

Hannah Arendt's Book on **Totalitarianism**

A Short Documentation of Its History

In Hannah Arendt's lifetime, her book on totalitarianism saw five English and four German editions. The history of the work, from 1951 to 1975, is characterized by the English and German texts influencing each other and, at the same time, keeping their own identities. The last edition in English supervised by the author was the »new edition with added prefaces« published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich in 1973; and in German, the three-volume edition published by Ullstein Verlag in 1975.

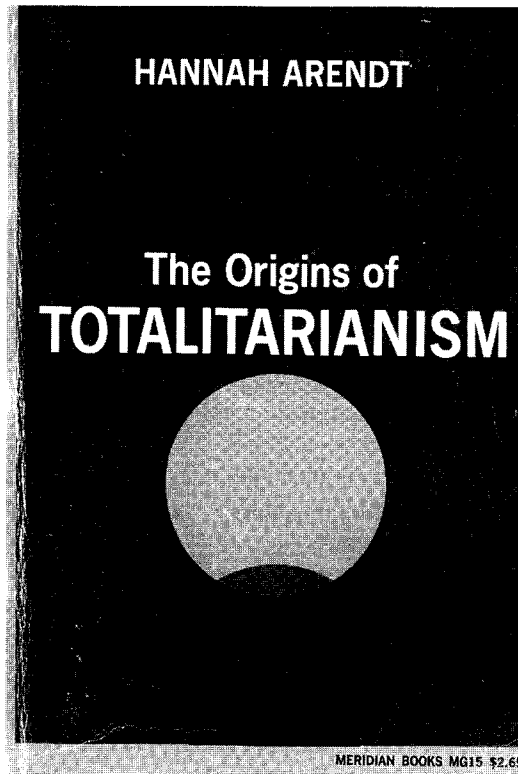
The individual stages of the book's English-German history can briefly be described as follows:

1951 – first English edition

In early 1951, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* appears in the New York publishing house Harcourt Brace and Company, with a parallel edition under the title *The Burden of Our Time* being released in London by Secker and Warburg. – This first English edition contains a »preface« by its author, thirteen chapters arranged in three parts (Imperialism, Antisemitism, Totalitarianism), a bibliography and an index. The last chapter is entitled »Concluding Remarks.«

1955 - first German edition

Under the title *Elemente und Ursprünge totaler Herrschaft* [Elements and Origins of Total Domination], the German publishing house Europäische Verlagsanstalt (Frankfurt/Main) publishes Hannah Arendt's own translation of the English work. – While translating, Arendt reworked parts of the text, wrote a new preface for her German readers, and replaced the



»Concluding Remarks,« i.e., chapter 13, with the essay »Ideologie und Terror: Eine neue Staatsform,« a revised reprint of her contribution to the *Festschrift* dedicated to her teacher Karl Jaspers on the occasion of his 70th birthday. The edition is preceded by a *Geleitwort* [Foreword] from Jaspers's pen, which remained the introductory piece in all German editions with the exception of the 1958 *Sonderausgabe* and the three-volume Ullstein paperback of 1975 (see below).

1958 – second English edition

Meridian (New York) and Allan & Unwin (London) publish the second, enlarged edition, both as *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. – Relying on her German translation, Hannah Arendt reworked the

English original, wrote another new preface, replaced chapter 13 in accordance with the German edition by her English version of »Ideology and Terror: A Novel Form of Government,« and added, as chapter 14, an »Epilogue: Reflections on the Hungarian Revolution.« Karl Jaspers' *Geleitwort* was not included; so far it has never been translated into English, but was reprinted in all German editions of *Elemente und Ursprünge totaler Herrschaft*.

1958 and 1962 – second and third German editions

A second, revised edition of *Elemente und Ursprünge totaler Herrschaft* is published by the Europäische Verlagsanstalt and the Büchergilde (also Frank-

furt/Main). Both companies release a third (unchanged) edition in 1962. – These editions are based on the 1955 German edition, chapter 14 of the second English edition is not included.

1958 – a German Sonderausgabe

In the series Sammlung »res publica«, Europäische Verlagsanstalt publishes the third part of the book separately, under the title Elemente totaler Herrschaft [Elements of Total Domination]. This edition, for which Hannah Arendt wrote a »Vorwort zur gekürzten Ausgabe« [Foreword to the Abridged Edition], dated August, 1957, is also distributed as a special print by the Bundesministerium für gesamtdeutsche Fragen [Federal Ministry for All-German Affairs].

