

Hannah Arendt

Thinking in Difficult Times

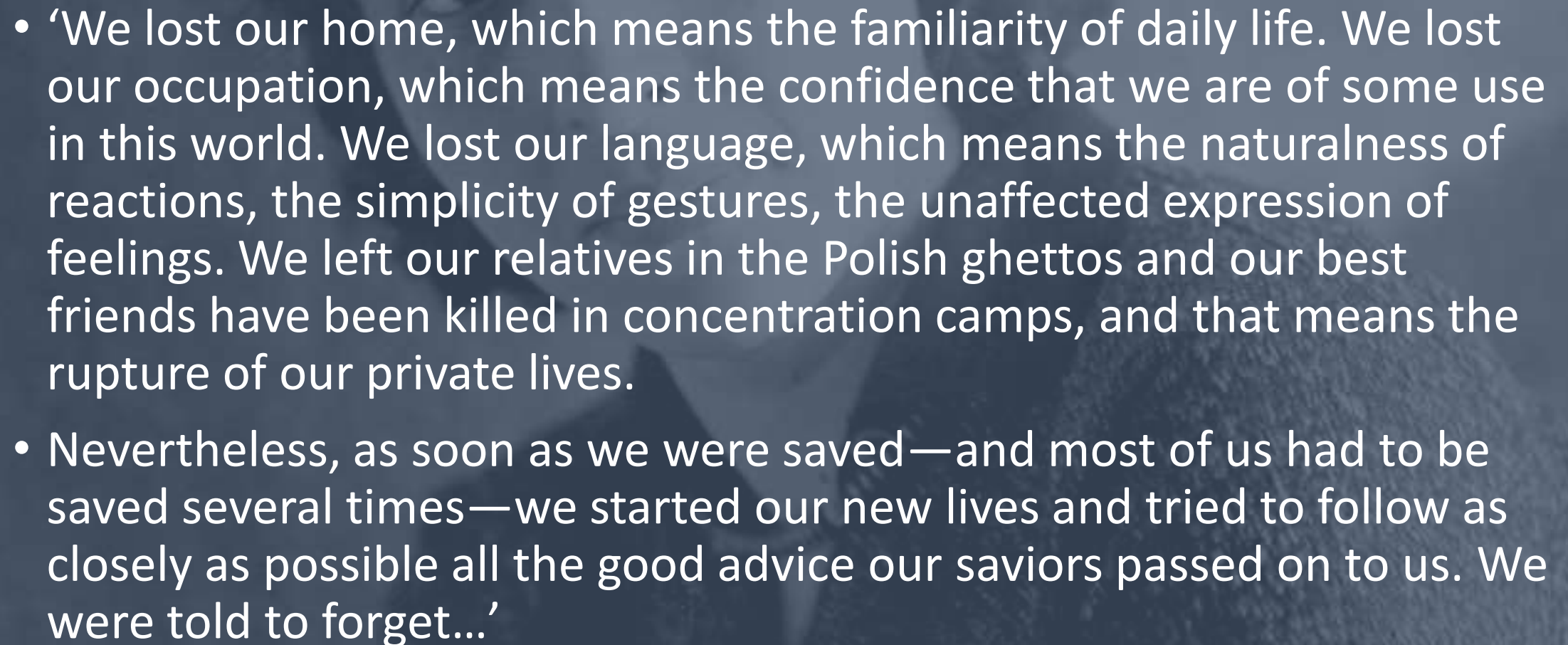
Week 3. Anti-Semitism and the right to have rights





Agenda

- Arendt, Zionism and Israel
- *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951)
- Anti-Semitism vs Jew hatred
- Refugees and the rights of the stateless

- 
- ‘We lost our home, which means the familiarity of daily life. We lost our occupation, which means the confidence that we are of some use in this world. We lost our language, which means the naturalness of reactions, the simplicity of gestures, the unaffected expression of feelings. We left our relatives in the Polish ghettos and our best friends have been killed in concentration camps, and that means the rupture of our private lives.
 - Nevertheless, as soon as we were saved—and most of us had to be saved several times—we started our new lives and tried to follow as closely as possible all the good advice our saviors passed on to us. We were told to forget...’



