of Enlightenment

17

NOV
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*Hannah Arendt & Günther Anders
in Yogyakarta*

24

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*Conflict Transformation:
from Northern Ireland to Maluku*

🕒 10.00 - 12.00
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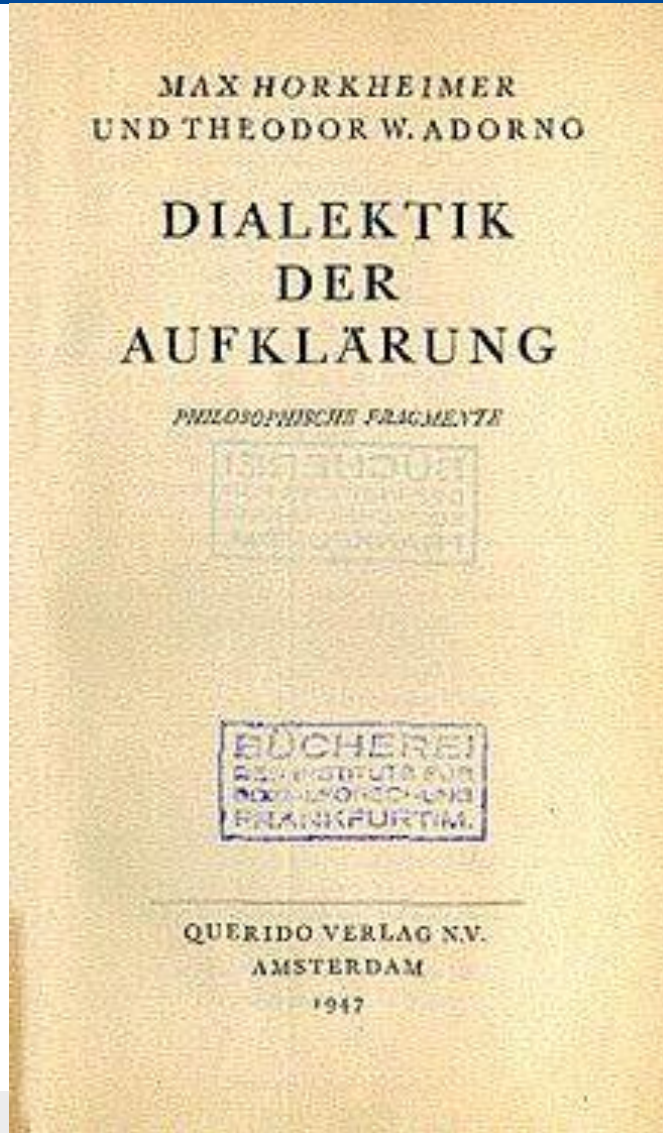
Overview about today's lecture



- **Reflection:** last session: What have we learned?
- Dialectic of enlightenment: modernity and the Holocaust
- **Hannah Arendt:**
 - The origins of totalitarianism
 - Eichmann in Jerusalem
- **Günther Anders:**
 - We are all sons of Eichmann
 - The antiquity/obsolescence of man



The Dialectic of Enlightenment



first published in 1944



The Dialectic of Enlightenment



- Adorno, Horkheimer and all other Frankfurt intellectuals were forced to flee Nazi Germany
- they ended up in the USA during the Hitler years and although this was a refuge for them, it was not a society they felt had anything to offer humanity:
 - Ernst Bloch: described the US as “a cul-de-sac lit by neon lights”
 - Frankfurt thinkers felt that a society obligated to the pursuit of individualised happiness was the epitome of a world of shallow and inauthentic surfaces and insincerity
 - Adorno: that it is not possible to live a true life in a false system.



“Living in a false system”



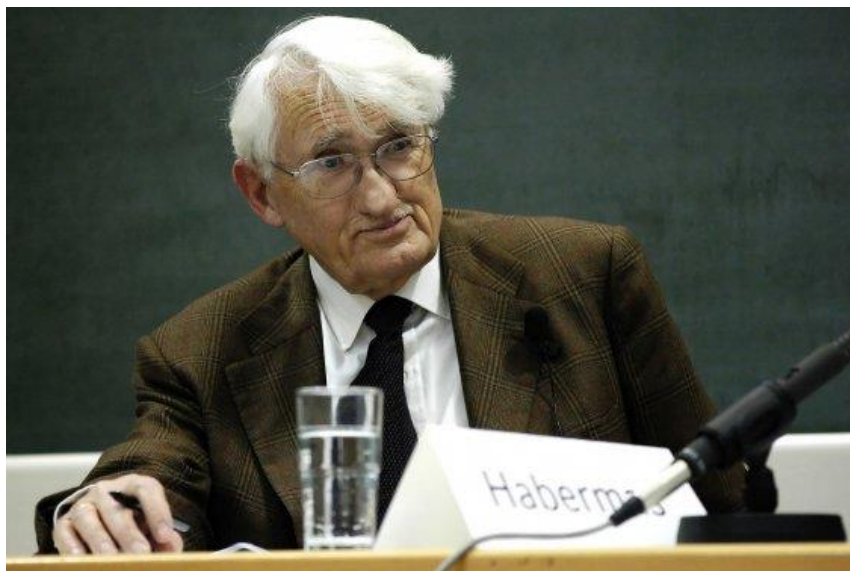
- Most important in this context: the thinkers of the Frankfurt school did not draw a significant distinction between various forms of capitalism, be they consumerist democracies or fascist dictatorships
- “Dialectic of Enlightenment” was written by Adorno and Horkheimer during these years in exile
- pessimistic view of what can be done against a false system which, through the “culture industry”, constantly creates a false consciousness about the world around us based on myths and distortions deliberately spread in order to benefit the ruling class



The Dialectic of Enlightenment



- Because of the pessimistic view: **Habermas** called it the “**darkest book**” of Critical Theory
- Because it highlights the potential of ***self-destruction of and by enlightenment***





Probably the most important quote:

“Enlightenment, understood in the widest sense as the advance of thought, has always aimed at liberating human beings from fear and installing them as masters. Yet the wholly enlightened earth is radiant with triumphant calamity. Enlightenment’s program was the disenchantment of the world. It wanted to dispel myths, to overthrow fantasy with knowledge”.



Horkheimer & Adorno in their own words:



“Knowledge, which is power, knows no limits, either in its enslavement of creation or in its deference to worldly matters. Just as it serves all the purposes of the bourgeoisie economy both in factories and on the battlefield, it is at the disposal of entrepreneurs regardless of their origins. Kings control technology no more directly than do merchants: it is as democratic as the economic system with which it evolved. Technology is the essence of this knowledge”.



