



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE

Humanities

DIVISION OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Narrative Section of a Successful Application

The attached document contains the grant narrative and selected portions of a previously funded grant application. It is not intended to serve as a model, but to give you a sense of how a successful application may be crafted. Every successful application is different, and each applicant is urged to prepare a proposal that reflects its unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants should consult the Education Programs application guidelines at <http://www.neh.gov/grants/guidelines/seminars.html> for instructions. Applicants are also strongly encouraged to consult with the NEH Division of Education Programs staff well before a grant deadline.

Note: The attachment only contains the grant narrative and selected portions, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials.

Project Title: The Political Theory of Hannah Arendt: The Problem of Evil and the Origins of Totalitarianism

Institution: San Diego State University

Project Director: Kathleen Jones

Grant Program: Summer Seminars and Institutes for School Teachers

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The Political Theory of Hannah Arendt: The Problem of Evil and the Origins of Totalitarianism

Proposal for 2012 Summer Seminar for Secondary School Teachers

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PROPOSED TEXTS:

Arendt, Hannah, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (Penguin, 1963)

Arendt, Hannah, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* ((1951) new edition, Schocken Books, 2004).

Arendt, Hannah, *The Human Condition* (University of Chicago, 1958)

Arendt, Hannah. Selected Supplemental Readings.

Young-Bruehl, Elizabeth, *Hannah Arendt: For Love of the World* (second edition, Yale University Press, 2004) (Note: Recommended Reading)

Intellectual Rationale

During this five-week seminar we will study intensively several key works by the political theorist, Hannah Arendt. These works shed light on the problem of evil and the use of terror in the contemporary age, and provide a philosophical perspective on current debates about the use of violence to settle political conflicts, and about the conditions of democracy and the scope and importance of human rights. Based on the success of my 2006, 2008, 2009, and 2010 seminars on Arendt with schoolteachers, who responded powerfully to the relevance of Arendt to their own thinking and teaching, and the advance interest I have received for my 2011 seminar (to be located at Bard College), I propose to repeat the seminar in 2012 with a few modifications.

A brilliant political philosopher, who refused to call herself a philosopher, a woman who never considered her sex an obstacle in her life, a Jew who was called anti-Semitic for her controversial portrait of Adolf Eichmann as a “thoughtless,” “terrifyingly normal” person, a rigorous thinker who wrote passionately about hatred and love, Hannah Arendt tackled some of the thorniest moral and political questions of modern times. Her controversial positions on violence, politics, moral judgment and the role of forgiveness and love in human affairs made her as well known in literary and political circles for her brave, powerful prose, as she was among academicians for her philosophical argumentation. In her friendship circle were some of the leading literary and cultural lights of the twentieth century, including Mary McCarthy, Martin Heidegger (who was her lover when she was his student), Karl Jaspers, J. Glenn Gray, Robert Lowell, and W.H.Auden.

Called the “most original and profound...political theoretician of our times” for her work on totalitarianism, perhaps more than any other modern thinker, Hannah Arendt helps us understand the politics of terror and confront the awful reality that ordinary people can commit atrocities against one another. In the post-9/11 world, Arendt’s wisdom seems more germane than ever. The proposed seminar will take timely advantage of the most recent scholarship on Arendt, situating it and our reading of several of her key texts within the context of renewed popular interest in her work.

As the words “evil” and “terror” continue to circulate in popular discourse about current events, references to Hannah Arendt have increased substantially. In the last few years, the *New York Times* reported on several academic studies about the conditions leading some people to torture others, citing a Stanford University study of human behavior which used Arendt’s phrase “banality of evil” to explain psychologists’ disturbing findings that under conditions simulating a prison, ordinary students could be turned into sadistic guards within a matter of days. During 2006, the centennial of her birth, conferences around the world, including at Bard College, celebrated her work, underscoring the continued significance of this controversial thinker. In March 2007, reviewing the most recent Arendt scholarship, Jeremy Waldron wrote a major essay in the *New York Review of Books* on Arendt’s continuing relevance.

