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Liebe Hannah,

Wie Sie sich denken können, ist mir unser Gespräch noch sehr durch den Kopf gegangen.

Mir scheint, dass die erläuternde Ergänzung, die Sie zu den Ausführungen über unsere Verhandlungen in der Periode 1933 bis 1939 bringen wollen, nicht bis zum Erscheinen der deutschen Ausgabe verschoben werden darf. Sie müssten und könnten eine alsbaldige Gelegenheit hierfür finden. Am besten wäre natürlich eine Veröffentlichung im "New Yorker": mir ist in New York erzählt worden, dass der New Yorker zuweilen nach Abschluss einer Artikel-Serie ein das Echo der Artikel berücksichtigendes Schlusswort - wenn ich mich recht erinnere, unter der Bezeichnung "amplification" - bringt.

Nachdem ich noch einmal den Text gelesen habe, scheint mir auch die von uns diskutierte Behauptung, dass die Verluste geringer gewesen wären, wenn das jüdische Volk führerlos gewesen wäre (Aufsatz vom 2. März, Seite 50) einer erläuternden Ergänzung zu bedürfen. Die Formulierung: "The whole truth was....." erweckt absolut den Eindruck, es handle sich um eine beweisbare Behauptung.

*Ich würde Ihnen schöne Tage und Wachen
in Jerusalem. Ihr Lieber Herr*

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
CLIFTON AVENUE, CINCINNATI, OHIO 45220

The relationship between Jews and Christians in the post-Holocaust world is a problem to which many of us are giving most serious attention. Religion in the 1980's, its tensions and dilemmas, certainly deserve the cooperative scrutiny of seminarians of the Jewish and Christian faith. To that end it is a pleasure to invite your seminary to join with us in a two-day symposium which we would like to hold on our campus in Cincinnati in the late spring or early fall of 1980.

Ecumenical contact between Jewish and Christian scholars has been a most valued attribute within our institution. As you know, the College-Institute is today the oldest institution of higher Jewish learning in the Western Hemisphere. In Cincinnati we have enjoyed, in addition to our Rabbinical School, a Graduate School, roughly half of whose students registered towards the Ph.D. degree are of the Christian faith representing various denominations.

Some of the topics that immediately come to mind are:

- a) A discussion of the moral and ethical consequences of the Holocaust;
- b) A more profound understanding of the relationship between the old and new Testaments;
- c) The state of Israel in Christian and Jewish theology;
- d) The status of the Judeo-Christian heritage in light of the renewed interest in oriental religions in the 1980's.

I fully agree with the distinguished theologian, Dr. John Pawlikowski, that for many Christians and Jews the events of the last few decades have dealt a shattering blow to value systems and their supposed realities. Yet, I further agree with Dr. Pawlikowski that we must begin to reconstruct those shattered values and that religion should and must play a dominant role in that reconstruction.

(next page, please)

I very much look forward to receiving your comments as to our symposium proposal, particularly whether you see any true value in it. If your decision is in the affirmative, would your seminary be willing to send a representative to our campus to participate in a planning session for the proposed program? It is clear that if such a symposium will bear fruit, we need the best thinking of the participants at the very outset.

I am thankful for your consideration of this proposal and trust that I shall be hearing from you.

Most cordially yours,

Alfred Gottschalk
President

ologically adequate to
world, human actions can
be, with reference to the
causes. Reasons are of
which can be described only
Under the spell of the
it dissolves all distinc-
tions, and simply takes
the form of human action is

distinction between the
actions that are morally right are *in*
done with *the duty to*
a motivational purpose,
actions that are morally right and the
able to do the right thing
doer are obviously an
element of the moral quality
wrong, though, is in his
was morally virtuous in
finds embodiment in the
not ignore the role of
on this matter get mired
and preclude a closer
examination of moral judgment.
 Hannah Arendt, who repeat-
edly of "telling right from
wrong, continued to appeal to
for judgment in general?
metaphysics and for the
it. In this respect, Kant
characteristic of the philo-
sophy of action, as it unfolds
a powerful alternative to the
that Arendt saw in Kant's
else: in Kant's conception

of reflective judgment, restricted by Kant himself—erroneously in
Arendt's eyes—to the aesthetic realm alone, Arendt discovered a proce-
dure for ascertaining intersubjective agreement in the public realm. This
kind of intersubjective agreement clearly transcended the expression of
simple preference, while falling short of the *a priori* and certain validity
demanded by Kantian reason. Let us recall Kant's description of "reflec-
tive judgment":

By the name *sensus communis* is to be understood the idea of a public sense,
i.e. a critical faculty which in its reflective act takes account (*a priori*) of
the mode of representation of everyone else, in order, as it were, to weigh
its judgment with the collective reason of mankind, and thereby avoid the
illusion arising from subjective and personal conditions which could read-
ily be taken for objective. . . . This is accomplished by weighing the
judgment, not so much with actual, as rather with the merely possible,
judgments of others, and by putting ourselves in the position of everyone
else.⁵⁹

In her early essay "The Crisis in Culture," Arendt provides an illumi-
nating gloss on this passage. She writes,

The power of judgment rests on a potential agreement with others, and the
thinking process which is active in judging something is not, like the
thought process of pure reasoning, a dialogue between me and myself, but
finds itself always and primarily, even if I am quite alone in making up my
mind, in an anticipated communication with others with whom I know I
must finally come to some agreement. From this potential agreement
judgment derives its specific validity. This means, on the one hand, that
such judgment must liberate itself from the "subjective private conditions,"
that is from the idiosyncracies which naturally determine the outlook of
each individual in his privacy and are legitimate as long as they are only
privately held opinions but which are not fit to enter the market place, and
lack all validity in the public realm. And this enlarged way of thinking,
which as judgment knows how to transcend its individual limitations,
cannot function in strict isolation or solitude; it needs the presence of others
"in whose place" it must think, whose perspective it must take into consid-
eration, and without whom it never has the opportunity to operate at all.⁶⁰

Seyla Benhabib | The Reluctant
Modernism | HA | Sage 1996

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of reflective judgment, restricted by Kant himself—erroneously in Arendt's eyes—to the aesthetic realm alone, Arendt discovered a procedure for ascertaining intersubjective agreement in the public realm. This kind of intersubjective agreement clearly transcended the expression of simple preference, while falling short of the a priori and certain validity demanded by Kantian reason. Let us recall Kant's description of "reflective judgment":