1966 and 1967 – third English edition

The Origins of Totalitarianism are published as »new edition« by Harcourt, Brace & World in the United States in 1966 and by Allen & Unwin in Britain in 1967. – For this edition, Hannah Arendt wrote a new »Introduction,« and she took out chapter 14 of the 1958 edition.

1968 – fourth English edition in three volumes

Harcourt Brace, in their pocketbook series »Harvest Books,« publish a three-volume edition: Antisemitism; Imperialism; Totalitarianism. – Hannah Arendt wrote new prefaces for the first and second volumes, while the third volume was prefaced by her »Introduction« to the complete edition of 1966 and 1967.

1973 ff. – fifth English edition

The Origins of Totalitarianism appear in a one-volume »new edition with added prefaces« as Harvest Book no. 244. – This last edition supervised by Hannah Arendt is grosso modo a reprint of the 1968 three-volume edition. In addition, it contains the »Preface« from the first

English edition of 1951. – After Arendt's death it sees several reprints, one of them (in 1986) by the London publishing house André Deutsch.

1975 – fourth German edition in three volumes

The series »Ullstein Buch« publishes an »ungekürzte Ausgabe« [unabridged edition] in three volumes: Antisemitismus; Imperialismus; Totale Herrschaft. – The edition parallels the three-volume English edition of 1968. The prefaces to volumes I and II and the introduction to volume III were translated into German by Michael Schröter. Hannah Arendt approved of the translations.

1986 ff. – fifth German edition

For the first time, Elemente und Ursprünge totaler Herrschaft, again assembled in one volume, appears in the German-Swiss publishing house Piper (Munich and Zurich). The book, Serie Piper paperback no. 645, is labelled »ungekürzte Ausgabe« and is a reprint of the 1975 Ullstein edition, enlarged by the preface to the first German edition of 1955. Since 1996 this edition, checked by the publisher, has received a new format (1014 pages as against 757 of the

1986 edition) and a new number: Serie Piper no. 1032.

Translations

Since the seventies the book, as a whole or in parts, has been translated into the following languages, either from the English or from the German original (places of publishing houses in brackets): Arabic (Beirut), Bulgarian (Sofia), Croatian (Zagreb), Czech (Prague), Danish (Copenhagen), French (Paris), Italian (Milan), Japanese (Tokyo), Polish (Warsaw), Portuguese (Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon, Sao Paulo), Rumanian (Bucharest), Russian (Moscow), Spanish (Madrid, Barcelona).

Note

The above information is taken from the bibliography of Hannah Arendt's German and English works, which I compiled for the volume Hannah Arendt, Ich will verstehen: Selbstauskünfte zu Leben und Werk (Serie Piper, 1996), where further information can be found. For the translations into other languages, I used the Index translationum, edited by UNESCO and since 1979 on CDROM.

Ursula Ludz

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98 Seiten | 18 DM (9 €)

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The Origins of Totalitarianism / Elemente und Ursprünge totaler Herrschaft

Rezensionen

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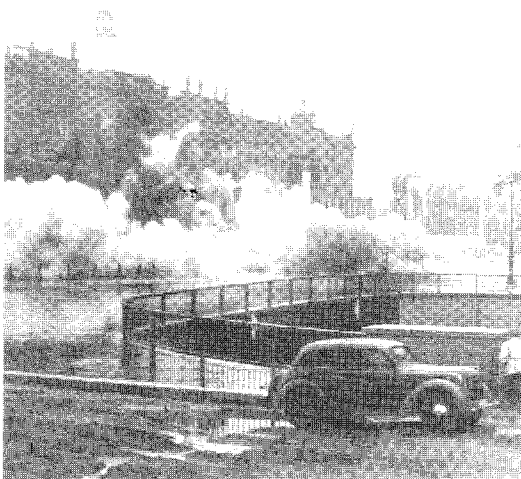
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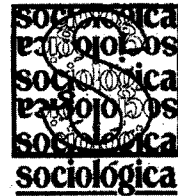
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Revista del Departamento de Sociología, UAM-Azcapotzalco
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On Totalitarianism

Books

Michael Halberstam, *Totalitarianism and the Modern Conception of Politics*, New Haven-London (Yale University Press), 2000

Halberstam argues that neither liberalism nor totalitarianism can be understood without the other. Liberalism reflects the modern conception of politics: a vision of society as a human construct answering to an unprecedented valorization of freedom. The liberal attempt to emancipate politics from culture, however, risks a loss of shared meaning that totalitarianism promises to repair. The author thus reveals how the idea of totalitarianism embodies truths and contradictions about liberalism itself. The philosophical heart of the book is a critical development of Immanuel Kant's theory of reflective, aesthetic judgment, exposing the limits of reason and taking up what Hannah Arendt's unfinished work suggests. This rich study in the history of modern political thought from Hobbes through Marx and to the present, culminates with a new and surprising interpretation of Arendt's theory of totalitarianism.