Seminar colleagues will benefit intellectually from reading Arendt in historical context, examining what motivated her exploration of salient political and moral issues, such as the problem of evil, the meaning of human plurality and diversity, and the use of terror and violence by both state and non-state actors. Yet her work transcends its own historical boundaries and resonates as these same issues emerge in discussions in history, social studies, and literature classes in today’s schools. And teachers also observe them operating in the social dynamics of insider/outsider evident in informal interactions among students, and between students and staff, on many contemporary school campuses. As I found in my previous seminars, studying Arendt with a group of colleagues from different school backgrounds can provide a controlled environment for thoughtful consideration of how to encourage critical thinking before acting on heated issues. Participants in those seminars commented that our conversations became

Arendtean experiments in the joys and pitfalls of attempting dialogue under the human condition of plurality. I continue to receive correspondence from them about how relevant those conversations have been to their own pedagogical and moral reflections.

Each of the three central texts chosen for this seminar represents distinct, yet interwoven, aspects of Arendt's reflections on what she called the "human condition of plurality." Each explores the philosophical implications of different crises generated by social conflict in the twentieth century. Together they continue to have relevance in the twenty-first century, repaying the patient reader of these difficult works with the rewards of being challenged to examine the complex historical roots of totalitarianism and the persistence of tensions between freedom and equality even in democratic societies.

Most of my previous participants had little background in political theory or philosophy. Yet, they dove into these texts energetically and were rewarded with a deep understanding of the complexity of Arendt's ideas. Major Arendt scholars, who have given guest presentations, commented on the sophistication these schoolteachers evidenced in both the questions they raised and levels of discussion achieved, noting that dialogue often exceeded even their best graduate seminars. I credit their assessment to the seriousness with which participants approached the subject. Participants commented especially favorably on having had the benefit of many weeks to immerse themselves in the material.

Published more than fifty years ago, *The Origins of Totalitarianism (OT)* is a dense book in which Arendt sought to "discover the hidden mechanics by which all the traditional elements of our political and spiritual world [had been] dissolved." In a lecture she gave after the book's publication she explained she had not intended to provide an elaboration of historical causes but rather to identify the peculiar "fixed and definite forms" into which various elements of western political theories and practices had crystallized in the "event" of totalitarianism. An historical event, Arendt contended, "illuminates its own past, but it can never be deduced from it." To argue that history could be reduced to a set of effects following automatically from definite causes would imply that the past could not have been avoided, and Arendt maintained consistently that the creation of the death camps was an "event that should never have

been allowed to happen.” If the death camps themselves were frightening, the insights Arendt drew from her study of them were equally chilling—she claimed they were neither the result of circumstances beyond human control, nor of history’s inexorable march, but happened because of the concerted failure of people to act to stop them.

Totalitarianism represented what she called the “crystallization” of elements of racism and conquest, which were present in European thought as early as the eighteenth century, but were exacerbated by the disintegration of the nation-state system following World War I. In *OT*, Arendt painted an enormous canvas of the political and social history of modern Europe in broad, bold strokes to bring into relief patterns of interaction among those elements. She showed how racism and imperialism combined to erode further the principles of a common humanity--or, more precisely, to expose the nationalistic underpinnings of theories of human rights--through the creation of “laws of exception” or separate sets of rights for stateless peoples, which were codified in the post-WW I peace treaties known as the Minority Treaties. She identified the emergence of mass movements as forms of “negative solidarity” developing out of what she termed the “breakdown of the class system,” a system in which the unbridled private accumulation of wealth already had supplanted political action, and contended that such movements rested on the foundation of totalitarianism in majority consensus.

That Arendt refused to see totalitarianism as the necessary outcome of the dissolution of traditional social systems and located its rise to power in the agreement or support of the masses was among the more troubling features of her philosophy. Careful consideration of the logic of her argument and the important, if provocative, perspective it sheds on present political dilemmas and theories of history will be the focus of our discussions of this complicated book. (A workshop on the writing of history, tailored by Bard’s Master of Arts in Teaching (MAT) program to the topics of my seminar, will enable participants to delve into questions about writing history in a special program designed to supplement seminar discussions.)