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38. Gershom Scholem, " 'Eichmann in Jerusalem': An Exchange of Letters Between Gershom Scholem and Hannah Arendt," *Encounter* 22 (January 1964): 51-56; reprinted in Feldman, ed., *The Jew as Pariah*, pp. 240 ff; here p. 241.
39. See *Arendt-Jaspers Correspondence*, pp. 413 ff.
40. Arendt, epilogue, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 263.
41. Arendt, *Arendt-Jaspers Correspondence*, p. 414.
42. Arendt, epilogue, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 254.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
44. For a masterful analysis of the Nuremberg trials, see Judith N. Shklar, *Legalism: An Essay on Law, Morals and Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964).
45. Arendt, quoted in *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 262.
46. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 263.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
49. See Frank Michelman, "An Annoying Critique of 'A Right to Have Rights' " (August 1995), on file with the author.
50. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, pp. 287-288.
51. Bernstein, "Judging—The Actor and the Spectator," pp. 232-233.
52. Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, trans., with an analytical index by, J. C. Meredith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), p. 10. I have also consulted "Kritik der Urteilskraft," in *Kants Werke: Akademie-Textausgabe*, vol. 5 (Berlin: Walter d' Gruyter, 1968).
53. Immanuel Kant, "Critique of Practical Reason," in *Critique of Practical Reason and Other Writings in Moral Philosophy*, trans., with an introduction by, L. W. Beck (New York: Garland, 1976), p. 176.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
56. There is a fundamental connection between the tradition's ignoring of the question of judgment in moral life and the neglect of the specificity of action as speech and action or communicative interaction. Once we see moral action as interaction, performed toward others and in the company of others, the role of judgment becomes particularly salient. I have explored these themes in Benhabib, "Judgment and the Moral Foundations of Politics," pp. 34-36.
57. There is an extensive literature on this topic. Some of the seminal contributions to this debate have been Charles Taylor, "Interpretation and the Sciences of Man," *Review of Metaphysics* 25 (1971): 3-51; R. J. Bernstein, *The Restructuring of Social and Political Theory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978); A. Giddens, *Studies in Social and Political Theory* (London: Hutchinson, 1977).
58. See Arendt, introduction to *The Life of the Mind*, vol. 1, *Thinking*, p. 5; Arendt, "Thinking and Moral Considerations: A Lecture," p. 8. We also know from the notes of her students who attended her course on Kant's *Critique of Judgment* at the University of Chicago in 1971 that "although Kant had withheld questions of right and wrong from the sphere of reflective (aesthetic) judgment . . . Arendt herself was convinced that in doing so he had made a major mistake." Michael Denny, "The Privilege of Ourselves: Hannah Arendt on Judgment," in *Hannah Arendt: The Recovery of the Public World*, ed. Melvyn A. Hill (New York: St. Martin's, 1979), p. 266.
59. Immanuel Kant, "Critique of Judgment," p. 151; see Hannah Arendt's discussion of this passage in her *Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy*, pp. 71 ff.
60. Hannah Arendt, "Crisis in Culture," in Arendt, *Between Past and Future: Six Exercises in Political Thought* (New York: Meridian, 1961), pp. 220-221.

61. Plato, *Gorgias*, in *Plato: The Collected Dialogues*, ed. E. V. Rieu, trans. E. V. Rieu (New York: Random House, 1954), p. 265.
62. Walt Whitman, "Song of Myself," in *Leaves of Grass*, ed. John K. Knowlton (New York: Penguin, 1967), p. 1.
63. Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, vol. 1, *Thinking*, p. 5.
64. See Arendt's essay "Heidegger and Modern Philosophy," in *Heidegger and Modern Philosophy*, ed. J. K. Knowlton (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 3.
65. George Kateb, *Hannah Arendt*, ed. and trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), p. 3.
66. See Martin Jay, *The Spectator in Society*, no. 3 (1978), Columbia University Press, *Review of Her Political Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), p. 1. This is referring to L. P. and Jaspers, "Review of Political position in Maurizio Pasquella," (London: Routledge, 1994).
67. Canovan, *A Reinterpretation of Hannah Arendt*, p. 191, fn. 13.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 191, fn. 13.
69. Hannah Arendt, "What Is Humanism?" in *On Violence*, ed. Dana Villa, (Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 55.
70. Canovan, *A Reinterpretation of Hannah Arendt*, pp. 139 ff.
71. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Lawrence, as *The Structure of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 182. See also Note on Habermas and Arendt.
72. See Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Lawrence, as *The Structure of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 182. See also Note on Habermas and Arendt.
73. See Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Hermeneutics as Practical Task," all in *Reason in the World*, ed. David G. Reardon (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), and Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, ed. E. Linge (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 36 ff.
74. Albrecht Wellmer, *The Weight of the World*, ed. La
75. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Lawrence, as *The Structure of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 182. See also Note on Habermas and Arendt.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 36 ff.

Hannah Arendt
Karl Jaspers
Briefwechsel
1926–1969

Herausgegeben von
Lotte Köhler und Hans Saner

1985



Piper
München · Zürich

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zögerst – Du sagtest: »Mir ist nicht geheuer« –, mit Namen erwähnt zu werden. Wir können Dich immer noch aus dem Widerstand herausstreichen. Was Leute wie Golo Mann dann sagen, ist mir wirklich völlig gleichgültig. Ich habe mir im letzten Jahr eine Haut zugelegt, die einem Elefanten alle Ehre machen würde.

Überhaupt hat Piper große Rosinen im Kopf. Er kommt Ende der Woche her. Er will, ich soll im September zur Buchmesse nach Deutschland kommen und dann – Presse-Konferenz, Funkgespräch mit Bondy und Ernst Schnabel³ und Spiegel-Gespräch. Mir ist bei der Sache mehr als mulmig, ich bin gar nicht gut in so Sachen, nicht schlagfertig, gehe leicht in Fallen usw. Hinzu kommt, daß mir das Brimborium verhaßt ist. Was meinst Du?

Ich wollte ursprünglich für eine Stippvisite, wenn es Euch recht ist, im Juni kommen. Kann aber nun nicht, weil irgendeine Universität auf den verrückten Gedanken gekommen ist, mir den Ehrendoktor der Rechte zu verleihen.⁴ Sehr komisch. Aber mein Verleger sagt, das kann man nicht ablehnen, weil die Universität sich dann beleidigt fühlt. Und dies liegt genau in der Mitte des Monats. Im Mai kann ich nicht, weil ich wieder in Chicago bin, und im Juli ist Heinrich zu Hause, direkt aus dem Semester, da mag ich nicht weg. Also eventuell wirklich September, aber ohne Buchmesse? Was meinst Du?

Ich weiß nichts davon, daß Hilberg für mich Stellung genommen hat. Er ist ziemlich dumm und verrückt. Er faselt jetzt vom »Todeswunsch« der Juden. Sein Buch⁵ ist wirklich ausgezeichnet, aber nur weil er eben einfach berichtet. Ein allgemeineres, einführendes geschichtliches Kapitel ist unter der gesengten Sau. (Pardon – ich habe einen Moment vergessen, wem ich schreibe. Und nun laß ich es doch stehen.)

Das Max-Weber-Kapitel macht immer noch Schwierigkeiten. Helene Wolff hat entdeckt, daß es mehr Überschneidungen gibt, als Du angemerkt hast, und so hatten wir heute eine ausführliche Konferenz. Ich schlug vor, es als eine Art Appendix nach dem Kapitel über Max Weber als Politiker zu bringen mit Angabe des Datums. Dann schließt es die Erörterung der Politik bei Weber ab, und das scheint mir am besten. Sie zweifelte daran, daß man sich hier für die Frage: Was hätte Max Weber zum Nationalsozialismus gesagt, interessieren würde. Sie hat unrecht, danach gerade fragen die Studenten natürlich. Es wird alles ganz in Ordnung kommen. Sie ist außerordentlich zuverlässig und fragt mich um alles.

Wie steht die Sache mit Rossmann?⁶

Wie steht es mit den Fernsehvorträgen?

Ich wünschte, wir könnten
noch einmal Deinen Brief
Auf Wiedersehen, und
wir uns in Griechenland
Alles L

352 Karl Jaspers an Hannah

Liebe Hannah!

Mein Brief wird etwas mehr
bronchiektatischen Schütteln
bin fieberfrei, wieder auf
gend. Nur ist mein Zustand
(etwas anmaßend gesprochen)
Über Emil Henk brauche
natürlich völlig recht. Gertrud
dankbar. Daß sie ihm ein
Couvert schickte, hatte fol
Deine Adresse geschrieben
sie es ihm leichter machen.
als in jenem Brief an Gertrud
könne Dich noch auf irgend
Freund ist vermutlich Haus
noch am 22. Juli, nach dem
besprochen. Haubach und H
Diese wandte das Gespräch
Er sei doch mindestens eben
tat vorher nicht gewußt hab
ihm zur Verfügung stehend
aufhalten. Das aber tat er ni
Verhaftungsaktion sei vorbe
ten. Was er dann ausgestand
informiert. Jedes Mitgefühl
ein »Held« war er nicht. Ac
Henk, im Kriege mir eine
auf die militärische Lage, se

Raul Hilberg

236 Prospect Parkway • Burlington, Vermont 05401

February 8, 1993

Harcourt Brace
1250 Sixth Avenue
San Diego, CA 92101

**Hannah Arendt
Karl Jaspers
Correspondence
1926-1969**

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Enclosed is page 550 of the Arendt-Jaspers correspondence, which you published last year, with a circled paragraph that deals with me. After I read it I wanted to be sure that the translation is accurate. When I checked it against the original in the Piper edition, I discovered to my astonishment that in your version a sentence had been left out. I enclose a German-language page with the omitted sentence circled in red. In plain English, it means: "He is pretty stupid and crazy."