Hannah Arendt, Jewish refugee

- Between 1929 (doctorate on Augustine) and 1951 (*Origins of Totalitarianism*), Arendt's work is defined by an exploration of Jewishness and Anti-Semitism
- From 1930-33: researches history of anti-Semitism, the Jew as a pariah-figure, and the failures of assimilation as Nazis rise to power; helps dissidents escape
- 1933-1940: flees to Paris, works for Zionist organisations like Youth Aliyah ('Going up'), sending Jewish children to British Palestine
- 1941-1945: writes for German Jewish newspapers
- 1944-1950: works for the Commission of European Jewish Cultural Reconstruction

HANNAH
ARENDT
RAHEL
VARNHAGEN
Lebensgeschichte einer
deutschen Jüdin aus der
Romantik



SERIE PIPER



*My Pledge
For Youth Aliyah*

I MAKE MY PLEDGE FOR \$_____
to Hadassah for Youth Aliyah
happy in the knowledge that
it will help rehabilitate
in Palestine another Jewish
refugee child victim of Hitler.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

TELEPHONE NO. _____

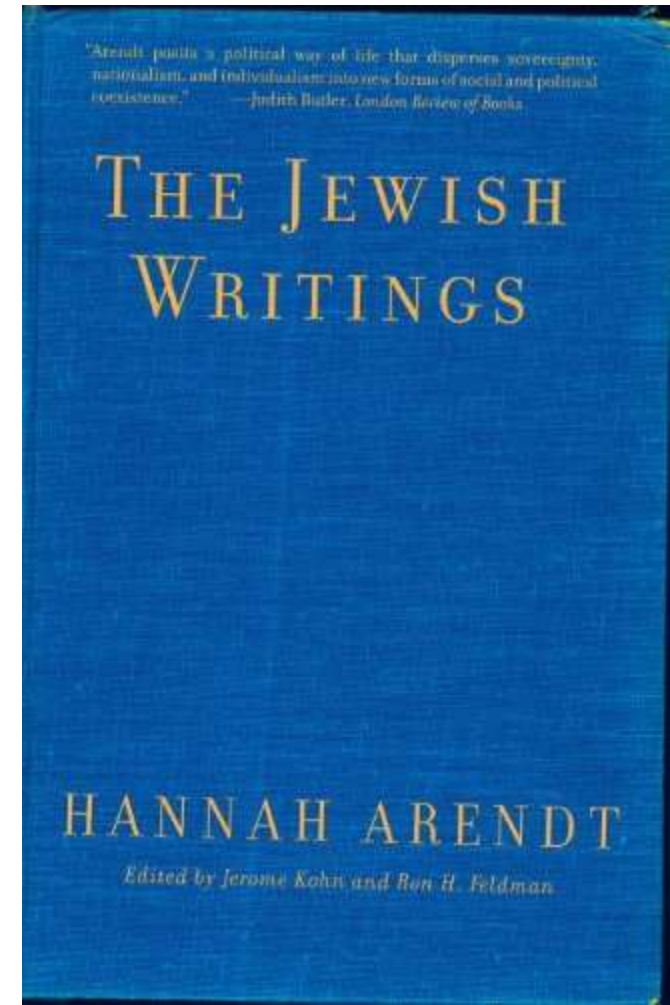
YA-10M-10-48

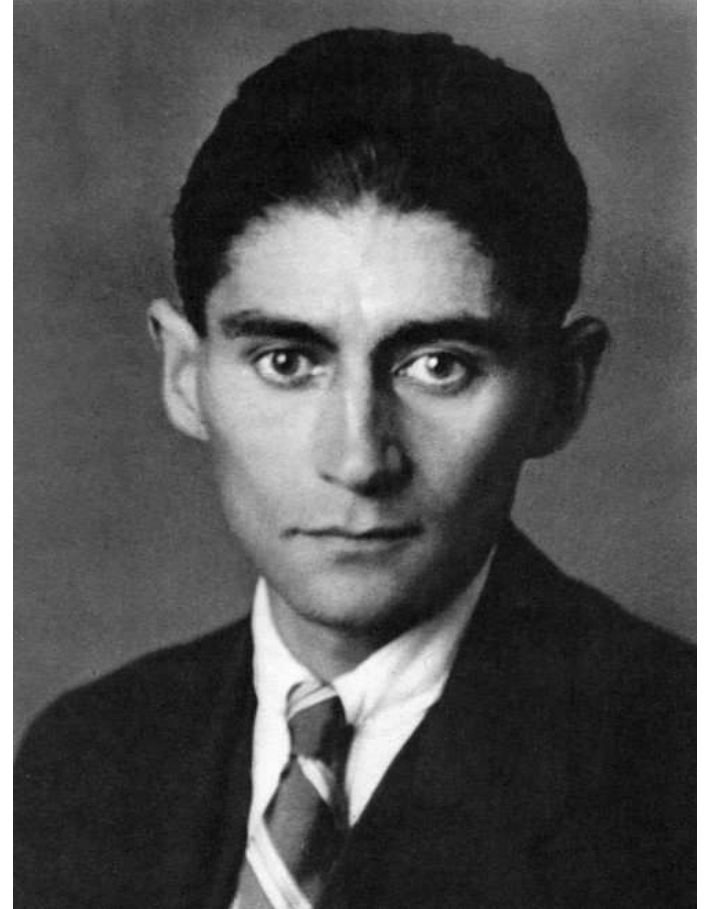
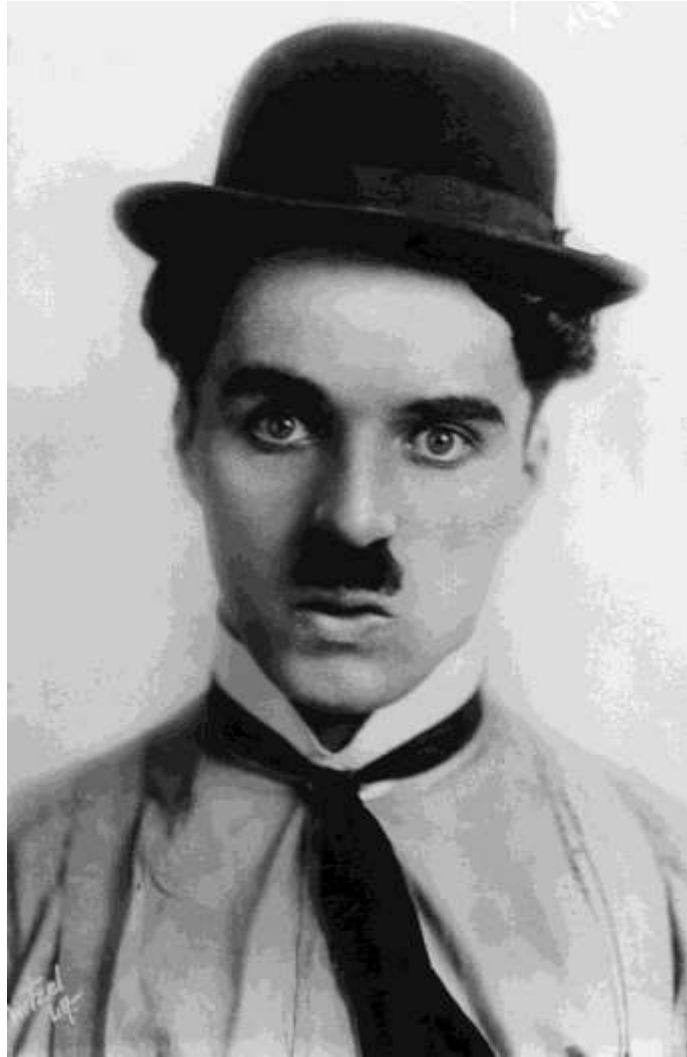
YA-10M-1-45



Arendt, Jewish writings

- “The Enlightenment and the Jewish Question” (1932)
- *Rahel Varnhagen* (1938)
- Regular correspondent, *Aufbau* (1941-45)
- “We Refugees” (1943)
- “The Jew as Pariah: A Hidden Tradition” (1944)
- “Zionism Reconsidered” (1944)
- “To Save the Jewish Homeland” (1948)
- *The Origins of Totalitarianism: Part One* (1951)
- *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963)