Arendt connected the atrophy of human rights and the emergence of “the masses” to the creation

of entirely new political institutions and instruments. Through terror, which annihilated positive law, and manipulation of the “recipes of ideology,” which detached thinking from experience, Arendt argued that totalitarian governments had invented unprecedented ways to bind people together so tightly with a “band of iron ...that it is as though their plurality had disappeared into One Man of gigantic dimensions.” Terror eliminates “the very source of freedom which is given with the fact of the birth of man and resides in his capacity to make a new beginning. In the iron band of terror, which destroys the plurality of men and makes out of many the One who unfailingly will act as though he himself were part of the course of nature or history a device has been found not only to liberate the historical and natural forces, but to accelerate them to a speed they would never reach if left to themselves.”

What is especially instructive for the contemporary reader of *OT* is the fact that Arendt located the origins of terror and ideology within Western, democratic societies. She urged reading the record of what she then called the “truly radical nature of Evil” in totalitarianism as a cautionary tale about the “subterranean stream of *Western* history” (emphasis added). Arendt’s story of the hidden underbelly of western history provides a controversial counterpoint for critical thinking about the apparently prevalent contemporary identification of terrorism with non-western societies. And, as I discovered in my previous Arendt seminars, her identification of the holocaust as a unique and unprecedented event is a particularly thorny dimension of her thinking. What she means by this, in light of both the history of slavery in the world and earlier experiences with mass extermination, requires careful consideration. Previously, participants became involved in extensive research on parallels between slavery and the Holocaust.

Arendt identified the fact of our birth as the source of our freedom and was unique among modern philosophers for contending that “natality,” not mortality, was the origin of politics. Every birth signaled the chance that something new had come into being, and offered all of us already here the opportunity to live with the new and the strange. She called this opportunity the human condition of “plurality”--the fact that every human born is equally human, but in a unique way. In *The Human Condition (HC)* she explored “natality” and “plurality.” Arendt considered plurality to be a political

opportunity to learn how to live as “a distinct and unique being among equals.” Under current conditions of globalization, on what foundation can we secure the “human condition of plurality”? Both OT and HC can provide the basis for stimulating discussion about, for example, how to imagine political solutions to the problem of displaced peoples and the intertwined problems of racial and gender inequalities.

HC is the text in which Arendt attempted a philosophy of “the political” and distinguished the activities of politics (action), from the activities of both labor (survival) and work (fabrication). She considered each of these activities essentially human ways to engage with “the things of this world” or partake in what she called the *vita activa*, but warned about what might happen if politics came to be modeled exclusively either on the activity of labor (the realm of necessity, consumption; activity of *animal laborans*) or work (the realm of instrumentality, fabrication; activity of *homo faber*).

HC is a commentary on the human condition “from the vantage point of our newest experiences and our most recent fears.” In this book, Arendt proposed to “think what we are doing.” Responding to what she called the modern reversal of the high regard with which thought, or the *vita contemplativa*, had been held by the ancients, she reflected on the consequences of the assertion of life itself “as the ultimate point of reference in the modern age” and issued a warning about what happened when living, or the activity of *animal laborans*, overshadowed all other forms of human activity. “It is quite conceivable” she wrote, “that the modern age—which began with an unprecedented and promising outburst of human activity—may end in the deadliest, most sterile passivity history has ever known.”

At once a critique of mass or consumer society and of utilitarianism as an ethical principle, HC provides a rich, though complicated, theory of politics as “action in concert with others” in the face of the uncertainty, frailty, pain, and complexity of human affairs. Can politics solve our most pressing social problems? Arendt’s answers are equivocal at best. Yet, read in the context of some current efforts to retreat from politics into a more predictable and reliable system of social control—whether technological, organizational, or religious—Arendt’s theories remain provocatively salient. Her discussions of the political implications of forgiveness and promises as modes of trust- and respect-building are examples of

the unusual reach of her philosophy.

