

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
2	A Real Bête Noire	9
3	Freedom	48
4	Inhumanity	87
5	Evil and Judgement	124
6	Islands of Freedom	161
7	Conclusion	199

Acknowledgements 205

Appendix 209

Abbreviations 211

Notes 215

Index 267

1

Introduction

Years ago, I brought Hannah and Isaiah together. [. . .] The meeting was a disaster from the start. She was too solemn, portentous, Teutonic, Hegelian for him. She mistook his wit for frivolousness and thought him inadequately serious.

—ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.¹

IN 1991, the American philosopher Norman Oliver Brown wrote to his friend and former tutor Isaiah Berlin,² and favourably mentioned a recently published book entitled *Republic of Fear*.³ A pioneering study of Saddam Hussein and his Ba'ath Party, the book drew comparisons between the 'Kafkaesque' world of Saddam's Iraq and its purported precursors in the twentieth century. In so doing, it drew on some of the anti-totalitarian classics, including Berlin's *Four Essays on Liberty* and Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.⁴ Berlin was not pleased with this pairing. He wrote to Brown, 'I assume that [*Republic of Fear*] is about the horrors of Iraq, etc., but what deeply offends me is the linking of my name with that of Miss Hannah Arendt [. . .]. [D]o tell me that you do see some radical differences between Miss Arendt and myself—otherwise how can we go on knowing each other?'⁵

The strong dislike for Arendt that Berlin expressed in his 1991 letter to Brown has a long history. It began a half-century earlier, when the two thinkers were introduced to each other in wartime New York. Not much is known about this meeting, but their opinions were certainly different and their personal chemistry evidently bad. The relationship between the two thinkers did not improve, to say the least, when they spoke again at Harvard University about a decade later, probably in 1949. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the political scientist who arranged this meeting, would later recall the occasion as a 'disaster from the start'.⁶ Their paths did not cross again for more than fifteen years, as Berlin continued to build his dazzling academic career in Britain, while Arendt established herself as an influential public intellectual in the United States.

Nevertheless, they were not far apart socially, culturally or intellectually. They not only shared various research interests but also had many mutual friends, academic contacts and collaborators. Some of them, most notably the British political theorist Bernard Crick, attempted to persuade Berlin of the importance of Arendt's work. The Oxford philosopher was never persuaded. On the contrary, enhanced by his deep scepticism about the phenomenological tradition in philosophy, Berlin dismissed her theoretical work such as *The Human Condition* as an assemblage of 'free metaphysical association'.⁷ His contempt subsequently evolved into a lifelong hatred with the publication of *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* in 1963. He wholeheartedly endorsed the widespread accusation that Arendt arrogantly and patronisingly blamed the victims of the Holocaust and that she proposed a deeply flawed account of evil.

Curiously, despite his disdain for Arendt and her work, Berlin kept reading—or, more precisely, skimming through—her books and articles, including neglected works such as *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess* as well as more major writings such as *The Human Condition* and *On Revolution*.⁸ The more he read, however, the more convinced he was that his assessment of Arendt's work had been sound. The late Berlin summarised his considered opinion as follows: Arendt 'produces no arguments, no evidence of serious philosophical or historical thought'.⁹ In addition, Berlin's animosity towards Arendt was never softened either by her death or by the ensuing passage of time. In the 1991 letter to Brown cited above, Berlin described Arendt as 'a real *bête noire* to me—in life, and after her death'. He continued, 'I really do look upon her as everything that I detest most'.¹⁰

Arendt was aware of Berlin's hostility towards her. This was thanks in no small part to the writer Mary McCarthy, who repeatedly disputed Berlin's dismissal of Arendt, so much so that her friendship with him came to be 'destroyed' as a result.¹¹ Meanwhile, Arendt herself never quite reciprocated Berlin's hostility. For one thing, she was, and was proud to be, a controversial figure, attracting many embittered critics especially after the publication of *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. She could not possibly respond to all of them, and from her point of view Berlin did not stand out as an especially important or worthy one. She was aware of his standing and connections in Britain, Israel and the USA, but she hardly considered him to be an original thinker.¹² This was partly because Arendt took the superiority of German philosophy over its Anglo-American counterpart for granted. Although she respected Hobbes, she generally saw Britain as something of a philosophical desert and saw little merit in the analytic movement inaugurated by Russell, Moore and others. In this respect, our protagonists' prejudices were symmetrical: just as Berlin was unable to appreciate German phenomenology, Arendt was unable to appreciate British empiricism.

Nevertheless, Arendt regarded Berlin as a learned scholar, especially when it came to Russian intellectual history. She sometimes used his writings in her classes;¹³ and her surviving personal library contains a copy of Berlin's first book, *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment*, and four essays by him.¹⁴ It is, however, indicative that the only piece by Berlin that Arendt seems to have read carefully was his introduction to Franco Venturi's *Roots of Revolution*. In fact, it is as the author of this introduction that Berlin makes his one and only appearance (in a footnote) in Arendt's published work.¹⁵ For her, Berlin was a respectable intellectual historian and a moderately important member of what she called the 'Jewish establishment'. His animosity towards her was met by her indifference to him, accompanied by occasional suspicion.

Things could have been different. They were contemporaries, Arendt born in 1906 and Berlin in 1909. They belonged to the group of twentieth-century Jewish émigré intellectuals whose thoughts and life stories were intertwined with each other.¹⁶ Born into German-Jewish and Baltic-Jewish families respectively, Arendt and Berlin alike experienced their share of antisemitism in their formative years. Both came to be preoccupied with Europe's looming crises in the 1930s, decided to abandon a promising career in pure philosophy by the end of World War II and thereafter devoted much of their time and energy to understanding the roots of totalitarianism, containing its growth and preempting its resurgence. Both of them had friends and relatives murdered or driven to death by the totalitarian regimes that they came to study in their academic work. Moreover, they themselves lived in the emerging totalitarian world and were consequently in a position to do something akin to what anthropologists call 'participatory observation': data collection by way of actually living in the society one aims to study. As is well known, the young Isaiah Berlin witnessed in horror both the February and October Revolutions in Petrograd. He subsequently returned to Soviet Russia to serve in the British Embassy in 1945–46, after having 'a recurring nightmare of being arrested' and giving thought to the prospect of suicide in the event of an arrest.¹⁷ For her part, Arendt was arrested and endured an eight-day interrogation in Nazified Germany, followed by a five-week detention in an internment camp in occupied France (where she too gave thought to taking her own life) before migrating to the United States to write *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Oppression, domination, inhumanity and the subversion of politics were their existential as well as intellectual issues; so were freedom, humanity and politics.

The twin goals of this study are to trace the development of the unfortunate relationship between the historical figures of Hannah Arendt and Isaiah

Berlin, and to bring their ideas into conversation. The former goal is historical and biographical in nature; the latter, theoretical. The former involves the following questions:

- When and where did Arendt and Berlin meet, and what happened during those meetings?
- How did the personal conflict between the two emerge?
- How did Berlin develop his animosity towards Arendt, and she her indifference and suspicion towards him?
- What other interactions did they have apart from their actual meetings?