Would you be good enough to tell me why and how the sentence was dropped in the book under your imprint?

Sincerely,

Raul Hilberg

Hannah Arendt Blücher Literary Trust

Lotte Kohler, Trustee

36 West 84th Street, Apt. 9A

New York, N.Y. 10024

February 20, 1993

Mr. Raul Hilberg
236 Prospekt Parkway
Burlington, Vermont 05401

Dear Mr. Hilberg,

Harcourt Brace forwarded your letter to me as co-editor of the Hannah Arendt Karl Jaspers Correspondence. I am sorry to see that I overlooked an offensive sentence about you in the German edition. It had been our policy to omit certain comments out of consideration for living persons. The American editor then struck this sentence on legal advice. Hannah Arendt could be quite rash and harsh in her judgments in conversation as well as on paper as her remarks on Eisenhower and Nixon show. Please, forgive my oversight.

Sincerely,

Lotte Kohler



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First, it should be noted that the Library of Congress ordinarily does not own the copyright in either published or unpublished manuscripts in its custody. Therefore it can neither grant nor deny permission to publish or quote in published form from manuscripts in its collections. It should also be noted that neither titles nor facts can be copyrighted; therefore, permission is not required to cite a collection as a source or to use facts from it.

The Copyright Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-553; Title 17, *United States Code*) is the current copyright statute. Among its provisions, this Act makes a distinction between the duration of copyright in unpublished manuscripts in existence on or before December 31, 1977, and in those created on or after January 1, 1978. Section 303 of the Act provides that for unpublished manuscripts created before January 1, 1978, and not otherwise copyrighted or in the public domain, copyright subsists at least until December 31, 2002. Under Section 302 of the Act, copyright in manuscripts created on or after January 1, 1978, generally subsists for the life of the author plus fifty years. In either case, the owners of copyright interests may dedicate their rights to the public, thereby relinquishing any exclusive copyright interests they may have.

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July 1990

- mann in Jerusalem (pp. 144-74), but this is not complete even for English items prior to 1969. *Die Kontroverse* was published by Nymphenburger, Munich, in 1964.
14. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), p. 6. references are to this revised edition, hereafter cited as *Eichmann*, unless otherwise noted.)
 15. See "The Eichmann Case as Seen by Ben-Gurion," *New York Times Magazine*, December 1960. See also an article by the prosecutor, Gideon Hausner, "Eichmann's Trial," *Saturday Evening Post*, 2, 10, and 17 November 1962.
 16. Arendt, *Eichmann*, p. 12.
 17. Arendt to Samuel Meilin, 8 May 1965, Library of Congress. See also Arendt to Rosen, 14 March 1965, Marbach.
 18. For background information on the Israeli-German exchanges: *Der Spiegel*, 24 May 1965, on German arms shipments to Israel, *New York Times*, 21 January 1965 May 1966. The rumor of protection for Globke was repeatedly denied: 1. *Schiron, Bonn and Jerusalem* (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1970), pp. 139-40.
 2. A copy of "Eichmann: Master-Mind of The Nazi Murder-Machine" (1961) is in Vashem Library, Jerusalem.
 3. Arendt, *Eichmann*, p. 26.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.
 6. Arendt's open letter to Gershom Scholem in *Encounter* (see note 18).
 7. J. Glenn Gray, *The Warriors* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1967), p. 6. Arendt, *Origins*, p. 452.
 8. Hannah Arendt to Judah Goldin, Judaic Studies, Yale University, 18 July 1963, Library of Congress. Before *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, Arendt had discussed the Jewish situation in print only once, in a review of Leon Poliakov's *Breviaire de la Haine juive*, March 1952. She wrote: "Nowhere does Mr. Poliakov's integrity and objectivity, or Jewish councils. He neither accuses or excuses, but reports fully and faithfully the sources tell him—the growing apathy of the victims as well as their own heroism, the terrible dilemma of the *Judenräte*, their despair as well as their and very influential *Reichsvertretung* [*sic*: actually, *Reichsvereinigung*] of German which functioned smoothly until the last Jew had been deported, he sees the respect too, served the Nazis as guinea pigs in their investigations of the problem of the *Judenräte* of the Polish ghettos; he makes it clear that the German Jews, get people to help carry out their own death sentences, the last turn of the screw of a totalitarian scheme of total domination."
 9. Arthur Donat, "An Empiric Examination," *Judaism* 12, no. 4 (Fall 1963) is cal, but informative.
- This was Arendt's impression while she was attending the trial, not just in retrospect she wrote to Jaspers from Jerusalem her first impressions, 13 April 1961, Marbach: "the really essential aspects of the whole devilish business could be hindered from the light, for example, the fact of the collaboration of Jews, the overall organization [Final Solution] and comparable matters."
- Arendt, *Eichmann*, pp. 125-26.
- Moses to Arendt, 24 March 1963 (from Jerusalem).
- Norman Podhoretz, "Hannah Arendt on Eichmann," *Commentary*, September 1963, p. 201-08.

62. Moses to Arendt, 7 March 1963 (from Jerusalem); Arendt's reply to the letter, 12 March 1963 (both in the Library of Congress).
63. For the council of Jews from Germany statement see *Aufbau*, 12 March 1963; further *Aufbau* articles appeared on 29 March 1963 and in *Nach dem Eichmann Prozess*, Tel Aviv, 1963. Copies of the ADL Bulletin for 11 March and 27 March are in the Arendt Papers, Library of Congress, and many of the *Aufbau* pieces are collected in *Die Kontroverse* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1964).
64. Schwarzhild to Arendt, 6 March 1963, Library of Congress.
65. "A Report on the Evil of Banality: The Arendt Book," *Facts* 15, no. 1 (July-August 1963) reprinted in part in *Die Kontroverse*, pp. 223-32. As noted, copies of ADL Bulletin in Arendt Papers, Library of Congress.
66. Morgenthau to Arendt, 31 March 1963, Library of Congress. (Permission to quote from the Morgenthau letters courtesy of Susanna and Matthew Morgenthau.)
67. Shawn to Arendt (telegram), 8 March 1963, Library of Congress.
68. Reports on Hausner's visit in *New York Daily News*, 20 May 1963 and *New York Times*, 20 May 1963.
69. Michael Musmanno, "Man With An Unspotted Conscience," *New York Times Book Review*, 19 May 1963, pp. 40-41 and letters to the editor 23 June 1963, pp. 4-5, 22; 14 July 1963, pp. 28-30.
70. Jaspers to Arendt, 16 May 1963, Marbach.
71. Arendt to Felix Bing, 18 July 1963, Library of Congress.
72. Gershom Weiler to Arendt, 1 July 1963, Library of Congress.
73. Arendt to Robert Weltsch, 29 August 1963, Library of Congress; Weltsch's "Wenn Grawen zur Statistik wird . . ." in *Aufbau*, 7 February 1964.
74. Hannah Arendt, "The Crisis in Culture," in *Between Past and Future*, pp. 224-25.
75. Rosen to Arendt, undated, ca. July 1964, Library of Congress.
76. Arendt to Rosen, 27 June 1964, Library of Congress; reports this conversation. Arendt's cousin Ernst Fuest was under the impression that she did not see Blumenfeld at the hospital in May 1963, but was, rather, refused the visit by Blumenfeld himself.
77. Arendt to Rosen, 30 August 1964, Library of Congress.
78. *Ibid.*
79. Rosen to Arendt, undated, ca. July 1964, Library of Congress.
80. Arendt to Jaspers, 20 July 1963, Marbach.
81. Jaspers to Arendt, 25 July 1963, Marbach.
82. Arendt to McCarthy, 16 September 1963 (in McCarthy's possession).
83. Arendt to Jaspers, 14 May 1964, Marbach.
84. Arendt to McCarthy, 16 September 1963 (in McCarthy's possession).
85. Arendt to Jaspers, 20 October 1963, Marbach.
86. *Ibid.*
87. Arendt to Jaspers, 20 October 1963, Marbach. See Ernst Simon, "Hannah Arendt—An Analysis," *Judaism* 12 (1963): 387-415. See also Arendt to Shershtevsky, 8 July 1965, about NER; and Arendt to Steven Schwarzhild, editor of *Judaism*, about Simon's article, 6 September 1963, Library of Congress. Jaspers had a conversation with Ernst Simon (Jaspers to Arendt, 16 November 1963, Marbach), who listened *aber hörte immerlich nicht zu*.
88. Arendt to Jaspers, 1 December 1963, Marbach.
89. Lionel Abel, "The Aesthetics of Evil," *Partisan Review*, Summer 1963, p. 219. Robinson's two draft manuscripts are available at Yad Vashem Library, Jerusalem; Abel mentions Robinson's manuscript in a letter, *Partisan Review*, Spring 1964, p. 275.