- ‘in contrast to his unemancipated brethren who accept their pariah status automatically and unconsciously, the emancipated Jew must awake to an awareness of his position and, conscious of it, become a rebel against it – the champion of an oppressed people. His fight for freedom is part and parcel of that which all the downtrodden of Europe must wage to achieve national and social liberation’ – “The Jew as Pariah”
- ‘If one is attacked as a Jew one must defend oneself as a Jew. Not as a German, not as a world citizen, not as an upholder of the Rights of Man’ – *Essays in Understanding*
- ‘If Arendt had not been aided by refugee organizations, she would not have received a visa or the financial aid to travel to the United States.’(Bernstein)

The Origins of Totalitarianism (1951)

- Historically explores how totalitarianism emerged in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union... through the emergence of 19th century anti-Semitism, racism, and dreams of endless colonial expansion
- Three distinct parts: Anti-Semitism, Imperialism, and Totalitarianism
- Like in other Arendt works, it locates and occupies a third point between two critical junctures: bureaucracy and powerlessness, hope and fear, past and future
- ‘This book has been written against a background of both reckless optimism and reckless despair. It holds that Progress and Doom are two sides of the same medal; that both are articles of superstition, not of faith’. (Preface to the First Edition)





A JEW OF COLCHESTER, FROM A
FOREST ROLL.
(Record Office.)







Part One: Anti-Semitism

- Arendt challenges a key line of Eichmann's later prosecution, that the Holocaust could be traced back to 2000 years of anti-Semitism
- Instead, she separates centuries of 'Jew-hatred' from Anti-Semitism, a largely 19th century European, secular ideology that led to the Nazis
- The growing importance of the modern nation-state coincided with the political rise of Jews in banking and political advice
- Yet by the late 19th century, the power of Jews had declined. Their conspicuous wealth, declining political power, and anxieties about their statelessness (and thus ability to conspire globally) led to growing international movements of Anti-Semitism...