Modernity and the Holocaust



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ZYGMUNT BAUMAN



CEP
Kontextuelle Verlagssprache

Dialektik der Ordnung
Die Moderne und der Holocaust

The Dialectic of Order



Dialectic of Order



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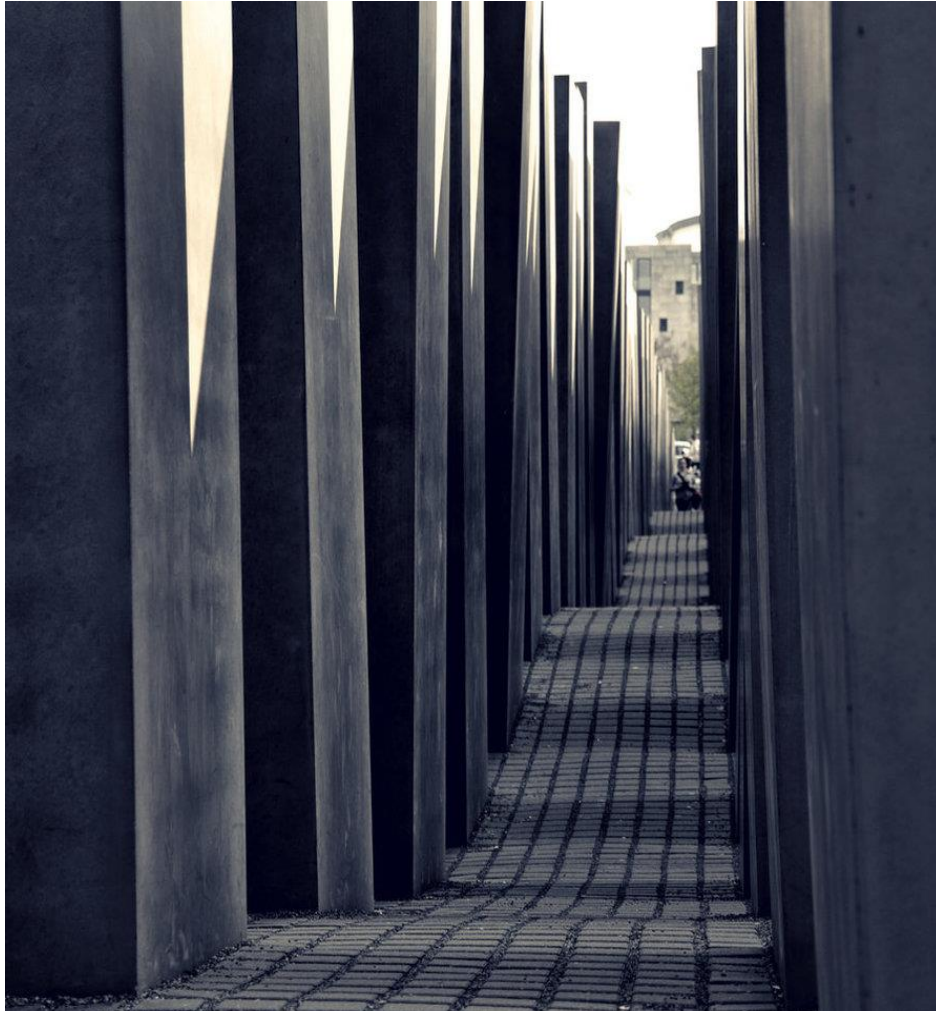
Dialectic of Order



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Dialectic of Order



Order:
Stability,
but **also threatening**
Machinery of order



Modernity is Janus-faced



**Comparison:
Interviews with couples,
who were victims
of hijacking**

Janus-faced modernity



- Journalist of *Le Monde* interviewed a sample of former hijack victims
- abnormally high incidence of divorce among the couples who went jointly through the agony of hostage experience. Most interviewees told him that they had never contemplated a divorce before the hijack.
- During the horrifying episode, however, “their eyes opened”, and “they saw their partners in a new light”:
 - Ordinary good husbands, “proved to be” selfish creatures, caring only for their own stomachs;
 - daring businessmen displayed disgusting cowardice;
 - resourceful “men of the world” fell to pieces and did little except bewailing their imminent perdition.
- The journalist asked himself a question: which of the two incarnations each of these Januses was clearly capable of was the true face, and which was the mask? He concluded that the question was wrongly put. Neither was “truer” than the other.





- Richard L. Rubenstein: *“Civilization means slavery, wars, exploitation, and death camps. It also means medical hygiene, elevated religious ideas, beautiful art, and exquisite music. It is an error to imagine that civilization and savage cruelty are antithesis [...] In our times the cruelties, like most other aspects of our world, have become far more effectively administered than ever before. They have not and will not cease to exist. Both creation and destruction are inseparable aspects of what we call civilization.”*



Modernity and the Holocaust



- **Zygmunt Bauman**: the Holocaust should not simply be understood as an accident along the road to modernity
- modernity provided the “necessary conditions” for its undertaking: the Holocaust was “a legitimate resident in the house of modernity”
- the principles of rationality and efficiency which so uniquely characterize the modern era may have had, in the case of the Holocaust, some unintended consequences: *“at no point of its long and tortuous execution did the Holocaust come into conflict with the principles of rationality. The ‘Final Solution’ did not clash at any stage with the rational pursuit of efficient, optimal goal-implementation”* (Bauman).



(Modern) Bureaucracy and the Holocaust



- The Nazis mass murder of the European Jews was not only the technological achievement of an industrial society, but also the organizational achievement of a bureaucratic society
- Mass deportations and murder could not begin immediately. First, the Jews, once fully assimilated members of German society, had to be turned into non-citizens, and ultimately into non-humans. The dehumanizing process was achieved easily by bureaucrats
- bureaucracy was an essential component of the machinery of destruction



Bureaucrats as mass murderers



- **Luis Moreno Ocampo**: 2003-2012: Chief Prosecutor at International Criminal Court (ICC):
 - Big problem for prosecutions: Mass murders, genocide are normally done by **bureaucrats** – referred to **Hannah Arendt's analysis of the Eichmann trial**



Hannah Arendt & Günther Anders



Günther Anders



Die Kirschenschlacht
Dialoge mit Hannah Arendt

C.H.Beck

Hannah Arendt
Günther Anders

Schreib doch mal
hard facts über Dich

Briefe
1939 bis 1975



“I am not disturbed
at all about being
a woman professor,
because I am quite
used to being a
woman.”



Hannah Arendt (1906 – 1975)



- 1925: affair with Martin Heidegger
- 1929: she published her PhD
- 1930: married Günther Stern
- 1933: she fled to Paris
- 1936: met Heinrich Blücher
- 1939: divorce from Stern
- 1940: married Heinrich Blücher



Hannah Arendt



- 1941: Blücher and Arendt fled to New York
- 1944: began work on “The Origins of Totalitarianism”
- 1958: “The Human Condition”
- 1961: travelled to Jerusalem to cover the trial of Nazi Adolf Eichmann for the New Yorker.
- 1963: book publication: “*Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*”



Movie about the Eichmann trial



“apologetic”
trying to defend Hannah Arendt’s
misjudgement of Eichmann



The origins of totalitarianism



“Until now the totalitarian belief that everything is possible seems to have proved only that everything can be destroyed. Yet, in their effort to prove that everything is possible, totalitarian regimes have discovered without knowing it that there are crimes which men can neither punish nor forgive. When the impossible was made possible it became the unpunishable, unforgivable absolute evil which could no longer be understood and explained by the evil motives of self-interest, greed, covetousness, resentment, lust for power, and cowardice; and which therefore anger could not revenge, love could not endure, friendship could not forgive. Just as the victims in the death factories or the holes of oblivion are no longer ‘human’ in the eyes of their executioners, so this newest species of criminals is beyond the pale even of solidarity in human sinfulness.”



The origins of totalitarianism



- Analysis of the two major totalitarian systems that the 19th century has produced: National Socialism and Stalinism
- Arendt adopted the approach of examining one aspect that both had in common: total rule
- Total rule differs from other forms of absolute rule and is also not the same as other historical dictatorships. The totalitarian aspect of these concepts is revealed in the fact that they are all-encompassing.



Role of the masses



“Totalitarian movements are mass movements and are, to this day, the only form of organization that modern masses have found and that seems adequate to them. In this alone they differ from all parties, which are either interest groups or ideological parties representing the politics of the classes in the nation state or, in the two-party system of Anglo-Saxon countries, representing citizens who hold a particular view and have a common interest in the handling of public affairs. In contrast to parties whose power depends on their relative strength based on numbers in the relevant country, so that we can also talk about strong parties in small countries, a movement can only exist if it encompasses millions of people, and it cannot occur in countries with relatively small populations, even under the most favorable conditions.”



All embracing



- Arendt's analysis: the contentious issue is no longer a classical relationship between ruler and ruled. What is totalitarian about the system is that it is a mass movement: it is the masses who sustain such movements
- The totalitarian system is not merely imposed by an exterior force, in some situations this strong stimulus comes from the modern masses themselves, which in fact only came into being with industrial society: **Totalitarian means all embracing.**



Totalitarian social capital?