90. On Nehemiah Robinson's report for the World Jewish Congress see Fruchter's piece cited in note 103 below. For the other articles see: Marie Syrkin, "Hannah Arendt: The Clothes of the Empress," *Dissent*, Autumn 1963, pp. 344-52; Norman Podhoretz, "Hannah Arendt on Eichmann," *Commentary*, September 1963, pp. 201-08; Gertrud Eorsky, "Hannah Arendt Against the Facts," *New Politics*, Fall 1963, pp. 53-73 (and the reply by Robert Olson in the next issue); Morris Schappes, "The Strange World of Hannah Arendt," *Jewish Currents* 17, nos. 7, 8, 9 (Fall 1963); Louis Harap, (untitled), *Science and Society*, Spring 1964, pp. 223-27.
91. Irving Howe, "The New Yorker and Hannah Arendt," *Commentary*, October 1963, pp. 318-19.
92. Konrad Kellen, "Reflections on Eichmann in Jerusalem," *Midstream*, September 1963, pp. 25-35.
93. As noted, a copy of Robinson's 1963 draft is in the Yad Vashem Library, Jerusalem. (These quotations from pp. 245 and 247.)
94. Walter Laqueur, "The Shortcomings of Hannah Arendt," *Jewish Chronicle* (London), 11 October 1963, p. 7.
95. Robinson's untitled second draft, p. ix.
96. Jacob Robinson, *The Crooked Shall Be Made Straight* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965), p. viii. Robinson's book had many titles, but certainly the most unusual was its title in French: *La Tragédie juive sous la croix gammée à la lumière du procès de Jérusalem* (*Le récit de Hannah Arendt et la réalité des faits*).
97. Leon Poliakov, "The Eichmann Trial," *Commentary* (January 1967).
98. Barbara Tuchman, "The Final Solution," *New York Times Book Review*, 29 May 1966, pp. 3, 12.
99. Arendt to Moholy-Nagy, 5 July 1966, Library of Congress.
100. Macdonald to Phillips, 16 July 1963, Arendt's copy in Library of Congress. Abels "Pseudo-Profundity," a review of Arendt's *Between Past and Future*, appeared in *New Politics* 1/1 (Fall 1961): 124-31.
101. Mary McCarthy, "The Hue and Cry," *Partisan Review*, Winter 1964, p. 82. In the circles McCarthy and Arendt knew, McCarthy's judgment may have been correct. Arendt noted to Jaspers in a 24 November 1963 letter, Marbach: "It is a serious matter that now almost all the non-Jews have taken my side and that not a single Jew will do so publicly, even if he is for me completely." But Arendt also noted, in the same letter, that her Jewish students were understanding.
102. Harris Dienstfrey sent a copy of his unpublished article to Arendt, 25 March 1964, Library of Congress. Irving Howe described the *Dissent* forum as a more decorous affair in *Partisan Review*, Spring 1964.
103. Norman Fruchter, "Arendt's Eichmann and Jewish Identity," *Studies on the Left* 5 (1965) and replies in the Fall 1965 issue; James Weinstein, "Nach Goldwasser Uns?" *Studies on the Left* 4 (1964): 59-64; Carl Oglesby in Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau, eds., *The New Radicals* (New York: Random House, 1966), pp. 257ff. See also Sol Stern, "My Jewish Problem—and Ours," *Ramparts* 10/12 (August 1971): 30-40.
104. Elmer Berger of ACJ to Arendt, 4 June and 13 June 1963 and her reply to the first letter on 11 June 1963, Library of Congress. Arendt drafted a reply to the second ACJ letter on 19 July 1963, Library of Congress, but did not send it: "I will do nothing, so long as an organized campaign is going on. . . . I have decided it would be neither wise nor proper for me to step into this whole business."
105. Marie Syrkin, "Miss Arendt Surveys the Holocaust," *Jewish Frontier*, May 1963, pp. 7-14. Arendt's opinion of this article is in her letter to Herman Pomrenze, 27 January 1964, Library of Congress.

106. Colie to Arendt, undated, letter from Iowa, Library of Congress.
107. Gunther Lawrence to Arendt, 24 July 1963, Library of Congress. Lawrence offered his services as a lecture tour organizer. Hannah Arendt replied on 8 Sept. 1963, Library of Congress: "I don't go on lecture tours, I am not the kind of person that, and I also don't want to make that kind of money out of a publicity which personally I regard as an unhappy incident."
108. For Hilberg's criticism of Baeck, see *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973), pp. 122-25, 297. For Baeck's "grave decision," Leonard Baker, *Days of Sorrow and Pain: Leo Baeck and Berlin Jews* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1978), p. 311.
109. This quotation and the following one are from Arendt, *Eichmann*, p. 111.
110. Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, p. 292.
111. Freier to Arendt, 20 March 1963, Library of Congress. Arendt may have exaggerated notion of Israeli censorship, but she continued to have reason for suspicion in a 23 October 1963 letter to Jaspers, Marbach, she said: "Letters from and to me get through the Israeli censorship. . . . Only letters to people who are thought reliable, Hebrew University, etc.—and to my family get through." Israel Shalak of Hebrew University wrote on 3 March 1967 to tell her that he could find no copies of *Eichmann in Jerusalem* in paperback in Jerusalem, not even at Hebrew University Library, Library of Congress.
112. Dr. Adolf Leschnitzer, *Aufbau*, 29 March 1963; Jacob Robinson, *The Crooked Shall Be Made Straight*, p. 206.
113. Tillich's statement in Friedlander's "Teacher of Theresienstadt" is cited in Baker, *Days of Sorrow and Pain*, p. 311.
114. Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, p. 283.
115. Albert Friedlander, "The Arendt Report on Eichmann and the Jewish Community," *Central Conference of American Rabbis Journal* 11/2 (October 1963): 55.
116. Arendt to Blumenfeld, 14 January 1946, Marbach. Blumenfeld's opinion Baeck (as reported by Arendt to Pinhas Rosen, 27 June 1964, Library of Congress "Baeck war ein durch und durch verlogener Bursche, aber er hatte Mut [Baeck thoroughly mendacious fellow, but he had courage].")
117. Baker, *Days of Sorrow and Pain*, p. 263.
118. Arendt to Auram-Makis Koen, a University of Chicago student, 3 July 1964, Library of Congress.
119. Notes prepared by George McKenna and annotated by Hannah Arendt, Library of Congress.
120. Arendt's notes for an interview with *Look* magazine, Library of Congress. See Grafton wrote requesting the interview on 19 September 1963, Library of Congress. Arendt consented but then refused when the magazine wanted to send a Jewish than a Gentile interviewer. Arendt to Jaspers, 20 October 1963, Marbach.
121. Hertzberg to Arendt, 31 March 1966, Library of Congress.
122. Arendt to Hertzberg, 8 April 1966, Library of Congress.
123. Arendt to Mary McCarthy, 20 September 1963 (in McCarthy's possession).
124. Arendt, *Eichmann*, p. 93.
125. This passage and the following extract are from Hannah Arendt, introduction to *Auschwitz*, by Bernd Naumann (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966).
126. For "calculated wickedness" see Arendt's notes for a lecture at Wellesley College, 16 March 1964, Library of Congress and *The Life of the Mind* (New York: Harbrace Jovanovich, 1978), 1: 3-5.
127. See the Arendt-Scholem exchange, note 18 above.