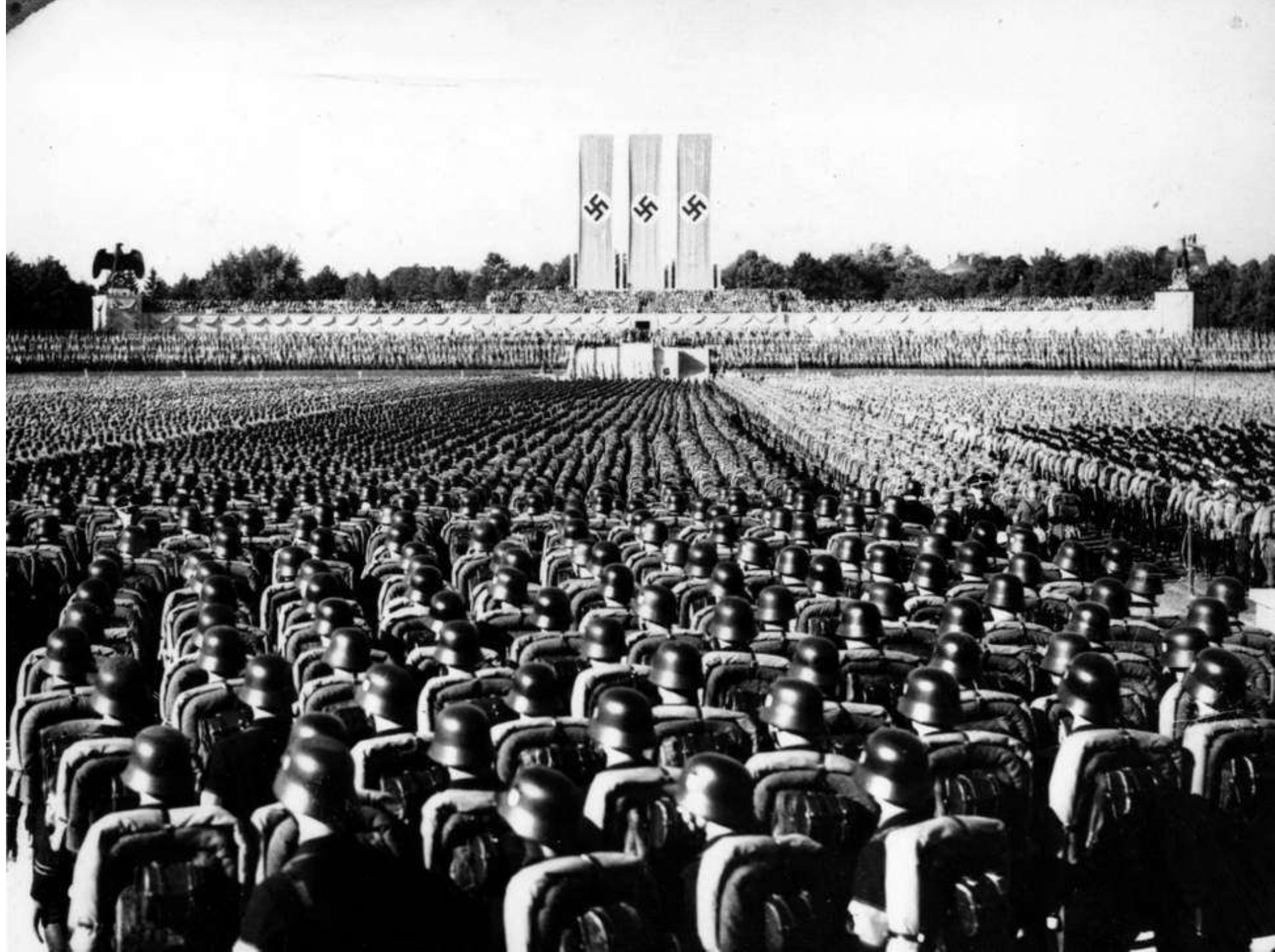
Over to you

Let's turn to Arendt's explanation of Anti-Semitism in Ch1

1. Why does Arendt link a decline in political power with the rise of Anti-Semitism in Europe (pp. 4-5), and why were the Jews increasingly persecuted?
2. Totalitarianism works by terrifying the obedient (6), but terror requires an ideology to justify it (7)... What characterises the ideology of totalitarian states here?



- Antisemitism reached its climax when Jews had similarly lost their public functions and their influence, and were left with nothing but their wealth. When Hitler came to power, the German banks were already almost *judenrein* (and it was here that Jews had held key positions for more than a hundred years) and German Jewry as a whole, after a long steady growth in social status and numbers, was declining so rapidly that statisticians predicted its disappearance in a few decades.
- ... What makes men obey or tolerate real power and, on the other hand, hate people who have wealth without power, is the rational instinct that power has a certain function and is of some general use. Even exploitation and oppression still make society work and establish some kind of order. Only wealth without power or aloofness without a policy are felt to be parasitical, useless, revolting, because such conditions cut all the threads which tie men together. (pp. 4-5)



‘Totalitarian politics – far from being simply antisemitic or racist or imperialist or communist – use and abuse their own ideological and political elements until the basis of factual reality, from which the ideologies originally derived their strength and their propaganda value – the reality of class struggle, for instance, or the interest conflicts between Jews and their neighbors – have all but disappeared.’

(p. xv, 1967 Preface to Part One)

[illegible]

THE
OF H

...the United States have in the Charter...
...the rights of man...
...the rights of man...
...the rights of man...

[illegible]

The way to the light

1. The way to the light is through the darkness.

2. The way to the light is through the darkness.

3. The way to the light is through the darkness.

4. The way to the light is through the darkness.

5. The way to the light is through the darkness.

6. The way to the light is through the darkness.

7. The way to the light is through the darkness.

8. The way to the light is through the darkness.

9. The way to the light is through the darkness.

10. The way to the light is through the darkness.

...the development of friendly relations
...to the Charter mentioned
...for the dignity and worth of
...of man and woman and how

[illegible]

The following information is provided for your reference:

1. The first page of the report is the title page.

2. The second page is the abstract.

3. The third page is the introduction.

4. The fourth page is the literature review.

5. The fifth page is the methodology.

6. The sixth page is the results.

7. The seventh page is the discussion.

8. The eighth page is the conclusion.

9. The ninth page is the references.

10. The tenth page is the appendix.

11. The eleventh page is the glossary.

12. The twelfth page is the index.

13. The thirteenth page is the bibliography.

14. The fourteenth page is the list of figures.

15. The fifteenth page is the list of tables.

16. The sixteenth page is the list of equations.

17. The seventeenth page is the list of symbols.

18. The eighteenth page is the list of abbreviations.

19. The nineteenth page is the list of acronyms.

20. The twentieth page is the list of initialisms.

21. The twenty-first page is the list of contractions.

22. The twenty-second page is the list of colloquialisms.

23. The twenty-third page is the list of idioms.

24. The twenty-fourth page is the list of proverbs.

25. The twenty-fifth page is the list of sayings.

26. The twenty-sixth page is the list of maxims.

27. The twenty-seventh page is the list of adages.

28. The twenty-eighth page is the list of aphorisms.

29. The twenty-ninth page is the list of epigrams.

30. The thirtieth page is the list of epigrams.

31. The thirty-first page is the list of epigrams.

32. The thirty-second page is the list of epigrams.

33. The thirty-third page is the list of epigrams.

34. The thirty-fourth page is the list of epigrams.

35. The thirty-fifth page is the list of epigrams.

36. The thirty-sixth page is the list of epigrams.

37. The thirty-seventh page is the list of epigrams.

38. The thirty-eighth page is the list of epigrams.

39. The thirty-ninth page is the list of epigrams.

40. The fortieth page is the list of epigrams.

41. The forty-first page is the list of epigrams.

42. The forty-second page is the list of epigrams.

43. The forty-third page is the list of epigrams.

44. The forty-fourth page is the list of epigrams.

45. The forty-fifth page is the list of epigrams.

46. The forty-sixth page is the list of epigrams.

47. The forty-seventh page is the list of epigrams.

48. The forty-eighth page is the list of epigrams.

49. The forty-ninth page is the list of epigrams.

50. The fiftieth page is the list of epigrams.

51. The fifty-first page is the list of epigrams.

52. The fifty-second page is the list of epigrams.

53. The fifty-third page is the list of epigrams.

54. The fifty-fourth page is the list of epigrams.

55. The fifty-fifth page is the list of epigrams.

56. The fifty-sixth page is the list of epigrams.

57. The fifty-seventh page is the list of epigrams.

58. The fifty-eighth page is the list of epigrams.

59. The fifty-ninth page is the list of epigrams.

60. The sixtieth page is the list of epigrams.

61. The sixty-first page is the list of epigrams.

62. The sixty-second page is the list of epigrams.

63. The sixty-third page is the list of epigrams.

64. The sixty-fourth page is the list of epigrams.

65. The sixty-fifth page is the list of epigrams.

66. The sixty-sixth page is the list of epigrams.

67. The sixty-seventh page is the list of epigrams.

68. The sixty-eighth page is the list of epigrams.

69. The sixty-ninth page is the list of epigrams.

70. The seventieth page is the list of epigrams.

71. The seventy-first page is the list of epigrams.

72. The seventy-second page is the list of epigrams.

73. The seventy-third page is the list of epigrams.

74. The seventy-fourth page is the list of epigrams.

75. The seventy-fifth page is the list of epigrams.

76. The seventy-sixth page is the list of epigrams.

77. The seventy-seventh page is the list of epigrams.

78. The seventy-eighth page is the list of epigrams.

79. The seventy-ninth page is the list of epigrams.

80. The eightieth page is the list of epigrams.

81. The eighty-first page is the list of epigrams.

82. The eighty-second page is the list of epigrams.

83. The eighty-third page is the list of epigrams.

84. The eighty-fourth page is the list of epigrams.

85. The eighty-fifth page is the list of epigrams.

86. The eighty-sixth page is the list of epigrams.

87. The eighty-seventh page is the list of epigrams.

88. The eighty-eighth page is the list of epigrams.

89. The eighty-ninth page is the list of epigrams.

90. The ninetieth page is the list of epigrams.

91. The ninety-first page is the list of epigrams.

92. The ninety-second page is the list of epigrams.

93. The ninety-third page is the list of epigrams.

94. The ninety-fourth page is the list of epigrams.

95. The ninety-fifth page is the list of epigrams.

96. The ninety-sixth page is the list of epigrams.

97. The ninety-seventh page is the list of epigrams.

98. The ninety-eighth page is the list of epigrams.

99. The ninety-ninth page is the list of epigrams.

100. The hundredth page is the list of epigrams.

Human Rights

PARATION ights

Declaration of Independence (1776)

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness

Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789)

1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only on the general good. 2. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptable rights of man. These are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world

UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

*‘Whereas recognition of the
inherent dignity and of the
equal and inalienable
rights of all members of the
human family is the
foundation of freedom,
justice, and peace in the
world’*



WOHNGEBIET DER
JUDEN
BETRETEN
VERBOTEN



The Right to Have Rights

- In “The Perplexities of the Rights of Man”, a chapter ostensibly about the American and French Revolutions, Arendt returns to the plight of stateless of refugees, of those without rights
- In material echoing earlier points that the European Jewish people lacked a state to protect their interests, Arendt makes a pointed critique of our faith in human rights...
- Why talk about human rights when they are so often ignored?
- What kinds of structures are needed to protect the rights of those who have otherwise been deprived of them?