These questions are worth asking not only because they form a fascinating part of twentieth-century intellectual, literary and cultural history. They are worth asking also because the personal, the political and the intellectual were hardly separable in both Arendt's and Berlin's lives and works. I take seriously what I believe to be an elementary truth about them both: political theory for them was more than a job or paid work. It was a vocation in the Weberian sense, and each led the life of a political thinker, embodying a distinct theoretical outlook.¹⁸ Deeply concerned with urgent issues of their times, both of our protagonists attempted to exercise, albeit in differing ways, influence on the 'real world' they inhabited. As I shall show, this mode of living and thinking has its own downsides and consequently is not unequivocally superior to the more detached and institutionalised mode of political theorising that has become the norm today. Still, we have some good reason to feel nostalgic about the time when political theorists took themselves more seriously because their 'ideas really did have consequences.'¹⁹

The other, theoretical side of this study concerns a set of fundamental issues that simultaneously connected and divided our protagonists. They connected in that they were central to both Arendt's and Berlin's thought; and they divided in that they were answered by the two thinkers in conflicting ways. Those central issues may be formally and schematically stated as follows:

- What does it mean for human beings to be free?
- What is it like for a person to be denied his or her freedom, and deprived of his or her humanity?²⁰ What are the central features of the worst form of unfree and inhumane society, known as totalitarianism, and how does this paradigmatically emerge?
- How should we assess the apparent failure to resist or confront the evil of totalitarianism, such as when one is coerced into cooperating with a state-sponsored mass murderer?
- What kind of society or polity ought we to aim to build if we want as many people as possible to be free and live a genuinely human life?

Arendt's and Berlin's sometimes overlapping and sometimes conflicting reflections on these questions will be considered in Chapters 3–6. These chapters are thematically organised, although each is loosely tied to a chronological phase. The third chapter, on 'Freedom', focuses on the late 1950s and early 1960s, when both of our protagonists fully matured as political thinkers and presented their rival theories of freedom, underpinned by competing views of the human condition. The fourth chapter, on 'Inhumanity', covers a longer period and traces the protagonists' lifelong engagement with totalitarianism. It mainly examines two distinct bodies of work: their wartime and immediate post-war analyses of totalitarian politics and society; and their later attempts to reconsider the history of Western political thought in light of the reality of Nazism and Stalinism. Chapter 5, on 'Evil and Judgement', focuses on Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* and Berlin's commentary on it. As their dispute is tied to their disagreement over central moral and political concepts, such as responsibility, judgement, power and agency, this chapter also covers the relevant work on these concepts. Chapter 6, on 'Islands of Freedom', delves more deeply into the two thinkers' middle and late works to tease out their competing visions of an ideal polity. Along the way, it considers their rival perspectives on a range of real-world politics and societies, including Britain's liberal present and its imperial past, the United States in the turbulent 1960s and Central and East European resistance to Soviet domination. In the Conclusion (Chapter 7), I briefly restate my main arguments and consider their implications for political thought and political philosophy today.

Although the story I tell in this book has many twists and turns, its backbone is simple and may be programmatically stated as follows. First, at the heart of the theoretical disagreement between Arendt and Berlin lie competing views of what it means to be human (Chapter 3). If, as Miller and Dagger observe, contemporary political theory is characterised by its dismissal of 'deep metaphysical questions', such as that of 'the human condition', as irrelevant to 'discover[ing] how people should live in societies and order their common affairs', both Arendt and Berlin belonged to an earlier era, when political theory was less 'shallow'.²¹ Second, the two thinkers' disagreement over freedom and humanity is anchored in their differing perspectives on totalitarianism. Although both took totalitarianism to be the ultimate form of inhumanity and unfreedom, they theorised it differently, as a result of focusing on competing models of it: the Nazi model in Arendt's case, and the Bolshevik model in Berlin's (Chapter 4). These differences—over freedom and humanity on the one hand, and the unfreedom and inhumanity of totalitarianism on the other—gave rise to further points of disagreement over a number of issues. These included the possibility of resistance under totalitarian conditions (Chapter 5), and the shape of an ideal polity, where men and women have a

decent chance to live a free and fulfilling life (Chapter 6). Arendt's and Berlin's experiences and life stories provide an important backdrop to all of those major points of comparison, although their ideas are not reducible to their biographies. Thus, the historical-biographical story told in Chapter 2 informs the rest of the book that focuses on the theoretical disagreement between the two thinkers.

Hannah Arendt and Isaiah Berlin is the first comprehensive study of the Arendt–Berlin conflict in all its personal, political and theoretical aspects. Needless to say, however, it builds on the existing literature that has illuminated the conflict from more specific angles. While each such contribution will be discussed (often in notes) in the pages that follow, what needs to be highlighted in this introductory chapter is the scarcity and late emergence of the relevant literature. True, those who knew Arendt and/or Berlin personally began writing on their conflict as early as the 1970s;²² and yet scholarly works on it have appeared only recently.²³ This is no accident. In fact, Berlin's determination to distance himself from the woman he 'detested most' played a significant role in this context.²⁴ As those who have examined his unpublished papers will know, Berlin had much to say on Arendt and her work, but he hardly ever expressed his views in print because he disliked her so much that he was unwilling 'to enter into any relations with [her], not even those of hostility'.²⁵ It is true that there was one exception to this rule in his lifetime: he let one substantial commentary on Arendt appear in 1991, as part of his interviews with Ramin Jahanbegloo.²⁶ Except for this, however, he kept his public silence on his 'bête noire'.²⁷ As a result, it was only after his death in 1997 that Berlin's hostile comments on Arendt began to appear in print. Michael Ignatieff's authorised biography was an important turning point in this regard.²⁸ Nevertheless, it still gave an incomplete picture, attracting some insightful, but largely speculative remarks by scholars.²⁹ A fair sample of Berlin's full commentary on Arendt's work and personality only appeared in 2004–15, when Henry Hardy, Jennifer Holmes and Mark Pottle published his select letters in four volumes.³⁰ This is why the Arendt–Berlin conflict, especially his hostility towards her, has been a topic largely neglected until recently; and why the telling of the whole story of this conflict has never been attempted, until now.

Finally, I would like to make some remarks to indicate at the outset what this book is *not* about. First, as should already be clear, this study is a piece neither of undiluted political philosophy nor of undiluted intellectual

history. It mobilises methodological tools taken from both disciplines. On the one hand, it carefully examines Arendt's and Berlin's life stories and reconstructs the relevant contexts to illuminate the two thinkers' ideas and their comparative strengths and weaknesses. On the other hand, it often discusses their ideas in the abstract, bracketing the contexts in which these were produced, circulated and consumed. Sceptics might say that such juxtaposition of the two approaches is of necessity incoherent. They might say that political philosophy and intellectual history are entirely separate enterprises, and one must choose which approach to use before applying either of them to the object of study. I beg to differ. In my opinion, in the study of political thought broadly construed, the choice of a method should follow the object and goal of study, not vice versa. And this study requires both philosophical and historical approaches. To borrow the words of a recent historian of philosophy, to complain of academic research such as mine 'as neither properly philosophical nor properly historical is like complaining of a bridge that it is neither on one bank nor the other'.³¹ That said, I shall not dwell on methodological issues at a general and abstract level, because the present study is not a contribution to the methodological debate in political thought. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The following chapters show *what* my research found; after reading the book, each reader may draw his or her own conclusions as to whether the *way* I conducted my research has been successful or not.