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[Regentin / Ent. Helmer
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Klaus Pöhl hat sich in
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Dr. Georg Heuser Auf der
Judenkennzeichnung in
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publiziert - siehe in die
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den Bibliographie ausgelegt
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Verkauf der Nov 30, 64

September 17 1993

Dear Eric

Have you seen "Searching for Bobby Fischer"?
If not. drop everything and rush to the
cinema.

Yesterday I was in the Library of Congress.
The Hannah Arendt case is evidently
becoming more complicated and I will
be very interested in your reactions. I
have interspersed some of the items I
found there with correspondence from my
own file. The holes in the picture are
likely to remain, but you can see from
this example how a conclusion drawn from
a few documents can easily be altered
when two or three other items are added
to the evidence.

Paul

January 22, 1963.

Herrn Klaus Piper
R. Piper Verlag
Georgenstrasse 4
8 München 13
Germany

Lieber Herr Piper,

X Beim Beantworten der Post sehe ich gerade Kurt Wolffs Brief; er schreibt ausdrücklich, Möhring ist kein Jude. Er ist Faulkners Übersetzer. Ich habe den vielleicht ganz ungerechtfertigten Verdacht, dass Ihnen ein erstklassiger Mann zu teuer für dies Buch ist. Das täte mir leid, denn ich werde darauf bestehen.

Haben Sie Dank für Ihre beiden Briefe. Leider enthalten sie das für mich doch wesentliche nicht, nämlich 1. einen Vertragsvorschlag und 2. einen für mich annehmbaren Vorschlag eines Übersetzers. Es sind an mich inzwischen andere Verleger herangetreten und ich habe bisher alles sehr deflatorisch behandelt, aber Sie haben das Manuskript 4 Monate gehabt und das ist schliesslich eine sehr lange Optionsfrist. Ich würde ausserdem von Ihnen, falls Sie das Manuskript drucken wollen doch noch eine bindende Zusage erbitten das keinerlei Änderungen gemacht werden.

Jetzt zu Ihren Bedenken:

Seite 10 - die Prozesse sind in Gang gekommen erst nach der Festnahme Eichmanns. Über die Urteile sind wir uns ja einig. Das Urteil im Flensburger Prozess das Sie mir freundlicherweise schickten, ist schlimmer als alles was ich zitiert habe.

Seite 11 - Forced labor ist die englische Übersetzung für Zuchthaus.

Seite 13 - Den Rechenschaftsbericht von Herrn Losener habe ich gelesen. Die Dokumente waren mir bekannt aus den Nürnberger Prozessen. Was er dazu zu fügen hatte in seinen sogenannten Memoiren ist in seinem Gemisch von Dummheit und Verlogenheit geradezu grauenhaft. Ich hatte falschlicherweise einen besseren Eindruck von ihm aus den Nürnberger Verhandlungen. Was nun seine Bemerkung über Globke betrifft so ist es ~~von~~ klar, dass die Herren sich gegenseitig Persilscheine ausstellen. Das Material von Globke liegt vor und ist von mir zitiert.

Seite 15 - Die Quelle ist ein in der jüdischen Presse erschienene Zusammenfassung arabischer Zeitungsmeldungen. Ich habe meine gesamten Zeitungsausschnitte dem New Yorker gegeben der dankenswerterweise das gesamte Manuskript noch einmal faktenmässig überprüft hat. Er ist auch dieser Sache nachgegangen und sie stimmt.

Seite 2 - Piper Verlag

Seite 16 - Ich spreche hier natürlich von Eichmann her. Mir scheint das ist aus dem Zusammenhang ersichtlich, siehe ersten Satz des Absatzes.

Seite 17 - Die Daten für LIFE und den STE^{KN} sind im New Yorker eingefügt.

Seite 18 - Der Fall von Maunz unterscheidet sich wesentlich von dem anderer hoher Beamter. Ich kenne die Literatur sehr genau und mir ist nicht eine einzige Arbeit über die Nazi Polizei bekannt die an Intelligenz und an nazistischer Gesinnung dem Buch von Maunz über die "Deutsche Polizei" nahe kommt. Er ist der einzige der die Sache verstanden und gerechtfertigt hat. Von Konformismus kann überhaupt keine Rede sein.

Seite 21 - Solingen - mir ist die Assoziation nicht aufgefallen. Selbstverständlich braucht man dies nicht in Deutschland.

Seite 27 - Eichmann war niemals Österreichischer Bürger. Die Familie hatte die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit behalten.

Seite 47 - Alle solche Urteile sind Pauschal-Urteile. Ich bin in der Tat der Meinung, dass das öffentliche Klima in Adenauer's Deutschland im Ganzen verlogen ist. Ob das nun Wasser auf die Mühlen von Ulbricht ist oder nicht scheint mir ganz gleichgültig. Damit wird heute in Deutschland eine leise Treterei gerechtfertigt die meines Erachtens moralisch nicht zu rechtfertigen ist.

Seite 48 - Ich fürchte Sie haben das Englisch in diesem Fall nicht ganz verstanden aber ich werde Herrn Beckmann nennen wie ich Herrn Maunz und Herrn Globke nennen werde. Es ist die einzige Möglichkeit "Pauschal-Urteile" zu rechtfertigen.

Seite 70 - Ich habe nicht gesagt das jeder Offizier dienstlich von der Endlosung "unterrichtet" wurde, sondern dass er davon wusste. Dies stimmt zum mindesten für jeden der im Osten oder Süd-Osten eingesetzt wurde.

Seite 81 - Natürlich, kenne ich das Buch von Rothfels. Es ist leider ganz unzuverlässig. Es gibt inzwischen eine ausführliche Arbeit über die Widerstandsbewegung die leider nicht veröffentlicht ist. Es handelt sich um eine Doktorarbeit von einem Deutschen namens Romoser an der Universität von Chicago, in der das gesamte Material zum ersten Mal gesammelt vorliegt. Die Arbeit ist nicht veröffentlicht worden weil sie in einem sehr schlechten Englisch geschrieben ist und auch weil sie viel zu lang und ausführlich geraten ist. Ich hoffe sehr, dass es der hiesigen Universitäts Presse gelingen wird Herrn Romoser dazu

Seite 3 = Piper Verlag

zu bewegen bestimmte Kurzungen vorzunehmen und das Buch sozusagen ins Englische übersetzten zu lassen, sodass man es veröffentlichen kann. Ich erhielt das Manuskript in Chicago und habe es in dem endgültigen Text ausführlich zitiert.

Sie haben Recht mit den Geschwistern Schohl, aber das ist eine andere Sache.

Mit Jaspers haben Sie vielleicht Recht, ich erwähne im gleichen Zusammenhang immerhin Reck-Malleczewen ausserdem habe ich im endgültigen Text hier eine längere Einfügung gebracht die die Sache vielleicht abmildert.

Seite 65 - Sie brauchen sich wirklich um Belege nicht zu sorgen. Es steht in dem ganzen Buch nicht ein Satz der nicht belegt werden kann und sämtliche Belege sind vom New Yorker nochmals überprüft worden.

Seite 102 - Globke - Ihnen ist das Buch über Globke sicher bekannt. Ich habe es hier nicht zur Hand. Wenn ich mich recht erinnere hat die ZEIT die Sache veröffentlicht.