- Total domination: force everyone into its system, with the exception of those who are declared its enemies, and who must be destroyed.
- Universal mobilization of society by means of a series of associations, societies, groups and organizations is a key feature of totalitarian systems: The purpose of such institutions is in fact to integrate the individual in several ways into the system of total rule (*totalitarian social capital?*)



Application: Hannah Arendt travelling to North Korea?



Hand-drawn diagram illustrating the progression of malnutrition in a prison camp. The diagram shows three stages of malnutrition, labeled with Korean text and weights:

- Stage 1 (Left):** Labeled "히약 1도" (1st degree) and "42K". The patient is standing upright. A vertical scale on the left indicates a height of "키 170cm".
- Stage 2 (Middle):** Labeled "히약 2도" (2nd degree) and "40K". The patient is crouching.
- Stage 3 (Right):** Labeled "히약 3도" (3rd degree) and "38K". The patient is crawling. The text "(죽기전)" (before death) is written below. A scale below the patient shows a weight of "38K".

Additional text in the diagram includes "약 판정 기준 표" (Medication determination standard table) and "38K" written above the 3rd degree patient.

The most frequent cause of death in a prison camp is malnutrition. The anus of a patient with third degree malnutrition is as wide as a fist, and that patient will not survive. Most inmates suffer first to second degree malnutrition, and easily die of mere diarrhoea

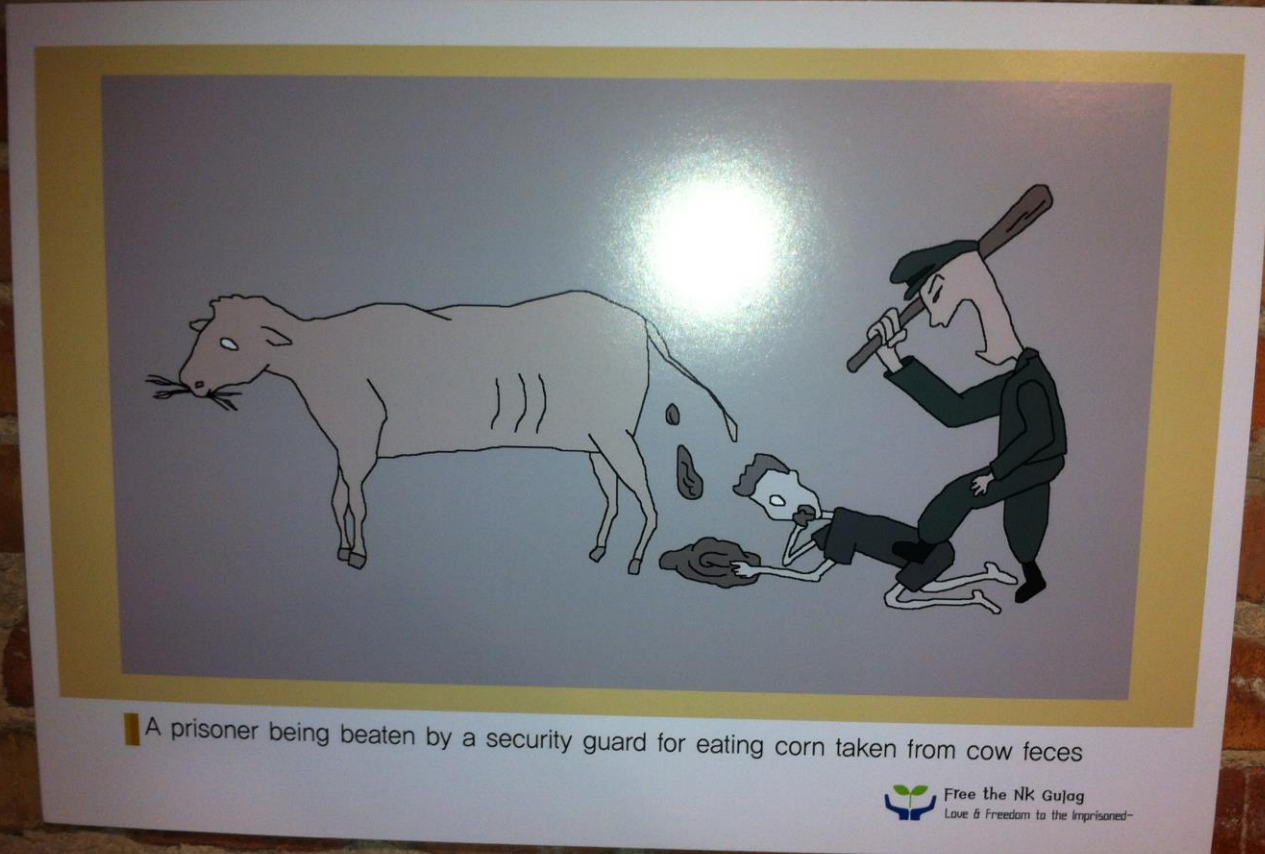
Free the NK Gujag
Love & Freedom to the Imprisoned



Application: Hannah Arendt travelling to North Korea?



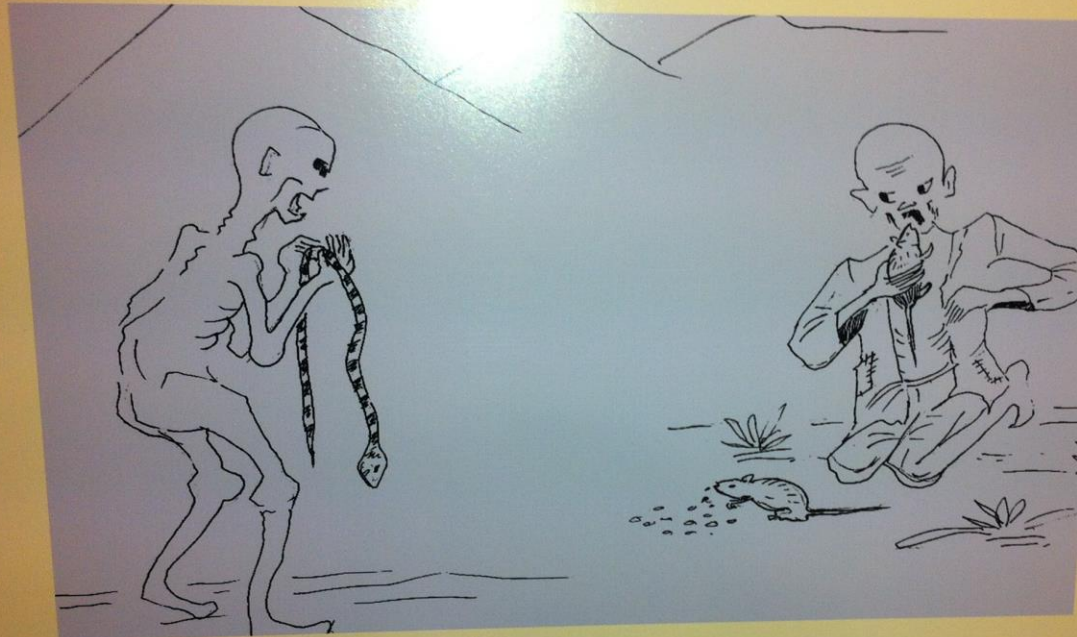
Application: Hannah Arendt travelling to North Korea?




Application: Hannah Arendt travelling to North Korea?



Application: Hannah Arendt travelling to North Korea?



Since meat and oil are not provided, rats and snakes are the most nutritious foods available. If a prisoner cannot make a fire he is likely to eat raw snake or rat meat, and some die of roundworm as a consequence

 Free the NK Gulag
Love & Freedom to the Imprisoned



Application: Hannah Arendt travelling to North Korea?



Application: Hannah Arendt travelling to North Korea?