Second, this study is not a defence of one of our protagonists against the other. It is, on the contrary, a decidedly non-partisan book. Needless to say, this does not mean that I am or attempt to be neutral vis-à-vis the Arendt–Berlin conflict. It means, rather, that I assess the two thinkers' individual arguments on their own merits, instead of supporting either of them indiscriminately. I know this is likely to disappoint some readers. In this context it is worth recalling that Arendt, if not Berlin, remains a highly divisive figure, commanding blind loyalty among some and inciting strong hostility among others. The former would like to see an unflinching defence of their master against her critics; the latter, a wholesale attack on their nemesis. This book is of no use to either party. As I hope to show in the pages that follow, both Arendt and Berlin got many things right and many things wrong, albeit in differing ways. The point of juxtaposing the two is not to decide which side 'won', for disagreement between thinkers is not a sporting competition, a beauty contest or any other such game. The point, rather, is to *appreciate* Arendt's and Berlin's ideas better, reading their works against each other, so that the tacit assumptions each theorist made and the hidden biases each had can be teased out and critically scrutinised.

If this sounds evasive, and if I am asked to ‘confess’ my preferences and prejudices, the only thing I can honestly say is as follows: I know I have prejudices in favour of *both* Arendt *and* Berlin. I know that my intellectual formation has been inseparable from my compulsive interest in the works of both, and that my outlook has been fundamentally shaped by my sustained critical engagement with them both. Arendt and Berlin are *equally* my intellectual heroes.

The two heroes, however, failed disastrously to get along with each other. The next chapter tells the story of this failure.

INDEX

- Abel, Lionel, 40, 227n194
Acton, 1st Baron (Lord Acton), 62
Adams, John, 67
Adenauer, Konrad, 34, 225n150
Adorno, Theodor W., 24, 29, 47, 103, 242n99
Aeschylus, 82
Aesop's Fables, 54, 58
Ahabath Israel. *See under* love
Aharony, Michal, 98
Aid and Rescue Committee (Hungary), 124
Akhmatova, Anna, 12, 63, 142
Allen, Jonathan, 114–15
Almond, Gabriel, 67
amor mundi. *See under* love
analytic–Continental divide, 32, 224n141
Anti-Defamation League, 40
antisemitism, 3, 10, 11, 20, 36, 90, 121, 155, 171, 200
Antisthenes, 83
Arato, Andrew, 179
Arendt, Hannah. *See also* camps; love
 arrest of, 3, 10, 14, 136, 140, 249n57
 arrogance, allegation of, 2, 9, 40, 42, 126, 130, 132, 144, 152, 154–55, 199 (*see also* arrogance)
 on Isaiah Berlin, 2–3, 30–31, 41, 65, 156, 215nn13–14
 as Berlin's 'bête noire', 2, 6, 9, 21, 32, 46, 141, 160, 217n4
 on British philosophy, 2, 31–32, 178
 and the council system, 179, 188–91, 203, 260n98
 death of, 2, 11, 45, 46, 196–97
 freedom, theory of, 49–50, 52, 64–80, 84–86, 181 (*see also* freedom)
 and German philosophy, 2, 25–27, 31–32, 224n142
 and Heidegger, 10, 26–27, 65–66, 73–77, 200, 223n116, 232n86, 235nn147–48 (*see also* Heidegger, Martin)
 on Hobbes, 2, 31–32, 177, 178, 260n91 (*see also* Hobbes, Thomas)
 on the human condition, 49, 50, 72–78, 80, 84–86, 234n125, 234n131, 266n17
 on the Hungarian Revolution, 68, 179, 185, 188–92, 193, 201, 203 (*see also under* revolution)
 on ideology, 89–91, 238n16 (*see also* ideology)
 on imperialism, 96, 173–77, 258n59, 259n65 (*see also* imperialism)
 'Introduction into Politics' (1963), lectures on, 30
 and a Jewish Army, 15, 18, 150, 151
 on the 'Jewish establishment', 3, 39, 155–56
 life of, 9–11
 on the mob, 95, 174–75, 177
 on natality, 50, 72–75, 78, 79, 80; and mortality, 73–74
 on non-participation, 148–50
 on Oxford philosophy, 30–31, 200
 and phenomenology, 10, 26, 76, 77, 85
 and pluralism, 78–80 (*see also* pluralism)

- Arendt, Hannah (*continued*)
on plurality, 50, 67, 75–77, 78, 79, 80,
103, 179, 235n151, 236n165
on resistance, 147–50
self-hatred, allegation of, 42, 126,
152, 158–59, 228n211
on the sixty-eighters, 182–85, 201
‘Stalinism in Retrospect’ (1972),
seminar on, 105–6
as a survivor, 137–38, 140, 141
on totalitarianism, 5, 17, 87–106,
117, 121, 122–23, 148, 160, 173–77,
180–81, 203, 239n30, 240n53 (*see also*
totalitarianism)
on *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*,
79–80
and Zionism, 9, 10, 14–16, 17–21, 136,
141, 143–44, 150–51, 159, 192, 200,
256n192 (*see also* Zionism)
- Arendt, Hannah, works of: *Between Past and Future*, 11, 49, 227n194; ‘The Concentration Camps’, 17; ‘The Concept of Love in Augustine’, 10, 64; ‘Days of Change’, 150; *Denktagebuch*, 65, 199, 216n15, 224n139, 232n86; *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 2, 5, 9, 11, 32–33, 37–42, 87, 98, 100, 123, 125–60, 197, 227n194, 241nn80 and 91, 274n12, 248n23, 248n27, 252n98, 254n151; ‘Exchange’ with Gershom Scholem (1963/64), 41, 42, 126, 135, 156–57, 248n27 (*see also under* Berlin, Isaiah); ‘Freedom and Politics’, 48, 229n1; “‘The Freedom to Be Free’”, 51, 229n13; ‘Freiheit und Politik’, 48, 64, 229n1; ‘Heidegger at Eighty’, 26–27, 223n116; *The Human Condition*, 2, 9, 11, 22–25, 26, 29, 40, 46, 49, 73, 85, 87, 150, 235n148, 238n4, 239n45, 240n46, 253n133; ‘Ideology and Terror’, 93, 238n10; ‘The Jew as Pariah’, 254n163; *The Life of the Mind*, 30, 79; *On Revolution*, 2, 11, 41, 43, 44, 49, 51, 263n166; *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1, 3, 9, 11, 18, 22, 32, 37, 38, 41, 46, 49, 65, 87, 91, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102–5, 109, 117, 146–47, 174–76, 202, 239n45, 252n112; *Rahel Varnhagen*, 2, 254n163; ‘To Save the Jewish Homeland’, 18; ‘Totalitarian Elements in Marxism’, 102–4; ‘Totalitarian Imperialism’, 188–92, 263n151; ‘We Refugees’, 87, 137, 202 (*see also under* Berlin, Isaiah); ‘What Is Freedom?’, 48, 81–82, 161; “‘What Remains? Language Remains’” (the ‘Gaus interview’), 140, 141, 249n57, 251n91; ‘Zionism Reconsidered’, 18–19, 42
- Aristippus, 83
- Aristotle, 26, 31, 73, 77–78, 81–84 (*see also under* freedom); *Nicomachean Ethics*, 26; *Politics*, 81; *Rhetoric*, 26
- Arnold, Jeremy, 71
- Aron, Raymond, 161, 178, 200
- arrogance, as a virtue, 154–55, 254n163. *See also under* Arendt, Hannah
- Aufbau*, 11, 14, 18, 150
- Athens, 78, 82, 92, 93, 161
- Attlee, Clement, 165
- Austin, J. L., 12, 30, 167
- Austria: Holocaust in, 33. *See also* Salzburg; Vienna
- AVH (Államvédelmi Hatóság), 186, 189–90
- Ayer, A. J., 12, 27–31, 167, 223nn119 and 122; *Language, Truth and Logic*, 27–28, 30, 223n119
- Bacon, Francis, 167
- Baeck, Leo, 153, 159, 254n151
- Baehr, Peter, 90, 98, 239n25
- Balfour Declaration, 20
- Bard College, 65, 232n86; Bard College Cemetery, 196, 197
- battle of Chaeronea, 83
- Bauer, Yehuda, 38, 252n110
- Bauman, Zygmunt, 108
- Beauvoir, Simone de, 142
- Behrman, Samuel Nathan, 152
- Belinsky, Vissarion, 126
- Bell, Daniel, 17, 40
- Bem, Józef, 186
- Ben-Gurion, David, 35, 36, 38, 138
- Benhabib, Seyla, 23, 76