Eichmann in Jerusalem is perhaps the most disconcerting of the three Arendt texts we will examine. A haunting book originally commissioned as a series of articles written for *The New Yorker*, *Eichmann* became a meditation on morality. Arendt wrote it while she reflected on attending the Israeli trial of Nazi deportation coordinator Adolf Eichmann. In it she reached disturbing conclusions about who bore responsibility for the Final Solution.

Sitting in that Jerusalem courtroom, Arendt said she was struck by an odd and disturbing thought--that the evil reflected in Eichmann's crimes, the atrocities against humanity he committed, was the product neither of a madman nor a wicked man nor a monster, but an ordinary, normal human who had acted *without thought*. To Arendt, Eichmann was terrifying because he was "thoughtless." The real trouble, she said, was there so many like him, terrifying normal people who made evil banal. She judged even members of the Jewish Council unfavorably because they had cooperated by giving names of Jews to the Nazis.

The banality of evil? Jews guilty? She may be Jewish, her critics said, but she sounds anti-Semitic. The controversy surrounding the publication of *Eichmann* raged for many years and the wisdom of Arendt's tone and conclusions continue to be debated. Yet, the importance of what she wrote about the problem of evil warrants consideration, especially in light of the ease with which different groups target others for vilification today. A 2009 essay in *The New Yorker* about the continued relevance of Arendt's thinking to today's discussions of evil quoted Croatian novelist Slavenka Drakulić's book, *They Would Never Hurt a Fly* (titled after a phrase of Arendt's): "The more you realize that war criminals might be ordinary people, the more afraid you become."

In *Eichmann*, Arendt painted a compelling portrait of what horrors can happen when we lose the ability to think. Without thinking, she said, we become quite literally homeless because we imagine both the strangers sitting next to us and even our kin to have become unbearably threatening. These "others," may become as much afraid of us as we are of them. And when that happens, it becomes possible for any

one of us to do awful things. But, Arendt said, it is also possible for anyone to act courageously to prevent harm to others and *Eichmann* presents examples of groups and individuals who did so. *Eichmann* is especially pertinent to educators who want to address what leads to ostracism and intolerance within and outside the classroom, and explore its embedded question about any individual's ability and responsibility to act to prevent violations of rights.

Throughout Arendt's writing, but especially given the reception she experienced publishing *Eichmann*, the courage of her conviction is evident. Hannah Arendt took great risks to speak what she considered to be truths. She lost friends and made enemies. Studying her works is an educational and intellectual adventure as much because of the process of thought they display as because of the literal substance of their conclusions.

Project Content and Implementation

The seminar will meet for five weeks, four days per week (week one will be five days). Each session will last four hours (afternoons). Seminar meetings will be designed to facilitate discussion among colleagues about the primary texts, and a few selected secondary readings on related topics, in light of central questions raised by the readings. Participants will be expected to read the core texts carefully, and to explore critically the issues addressed in the seminar within a setting that encourages the exchange of ideas among peers respectful of one another's differences of background, style, and interest. The only exception to this format will be the introductory and first substantive meeting, and the three occasions when invited guest scholars will lead more formal discussions.

Experience has taught me the importance of an early emphasis on close reading, accompanied by focused discussions on the texts themselves are the best ways to create and encourage an atmosphere of collegiality. In previous years, this proved an appropriate pedagogical strategy, especially as tensions arose regarding alternative interpretations of the "uniqueness" of the Holocaust, the nature of contemporary inequality, and patterns of privilege. Participants commented that our dialogue, though heated, remained intellectually stimulating and collegial.