- What do we know about North Korea?
- Arendt: role of the masses
- Totalitarian social capital is evident in North Korea



Total domination: Hair cuts



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Kim Jong-un orders North Korean men to copy his 'ambitious' hair-do and limit their locks to a maximum 2cm in length

- Kim Jong-un warned North Korean men to copy his 'ambitious' hair style
- Authorities have been warned to watch out for any 'capitalist' hair cuts
- Barbers in Pyongyang are booming with men complying with the diktat
- Women have to copy the bobbed hairstyle of Kim's wife Ri Sol-ju



Total domination: Language



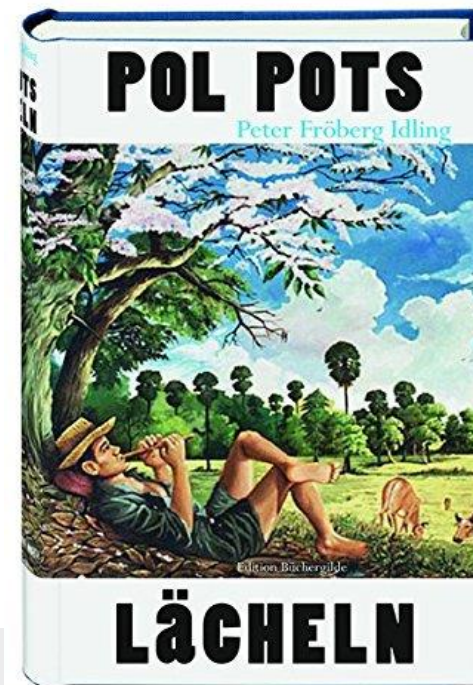
- Pol Pot and Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia:
 - foreign languages were forbidden;
 - ethnic tribes were forbidden to speak dialect
- Pol Pot introduced new words and new pronouncements into the language
- Mind control by language control
- 1975 – 1979: 2 million victims of genocide



Pol Pot supporters: Noam Chomsky



- Chomsky denied the Cambodian Genocide, claiming that the killing had been inflated “by a factor of 100.”
- He also claimed that the 2 million Cambodians slaughtered by the Khmer Rouge from 1975 to 1978 were morally comparable to Nazi collaborators during WW2, and that Pol Pot’s Cambodia was “comparable to France after liberation from the Nazis.”



The Eichmann trial



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“The state against Fritz Bauer”



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“He organized the Holocaust in front of his desk”: Adolf Eichmann



Trial in 1961

“***SS-Obersturmbannführer***”
“senior assault (or storm) unit leader”: equivalent to Lieutenant Colonel
Fled after WWII to Argentina
1957: Lothar Hermann, Holocaust survivor, who had emigrated to Argentina, identified Eichmann, because his daughter dated with Klaus Eichmann



The movie starts with: Sassen interview



- April until November 1957: in Argentina: meetings with right-wing journalists in the house of Willem Sassen, former Nazi war correspondent. Total length of the interviews: more than 1000 pages
- Eichmann did not deny the Holocaust, but, by contrast, confirmed that the original plan was the total extinction of the Jews (*Ausrottungsplan*): ... two very important quotes from Eichmann



Sassen interview



- “I have to tell you, honestly, that if we would have killed the 10.3 million Jews, who were just expelled from Germany, I would be satisfied and could claim that we have eliminated our enemy.”
- *Befehlsempfänger*: “I was not an ordinary recipient of orders. If I would have been an ordinary recipient of orders, than I would have simply been a fool. But I was part of the thought processes behind, I was an idealist.”



Eichmann in Jerusalem



“The essence of totalitarian government, and perhaps the nature of every bureaucracy, is to make functionaries and mere cogs in the administrative machinery out of men, and thus to dehumanize them. And one can debate long and profitably on the rule of Nobody, which is what the political form known as bureaucracy truly is [...] we have become very much accustomed by modern psychology and sociology, not to speak of modern bureaucracy, to explaining away the responsibility of the doer for his deed in terms of this or that kind of determinism”



Banality of Evil



- description of Eichmann: Eichmann was by no means the sadistic monster that the media of the day had depicted, but rather the archetype of an unsophisticated, intellectually rather monotonous civil servant who had enjoyed having a successful career and who had basically acted
- She calls him a “*Hanswurst*”: tomfool: orang dungu, badut
- Judgement on Eichmann: did it out of a desire to do his duty rather than being driven by any ideological conviction
- Arendt tried to explain this phenomenon whereby someone who was essentially unimportant and who was merely adapting to his situation could commit horrendous crimes in the milieu created by totalitarian rule with the term: the banality of evil



Hannah got it terribly wrong ...



- Arendt's characterization of Eichmann was proven completely wrong when the Sassen interviews became public
- Her misjudgment made her a lot of enemies
- She also lost close Israeli friends
- ***“There is no need for me any longer to meet with Heidegger's favourite student” (Hans Joas)***



Hannah might be wrong, but: ...



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The Hannah Arendt Center for Politics and Humanities at Bard College

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Did Eichmann Think?

September 7, 2014



Defending Hannah Arendt



THE STONE

Misreading 'Eichmann in Jerusalem'

By ROGER BERKOWITZ JULY 7, 2013 5:00 PM 353



[The Stone](#) is a forum for contemporary philosophers and other thinkers on issues both timely and timeless.

The movie "[Hannah Arendt](#)," which opened in New York in May, has unleashed emotional commentary that mirrors the fierce debate Arendt herself ignited over half a century ago, when she covered the trial of the notorious war criminal Adolf Eichmann. One of the pre-eminent political thinkers of the 20th century, [Arendt](#), who died in 1975 at the age of 69, was a Jew arrested by the German police in 1933, forced into exile and later imprisoned in an internment camp. She escaped and fled to the United States in 1941, where she wrote the seminal books "The Origins of Totalitarianism" and "The Human Condition."

When Arendt heard that Eichmann was to be put on trial, she knew she had to attend. It would be, she wrote, her last opportunity to see a major Nazi "in the flesh." Writing in *The New*

It is easy to cite the 'banality of evil.' It is much more difficult to make sense of what Arendt actually meant.



Defending Hannah Arendt



- Luis Moreno Ocampo: 2003-2012: Chief Prosecutor at International Criminal Court (ICC): Big problem for prosecutions: Mass murders, genocide are normally done by bureaucrats
- Christopher R. Browning: in *The New York Review of Books*:

“Arendt grasped an important concept but not the right example.”



Günther Anders



- Born 1902 in Breslau: His parents were famous psychologists: Clara und William Stern (invented the IQ test)
- born with the name Günther Stern
- Later changed the name into Günther Anders
- “anders” = German term for “different”
 - “You are always *different* than others”
- Had a huge impact on many thinkers in the Frankfurt School and beyond: Marcuse
- Was prevented from becoming a professor



International Günther Anders Society



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Günther Anders liest „Die beweinte Zukunft“ (1987)





Edition Moderne Postmoderne

CHRISTIAN DRIES

Die Welt als Vernichtungslager

Eine kritische Theorie der Moderne
im Anschluss an Günther Anders,
Hannah Arendt und Hans Jonas

[transcript]

Vernichtungslager
extermination camp
kamp pemusnahan



OKT
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In Vortrag

Vortrag: „Hannah Arendt & Günther Anders in Yogyakarta“



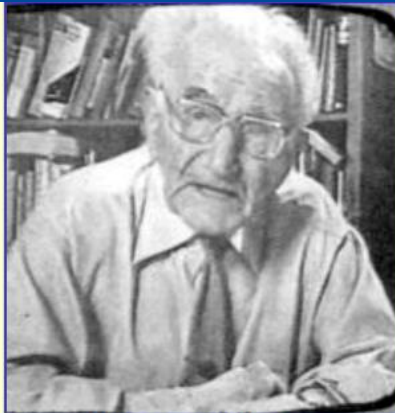
AKTUELLES

In dieser Rubrik finden Sie Veranstaltungsankündigungen, CFPs, Neuerscheinungen, aktuelle Veröffentlichungen und sonstige Hinweise rund um Günther Anders.