- Benjamin, Walter, 10, 137
- Bentham, Jeremy, 53, 61, 114, 115, 167
- Berkeley, George, 28, 167
- Berlin, Aline, 35, 197
- Berlin, Isaiah
- on Arendt, 1–2, 6, 9, 15, 17–25, 29–30, 32–33, 39, 40–47, 85, 87, 126, 129–60, 161–63, 215n7, 217n27 (chap. 1), 217n4 (chap. 2), 218nn23–24, 238n4; on *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 2, 9, 32–33, 39, 40–42, 87, 126, 129–60, 227n194; on *The Human Condition*, 2, 9, 22–24, 25, 29, 87, 238n4; on *On Revolution*, 2, 41; on *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 9, 41, 87; on ‘We Refugees’, 87
 - and the Arendt–Scholem exchange, 41–42, 125–26, 135, 138, 145, 156–57 (see also under Arendt, Hannah, works of)
 - on the British Empire, 166–67, 169–73, 177
 - and British empiricism, 12, 27–31, 164, 167–68, 172 (see also *empiricism*)
 - and British idealism, 28–29, 167–68 (see also *idealism*)
 - as British public servant, 3, 12, 13–14, 16, 22, 87, 139–40, 141, 201, 250n75
 - death of, 6, 13, 46, 197
 - on Eichmann, 35–36, 155 (see also *Eichmann, Adolf*)
 - on England (and Britain), 162–69, 172, 173, 177, 178, 179, 180, 184, 203, 246n191
 - freedom, theory of, 49–50, 52–64, 84–86, 92 (see also *freedom*)
 - and the Holocaust, 36, 88, 138–41, 160, 251n83 (see also *Holocaust*)
 - on the human condition, 49, 50, 62–64, 80, 84–86, 110, 234n129, 266n17
 - on the Hungarian Revolution, 185, 192–96, 201 (see also under *revolution*)
 - on imperialism, 169–73 (see also *imperialism*)
 - on Kant, 28, 48, 59–60, 61, 82, 116, 165, 168 (see also *Kant, Immanuel*)
 - life of, 11–13
 - ‘metaphysical’, on being, 2, 22, 24–25, 28–29, 31, 41, 85, 168, 172
 - and Mill, 19–20, 48, 53, 61, 63–64, 78, 82, 165, 167–68, 171, 232n73, 236n157 (see also *Mill, John Stuart*)
 - on nationalism, 20, 120–22, 166–67, 168, 170–71, 180, 185, 195–96, 201, 257n26, 265n194 (see also *nationalism*)
 - and the power of ideas, 83, 88, 117–22, 166
 - on the Russian intelligentsia, 117–19, 246n196
 - on Russia’s ‘national character’, 119, 246n191
 - on Rousseau, 60, 61, 82, 103, 114, 116, 161, 166, 231n51 (see also *Rousseau, Jean-Jacques*)
 - on the sixty-eighters, 182–85, 195, 201
 - and the Suez Crisis, 193–94 (see also *the Suez Crisis*)
 - on totalitarianism, 5, 60, 61, 87–89, 92–93, 106–23, 152, 160, 166, 168, 180, 203, 231n53, 252n107 (see also *totalitarianism*)
 - and Zionism, 13, 14–16, 17, 19–21, 150–51, 159, 170, 196, 200, 221n73, 256n192 (see also *Zionism*)
- Berlin, Isaiah, works of: ‘Benjamin Disraeli, Karl Marx and the Search for Identity’, 172, 175, 258n52; ‘The Birth of Greek Individualism’, 82, 83, 92; *Conversations with Isaiah Berlin* (with Ramin Jahanbegloo), 6, 23, 46; ‘Does Political Theory Still Exist?’, 30, 215n13; ‘Epilogue: The Three Strands in My Life’, 163; *Four Essays on Liberty*, 1, 24, 53, 55, 65, 81, 168; ‘Freedom and Its Betrayal’, 230n21; ‘Generalissimo Stalin and the Art of Government’, 111, 244n155;