Seite 129 - Ich verstehe nicht recht was Sie meinen.

Seite 163 - Ich habe hier wie auch sonst Material benutzt das in dem 1961 erschienenen Buch von Raul Hilberg vorliegt. Dies ist ein Standard Werk, das alle früheren Untersuchungen, wie Reitlinger, Poljakoff etc. veraltet erscheinen lässt. Der Autor hat 15 Jahre nur mit Quellen gearbeitet und wenn er nicht ein sehr torichtes erstes Kapitel dazu geschrieben hatte, in dem er zeigt dass er von deutscher Geschichte nicht sehr viel versteht, wäre das Buch sozusagen perfekt. Niemand wird jedenfalls über diese Sachen schreiben können ohne es zu benutzen.

Seite 170 - Das Englishhe unterstellt Herrn Servatius gar nichts. Es sagt nur das wenn er überhaupt was gemeint hat er nichts anderes hatte meinen können.

Seite 196 - Das Buch hat viele nonchalante Formulierungen. Dies ist eine Frage des Stils und ich würde meinen, dass diese in der Übersetzung noch mehr profiliert herauskommen sollten als im Englishen.

Seite 202 - Der Beleg für Herrn Servatius ist früher gegeben. Er hat das nach einer Meldung der Rheinischen Merkur auf einer Tagung in Deutschland wortlich gesagt. p. 16

Seite 203 - Ich habe all diesen Jahren in Deutschland niemanden getroffen oder gelesen der wirklich etwas getan hat und sich schuldig fühlte. Was die Herrschaften denken wenn sie abends in

/ Seite 4 - Piper Verlag

Bett das Licht ausmachen, das weiss ich nicht. Aber sie können auch nicht beanspruchen, dass ich darauf Rücksicht nehme.

Seite 204 - Ich besinne mich auf eine Reihe von Zeitungsmeldungen während des Rummels um Anne Frank auf die sich dies bezieht. Ich habe das Wort "kollektiv" nicht gebraucht.

Seite 204-5 - Ich kann nur sagen ich bin nicht Ihrer Meinung. In der endgültigen Fassung kommt hier der Absatz den Sie in Ihrer Fassung auf Seite 45 finden.

Noch eine Kleinigkeit: Das von mir entworfene Schlusswort des Richter wäre auf Deutsch nicht "rücksichtslos" sondern "kompromisslos"

Nun Ihre Frage - der Antisemitismus. Dies würde den Rahmen dieses Buches sprengen. Darf ich ausserdem darauf hinweisen, dass ich mich zur Frage des Antisemitismus und der Judenfrage bereits vor vielen Jahren sehr ausführlich geäussert habe, nämlich im ersten Teil meines Buches über die "Totale Herrschaft". Ich hätte dem heute nichts hinzuzufügen.

Lieber Herr Piper jetzt wissen Sie woran Sie sind. Es ist keine Frage dass dies ein, wie man hier sagt, "controversial book" ist. Aber das befürchte ich alle meine Bücher. Ich wäre Ihnen doch dankbar wenn Sie sich ernsthaft überlegen würden ob Sie den Spass unter den von mir angegebenen Bedingungen machen wollen oder nicht. Was die Verleumdungsgeschichten anlangt so ist das Manuskript hier bereits von den Anwälten des New Yorker wie der Viking Press geprüft worden. Es ist in Ordnung bis auf eine Kleinigkeit die den Herrn Merten betrifft und dies habe ich bereits korrigiert.

Ich gehe diesen Freitag nach New York zurück und möchte Ihnen vorschlagen dass wenn ich von Ihnen bis Montag den 4. Februar nichts höre ich ruhig mit einem anderen Verlag verhandeln kann. Im Übrigen sehen wir uns in Basel.

Herzliche Grüsse,

Hannah Arendt

HA:ts



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January 22, 1965

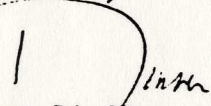
Dr. Hannah Arendt
370 Riverside Drive (109th St.)
New York, New York

Dear Hannah:

The tiresome Hilberg has replied, and I enclose a copy along with his photostat of the review. The next to last paragraph has obviously served to actuate his paranoia.

It seems to me that I answered the reviewer's ill-founded objections in my first letter to Hilberg. But perhaps I should say something more. What do you think?

Yours ever,


Denver Lindley

DL/cih

Enclosure

Box 1398, Pacifica, Calif.
January 21, 1966

Professor Hannah Arendt
Committee for Social Thought
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Miss Arendt:

I have read your reply to Walter Laqueur in the New York Review of January 20 with attention and interest--but also with a sense of compassionate regret that you should have to spend so much time and space on all those details, which could be much better spent in your creative activity. But, of course, you must do what you can to defend your work and your honor. If only your work had originally appeared in some journal which provides more of an intellectual forum and interchange than the New Yorker. I do not see any way out of this interminable discussion, save perhaps through some actual, incarnate, face-to-face forum or "trial" on the ~~1~~ issue, handled in some humanly and intellectually decent manner.

As for myself, I read your book in its original form in the New Yorker installments, and had both favorable and unfavorable impressions of it. I would have to go through it again to recall in detail which parts and aspects I found good and which not. But I question blanket condemnations or approvals which put ^{you} and your book into neat pejorative or heroic categories. And, of course, I would be revolted to become part of any Establishment ganging-up or lynch-crowd.

May I suggest, though, that there must be something about the manner in which you wrote, your style and tone, if not your direct statements, which led to what you ~~xx~~ regard as the egregious misapprehensions of your purpose and meaning--both among your decriers and your supporters. As an instance of the latter group, let me tell you about a friend of mine. He is non-Jewish, with little knowledge of European Jewish history and realities, who was delighted with your work, and who understood it in a sense that you say is wrong-headed: that it ascribed to the Jewish people themselves the main responsibility for the dimensions of their slaughter.

My friend has admitted to me that he has ~~had~~ no knowledge of these things beyond what you have written, has seen no source-materials and would not even know what they were and where to look for them, and moreover has read no other secondary material on this, except for Bettelheim. ~~But~~ He said that ~~that~~ he liked ~~about~~ your book because it showed people who had previously been pictured as poignant victims in quite another light--it appealed to an iconoclastic or "revisionist" itch in him. This man, ~~is~~ is no crude illiterate--his fields are literature and philosophy, which demand some minimum ability to read texts--and he is no anti-Semite, but merely ignorant, callously so, if one can be callously ignorant, of the Jews and Judaisms. (I could have throttled him when he said, as a direct result of your book, "Why do the Jews always complain about what other people should have done to save them, when they didn't do anything to save

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themselves? They're always blaming other people!" Since I am of Eastern European parentage and ancestry, and have intimate family memories on the environment there--"a good country for pogroms," a cynical Hungarian friend of mine described it--I can hardly listen to such remarks without violent revulsion.)

Now, I honestly believe that my friend's reaction can be multiplied by thousands, many of them of even less sophistication or even less fellow-feeling than he. I suppose you could answer, with formal correctness, that you cannot be responsible for what your readers do with your writings--for their personal misconstructions and stupidities. I certainly would dread myself to be judged by what readers and students have gathered from my writings and lectures. But I think you would agree that all serious writing is an act, a public one, and that a work such as Eichmann in Jerusalem was par excellence a public act--into the world--and was bound to have public consequences.

This brings us to the question of style again, which I raised above. Ernst Simon, whom we can hardly classify as an Establishment hack, has written a whole essay on this, which you are probably familiar with. Despite some inane nit-picking on "scholarly" details, he has, it seems to me, picked one aspect of your book that tends toward snide and callous connotations. Now I know how easy it is for a writer to fall into the ironic mode, how tempting it is for anyone with a developed critical intellect when dealing with human affairs, and how facile it is to achieve elegance and grace in that mode. But it seems to me it was grotesquely out of place in dealing with the horrible and painful actualities which you had to do with, and, frankly, you seemed at times to be straining to bring off an effect--to be "cute"--at the expense perhaps of the whole truth, or the essential truth.