Having had the experience four times (other than the five on Arendt) of directing seminars for secondary school teachers on different political theory texts (NEH SST seminars on Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Wollstonecraft in 1988, 1989, 1992, and 1994), I remain aware of the challenge to connect our close reading of Arendt's works to participants' intellectual and professional development. Yet, I have found that a well-organized seminar encouraging dialogue on common texts leads teachers naturally to reflect on both the personal and professional implications of such study. In each of the Arendt seminars I have directed, participants have produced unique curricular, pedagogical and scholarly/creative works, including a video on Japanese internment camps, a wiki space for Arendt-relevant resources, an artistic exhibition, memoirs and personal essays, a unit on bullying for use in sixth grade curriculum, a curriculum unit on immigration and statelessness, a web site on Holocaust studies and much more.

After an introduction to seminar process, I will outline details about Arendt's life and her contemporary relevance. (In my Dear Colleague letter, I will recommend that participants read Elizabeth Young-Bruehl's biography of Arendt as preparation for our work). Turning to the primary texts, we will begin with *Eichmann*, move to *OT* and end with *HC*. My approach to the material is to start with the most controversial, yet most accessible of HA's works, engaging participants in a way most likely to facilitate discussion regardless of familiarity with history or philosophy. Next we will take up *OT*, the most historical and dense of the three books, finishing with *HC*, the most "philosophical." During the seminar, I will include occasional secondary and additional primary readings to amplify key points.

In the Appendix, I have provided a detailed outline of the topics to guide our reading and discussions. Each text will be taken up as an opportunity to explore its central arguments within the historical context and chronology of Arendt's body of work, considering ways that it complements or contradicts her central claims about the problem of evil, the uses of terror and the origins of totalitarianism. *Eichmann* sets the stage for consideration of Arendt's understanding of evil. Who commits atrocities and how shall we judge them? What happens when the harm crimes caused victims becomes the focus of a trial instead of the crimes themselves? Does this turn a trial into a show or

political trial? Under what conditions and in what ways can people respond to oppression? These are some of the questions we will take up and they will lead us backward to Arendt's earlier work, *OT*. How does Arendt understand history and how does this connect to her understanding of politics? What role does she think racism played in the evolution of the nation-state system in modern Europe? What is the right to have rights? How are terror and ideology used in the development of totalitarian systems? What does Arendt mean by the totalitarian reduction of human life to a natural process controlled by the state? We will use these guiding questions to move through *OT* and into *HC*, a book in which, as Mary Dietz argued in *Turning Operations*, the Holocaust acts as palpable, yet unspoken background. As we move into the territory of the *HC*, we will explore Arendt's political theory most explicitly and consider what she means by the idea of politics as the human capacity to be spontaneous and to act in concert with others. In addition to Roger Berkowitz, academic director of the Arendt Center at Bard College, two other guest speakers, Ange-Marie Hancock, and Danielle Celermajer, will present special lectures and lead discussions on specific topics germane to their research and writing. (See below in Project Faculty and Staff)

I expect participants to keep a daily log of responses to the readings and discussions. Each week, after the first week, colleagues will be invited to share journal entries with the group as a way to lead discussions for the day. On my expanded web site, which now includes a blog, I will invite the summer scholars to "guest blog" at least once during the summer on topics related to discussions. This will encourage and facilitate ongoing dialogue, and provide a structure for keeping everyone engaged with the material itself. Establishing dialogue with a text through daily writing keeps the conversation going. Previous participants responded positively to this method of organization and focus. Nonetheless, in recognition of the difficulty that some participants in 2010 had grasping the organization of Arendt's argument, her unusual approach to historical analysis in *OT*, and her unconventional use of certain concepts in *HC*, I intend to provide an overview of key methods and concepts at the outset of our engagement with each of the three key texts.

To engage participants in close reading and critical discussion useful to their professional development, I will invite them to produce a critical essay on some contemporary issue, or to plan a presentation that explores an issue, using methods and materials from several disciplines. For instance, debates, dramatic presentations, film, literature and other sources exploring the topics covered in the seminar can be used to create a multi-disciplinary scholarly exploration of the relevance of Arendt to contemporary issues. Group projects will be encouraged.