- Berlin, Isaiah, works of (*continued*)
‘Introduction’ to *Roots of Revolution* (by Franco Venturi), 3; ‘Isaiah Berlin in Conversation with Steven Lukes’, 129–32, 134, 217n28, 246n200; ‘Joseph de Maistre and the Origins of Fascism’, 244n160; *Karl Marx*, 3, 12, 22, 53, 117, 215n13, 244nn146 and 160; ‘Marxist versus Non-Marxist Ideas in Soviet Policy’, 112; ‘Political Ideas in the Romantic Age’, 230n21; ‘Political Ideas in the Twentieth Century’, 24–25; ‘The Pursuit of the Ideal’, 107; ‘Two Concepts of Liberty’, 48, 49, 53, 61, 62, 64, 65, 82, 161, 215n44, 230n23, 231n45; ‘Why the Soviet Union Chooses to Insulate Itself’, 110–11; ‘Winston Churchill in 1940’, 169; ‘Zionist Politics in Wartime Washington’, 141
- Berlin, Leo (Lev Borisovich), 264n180
- Berlin, Mendel, 11, 218n14, 264n180
- Berlin Conference (1884–85), 173
- Bernstein, Richard J., 76, 250n80
- Bettelheim, Bruno, 106, 242n109
- Bibó, István, 194
- Bilsky, Leora, 128, 138
- Bismarck, Otto von, 95
- Blackstone, William, 66
- Blücher, Heinrich, 10, 188, 196, 197, 217n11
- Blumenfeld, Kurt, 14–16, 21, 219nn35 and 37
- Bolshevism, 44, 118; Bolsheviks, 11, 107, 119, 121, 122, 166, 168, 180, 199
- Bosanquet, Bernard, 28, 61, 168
- Bradley, F. H., 28–29, 61, 168, 223n122
- Brandeis, Louis, 15
- Brown, Norman Oliver, 1, 2, 46
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew K., 117
- Bundy, McGeorge, 183
- Burke, Edmund, 171
- Butler, Joseph, 258n46
- Butler, Judith, 78, 248n23
- Cambridge, philosophy in, 28, 32
- camps
Arendt’s taxonomy of, 99
concentration, 17, 93, 96–98, 99–101, 105, 106, 108, 122, 140, 144–47, 148, 152, 173, 214n91, 252nn103 and 112
extermination, 96–98, 100, 140
forced labour, 99, 100, 107, 111, 240n74 (*see also* Gulag)
names of: Auschwitz, 36, 98, 99, 124; Bełżec, 98; Buchenwald, 98, 99, 108, 242n109; Chełmno, 98; Colombes, 10; Dachau, 98, 99, 242n109; Gurs, 3, 10, 36, 87, 137, 252n100; Kolyima, 111; Majdanek, 98; Sobibór, 98; Theresienstadt, 144, 148, 153; Treblinka, 98; Villemalard, 217n11
POW (Prisoner of War), 34
- Camus, Albert, 31
- Canovan, Margaret, 79, 94, 236n165
- capitalism, 94, 174–75
- Carnap, Rudolf, 28
- Carneades, 82
- Carr, E. H., 43, 109
- Caute, David, 42, 161, 227n196, 246n200, 246n213, 264n180
- Césaire, Aimé, 171
- Cesarani, David, 37, 258n53
- Cherniss, Joshua L., 52, 220n51, 231n42
- Chernyshevsky, Nikolay, 118
- Chrysippus, 82
- Churchill, Winston, 169
- CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), 16, 186
- citizenship, 66, 68, 80, 82, 91, 148, 185, 200
- civil war, 40, 94, 179; English, 169; as a metaphor for the Eichmann controversy, 11, 32, 40, 42; Russian, 189
- Cohen, Jean, 179
- Cohn-Bendit, Erich, 10
- Cold War, 61, 116, 122, 162, 193. *See also under* liberalism
- Collini, Stefan, 13
- Columbia University, 105, 183–94
- Commentary*, 17
- Committee for a Jewish Army (CJA), 16, 18
- Comte, Auguste, 24, 109

- Condorcet, Marquis de (Nicolas de Condorcet), 109
- Conrad, Joseph, 23, 175
- Constant, Benjamin, 53, 61, 66, 82
- courage, 67, 113, 150, 182, 184, 200, 202, 252n100
- court
- as an institution, 260n105
 - Jerusalem District Court (*see also* Israel, the state of); and the Eichmann Trial, 35, 122, 125, 127, 138, 140, 147 (*see also under* Eichmann, Adolf); and the Kastner Trial, 125, 132 (*see also* Kastner, Rudolf)
 - Supreme Court of Israel, 125, 132 (*see also* Israel, the state of)
 - Supreme Court of the United States, 15, 179
- Crates of Thebes, 83
- Crick, Bernard, 2, 80–81, 84, 149, 150, 237n179, 238n16, 240n59
- Cromer, 1st Earl of (Evelyn Baring), 175, 176–77
- Crowder, George, 107, 244n165
- Czerniaków, Adam, 143
- Dagger, Richard, 5
- Dahl, Robert A., 67
- Deighton, Anne, 139
- deontology, 145, 252n107
- Derrida, Jacques, 27
- Deutscher, Isaac, 161–62
- Dilthey, Wilhelm, 26
- Diogenes, 81–82, 83
- Disraeli, Benjamin, 172–73, 175–76, 258n53, 259n75
- domination, 3, 5, 67, 71, 88, 97, 160, 163, 173, 176, 177, 187, 188; total, 97–101, 105, 144–46, 148, 174, 252n100
- Dreyfus, Alfred, 125; Dreyfus Affair, 158
- Dubnov, Arie M., 41, 227n196, 250n75
- Dudás, József, 199, 263n171. *See also* National Revolutionary Council
- Eckstein, Ze'ev, 131
- Eden, Anthony, 193, 250n74
- Eden, Clarissa, 193
- Egypt, 175, 187, 193, 237n182
- Eichmann, Adolf, 11, 32–43, 122–23, 124–60, 203; capture of, 21, 34–35, 36, 122; 'normality' of, 126–27, 155; as a 'small cog', 33, 127; 'thoughtlessness' of, 11, 39, 154; trial of, 11, 32–37, 122–23, 124–60, 200, 225n146, 248n27 (*see also under* court). *See also under* Berlin, Isaiah
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 187, 194, 195
- Eliot, T. S., 107
- empiricism, 2, 12, 24, 27–32, 85, 167–68, 172, 234n129. *See also under* Berlin, Isaiah
- Encounter, 41, 42, 126, 156
- Epictetus. *See under* freedom
- Epicurus, 81, 82; epicureanism, 82, 83–84
- Ettinger, Elżbieta, 9, 217n2
- Eubulides, 93
- Evening Standard, 169
- evil, 'banality' of, 39, 126, 154, 177, 226n185
- Faber & Faber, 22–24, 99, 209
- Fainsod, Merle, 43, 104
- Fanon, Frantz, 171
- fascism, 91, 92, 112, 122, 167, 168, 239n27
- Federalist Papers, 201
- Ferro, Marc, 43
- Fest, Joachim, 152
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 61, 120, 121, 171
- 'Final Solution', 33, 100, 106–7, 114–15, 116, 127, 148, 153–54, 241n80. *See also* Holocaust
- Forster, E. M., 221n72
- Foster, John Galway, 139
- Franco, Francisco, 92
- Freedon, Michael, 63
- freedom. *See also under* Arendt, Hannah; Berlin, Isaiah
- of the ancients, 82
 - Aristotle and, 81 (*see also* Aristotle)
 - in classical Greece, 82–84
 - Epictetus on, 82, 237n186
 - existentialist, 133