Now, of course, in all fairness, it should be remarked that you did not write in the distant, indirect, ironical mode alone, but also in quite direct and even passionately indignant language too, if I recall correct. (I'm not sure whether Simon noted this important fact or not.) But those, like my friend, who were looking for the delighting "reverse" rendition of the Jewish disaster, would carry a more indelible impression of the ironic passages than the others. You did not write a monochromatic or monophonic piece, but one color or tone stands out in your critics' and supporters' minds. As a writer who has sometimes written badly and ambiguously, I am inclined to think that the result must be attributed to the manner in which you wrote. You brought off an effect, which, according to what you say in the N. Y. Review rejoinder, you did not want to bring off.

I must also say frankly that I agree with the complaint of people like Simon and Alexander Donat, that you sometimes used source materials in a manner that was misleading as to what was originally written, in order to prove a point that you were trying to make. I cannot go into detail on this now, since it has been a long time since I read the book. But I

do recall that I was reading Raul Hilberg's The Destruction of the European Jews just before and during the time I read your book in the New Yorker installments. I noted that you often used material from Hilberg, via ellipses, paraphrases, and ~~x~~ other methods, in a constructive pattern which left out important qualifying details, or indeed sometimes belied the point you were trying to make. (Again detailed comparative textual examination would have to be made to demonstrate this.) This sort of thing did make me wonder about the solidity of your paraphrases and condensations of materials which I had had no direct contact with.

I must also say that my own impression of you tallied with Professor Simon's, namely, that you write as if you were one apart from your people, looking down at them, and writing from some lofty, impartial position. That is the impression I got from you in many ways excellent article on "the end of Zionism" in the Menorah Journal in the early 1940's, and that is the impression I got from your Eichmann pieces. That is the persona you present in your writings on things Jewish, whether intentionally or not, as if you were not personally involved or affected.

Yet in the New York Review communication you plead rightly for the inherent goodness of criticism of one's own people when they do wrong, because one loves them, not because one does not, as one of them, a friend and sister, not as a stranger. Then you are taking the human position, perhaps the prophetic position, and you are talking like Martin Buber. But somehow, although what Buber said was understood in that sense, whatever the anger and disgruntlement about his remarks in certain circles (and he said far worse things about Israeli actions, politics and officials, I think, than you ever did), what you say is ~~not~~ understood in that way. Is that the fault of your readers' reading or of your own presentation--your manner and form--or does it have something to do with your inmost personality and intention?

(Incidentally, I wonder what Buber thought about your book. I know essentially what he thought about the Eichmann trial, but never heard what he thought about the literary "Eichmann in Jerusalem.")

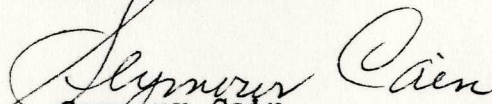
Of course, in the end, from an intellectual and moral standpoint, the main question is what actually happened and what we are to conclude from that--in our minds and in our actions. Obviously a good many of your critics are not primarily interested in this primary matter, but are angry at you for saying what they do not like to ~~have~~ think happened, or resent an unfavorable image of people and institutions to which they are attached. That is why I think some kind of a ~~fx~~ just forum or trial would be a salutary thing, as I suggested above.

We might then get down to what you point out is the main substantive part of your book--the trial itself and how it was conducted. An astonishing amount of agreement on certain points might turn up here. For one thing, I gather from what I have read and heard that a good many observers would agree that the Prosecutor's performance was inept and injudicious. I found another hint of this last summer when I questioned an Israeli colleague on the trial. The

man in question is an hysterically vituperative and chauvinistic type (on this sort of thing) who destested you and all your works. He insisted that the trial was completely fair, and just, defended the exclusion of ~~xxxxxxx~~ important testimony on the defense side, and all the rest. Yet when I asked him what he thought of the Prosecutor's handling of the case, he replied immediately that he considered him a stupid ass, who had mucked up the whole business.

This may seem a slight grounds for some basis of agreement. But there must be some in this matter. And it would do good to air honestly and openly the areas of agreement and disagreement.

Sincerely yours,


Seymour Cain

Pill

DL

February 13, 1965

Mr. Thomas H. Guinzburg
President, The Viking Press
625 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Guinzburg:

I have had a correspondence with your Mr. Denver Lindley about Hannah Arendt's Eichmann in Jerusalem. After receiving two letters from Mr. Lindley, I have no further wish to write to him.

Permit me to express to you my disappointment in Viking. I had hoped for a little more integrity in such a large publishing house.

That's us!

Sincerely yours,

Raul Hilberg
Raul Hilberg

He has finally thought of something to say.

February 13, 1955

Handwritten: *James Russell Jones*
Carlson

Dear Mr. Carlson:

I have had a correspondence with you Mr. Dewey Bishop
about Hannah Arendt's *On Violence*. After
receiving two letters from Mr. Bishop, I have no longer
wish to write to him.

Permit me to express to you my disappointment in *Violence*.
I had hoped for a little more integrity in such a
publishing house.

Sincerely yours,

Handwritten: *Raul Hilbert*
Raul Hilbert



002146

THE VIKING PRESS INC. • PUBLISHERS

625 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK • N Y • 10022

Cable: Vikpress Telephone: (212) PL 5-4330

January 22, 1965

Dr. Hannah Arendt
370 Riverside Drive (109th St.)
New York, New York

Dear Hannah:

The tiresome Hilberg has replied, and I enclose a copy along with his photostat of the review. The next to last paragraph has obviously served to actuate his paranoia.

It seems to me that I answered the reviewer's ill-founded objections in my first letter to Hilberg. But perhaps I should say something more. What do you think?

Yours ever,


Denver Lindley

DL/cih

Enclosure

002146



THE VIKING PRESS INC. PUBLISHERS

633 MADISON AVENUE - NEW YORK - N. Y. - 10022

Circle 100 in Reader Service Card

January 22, 1962

Howard Arnold
Peters

Volume 32

Dr. Hannah Arendt
370 Riverside Drive (109th St.)
New York, New York

Dear Hannah:

The *Witness* Hilberg has replied, and I
enclose a copy along with his protest of
the review. The next to last paragraph was
obviously served to activate his protest.

It seems to me that I answered the review-
er's ill-founded objections in my first
letter to Hilberg. But perhaps I should
say something more. What do you think?

Yours ever,


Daniel Lindley

DL/clb

Enclosure

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MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

November 15, 1994

Dear Dr. Hilberg:

I have finally been able to locate the four items that seemed to be missing from our Hannah Arendt Papers during your visit to the Manuscript Division and enclose copies with our compliments. The Moses correspondence is in the subject file in a folder labelled Eichmann case, correspondence, Jewish organizations, 1960-65, and the Dienstfrey letter under Eichmann case, correspondence in English, 1963-67, miscellaneous. Please accept my apology for taking so long to respond.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Kathleen C. McDonough".

Kathleen C. McDonough
Manuscript Reference
Librarian

Enclosures

Dr. Raul Hilberg
236 Prospect Parkway
Burlington, VT 05401

den 4. Februar 1966

Sehr geehrter Herr Jisraeli,

ich danke Ihnen für Ihren Brief und schicke Ihnen anbei ein Exemplar meines Artikels, den Sie erwähnten. Ich erhielt hier einen Auszug aus einer hebräischen Zeitung, den ich nicht lesen kann, wo mir aber versichert wurde, dass kaum eines der in Anführungszeichen gesetzten Zitate auch nur das Geringste mit dem zu tun hat, was ich schrieb. Ob diese Verfälschung absichtlich war oder auf Sprachschwierigkeiten beruht, kann ich nicht entscheiden.