 MELDUNG EINREICHEN

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Anders accepting the Adorno Prize, 1987

Günther Anders (Guenther Anders, Gunther Anders)

Journalist, Philosopher, Essayist, 1902-1992

a page by Harold Marcuse ([homepage](#)),
Professor at UC Santa Barbara
contact: marcuse@history.ucsb.edu

page begun Feb. 2000; last updated August 8, 2016

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Site news ([back to top](#)) (counter and visitor stats at [bottom](#))

- **Aug. 8, 2016:** coming soon, a new translation of Anders' key 1956 essay: *Prometheanism: Technology, Digital Culture and Human Obsolescence*, translated and introduced by Christopher John Müller (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016) ([\\$33 at amazon](#); [publisher's book page](#))
 - A translation of the essay 'On Promethean Shame' by Günther Anders with a comprehensive introduction and analysis of his work.



Why is there a revival of Günther Anders?



- philosophical anthropology in the age of “technocracy”: **technology, media, communication**
- (inter-disciplinary) anthropology: “**Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen**” (and other unpublished writings)
- Anders’s pragmatic thought is relevant for current trends in critical theory: to rethink the constellations of power that are configuring themselves around our increasingly “smart” machines
- more relevant than ever before: effects of mass media on our emotional and ethical existence, the nuclear threat and other issues



“Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen”



- Necessary to understand Anders’ philosophy in order to be able to read his letter to Klaus Eichmann: “We are all sons of Eichmann”

1956

GÜNTHER
ANDERS
DIE
ANTIQUIERT-
HEIT
DES
MENSCHEN



“Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen”



- subtitle: “*On the Soul in the Age of the Second Industrial Revolution*”
- adjective: *antiquated*

the human being is like an antique piece of furniture in a modern room

- synonyms:
obsolete, archaic, dated, demoded, fossilized, moribund, mossy, moth-eaten, outdated, outmoded, out-of-date

Translations:

- *The Antiquatedness of Human Beings*
- *The Obsolescence of Humankind*
- *The Outdatedness of the Human Species*



Technocracy



“With ‘**technocracy**’ I do not mean the rule of technocrats (as if they were a group of specialists, who dominate today’s politics), but the fact, that the world, in which we live and which determines us, is a technological one – which extends so far, that we are not allowed to say, that in our historical situation there is among other things technology, rather do we have to say: within the world’s status called ‘technology’ history happens, in other words technology has become the subject of history, in which we are only ‘co-historical’.”



Dedication of the book



Exactly half a century ago, in nineteen hundred and six, my father William Stern published, then twenty years younger and generations more confident than his son today, the first volume of his work 'Person and Thing.' His hope, to rehabilitate the 'Person' through his struggle against an impersonal Psychology, he only unwillingly would have seen dashed. His very own kindness and the optimism of the times, to which he belonged, prevented him for many years, **to understand that what makes a 'Person' a 'Thing'**, is not its scientific treatment; but the actual treatment of one human being by another. When overnight he was dishonored and chased away by the spurners of humanity, he was not spared the grief that comes from a better understanding into a world worse off.

In memory of him, who indelibly implanted the idea of human dignity in his son, these mournful pages on the **devastation of human beings** were written.



The Obsolescence of Humankind



Three main theses:

1. that we are no match for the perfection of our products;
 2. that we produce more than we can visualize and take responsibility for;
 3. that we believe, that, what we can do, are allowed to do, no: should do, no: must do
- **central argument:** a *gap* has developed between humanity's technologically enhanced capacity to create and destroy, and our ability to imagine that destruction



Which gap?



There are more things in heaven and earth,
Horatio, Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

(William Shakespeare)



Anders would disagree ...



We had it all ... but we still cannot imagine it:

- ***a gap has developed between humanity's technologically enhanced capacity to create and destroy, and our ability to imagine that destruction***



Prometheanism



- concept explaining the *gap*: **Promethean gap** (**Gefälle**) and **Promethean shame**

Today's Prometheus asks: 'Who am I anyway?'
[...] 'Shame about the 'embarrassingly' high quality of manufactured goods.' What are we embarrassed about?

*Anders' answer to this question is: '**that we were born and not manufactured.**'*



Prometheus



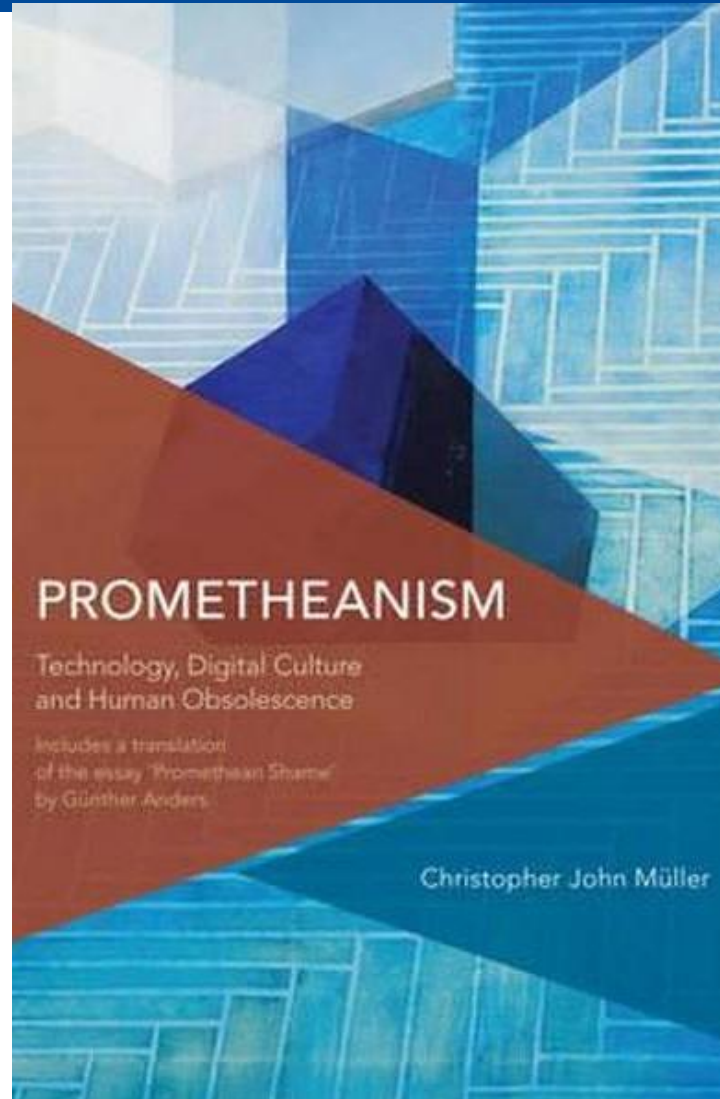
in his overconfidence, he stole fire from the gods to give it to humankind, thereby making technology possible



Prometheanism



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Sceptical anthropology



- “The artificiality of humankind increases as it becomes a product of its own products. Since humanity is incapable of meeting the requirements of its own products, especially in an economy which is more market-oriented than towards the fulfillment of needs, a discrepancy arises between human beings and their products.”
- “We are utopians in reverse, not capable of imagining what we ourselves have made. While utopians cannot make what they imagine, we cannot imagine what we make.”
- basic theme in *all* his writings: central theme of Ander’s philosophy: discrepancy, brought about the development of technology, between *vorstellen* und *herstellen*: between what we can imagine and what we can produce



Sceptical anthropology



Link to the Prometheus mythology: has stolen fire from the gods and gave it to humankind, thereby making technology possible. Now the artefacts of humankind have outgrown their creators. They are stronger, more reliable, faster, more accurate, and sturdier than human beings, and not influenced by emotions. The human being is no longer, as in the 19th century, like an enlightened Prometheus, proud of his own creations, but is put to shame by the high quality and the technical perfection of those products.