- freedom (*continued*)
as free will, 48
Heidegger on, 65–66 (*see also*
Heidegger, Martin)
and Hellenism, 82–84 (*see also*
Hellenism)
'islands' of, 161, 163, 165, 173, 185, 191,
196, 256n9
liberty and, 50–51, 229n13
Mill on, 63–64, 78, 82, 165, 232n73
(*see also* Mill, John Stuart)
of the moderns, 66, 82
negative, 48, 49–50, 51, 52, 53–64, 68,
69, 72, 80–84, 85, 92, 118, 164, 165,
168, 203, 230n39, 231nn42, 45
and 73; Arendt and, 51, 65–66, 72,
181; and its conditions, 54–55; and
neo-republican liberty, 71–72; and
political freedom, 50, 68, 69,
71–72, 80–84, 181
neo-republican: and negative liberty,
71–72; and political freedom, 50,
70–72
political, 48, 50, 64, 66–84, 178, 181,
185, 188–92, 201, 203, 233n92,
234n125; and negative liberty, 50,
68, 69, 71–72, 80–84, 181; and
neo-republican liberty, 50, 70–72;
and positive liberty, 50, 69–70;
and self-disclosure, 70, 77–78, 80;
and self-realisation, 68, 69–70,
72, 77–78, 80, 182
from politics, 72, 84, 181
positive, 49–50, 53, 58–64, 65–66, 82,
92, 106, 113, 115–16, 122, 168, 181,
231nn45 and 53; and the mythol-
ogy of the real self, 59–60, 116;
and political freedom, 50, 69–70
and sovereignty, 69, 233n107
under totalitarianism, 97, 144–52,
160 (*see also* totalitarianism)
- Freiburg, 32
Freud, Sigmund, 109, 158
Friedrich, Carl J., 117
Fromm, Erich, 24, 158
Fryer, Peter, 189
Gati, Charles, 189, 194, 262n142
Gaus, Günter, 140, 141, 249n57, 251n91
gender, 25, 251n91; and the Eichmann
controversy, 141–42, 251n88
Gentile, Emilio, 239n27
Gerő, Ernő, 186, 187
Gladstone, William Ewart, 175
Glazer, Nathan, 17
Gobineau, Arthur de, 176
Goldmann, Nahum, 40
Gomulka, Władysław, 186
Gordon, Peter E., 74
Gray, John, 46, 232n64, 247n15
Great War. *See* World War I
Green, Thomas Hill, 28, 61, 167–68
Grünwald, Malkiel, 124–25, 131
Gulag, 99, 100–101, 240n74. *See also* camps
Gurian, Waldemar, 14
Ha'aretz, 141, 250n82
Hacohen, Malachi Haim, 246n191
Halevi, Benjamin, 38, 125, 132
Hamann, Johann Georg, 29
Hampshire, Stuart, 12, 87
Handlin, Oscar, 17
Hardy, Henry, 6, 22, 108–9, 220n53, 244n160
Hart, H.L.A., 30, 51, 193
Harvard University, 1, 13, 16, 43–45, 104,
218n23, 219n48, 225n228
Hausner, Gideon, 40, 125, 128
Hayek, Friedrich A., 47, 55, 109
Hayes, Peter, 101, 139
Hegel, G.W.F., 28, 50, 60, 61, 69, 96, 103, 114,
116, 121, 166, 168
Heidegger, Martin, 9, 10, 24, 25–31, 168, 200,
223n116, 235n148; Arendt's appropriation of,
26, 73–77, 235n147 (*see also under* Arendt,
Hannah); *Being and Time*, 76; on freedom,
65–66; *On the Essence of Truth*, 65, 232n86,
233n87
Heine, Heinrich, 119–20, 166

- Hellenism, 82–84, 201, 237n182. *See also*
under freedom
- Heller, Agnes, 191, 264n174
- Helvétius, Claude-Adrien, 109
- Herder, Johann Gottfried, 167, 171
- Herodotus, 82
- Herzen, Alexander, 118
- Herzl, Theodor, 157
- Heydrich, Reinhard, 153
- Hilberg, Raul, 38, 241n91, 251n88
- Himmler, Heinrich, 37, 127
- Hirschmann, Nancy, 142
- Hiruta, Kei, 236n166, 242n102, 256n8, 260n91,
265n207
- Hitler, Adolf, 15, 35, 60, 89, 91, 92, 95, 116, 121,
140, 154, 181, 231n51
- Hobbes, Thomas, 2, 31–32, 40, 48, 53, 61, 167,
177, 178, 260n91. *See also under* Arendt,
Hannah
- Hobhouse, L. T., 165
- Hobson, J. A., 171, 174, 259n66. *See also under*
imperialism
- Hollis, Martin, 49
- Holmes, Jennifer, 6, 22
- Holocaust, 2, 33, 36, 38–39, 88, 97–98, 100–101,
124–60, 251n83, 251n97. *See also* ‘Final
Solution’; *under* Berlin, Isaiah
- Honig, Bonnie, 70
- Hook, Sidney, 17
- Horkheimer, Max, 47, 103, 242n99
- Houwink ten Cate, Lotte, 41
- Hume, David, 28, 110, 167
- Hurwitz, Henry, 87
- Hussein, Saddam, 1
- Husserl, Edmund, 10, 24, 25–26, 27, 28
- idealism (philosophy), 120; British, 28–29,
167–68 (*see also under* Berlin, Isaiah)
- ideology, 19, 20, 44, 89, 94, 95, 97, 101, 104, 122,
141, 176. *See also under* Arendt, Hannah
- Ignatieff, Michael, 6, 164, 218n24, 249n50
- Ihud, 18
- imperialism: British, 163, 168–77, 203,
258n59; European, 170, 173, 174, 177;
German, 177, 258n59; Hobson on, 174,
259n66; Lenin on, 174–75, 259nn65–66;
Luxemburg on, 259n65; Marx on, 171;
Marxist theory of, 174–75; nostalgia about,
169; wrongness of, 171, 258n49. *See also*
under Arendt, Hannah; Berlin, Isaiah;
totalitarianism
- India, 171, 175
- individualism, 55, 61, 78, 83, 84, 178, 200, 201
- individuality, 63, 70, 75, 78, 80, 84, 97
- Israel, the State of, 2, 11, 17, 19, 21, 34–36, 41,
122–23, 124–25, 130–31, 137–38, 141, 156,
168, 187, 193, 196, 221n73, 225n146, 235n148;
founding of, 18, 19, 201. *See also under*
court
- Jabotinsky, Vladimir, 16
- Jahanbegloo, Ramin, 6, 23, 46
- James, William, 199, 224n139
- Jaspers, Karl, 10, 24, 25, 29, 31, 35, 37, 43, 45,
77, 154, 184, 185, 188, 197, 200, 233n107,
243n119
- Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc., 11
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 183
- Jonas, Hans, 14, 222n108
- Kádár, János, 187
- Kant, Immanuel, 26, 27, 28, 48, 50, 59, 60, 61,
69, 77, 82, 116, 120, 151, 165, 168; *Critique of*
Judgement, 77
- Kastner, Rudolf, 38, 124–25, 131, 132, 143, 145,
247n2; ‘Kastner train’, 124, 247n4. *See also*
under court
- Kazin, Alfred, 17, 40
- Kennan, George, 43–44
- Kennedy, John F., 16, 183
- Keren Hayesod, 14, 15, 219n35, 219n36
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 105, 187, 189–90, 195
- Kierkegaard, Søren, 26, 31, 61
- Kipling, Joseph Rudyard, 175
- Koestler, Arthur, 99, 242n109, 256n192
- Kogon, Eugen, 98, 242n109
- Kravchinsky, Sergey, 118
- Kristallnacht, 91