Was Ihre eigenen Arbeiten betrifft: Ich stimme Ihrer Darstellung des Haavara-Abkommens zu, möchte aber bemerken, dass es nicht schwer war, den jüdischen Boykott zu durchbrechen, und dass man in der Tat sagen konnte, dass die Wirksamkeit des jüdischen Boykotts in jedem Falle gering gewesen wäre. Es hätte sich nicht gelohnt, um dieses Boykotts willen den Transfer jüdischen Geldes aus Deutschland zu gefährden.

Was den Madagaskarplan angeht, so bin ich der Meinung, dass er im Auswärtigen Amt ausgeheckt wurde und von den sehr viel entscheidenderen Parteistellen niemals ernst genommen wurde. Was natürlich nicht heissen soll, dass die unteren Ränge der Partei wie z.B. Eichmann auf die Sache nicht doch reingefallen sind. Ich würde dringend empfehlen, Hilbergs Buch und das von Reitlinger in der Sache zu konsultieren. Quellenmaterial zur Madagaskarfrage dürften in den verschiedenen Archiven vorhanden sein. Ebenso

. / .

Dokumente über die Beziehung zwischen Nazismus und Pan-Arabis-
mus, vor allem dem Mufti. Ich habe mich für diese Dinge nie
speziell interessiert, kann Ihnen daher nicht weiter behilflich
sein.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Ihre

den 12. März 63

Lieber Siegfried Moses,

schade, dass wir wieder einmal aneinander vorbeifahren. Und Dank für die Vorankündigung der geplanten "Kriegserklärung." Dazu habe ich eigentlich nur eines zu bemerken -- falls diese Bemerkung Sie überhaupt noch irgendwo erreicht, wo Sie etwas unternehmen oder ändern können. Sie nennen Hilberg, Bettelheim und mich. Richten Sie besser den Angriff gegen mich allein, eventuell noch gegen Hilberg, ^{mit} dessen ja vorzüglich gearbeitetes Buch ~~nicht~~ Sie es sich nicht zu leicht machen dürfen. Aber lassen Sie den Bettelheim draussen. Das ist ein psychologischer Schwätzer, der von nichts eine Ahnung hat, von geistigem Niveau ganz zu schweigen. Auch Hilberg kann man nur rein wissenschaftlich ernst nehmen; er arbeitet wirklich aus den Quellen. Geistig ist er leider nicht wirklich von Rang wie Sie ja aus seinen ziemlich albernen Meinungen über Deutsche und Juden "überhaupt" leicht entnehmen können. Wenn Sie ~~was~~ drei so vollkommen verschieden gelagerte Figuren in den gleichen Topf werfen, nur weil sie sich erdreistet haben, etwas gegen Juden und jüdische Führung und deutsche Juden zu sagen, dann wird Ihr Angriff noch nicht einmal wert sein, dass man darauf antwortet. Er wird nämlich unweigerlich selbst niveaulos.

Vergessen Sie einen Moment einmal Ihren Ärger auf mich und lassen Sie sich das ein bisschen durch den Kopf gehen. Sie wissen, einen Angriff vom New Yorker Baeck Institut würde ich überhaupt nicht ernst nehmen. Es ist natürlich etwas anderes, wenn er von Jerusalem oder London (Weltsch) kommt.

Sie erreichen mich hier bis zum Ende des Monats. Ich treffe mich dann mit meinem Mann für eine Griechenlandreise, bin also den ganzen April in Athen c/o American Express zu erreichen.

Alles Gute und herzliche Grüsse

Ihre

Hannah Arendt

Wie geht es Kurt?

P.S. Ich sehe gerade, dass der Council protestieren will. Nun, es ist ja ziemlich Jacke wie Hose.

11001

Pill

February 13, 1965

Mr. Thomas H. Guinzburg
President, The Viking Press
625 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Guinzburg:

I have had a correspondence with your Mr. Denver Lindley about Hannah Arendt's Eichmann in Jerusalem. After receiving two letters from Mr. Lindley, I have no further wish to write to him.

Permit me to express to you my disappointment in Viking. I had hoped for a little more integrity in such a large publishing house.

That's us!

Sincerely yours,

Raul Hilberg
Raul Hilberg

He has finally thought of something to say.

430 West 119 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027
March 25, 1964

Miss Hannah Arendt
370 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y.

Dear Miss Arendt,

As you'll see, I wrote the enclosed article on Eichmann in Jerusalem shortly after the Dissent-sponsored forum that discussed the book (around October 1963). I intended it in part as an answer to your critics, and since it now looks as if the piece won't get published, I thought you would be interested in reading it yourself. (I believe my brother-in-law, Stephen Durchslag, mentioned it to you when you spoke at Harvard.)

As a matter of chance, Louis Cowan told me the other day that he may publish a collection of the critical responses evoked by Eichmann in Jerusalem, and we both thought my article, which he has not seen, might be suitable. Since I am sending you my only copy, would you please return it to me when you are finished so that I can forward it to Mr. Cowan.

Cordially,

Harris Dienstfrey
Harris Dienstfrey

BARBIZON-PLAZA HOTEL

106 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH
NEW YORK · 19 · NEW YORK

telephone Circle 7-7000

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7.3.1963

Liebe Hannah,

Als ich vor zehn Tagen nach New York kam, hoerte ich zu meinem Bedauern von Ihrem Manne, dass Sie in Europa sind. Es tut mir ganz besonders leid, dass ich Sie nicht sprechen kann. Nun muss ich Ihnen statt des erhofften freundschaftlichen Gespraches..... eine Kriegserklaerung schicken.

Wie ich hier hoere, haben Sie vorausgesehen, dass Ihre Aufsaezte im "New Yorker" bei den Juden ein negatives Echo finden wuerden. Aber vielleicht haben Sie sich doch nicht das Mass von Aufregung und Entruestung vorgestellt, das durch Ihre These ausgeloeest wurde, die juedischen Fuehrer haetten bei der Zerstoerung ihres Volkes mitgewirkt und ohne diese Kooperation waere die Gesamtzahl der juedischen Opfer kaum so gross gewesen.

Ich kam nach New York mit dem Entwurf eines Statement, in dem sich nach meinem Vorschlag der Council of Jews from Germany gegen die in dem Hilberg'schen Buch und in dem von Bettelheim veroeffentlichten Aufsaezten enthaltene Darstellung wenden sollte. Nun muss die Abwehr des Council sich in erster Reihe gegen Ihre Aufsaezte richten. Ich beabsichtige, noch einige Tage in London und weiterhin einige Tage in Frankfurt und Bonn zu sein, und wenn meine Reise programmemaess verlaeuft, will ich am 21. Maerz nach Israel zurueckkehren.

*With kindest regards
Yehuda Himmelfarb*

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Liebe Hannah,

Wie Sie sich denken können, ist mir unser Gespräch noch sehr durch den Kopf gegangen.

Mir scheint, dass die erläuternde Ergänzung, die Sie zu den Ausführungen über unsere Verhandlungen in der Periode 1933 bis 1939 bringen wollen, nicht bis zum Erscheinen der deutschen Ausgabe verschoben werden darf. Sie müssten und könnten eine alsbaldige Gelegenheit hierfür finden. Am besten wäre natürlich eine Veröffentlichung im "New Yorker": mir ist in New York erzählt worden, dass der New Yorker zuweilen nach Abschluss einer Artikel-Serie ein das Echo der Artikel berücksichtigendes Schlusswort - wenn ich mich recht erinnere, unter der Bezeichnung "amplification" - bringt.

Nachdem ich noch einmal den Text gelesen habe, scheint mir auch die von uns diskutierte Behauptung, dass die Verluste geringer gewesen wären, wenn das jüdische Volk führerlos gewesen wäre (Aufsatz vom 2. März, Seite 50) einer erläuternden Ergänzung zu bedürfen. Die Formulierung: "The whole truth was....." erweckt absolut den Eindruck, es handle sich um eine beweisbare Behauptung.

*Ich wünsche Ihnen schöne Tage mit Wachen
in Gienken. Ihr Lieber Herr*