Over to you

1. What is the order that Arendt presents in which a people gradually lose their rights? What does it mean that this people lose their 'place in the world'? (33)
2. Why is a language of human rights insufficient for protecting those without rights? Why is it so important that a law (36) and polity (38) exists for them?



‘The first loss which the rightless suffered was the loss of their homes, and this meant the loss of the entire social texture into which they were born and in which they established for themselves a distinct place in the world. ...

What is unprecedented is not the loss of a home but the impossibility of finding a new one. Suddenly, there was no place on earth where migrants could go without the severest restrictions, no country where they would be assimilated, no territory where they could found a new community of their own’

- “The Perplexities of the Rights of Man” (33 of TPHA)



‘The calamity of the rightless is not that they are deprived of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, or of equality before the law and freedom of opinion – formulas which were designed to solve problems *within* given communities – but that they no longer belong to any community whatsoever. Their plight is not that they are not equal before the law, but that no law exists for them’ (36)

‘Not the loss of specific rights, then, but the loss of a community willing and able to guarantee any rights whatsoever, has been the calamity which has befallen ever-increasing numbers of people. Man, it turns out, can lose all so-called Rights of Man without losing his essential quality as man, his human dignity. Only the loss of a polity itself expels him from humanity’. (38)



**FAMILIES
BELONG
TOGETHER**

FAMILIESBELONGTOGETHER.ORG
#FAMILIESBELONGTOGETHER

**LAS FAMILIAS
MERECEEN ESTAR
UNIDAS**



**LAS FAMILIAS
MERECEEN ESTAR**

**END
FAMILY
SEPERATION**







BREAKING POINT

BRITAIN
STRONGER
IN
EUROPE
strongerin.co.uk

EU has failed us all

We must break free of the EU and take back control.

Leave the European

ON 23

votetoleavethee



[News](#) › [World](#) › [Europe](#)

Italy's deputy PM Salvini called for 'mass cleansing, street by street, quarter by quarter', newly resurfaced footage reveals

Minister's comments recirculate after leader of far-right League party announces 'census' of Roma community

Tom Embury-Dennis | [@tomemburyd](#) | Thursday 21 June 2018 11:15 | [53 comments](#)



Far-right Italy minister vows 'action' to expel thousands of Roma

Matteo Salvini shrugs off critics who say policy reminiscent of fascist past



▲ Protesters in Rome make their feelings clear after Matteo Salvini pledged to create a 'register' of Roma people.
Photograph: Simona Granati/Corbis via Getty Images

The most striking difference between ancient and modern sophists is that the ancients were satisfied with a passing victory of the argument at the expense of truth, whereas the moderns want a more lasting victory at the expense of reality. In other words, one destroyed the dignity of human thought whereas the others destroy the dignity of human action. The old manipulators of logic were the concern of the philosopher, whereas the modern manipulators of facts stand in the way of the historian. For history itself is destroyed, and its comprehensibility – based upon the fact that it is enacted by men and therefore can be understood by men – is in danger, whenever facts are no longer held to be part and parcel of the past and present world, and are misused to prove this or that opinion. (9)

Next week... Imperialism and Racism

- We'll turn to *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Part 2: Imperialism
- Beyond Anti-Semitism, Arendt also draws attention to ideas of unlimited expansion and rule by bureaucracy inherent to imperialism.
- There are two extracts to consider:
 - Ch5, part i) "Expansion and the Nation State" (*Portable Arendt*, pp. 104-118)
 - Ch7, "Race and Bureaucracy", part iii) "The Imperialist Character"

Please email if you can't get on Moodle:

dan.taylor@marywardcentre.ac.uk