- Lawrence, T. E., 175–77; *Lawrence of Arabia* (film), 177
- Lazare, Bernard, 143, 157–58, 255n180
- Lederman, Shmuel, 144
- Le Mercier de La Rivière, Pierre-Paul, 109
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, 44, 60, 82, 92, 104, 107, 112, 113, 116, 118–19, 171, 174–75, 195, 244n165, 259n65–66. *See also under* imperialism
- Levi, Primo, 98
- Levinas, Emmanuel, 25
- liberalism, 19–20, 55, 61, 72, 78–79, 89, 110, 163, 165, 171, 178, 183–84, 201; Cold War, 16, 103, 104, 178, 194, 242n99, 260n91; and libertarianism, 55
- Lipsky, Louis, 15
- Lipstadt, Deborah E., 125
- Locke, John, 28, 31, 167, 171
- Loidolt, Sophie, 25, 234nn128 and 131, 235n151
- love: fatherly and motherly, 158; of the Jewish people (*Ahabath Israel*), 42, 156–58; patriotism as, 157–58; of the polis, 82 (*see also* polis, Greek); of the world (*amor mundi*), 157, 197
- Lukes, Steven, 129–31, 132, 134, 246n200. *See also under* Berlin, Isaiah, works of
- Luther, Martin, 103
- Luxemburg, Rosa, 171, 189, 259n65. *See also under* imperialism
- Macdonald, Dwight, 17, 40
- Maier, Joseph, 18
- Maistre, Joseph de, 112–13, 171, 244n160
- Makiya, Kanan (pseud. Samir al-Khalil), 46; *Republic of Fear*, 1, 46, 229n238
- Mandelstam, Nadezhda, 105, 149; *Hope against Hope*, 105
- Mander, John, 41
- Mantena, Karuna, 173
- Mao Zedong, 92, 107
- Marburg, 10, 26, 32
- Marx, Karl, 12, 22, 50, 53, 60, 61, 65, 69, 103–4, 109, 113, 114–15, 116, 166, 168, 171, 195, 224n160, 265n194. *See also under* imperialism
- Mazzini, Giuseppe, 171
- McCarthy, Mary, 2, 17, 40, 41, 142, 227n206
- McTaggart, John M. E., 28–29
- Medvedev, Roy A., 105
- Menorah Journal*, 87
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, 24, 25
- Mill, John Stuart, 20, 24, 31, 48, 53, 61, 63–64, 78, 165, 167–68, 171, 232n73, 236n157; *On Liberty*, 63, 82, 165. *See also under* Berlin, Isaiah; freedom
- Miller, David, 5
- modesty, 153–55, 156, 159, 254n163
- monism, 78–79, 81, 84, 104, 106, 113–15, 116, 122, 236n170
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, 48, 66
- Moore, G. E., 2, 28–29, 30, 167, 168
- moral dilemma, 38, 126, 129–37, 145–46, 151–52. *See also under* pluralism
- Morgenthau, Hans, 40
- Moses, Siegfried, 40
- Mossad, 34–35
- Müller, Heinrich, 153
- Müller, Jan-Werner, 165
- Munich Agreement, 12, 91, 193
- Murdoch, Iris, 29, 142
- Mussolini, Benito, 91, 116
- Nagy, Imre, 187, 189, 190, 191, 263n171
- Napoleon Bonaparte, 120, 166
- National Revolutionary Council (Hungary), 191, 263n171. *See also* Dudás, József
- National Socialism. *See* Nazism
- nationalism: English, 166–67; German, 120–22, 166–67, 201 (*see also under* Nazism); and the Hungarian Revolution, 185, 192, 195–96; Jewish, 15, 18, 192 (*see also* Zionism); Russian, 43–44. *See also under* Berlin, Isaiah
- Naville, Pierre, 249n49
- Nazism, 5, 33, 37, 47, 65, 86, 87–109, 121–22, 132, 165, 166, 174, 176, 180, 200, 201, 235n147; and German nationalism, 95, 121–22, 166, 201; and Stalinism, 5, 47, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92, 97, 102, 165; and utopianism, 107–9 (*see also* utopianism)

- neoliberalism, 55. *See also* liberalism
- Neurath, Otto, 28
- New Yorker*, 37, 39, 132, 155, 159, 225n169
- Niebuhr, Reinhold, 15
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 26, 31, 96, 121, 168
- Nuremberg Laws, 91
- Nuremberg trials, 33
- Oakeshott, Michael, 47
- Owens, Patricia, 176, 260n92
- Oxford, 11–13, 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, 32, 43, 46, 48, 87, 133, 139, 142, 165, 183, 193, 194–95, 197–98, 202, 218n17; All Souls College, 12, 42, 197, 228n218; Bodleian Library, 139; Corpus Christi College, 11, 197; New College, 11, 218n17; philosophy in, 12, 28, 30–31, 168, 200; Wolfson College, 13, 197; Wolvercote Cemetery, 197
- Palestine, 10, 11, 14, 18, 20, 38, 140, 196
- Parekh, Bhikhu, 23, 221n81
- Partisan Review*, 40, 142, 227n194
- Pasternak, Boris, 12, 63
- paternalism, 106, 109, 110–13, 114, 116, 122
- patriotism. *See under* love
- Peirce, Charles Sanders, 224n139
- Pełczyński, Zbigniew, 46
- Penslar, Derek J., 15
- Petőfi, Sándor, 186, 192
- Petrograd (St Petersburg), 3, 11, 20, 118, 197, 203
- Pettit, Philip, 50, 70, 233n102
- phenomenology, 2, 10, 24, 25–26, 28, 30, 31, 76, 77, 85, 235n151. *See also under* Arendt, Hannah
- Phillips, William, 31, 40, 142
- Pipes, Richard, 43–44, 228n218; *Revolutionary Russia*, 43, 44
- Pitkin, Hanna F., 23, 50, 221n81, 235n145
- Plato, 26, 31, 82, 83, 103, 104, 114, 204; *The Republic*, 204; *The Sophist*, 26,
- Plekhanov, Georgy V., 107, 113
- pluralism: Arendt and, 79–80; cultural, 171–72; moral, 78–80, 236n157; ontological, 79; political, 79; value, 62–63, 80, 84, 85, 114, 126, 164, 194, 199, 231n61, 236n157, 247n15 (see also moral dilemma)
- Podhoretz, Norman, 31, 155
- Polanowska-Sygulska, Beata, 84–85
- Poliakov, Léon, 38
- polis, Greek, 81–84, 201, 254n137. *See also under* love
- Pol Pot, 107
- Popper, Karl R., 90, 103, 109, 114, 117, 178, 244n145
- Pottle, Mark, 6
- Pryce-Jones, David, 194–95, 264n191
- Quine, W.V.O., 30
- Quinton, Anthony, 65
- Radio Free Europe, 186, 187
- Rand, Ayn, 79
- Rawls, John, 30, 51, 72, 162, 203, 236n157
- Raz, Joseph, 165
- Reichstag Fire (27 February 1933), 10
- Ritchie, David G., 50
- revolution, in philosophy, 25–32
- revolution (revolutionary upheavals), political, 94, 107, 113, 116, 118, 120, 166, 189, 200
- American (1775–83), 68, 178, 179, 190, 263n166
- French (1789), 112, 120, 190, 263n166
- French (1848), 179
- French (1870–71), 179
- German (1918–19), 179
- Hungarian (1956), 68, 151, 162, 179, 185–96, 201, 203, 262n142, 264nn174 and 191 (see also under Arendt, Hannah; Berlin, Isaiah; nationalism); ‘Sixteen Points’ by Hungarian Students, 187, 190, 192, 262n144, 263n164–65, 264n175
- Russian (1905), 179, 218n14
- Russian (1917), 3, 11, 20, 43–44, 179, 187, 199; 1967 conference on, 43–45, 228n225
- spirit of, 178–80, 181, 182, 184, 191, 192, 201