In order to facilitate collegiality, I will meet with each participant at least once early in the seminar to discuss general interests in the seminar topics, and provide any personal assistance with seminar matters that may be needed. In addition, I will be available every day for consultation with individual colleagues. Several optional group activities will be planned outside seminar meetings so that participants may get to know one another better. Nonetheless, the seminar's purpose and emphasis is on ours scholarly work.

Project faculty and Staff

The proposed seminar, and my preparation for it, relates directly to my ongoing research and teaching interests. My previous experience with the SSST program, as well as my continued communication with participants from those summers, from the earliest seminars I directed in the 80s and 90s until now, and the inspiring effect these seminars have had on my own scholarship contributes to my motivation to offer this seminar again.

Most of my scholarly research and publications have focused on modern political theory, and on the origins and nature of central concepts articulated in that tradition. I taught about the history and discourse of political theory for more than thirty years, including teaching the works of Hannah Arendt at the graduate and undergraduate levels in both general survey courses and special seminars at both SDSU and as a visiting professor at UCSD.

My publications on Arendt have a long trajectory. I explored the meaning of fundamental political concepts such as authority, democracy and citizenship, using the "woman question" to focus this

inquiry, in *Compassionate Authority: Democracy and the Representation of Women*. In one chapter of that book I analyzed the contributions of Hannah Arendt to the study of authority and published a separate chapter on its themes, “What is Authority’s Gender?” in *Revisioning the Political*, edited by Hirschmann and DiStefano. In *Living Between Danger and Love: The Limits of Choice*, a memoir I wrote about the impact the murder of one of my students and her boyfriend’s conviction for that crime had on my thinking about responsibility, I used *Eichmann* to explore how questions of violence and evil came up in my own life. Since then, a new book, *What Hannah Would Say; A Thinking Journey with Hannah Arendt*, inspired by Arendt, has been submitted to several publication venues. Deliberately departing from Arendt’s resistance to introspective, autobiographical writing, this book charts a course through themes from Arendt’s life and work of Hannah Arendt into my own, exploring questions of responsibility and forgiveness. While writing this new book, I researched primary sources in the Arendt archives at the Library of Congress and explored the extensive secondary scholarly literature on her. Finally, I am working on a documentary on the life and work of Hannah Arendt with the award-winning filmmaker, Lilly Rivlin.

Planning for 2012, I have invited three prominent professionals to be guest lecturers at the summer seminar, each of whom offers a very different perspective on Arendt. Professor Ange-Marie Hancock (USC), who lectured in my 2010 seminar, will present on her work on Arendt and Dubois in week two. Professor Danielle Celermajer of Sydney University (Australia), Director of an MA on Human Rights, former policy director of the Australian Human Rights Commission, noted scholar of Arendt and author of *The Apology and Political Theory*, (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), and co-editor of *Hannah Arendt and the Dilemmas of Humanism*, (Cambridge Scholars Press (2008), will explore Arendt’s theory of the “right to have rights” in the *Origins of Totalitarianism* in week three. And Professor Roger Berkowitz, academic director of the Hannah Arendt Center for Ethical and Political Thinking will present in week four on themes in Arendt’s *The Human Condition*.

Dr. Simone Arias, who has administered the Arendt seminars since 2008, will assist me,

providing clerical and administrative supports, including responding to inquiries from prospective participants, and processing applications for review, inspecting and securing housing, arranging Visiting Scholar status and library privileges, and providing information on local activities. A local teacher and former participant (2006), Dr. Arias brings much more than administrative talent to the position. As an experienced teacher, she attended various professional meetings, gave a short presentation on the upcoming seminar, and generated considerable enthusiasm among teachers, which has repaid in inquiries for the seminar.

Participant Selection

To select participants I will invite one of my former participants to join a colleague and me on a committee. We will each read all applications and prepare rankings, discussing them in a special selection committee meeting. No special background beyond an interest in the subject is required for participation in the seminar, but I will be interested in balancing regional representation, years of educational experience, and educational background in the composition of the seminar. My aim will be to match the diversity of participants' backgrounds I have achieved in previous seminars.