Friedrich Pohlmann, *The »Seeds of Destruction« in Totalitarian Systems. An Interpretation of the Unity in Hannah Arendt's Political Philosophy*, in: *Poznan Studies in the Philosophy of the Sciences and the Humanities*, Vol. 65 : THE TOTALITARIAN PARADIGM AFTER THE END OF COMMUNISM. Toward a Theoretical Reassessment by Achim Siegel, Amsterdam-Atlanta (Rodopi), 1998

Articles

Irena Snebergova, *Hannah Arendtova: Puvod totalitarismu I-III*. [Hannah Arendt: The Origins of Totalitarianism I-III.], in: *Filosoficky casopis (Philosophical Journal, Prague)*, pp. 124-129

Other

Books

Hannah Arendt, *La philosophie de l'existence et autres essais (Essays in Understanding)*. Traduits de l'anglais et de l'allemand par Anne-Sophie Astrup, Anne Damour, Michèle-Ère Brudny de Launey et Martin Ziegler, Paris (Payot: Rivages), 2000

Steven E. Aschheim, (Ed.), *Hannah Arendt in Jerusalem*, (The University of California Press), 2001

Contributors:

Steven E. Aschheim, Peter Baehr, Richard J. Bernstein, Leora Bilsky, Richard I. Cohen, Bernard Crick, Michael Halberstam, Agnes Heller, Walter Laqueur, Yacov Lozowick, Michael R. Marrus, Hans Mommsen, Gabriel Motzkin, Susan Neiman, Anson Rabinbach, Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, Dana R. Villa, Annette Vowinckel, Lilliane Weissberg.

The contributors reexamine crucial aspects of Arendt's life and thought: her complex identity as a German Jew; her commitment to and critique of Zionism and the state of Israel; her works on »totalitarianism,« Nazism, and the Eichmann trial; her relationship to key twentieth-century intellectuals; her intimate and tense connections to German culture; and her reworkings of political thought and philosophy in the light of the experience of the twentieth century

Mordechai Gordon, *Hannah Arendt and Education: Renewing our Common World*, Boulder (Westview Press), 2001

Heike Kahlert, Claudia Lenz (Hrsg.) *Die Neubestimmung des Politischen - Denkbewegungen im Dialog mit Hannah Arendt*. Mit Beiträgen von Sidonia Blättler, Andrea Günter, Sabine Hark, Heike Kahlert, Eva Kreisky, Claudia Lenz, Tuija Pulkkinen, Christina Schües, Eva Sengh, Königstein (Ulrike Helmer Verlag), 2001

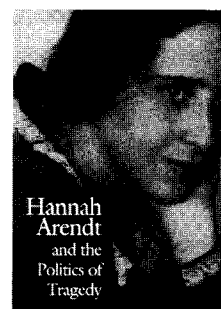
Julia Kristeva, *Le génie féminin*, Tome premier: Hannah Arendt, Paris (Librairie Arthème Fayard) 1999; Hannah Arendt. *Life is a Narrative. Alexander Lectures*, Toronto (University of Toronto Press), 2000; *Das weibliche Genie: Hannah Arendt*, Berlin-Wien (Philo), 2001

Martine Leibovici, *Hannah Arendt. La passion de comprendre*. Malakoff (Desclée de Brouwer), 2000

Thanos Lipowatz, *Hannah Arendt oder die Wahrheit des Politischen*. htm, 5,00 DM

Herfried Münklers Herausforderung an die hegemonische Denkweise des Politischen. Kann man einen in Deutschland blockierten Diskurs über die republikanische Einbettung des Demokratischen aufbrechen? Mit Diskussionsbeiträgen von Matthias Bohlender, Hans Scheulen, Zoltan Szankay, Peter Wagner, u.a. Hg. von Wolfgang Röhr, Hamburg (ad fontes), 2001