Sceptical anthropology



- Compared to a serial product, human beings suffer a double inferiority:
 1. They cannot be preserved like a tropical fruit
 2. They cannot be replaced like a light bulb.
- perishable, unrepeatable, single specimens: The irreplaceable value and uniqueness of each individual, which always was the creed of all humanity, operates as a *memento mori* in the face of mass production. Reality is produced through reproduction



Promethean gap/difference/decline



- Promethean gap: is ultimately a gap between the **human body** (in which all the limitations of our imagination and emotions are rooted) and the **machine** (and the power that it bestows on us).
- The gap between the apparent perfection of the machines that we create and the apparent imperfection and deficiency of our own vulnerable, mortal and messy bodies (and accordingly, since we cannot detach ourselves from our bodies, of ourselves)



Why shame?

- “what we feel when we realize that the machines we have created are so powerful and perfect that we humans with our messy and mortal bodies cannot but feel very deficient in comparison”
- “the gap between the apparent perfection of the machines that we create and the apparent imperfection and deficiency of our own vulnerable, mortal and messy bodies”

Promethean shame



We are ashamed that we owe our existence not to art and design, not to a conscious, deliberate and well-considered act of human creation, but rather to the accident of birth and the random sexual act that preceded it, neither of which can be seen as particularly dignified and both of which serve as a constant reminder that, ultimately, we are and remain mere animals.

Imagine a dialogue between a machine and a human:

The machine boasting about all the forethought and the complex calculations that have given rise to its existence and then asking the human “**And who made you?**”, might we feel ashamed of having to admit that, alas, we weren’t made at all, but were simply born?



Application and examples



- TV series: stars get flowers or letters of condolences sent to because in one episode a relative has died: fiction becomes reality
- An actor who plays a police officer in a TV series is greeted by police officers as a “colleague” in the real world
- Mass communication, role of the media: producing their own reality
- Facebook, Twitter ... *Are social media* really “social”?



The relevance of Günther Anders



Yvonne Hofstetter

DAS ENDE DER DEMOKRATIE

Wie die künstliche Intelligenz
die Politik übernimmt und uns entmündigt



In Algorithmen lässt sich alles verstecken

Kann man Maschinen verklagen? Yvonne Hofstetter zeigt in ihrem Buch „Das Ende der Demokratie“, wie die Internetindustrie den Nutzern ihrer Produkte den Anspruch auf demokratische Kontrolle erfolgreich abtrainiert.

„Ihre Vorschläge sind durchdacht und flüchten nicht in die Utopie“, findet unser Rezensent Thomas Thiel: „Abkehr von der Gratisökonomie, erweitertes Klagerecht gegen Maschinen. Das sogenannte Umgebungsrecht, das europäische Rechtsmaßstäbe in Algorithmen implementiert, ist Hofstetters größte Hoffnung. Das lässt sich aber nur auf der Basis einer europäischen IT-Infrastruktur durchsetzen. Zuletzt stellt Hofstetter die gesamte Architektur des Internets in Frage. Wenn das von IT-Konzernen monopolisierte Netz demokratischen Pluralismus nicht garantiert, muss es eben mehrere Netze geben. Trotz mancher Längen ist Hofstetter eine bestechende Analyse geglückt. Europa sollte keine Zeit verlieren, ihre Vorschläge umzusetzen. Silicon Valley wartet nicht.“



Post-Democracy



- concept developed by Colin Crouch
- the decline of those social classes which had made possible an active and critical mass politics has established a self-referential political class more concerned with forging links with wealthy business interests than with pursuing political programs which meet the concerns of ordinary people.
- 21st century politics has retreated to the level of politics, which happened before the 20th century: politics as a game played only by the elites
- Can we really claim that advanced societies have reached a virtual best of all possible democratic worlds? NOT AT ALL

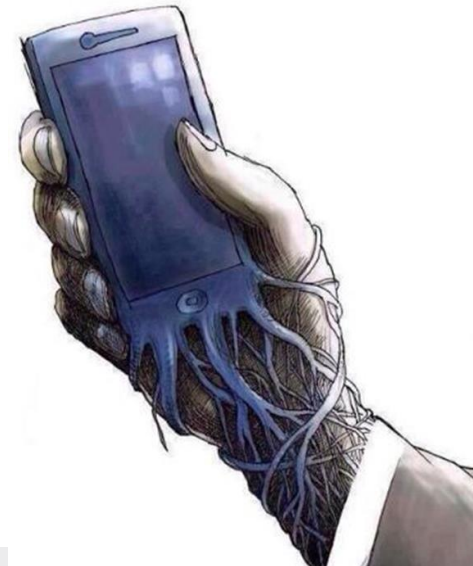


What caused the post-democracy?

- No common goals
- Globalization
- Non-balanced debates (no deliberation)
- Entanglement between public and private sector: big interest between politics and business; lobbying companies, multinational corporations et al.
- Privatization

- Solutions according to Crouch: *social media*, in which voters can participate more actively in public debates
- Günther Anders would reject the idea and see “social media” as even more dangerous:

How social is social media?





- Habermas: deliberative democracy

Pertimbakan demokrasi

- political decisions should be the product of fair and reasonable discussion and debate among citizens
- procedure, process: integrity and character of the process are important



A deliberative *human-led* democracy



- deliberation is a necessary precondition for the legitimacy of democratic political decisions
- deliberative democracy shifts the emphasis from the outcome of the decision to the *quality of the process*



Quality of the process:

- From the obsolescence of mankind to the obsolescence of democracy?
 - **Deliberative process:**
 - *done by algorithms, programming and modelling et al.*
- or:*
- *by the citizens*

Who does the deliberation? Man or Machines?



Computers as the better human beings?



Bessere Menschen

E-WERK Computer werden immer kleiner und verschmelzen mit uns. Warum lassen wir sie nicht gleich in unsere Körper einbauen? Für manche ist das der große Traum. Sie lassen sich schon die ersten Instrumente einpflanzen

VON **JOHANNES GERNERT**

, **MEIKE LAAFF**

, **DANIEL SCHULZ**

(TEXT)

UND **JÖRG DOMMEL** (ILLUSTRATION)

Rin Räuber sagt, sie sei noch kein Cyborg, aber sie wolle einer werden. Der Magnet in der Spitze ihres Zeigefingers ist ein Anfang. Sie hat ihn sich in einem Piercing-Studio unter die Haut implantieren lassen.

Mit einem Magneten im Finger kann man Büroklammern von einem Schreibtisch hochhe-

ben. Ein Abend Ende November, einige der künftigen Mitglieder des Cyborg e. V. treffen sich wenige Wochen vor der Gründung des Vereins noch einmal, wie immer montags. Eine Fotografin ist da, Journalisten und ein Forscher aus den USA, weshalb Rin Räuber auf Englisch erklärt, warum sie gern ein Cyborg wäre: „Because it’s cool.“

Auf ihrer Homepage ist Rin Räuber als Comicfigur zu sehen. Die hat große Ähnlichkeit mit ihr selbst, kurze kürbisrote Haare, eine blau getönte Pilotenbril-

taz.am Wochenende

vom 14. 12. 2013

GESELLSCHAFT

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LOGIN ZUR ARCHIVSUCHE



Cyborgs: “Person” becomes a “Thing”



Technik im Körper

Werden wir alle Cyborgs?

Menschen mit technisch erweiterten Fähigkeiten waren lange Science Fiction. Jetzt sind die ersten auf dem Weg in die Zukunft



Gesellschaft

13. 12. 2013

SEBASTIAN KEMPKENS

THEMEN

#Cyborg #Technik #Google
#Google Glass #Science-Fiction #Roboter

Apokalypseblindheit: apocalyptic blindness



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Blindness of the apocalypse



- Result of Promethean shame:
 - human beings cannot (fore)see the potential of the apocalypse: apocalyptic blindness
- *Apocalypse*: the end of the world; end of days
- Anders asks several questions:
 - Anthropological perspective: What does the existence of the bomb and its potential of destruction mean for the self-consciousness of human beings?
 - Why is humanity blind towards the apocalyptic potential of the atomic bomb and what can be done to challenge this blindness?