Professional Development

In the past, my seminar participants received a document from me acknowledging the graduate credit equivalent of their work in the seminar. I will again provide such a letter as certification.

This year, I again request funding for dissemination, which I have previously received in my NEH grants, allowing three participants selected by a peer review committee to present their research at a professional meeting and showcase NEH projects. For example, my 2009 grant enabled several participants to attend NCTE and NCTG meetings where they presented their research and served as ambassadors for NEH programs. This year, I expect a small group from my 2011 seminar will present with me at the Arkansas Holocaust Education Committee's twentieth annual conference. Although I know that many previous participants have continued to collaborate informally on lesson plans and share research, I believe this budget item (under travel) for 2012 participants will provide an excellent opportunity for further professional development for participants and for

marketing and dissemination of NEH work.

Institutional Context.

Although I am directing the seminar at Bard College, NY in 2011, I chose to relocate this seminar to SDSU, where I am a professor emerita of Women's Studies. SDSU is a Research II institution with all of the library, technological and other facilities to match its standing. Recognized as the leading institution among the campuses of the California State University system, it boasts a faculty of productive scholar/teachers, and an international reputation for excellence in education.

I served on the faculty for twenty-four years before taking early retirement to research and write full-time. I also worked in University Administration, as Associate Dean of the College of Arts and Letters and as University-wide Director of a Community-University educational project that linked SDSU with three inner city schools. Both my administrative and teaching experience have provided an unusually broad familiarity with university systems and an awareness of the rich resources the university has to offer scholar/teachers.

Participants will have access to the library as Visiting Scholars. Our library has a multi-station computer room to facilitate group instruction in the use of online resources and I will schedule time in this room as before to instruct participants on how to use the Library of Congress collection of digitized Hannah Arendt papers, many of which can be accessed remotely. I will recommend that participants bring their own laptops for research and writing. As in previous years, I will ensure that a computing and printing option is more available for those unable to do so.

In 2006, 2008, 2009, and 2010, we had the ability to use a block of single person occupancy dorm rooms with attached two-person shared baths in a wing of University Towers, a dorm adjacent to the campus and rented in the summer to groups such as NEH seminarians. The building has Internet capacity, a laundry, and other amenities. Each room is equipped with a microwave and mini-frig. I have contacted the manager and been assured these facilities will be available in 2012 at reasonable rates. Although the accommodations are relatively spartan, participants' reviews indicated satisfaction with the

facilities. For 2012, the cost of housing will be approximately \$340 per week, with a small supplement if participants choose a flexible, daily one-meal plan.

The proximity of this building and its facilitation of a community experience are ideal. However, if participants require it, we can also locate apartments and houses for rental, given listings by colleagues. The administrative assistant will personally inspect prospective rental units and advise participants. I will, nonetheless, encourage participants to choose the more collegial option.

For an additional small fee participants also will be able to take advantage of membership in the extensive athletic facilities available near and around the campus, as well as be able to enroll in special summer activities for themselves and their companions.

Replete with a wide variety of summer cultural and recreational activities ranging from extensive live theater, outdoor musical concerts and recitals from classical to rock to jazz and rap, and spectator and participant sports, San Diego is a delightful location any time of the year. However, it is important to stress, as I do in my Dear Colleague letter, that our primary purpose is scholarly. As in 2006, 2008, 2009, and 2010 its diversions will be explored only to balance the difficulty of our discussions. I am confident that my colleagues will find their visit here productive and enriching in many ways. In addition, several departments sponsor occasional summer lectures that my colleagues might enjoy attending. This will enable participants to feel a part of the academic life of the campus in ways extending beyond our seminar's meetings.