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(Greek Tragedy, Storytelling, and Political Theory:

In Search of an Intuitive Basis for Democratic Citizenship; Arendt's Resort to Greek Tragedy in the Context of German Philhellenism; Tragic Foundations: Promoting Political Freedom in a Post-Authority World; Tragic Intuitions: Judgment as an Instance of Political Freedom

Mortal Messages: Tragic Theory and Democratic Heroism)

Articles

Sidonia Blättler, Zwischen Universalismus- und Nationalstaatskritik. Zum ambivalenten Status des Nationalstaats bei Hannah Arendt, in: Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie, Jg. 48, 2000, Heft 5, S. 691-707

Harald Bluhm, Variationen des Höhlen-gleichnisses. Kritik und Restitution politischer Philosophie bei Hannah Arendt und Leo Strauss, in: Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie, Jg. 47, 1999, Heft 6, S. 911-934

Brigitte Gess, Politisches Handeln: Hannah Arendt, in: Lietzmann, Hans J. (Hrsg.) Moderne Politik. Politikverständnisse im 20. Jahrhundert, Opladen(Leske + Budrich), 2001

Tuija Pulkkinen, Foundationalism or Antifoundationalism. Hannah Arendt on Race. In: Alternatives, Special Issue, 1/2002

Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, Hannah Arendt et la question palestinienne, in: Revue d'études palestiniennes, Paris, no 19, printemps 1999

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Vesna Marcina, Rethinking Republicanism: A Feminist Perspective on the Political thought of Machiavelli and Arendt. University of California, Santa Barbara. Ph.D., 2000

Sophia J. Mihic, Flirtations with Wissenschaft: Thinking Politics In and Out of The Work of Hannah Arendt. Johns Hopkins University. Ph.D, 1999

Alan Wood, Creative Engagements: Strauss, Arendt & Deleuze Reading Nietzsche. Johns Hopkins University, Ph.D., 2000

Papers

Manfred Henningsen (University of Hawaii at Manoa), Voegelin's Review of Arendt's Book The Origins of Totalitarianism

and

Martin Palous (Charles University, Prague), The Voegelin-Arendt Controversy over Totalitarianism

Both presented at the 15th Annual Meeting of the Eric Voegelin Society, Sept. 3-4, 1999, Atlanta, Panel 5: Totalitarianism: The Voegelin-Arendt Controversy

Film

Hannah Arendt, La Jeune Fille étrangère, Betacam SP, 1997, 52 min. France. Auteur-Réalisateur Alain Ferrari et Eglal Errera, Production - Diffusion Ciné-télé, INA, Centre Georges Pompidou, Sept ARTE Distribution : Ciné-télé, ADAV

Ce film, grâce à un accès inédit à ses correspondances avec Martin Heidegger ou Karl Jaspers, rend au plus près la femme, l'intellectuelle et la philosophe qu'elle était tout à la fois.

Rundfunk

Jürgen Schiller, Mit 250 km/h durch Gegenwart und Vergangenheit - eine Reise mit dem ICE Hannah Arendt von Hamburg nach Karlsruhe. Zum 25. Todestag von Hannah Arendt (Feature, DeutschlandRadio Berlin, 2000)

Other Publications

Hermann Broch / Annemarie Meier Graefe, Briefwechsel 1950-51, Frankfurt (Suhrkamp), 2001

Antonia Grunenberg, Die Lust an der Schuld. Von der Macht der Vergangenheit über die Gegenwart, Reinbek (Rowohlt), 2001

From the Archives

The Hannah Arendt Papers at The Library of Congress

The papers, located in the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress, constitute a large and diverse collection reflecting a complex career. With over 25,000 items (about 75,000 digital images), the papers contain correspondence, articles, lectures, speeches, book manuscripts, transcripts of Adolf Eichmann's trial proceedings, notes, and printed matter pertaining to Arendt's writings and academic career. The entire collection has been digitized and is available to researchers in reading rooms at the Library of Congress, the New School University in New York City, and the Hannah Arendt Center at the University of Oldenburg, Germany. Parts of the collection and the finding aid are available for public access on the Internet.

The digitization of the Hannah Arendt Papers is made possible through the generous support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

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The lectures contained in this archive are made available to the public for the first time since the 1950s and '60s when they were first given. The scope of the lectures is grand, encompassing both the history of philosophy and the philosophy of education, the latter often being the subtext for the former. When Bluecher