Almightiness



- The atomic bomb cannot be explained on the basis of the *ends-versus-means* category: The nuclear bomb can only be used as a “means” if she is not used at all: as a deterrence. The non-usage is kept in place, if she can be used at any time – or the permanent threat of being used.
- The atomic bomb is “almighty”: She either blackmails nobody or everybody. In fact, this is a form of “self-blackmailing” of human beings because the human dream of being almighty becomes fulfilled – but in a negative way: ...



The end of days



- *“Wir besitzen die Macht, der Welt ein Ende zu bereiten, und sind die Herren der Apokalypse geworden. Durch die Möglichkeit, die Menschheit auszulöschen, ist die derzeitige Epoche die letzte, denn der Einsatz der Bombe bedeutet die Vernichtung von Vergangenheit und Zukunft.”*
- “We have the power to bring the world to an end, we are the masters of the apocalypse. Due the possibility to extinguish humankind, the present age will be the last age, because the use of the atomic bomb will mean the destruction of the past and the future.”



Günther Anders **Hiroshima** **ist** **überall**

**Tagebuch aus
Hiroshima und Nagasaki**

**Briefwechsel
mit dem Hiroshima-Piloten
Claude Eatherly**



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GÜNTHER ANDERS L'ULTIMA VITTIMA DI HIROSHIMA

IL CARTEGGIO CON CLAUDE EATHERLY,
IL PILOTA DELLA BOMBA ATOMICA

INTRODUZIONE DI ROBERT JUNGK
PREFAZIONE DI BERTRAND RUSSELL

A CURA DI MICAELA LATINI





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Claude Eatherly
&
Günther Anders

The Case Of The
Hiroshima Pilot
Claude Eatherly

**BURNING
CONSCIENCE**



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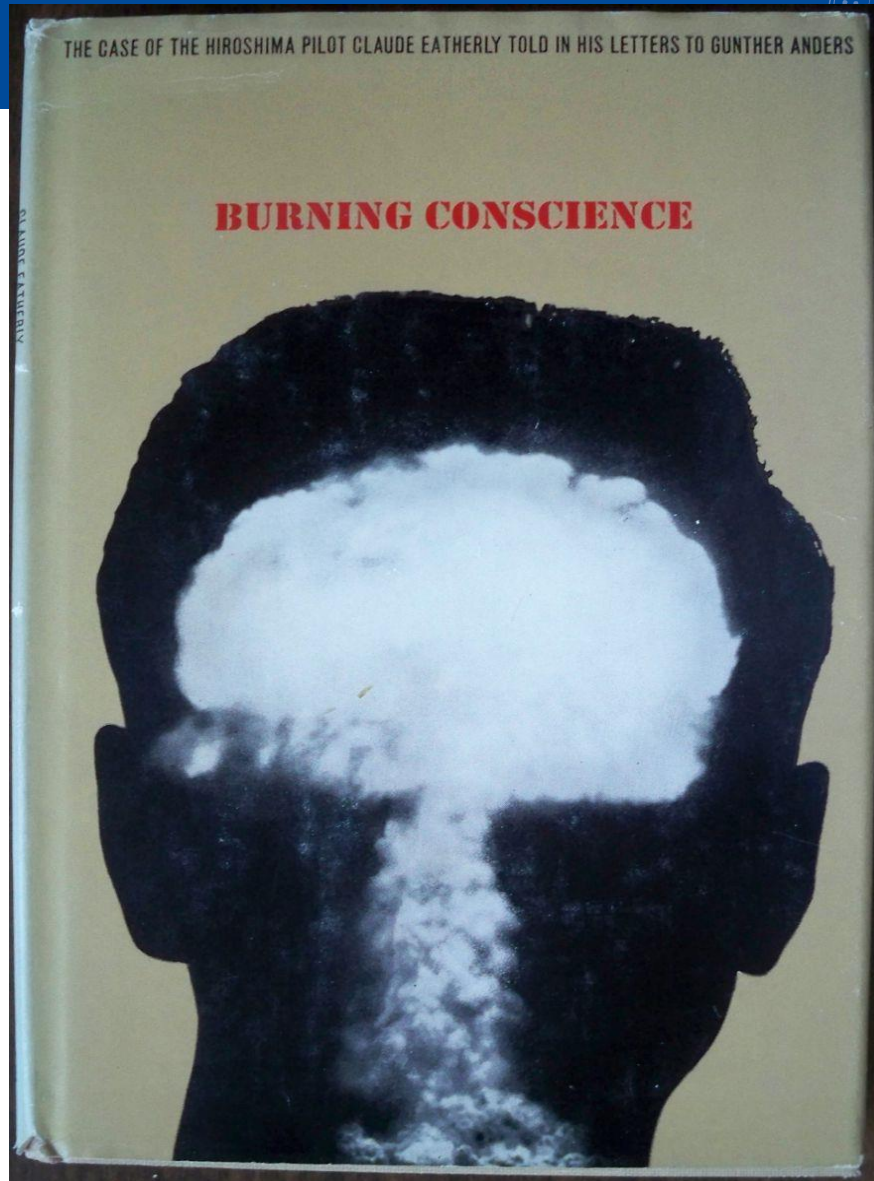


Burning Conscience

The Case of the Hiroshima
Pilot

by Claude
Eatherly

Paragon House Publishers



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Hiroshima and Nagasaki



- 6 and 9 August 1945: 170.000 people were killed instantly
- 12. August 1945: US President Harry Truman:

“We have used [the bomb] against those who attacked us without warning at Pearl Harbor, against those who have starved and beaten and executed American prisoners of war, against those who have abandoned all pretense of obeying international laws and warfare. We have used it in order to shorten the agony of war”



Claude Eatherly



1966
in Waco



Claude Eatherly



- Eatherly was the pilot of “Straight Flush”, one of seven B-29s of the 393d Bomb Squadron, which took part in the Hiroshima mission
- his task: reporting the weather conditions, the bomber waited for his “OK” to drop the bomb or not
- He became horrified by his participation in the Hiroshima bombing, and hopeless at the possibility of repenting for or earning forgiveness for willfully extinguishing so many lives and causing so much pain.



Claude Eatherly



- He tried speaking out with pacifist groups, sending parts of his paycheck to Hiroshima, writing letters of apology, and once or twice may have attempted suicide
- He was convicted of forgery in New Orleans, Louisiana and served one year between 1954 and 1955 for the crime.
- He was also convicted of breaking and entering in West Texas.
- In 1959 he avoided prosecution for robbery by entering the Veterans Administration Hospital in Waco, Texas for many months
- *In Waco he began to correspond with Günther Anders*



Anders: letters to Claude Eatherly



“You know better. Not without reason do the screams of the wounded deafen your days, and not without reason do the shadows of the dead force their way into your dreams. [...] To be as guilty as you are and yet to be publicly classified as innocent, even to be praised as a smiling hero on the ‘strength’ of this guilt— that must be a situation which a decent person just cannot tolerate.”