Although in the past I have offered this seminar for six weeks, I have made adjustments in the seminar's organization, adding an additional full session during the first week, and an extra hour for each day of the remaining weeks, to ensure we have adequate time to read and reflect on these complex materials, enabling a meaningful and intellectually satisfying experience. In all years, participants commented favorably on the importance of the extended study experience and emphasized it repaid them both personally and professionally in many ways. Their continued correspondence with me has demonstrated how valuable the seminar has been and makes me eager to direct again in 2012.

APPENDIX

Outline of Seminar Topics: July 8, 2012-August 9, 2012

San Diego State University

- 7/8 Welcome Dinner at Seminar Director's home (Sunday)
- 7/9 Introduction to Seminar Topics and Materials; The Biography of Hannah Arendt, Presentation by Seminar Director.
- 7/10 *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Political Trial?*
- 7/11 Eichmann's Thoughtlessness and the Final Solution.
- 7/12 *Eichmann* and the Question of Responsibility.
- 7/13 The Concept of Collective Responsibility; The *Eichmann* Controversy.

WEEK II

- 7/16 The Jewish Question, Racism, and Development of European Nationalism, *OT*, pp. ix-74
- 7/17 The "Perversion of Political into Social Equality": Pariah and Parvenu, *OT*, 75-155.
- 7/18-19 Imperialism, the Disintegration of the Nation-State and Rise of Racism, *OT*, pp. 167-286.
- 7/19 Guest Lecture: Professor Ange-Marie Hancock, "Arendt and Dubois: The Conscious Pariah."

WEEK III

- 7/23 The End of the Rights of Man, *OT*, pp. 341-384.
- 7/24 Mass Society and the Social Foundations of Totalitarianism, *OT*, pp. 407-449.
- 7/25 Ideology and Propaganda: Psychological Foundations, *OT*, pp. 450-506.
- 7/26 Totalitarian Power, Terror and the Possibility of Politics, *OT*, pp. 507-616.
- 7/27 Guest Lecture: Professor Danielle Celermajer, "Arendt and Human Rights."

WEEK IV

- 7/30 Natality, Plurality and Politics, *HC*, pp. 1-78.
- 7/31 *Animal Laborans* and Labor: Freedom from Necessity? *HC*, pp. 79-135.

- 8/1 “Being at Home in the World,” *Homo Faber* and Work, *HC*, pp. 136-174.
- 8/2 Plurality, Action and Speech: The Unworldliness of the Fabric of Human Relationships and the Work of *Homo Faber*, *HC*: 175-247. Guest Lecture: Professor Roger Berkowitz, Bard College.
- 8/3 Seminar Presentations

WEEK V

- 8/6 *Vita Contemplativa* and *Vita Activa* in the Modern Age, *HC*: 248-325.
- 8/7 Action in Concert with Others; Being at Home in the World; Forgiveness and Promise-Making, *HC*: 248-325.
- 8/8 Seminar Presentations
- 8/9 Reflections on the Seminar. Closing Banquet

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

In addition to the works cited in the proposal which all members of the seminar will read in common, this bibliography is provided as a guide for those wishing to delve further into primary and secondary sources. I have asterisked (*) those works I strongly recommend as additional reading.

SELECTED ADDITIONAL WORKS BY ARENDT

*Between Past and Future.

Men in Dark Times

On Revolution

On Violence

Essays on Understanding

GENERAL WORKS ON/RELATED TO ARENDT

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- *Young-Bruehl, Elizabeth. 1982. *Hannah Arendt: For Love of the World*. (Biography) Yale University Press.
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Bernstein, Richard. 1996. *Hannah Arendt and the Jewish Question*. Cambridge University Press.

La Capra, Dominick. 1994. *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma*. Cornell University Press.

Secondary Related to OT

*Benhabib, Seyla. 2002 "Political Geographies in a Global World: Arendtian Reflections." *Social Research*, 69: 539-566.

Jeffrey Isaac. 1998. *Democracy in Dark Times*. Cornell University Press.

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*Young-Bruehl, Elizabeth. 2002. "On the Origins of a New Totalitarianism." *Social Research* 69: 567-578.

Secondary Related to HC

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