- Rhodes, Cecil John, 175, 176, 177
Riesman, David, 24
Riga, 11, 20, 88, 138, 149, 197, 218n14
Ring, Jennifer, 142, 251n85
Robespierre, Maximilien, 116, 120
Robinson, Jacob, 38, 42
Rosenberg, Alfred, 126
Rosenberg, Harold, 17
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 48, 60, 61, 82, 103, 114, 116, 118, 120, 161, 166, 231n51, 245n183 (see also under Berlin, Isaiah); *The Social Contract*, 60
Rousset, David, 98, 242n109
Rothschild, Jacob, 194–95
Rovere, Richard H., 17
Rumkowski, Chaim, 143
Russell, Bertrand, 2, 28, 30, 31, 60, 83, 167, 168; *History of Western Philosophy*, 83
Russell, Luke, 39

Said, Edward, 221n73
Salazar, António de Oliveira, 92
Salzburg, 138–39
Sartre, Jean-Paul, 24, 25, 29, 31, 133–35, 137, 144, 249nn49–50; *Existentialism and Humanism*, 133–35, 249n49
Sassen, Willem, 34, 247n3
Schapiro, Leonard, 43
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 1, 16–17, 45, 193, 220nn51 and 53
Schlick, Moritz, 28
Schocken, Salman, 15, 219n37
Scholem, Gershom, 40, 41, 42, 126, 135, 137, 138, 142, 145, 153, 156–58, 228n211, 248n27. See also under Arendt, Hannah, works of; Berlin, Isaiah
scientism, 106, 109–10, 112, 114, 116, 122
Sebestyen, Victor, 195
Sennett, Richard, 196
Servatius, Robert, 127
sexism. See gender
Shklar, Judith N., 149–50, 165, 253n130, 261n111
Shoah. See Holocaust

Shorten, Richard, 88
Skinner, Quentin, 50, 70
slavery, 65, 66, 78, 100, 241n91
Smolensk Archive, 104
Socrates, 83, 104, 204
Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr I.: *The First Circle*, 105; *The Gulag Archipelago*, 99
Sophocles, 82
Sparrow, John, 42, 227n206
Sparta, 82, 92–93
Spender, Stephen, 42
Stalin, Joseph, 24, 60, 82, 89, 92, 96, 104, 105–6, 111–12, 186, 188, 192, 195
Stalinism, 5, 12, 47, 61, 63, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92, 94, 96–97, 99, 100, 102–5, 111–12, 115, 165, 176, 187, 240n74; and Nazism, 5, 47, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92, 97, 102, 165
Stangneth, Bettina, 225nn146 and 149, 247n12
Stoicism, 59, 82–84; Stoics, the, 48, 54, 58, 60, 61, 69, 82, 83, 149
Stone, Dan, 98
Strauss, Leo, 47, 222n108
Strawson, P. F., 30–31
Streicher, Julius, 126
Suez Crisis, 187, 189, 193, 194. See also under Berlin, Isaiah
suicide, 3, 58, 69, 130, 136–37, 146, 184

Tagore, Rabindranath, 170
Talmon, Jacob L., 103, 117
Talleyrand, Charles-Maurice de, 19
Taylor, Craig, 132, 254n149
terror, 47, 90, 112, 120, 151, 166, 173, 179, 183, 199; atmosphere of, 144, 147, 149, 152; Great Terror (in the Soviet Union), 92, 111; terrorists, 44, 118, 168; total (totalitarian), 90–91, 94, 97, 144–45, 174; white, 189. See also violence
Tessman, Lisa, 133, 249n52
Thucydides, 82
Times Literary Supplement, 17, 42, 87
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 53, 61, 80, 161, 179
tolerance (toleration), 63, 158, 164, 178, 200; and England, 164, 168, 177, 178, 184

- totalitarianism, 3, 4, 5, 17, 37, 60, 61, 62, 65, 86, 87–123, 148, 152, 160, 162, 163, 165, 166, 168, 180–81, 185, 188, 191, 203, 231n53, 239n27, 239n30, 240n53; definitions of, 89–93; and imperialism, 96, 173–77. *See also under* Arendt, Hannah; Berlin, Isaiah; freedom
- total war, 47, 165
- Treaty of Versailles, 95, 121
- Trójgłos o wolności (Three Voices for Freedom)*, 161, 162, 256n2
- Trotsky, Leon, 24, 107, 166
- Trunk, Isaiah, 149
- tyranny, 62, 72, 89, 90, 91, 92, 97, 102; of the majority, 179; tyrants, 60, 61
- Ulam, Adam, 43, 45
- United Nations, the, 36, 194; ‘Report on the Problem of Hungary’, 190, 192
- utopianism, 103, 106–10, 115, 116, 118, 122, 166, 170, 199. *See also under* Nazism
- Venturi, Franco, 3
- Verba, Sidney, 67
- Vico, Giambattista, 29
- Vienna: persecution of the Jews in, 33, 108; philosophy in, 28–29, 32
- Vietnam War, 183–84
- Villa, Dana R., 76, 80, 253n131
- violence, 15, 49, 90, 92, 100, 104, 106, 107, 109, 112–13, 118, 148, 173, 185, 186, 189–90, 191, 199, 218n14, 244n165; sexual, 242n104, 244n154. *See also* terror
- Vitoria, Francisco de, 171
- Waldron, Jeremy, 77, 260n105
- Walicki, Andrzej, 118, 161, 163, 265n194
- Wall, Steven, 165
- Wannsee Conference, 125, 153–54
- Warsaw, 108, 143, 161; ghetto uprising in, 140, 150
- Wasserstein, Bernard, 38, 250n81, 251n83, 252n98
- Weber, Max, 247n15
- Weizmann, Chaim, 12, 14, 15
- Wilhelm II, Kaiser, 166
- Williams, Bernard, 32, 151, 254n140
- Winham, Ilya, 44, 221n78, 228n225, 265n200
- Wise, Stephen, 15
- Wisliceny, Dieter, 33
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 28
- Woolf, Virginia, 142
- World War I, 11, 26, 94–95, 96, 121, 173, 190, 218n14
- World War II, 1, 3, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 33, 34, 38, 64, 88, 101, 111, 122, 124–68, 169, 244n154
- World War III, prospect of, 187, 194
- Young-Bruehl, Elisabeth, 43, 137
- Youth Aliyah, 10, 21
- Zajdlerowa, Zoë (pseud. Martin Hare), 99, 241n76, 242n109
- Zeno of Citium, 92
- Zionism, 9, 10, 13–16, 17–21, 24, 25, 124, 140, 141, 143–44, 150–51, 159, 170, 192, 196, 200, 221n73, 246nn191–92; anti-, 18; Biltmore, Extraordinary Zionist Conference (May 1942) in, 18–19, 21; post-, 15, 18; World Zionist Organization, 10, 40; Zionist Federation of Germany, 10, 14, 136; Zionist Organization of America, 13, 19. *See also under* Arendt, Hannah; Berlin, Isaiah
- Zweig, Arnold, 10