Claude Eatherly was not an “Eichmann”



This is also the main case developed by Anders in the book:

*Claude Eatherly is the world's first **martyr** for Nuclear Disarmament*

Is a martyr a victim or a perpetrator?

martir: korban atau pelaku kejahatan



Claude Eatherly was not an “Eichmann”



Günther Anders

Wir Eichmannsöhne

beck^{ische}
reihe

We sons of Eichmann
An open letter to
Klaus Eichmann



Claude Eatherly was not an “Eichmann”



- Günther Anders: The process of mass destruction of human beings has become industrialized: there are divisions of labor: Nobody does a “evil” act, he is only part of a larger work project.
- Humankind cannot cope with this anymore: the machines have taken over



“We are all sons of Eichmann”



Open Letter to Klaus Eichmann

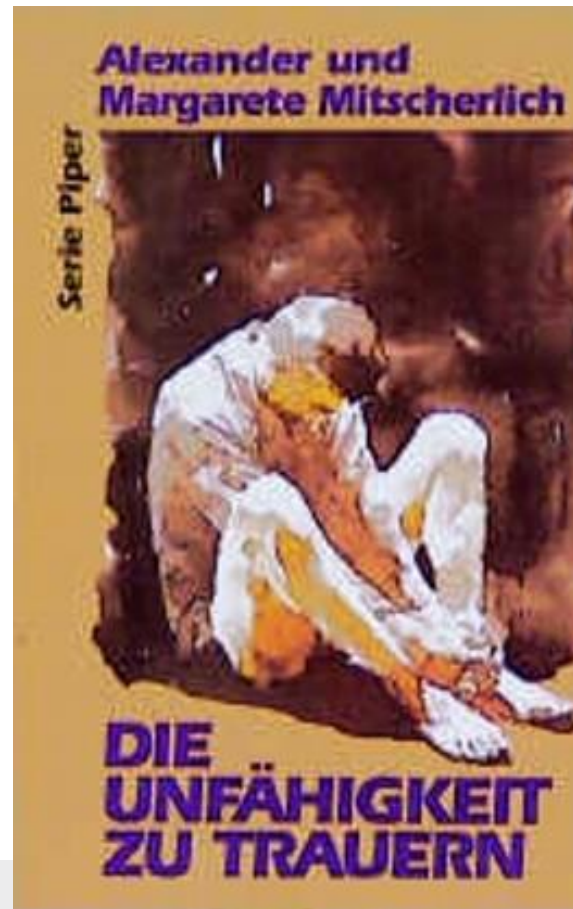
- Key argument in the letter: the appellation “Eichmann” designates any person who actively participated in, ignored or failed to learn about, or even knew about but took no action against the Nazis’ mass murder campaigns against Jews and others.
- “there was but one viable alternative not only for Eichmann’s son Klaus but all ‘Eichmann sons,’ namely to repudiate their fathers since mourning them was not an option.”



“Inability to Mourn”



- a *typical German* thing: we are either not allowed to mourn or we don't know how to mourn



“Inability to Mourn” (1967)



- key text in post-war Germany: broke the silence about the issues of “German guilt” and dealing with the past; book had a huge impact on post-war Germany’s political debates
- starting point: moral scandal: There has been no process of dealing with the past in Germany
- “diagnosis” of *Mitscherlich*s: because the “loved *Führer* has failed” it led to an traumatic “de-valuation” of the “own Ego” of the Germans



“Inability to Mourn” (1967)



- Consequence: Instead of the traditional (Freudian) process of mourning from *memory*, *repetition* and *working through* in order to get over it: renouncement / denial of the past (Verleugnung): *penyangkalan*
- ***Inability to mourn: ketidakmampuan duka***



Why are we all son's of Eichmann?



- The dream of the machines: the machine-like (apparatus) nature of our modern world.
- [...] since it is not possible for us, its inhabitants, to hide ourselves away in an adjoining room beside history, or to escape to some utopian time before technology, this obviously means that if we turn ourselves in and give ourselves over to this evolution, we will necessarily lose our specific nature as human beings proportionally as the mechanized nature of our world increases.



Why are we all son's of Eichmann?



And so it will not be possible for us to push back the day when the millenarian empire of technological totalitarianism will be realized. And from that day on, we will only exist as mechanical parts, or as material required for the machine: as human beings, we will be eliminated. As for the fate of those who put up any resistance to their co-mechanization, it's not hard after Auschwitz to see what that will be. They won't just be eliminated "as human beings," but materially. (Or perhaps should we say, on the contrary, that they will be eliminated precisely "as human beings"? Will these human beings be killed precisely because of their attempts to go on living "as human beings"?)



Anders: the opportunity for Eichmanns



- son of Eichmann: to join the global anti-nuclear movement
- Imagine, Klaus Eichmann, what it would mean if you were to join this movement against the extermination of humanity. If you, who in your own flesh have experienced what it means to be a son of Eichmann, were to address the other sons of Eichmann, to warn them. I'm sure that at first you may reject the idea. "An Eichmann for peace?" you might ask; "why, so everyone can ridicule me?"



Who would ridicule you, Klaus Eichmann? Who but the most contemptible people? And even if that's so, even though such people might be out there - and of course there would be – should you pay any attention to them? No, the only response, above all the only valid response, to such mockery would be “Yes, precisely an Eichmann!” And my idea is not really so absurd at all. Already there are similar examples.



It has indeed happened that some former “sons of Eichmann,” men who participated in yesterday’s monstrosities, having now understood that what took place must never happen again in any way whatsoever, have already joined our movement. Why should you not share those people’s courage in taking such a step? Imagine what an opportunity it would be, not only for you, but for us as well – and by this I mean for everyone – if you were to decide to do it.



Klaus Eichmann: no response



- Klaus Eichmann never responded to Anders
- In fact, Klaus never distanced himself from his father
- In private conversations, he condemned the idea of Anders and dismissed it
- Klaus Eichmann carried a gun for personal protection because he was afraid of a Jewish revenge attack on his life



Conclusions



- While Hannah Arendt misjudged Adolf, Günther Anders misjudged Klaus: he was no Eatherly!
- Hannah Arendt's analysis on the Eichmann trial was brilliant – but Eichmann was the wrong *case study*, the wrong example
- Arendt's analysis: the contentious issue is no longer a classical relationship between ruler and ruled. What is totalitarian about the system is that it is a mass movement: it is the masses who sustain such movements



Conclusions



- The totalitarian system is not merely imposed by an exterior force, in some situations this strong stimulus comes from the modern masses themselves, which in fact only came into being with industrial society: **Totalitarian means all embracing.**
- **Totalitarian social capital:** civil society organisation may be used and abused to sue the masses (**Antonio Gramsci:** civil society)



Antonio Gramsci



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1891 – 1937



Antonio Gramsci



- founding member of the Communist Party of Italy, was imprisoned by Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime.
- more than 30 notebooks and 3,000 pages of history and analysis during his imprisonment: "*Prison Notebooks*"
- very influential on the Left-wing, radical thought: "*Neo-Gramscian*" perspective in International Political Economy



Role of intellectuals in society

- all men are intellectuals, in that all have intellectual and rational faculties, but not all men have the social function of intellectuals
- need to create a working-class culture: develop working-class intellectuals, whose task was not to introduce Marxist ideology from without the proletariat, but to renovate the existing intellectual activity of the masses and make it critical of the status quo
- Because it was the intellectuals and the status quo, who had brought him into prison



Civil society

- theory of hegemony
- the capitalist state rules through force plus consent: political society is the realm of force and civil society is the realm of consent
- consent: the ruled/oppressed give their consent of being ruled/oppressed
- this consent is upheld by civil society

Can we explain North Korea with the help of Gramsci?



Conclusions



- There is at the moment a big revival of Günther Anders: because his thoughts are more relevant today than every before
- Sceptical anthropology
- Dangers of technological developments and effects on the human beings
- Antiquatedness of human beings
- Critical thought: not because it is a nice label
- Radical thought: not because it is fashionable, but as a warning



Why is Günther Anders relevant today?



Damals



Heute

Why is Günther Anders relevant today?



Why is Günther Anders relevant today?





**Thank you very much for your
attention!**



Group work



1. **Eichmann in Jerusalem:**
“Arendt grasped an important concept but not the right example”. Please think about another example that can illustrate the “banality of evil”.
2. **Günther Anders:**
How relevant are his thoughts for Indonesia?
Please give some examples.

