

## Index

- the absolute, problem of, 182, 225–227, 231–232
- action(s), 1–3, 26–27, 29–31, 40–41, 137, 211, 214
- American colonists' understanding of, 201–202
- deliberation as a form of, 69–70
- freedom and, 62–63, 140–141, 184, 186, 252
- instrumental concept of, 22–24, 127–128, 135–136
- vs. labor, 26–27
- vs. making, 22–24, 124–129, 135–136
- nativity and, 186–187
- plurality and, 203
- principle(s) and, 161–162, 187–188, 253–254
- revolutionary power of, 64–65, 93–94
- thought and, 15–16, 25–26, 31, 40–41, 84, 128–129, 265
- Adams, John, 157–158, 191–192, 204–205, 210, 242
- Agamben, Giorgio, 135n77, 137n89
- agonism, politics as, 6, 63–64
- American colonists. *See also* American revolutionaries
- as anti-democratic, 198–199
- experiences of, 198–211
- inherited concepts and, 191–192, 211
- nontheoretical understanding of political matters, 198–199
- self-government and, 191, 198–211, 215–217, 222, 239–240
- understanding of freedom, 208–210
- American Revolution, 27, 164, 188–189, 196, 211–221
- Arendt's interpretation of, 7, 192–198
- Christian interpretations of, 194–196, 261
- classic liberal interpretations of, 193–194, 196, 261
- forgotten legacy of, 1, 190–192, 198, 256–262, 264–265
- revolutionaries' views of, 197, 218–219
- social interpretations of, 195–197, 261
- spirit of, 256–258
- American revolutionaries, 157–158, 197–198, 253–254. *See also* American colonists
- choice of republic over monarchy, 193–194, 213–214, 216–217
- failure to articulate practical understanding in theoretical terms, 192, 196–197
- failure to articulate the meaning of the Revolution, 191–192
- failure to establish institutions for political engagement, 258–260
- gap between political theories and nontheoretical understanding of politics, 197–198, 218–221, 225, 227, 230–232, 261–262, 264–265
- insights preserved in nontheoretical writings and practical political documents, 196–197
- self-government and, 218–220, 225, 256–260
- understanding of law, 227
- understanding of political authority, 225, 253–254
- understanding of power, 219–220, 244–245
- understanding of principle(s), 157–158, 164
- antagonism, politics as, 6
- anti-essentialism, 111n9
- appearing, 84, 86–87, 117, 123–124
- appearance(s), vs. being, 86n4
- as mere semblance or illusion, 123–124
- opinion and, 64–65, 87–88, 117, 123–124
- the polis as space of, 64–65
- as self-showing of beings themselves, 123–124
- arche* and *archein*, 130–132, 161–162
- Arendt, Hannah, readers of, Benhabib, Seyla, 75–76
- Birmingham, Peg, 75–76
- Gottsegen, Michael, 78
- Hull, Margaret Betz, 74–75
- Kateb, George, 75–76, 78
- McGowan, John, 75–77
- Parekh, Bhikhu, 75–76

- Arendt, Hannah, readers of (cont.)  
 Passerin d'Entrèves, Maurizio, 77, 168–169  
 Pitkin, Hanna, 78  
 Villa, Dana, 6–7, 78, 102  
 Young-Bruehl, Elisabeth, 7, 75–76
- Arendt, Hannah, works of, 20–31  
 biography of Rahel Varnhagen, 11  
*Crises of the Republic*, 27  
*Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 27–29, 91–92  
*The Human Condition*, 26–27, 40–41, 132–133  
*Introduction into Politics (Einführung in die Politik)*, 6–7, 24, 26  
 “Karl Marx and the Great Tradition” (lecture series), 23–24  
*The Life of the Mind: Thinking*, 30–31, 132  
*The Life of the Mind: Willing*, 30–31  
*Love in Saint Augustine*, 11  
*Men in Dark Times*, 91–92  
*Origins of Totalitarianism*, 20–22, 234–235  
*Between Past and Future*, 27, 36–37  
*On Revolution*, 27, 41, 157–158  
 “Thinking and Moral Considerations,” 29–30  
 “The Totalitarian Elements in Marxism,” 22–23  
*On Violence*, 17n27, 82–83, 167, 190
- Aristotle, 7, 23–25, 42–46, 55, 87–89, 111–113, 127, 130–139  
 concept of essence, 134–135  
 distortion of Greek understanding of politics, 108–109, 131n63, 136–139  
 on human nature, 134–135, 138–139  
 metaphysical understanding of politics, 134–139  
 metaphysical terms derived from the sphere of making, 131–134  
*Metaphysics*, 130–139, 135n77, 161–162, 186  
*Nicomachean Ethics*, 133–136, 161–162, 162n175  
*Politics*, 23–24, 51–52, 106n62, 134–136, 142–143  
 on principle(s), 161–163, 187–188
- assemblies  
 Athenian, 54–59, 81–82, 246–247, 258–260  
 colonial, 188, 208–211, 219, 240–241, 254–255, 258–260
- Athenian politics, 53–66, 72, 81–82, 142, 233–234, 246–247, 252, 258–260
- Cleisthenes, 54–55, 173–174, 258–260  
*demes*, 54–55, 258–259  
 Isagoras, 54–55  
 Peisistratos, 54–55, 173–174, 246–247  
 Solon, 54–55, 91
- authority, 27, 44–45, 82–83, 139, 148–157, 202, 211. *See also auctoritas*  
 American revolutionaries’ practical understanding of, 225, 253–254  
 Arendt’s definition of, 175–176
- Aristotle and, 151–152  
 in Declaration of Independence, 251–255  
 doctrine of ideas and, 150–151, 156  
 as foreign to Greek politics, 149–150  
 foundation and, 152–153, 155–156, 251–254  
 genealogy of, 155–157, 222–223  
 law(s) and, 157–160  
 moral, 175–176  
 natural law and, 151–152, 156  
 Plato and, 150–152, 154–156  
 power and, 154–157, 168, 175–176  
 principle(s) and, 161, 252–253  
 problem of, 221–224  
 religion and, 152–155, 194, 205–206, 222–227  
 Roman understanding of, 152–155, 161  
 secular politics and, 221–222  
 tradition and, 152–155
- Beard, Charles, 195–196  
 Becker, Carl, 238  
 being  
 vs. appearance, 84, 86  
 as appearing, 86n4, 86
- Berlin, Isaiah, 140  
 Bolshevism, 20–23
- Cartledge, Paul, 53n20  
 charters, 198–203  
 Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, 199–200, 204–205
- Cicero, 154–155  
 citizenship, 59, 204–205  
 Black and Native Americans deprived of, 236–237  
 in the polis, 55–56  
 as “the right to have rights,” 236–238  
 valued over rulership, 143
- civil disobedience, 17, 27  
 civil liberties, 208–209, 213–217, 219, 240–241  
 civil rights, 194, 208–209, 213–214  
 coercion, 69, 170–171, 175–176  
 command, 21–22, 44–46, 68–70, 124–126, 167–168, 245–246  
 authority and, 175–176  
 law(s) and, 168–169, 181–182  
 power and, 170–173
- commonality and plurality, 67, 74–75  
 common good, 67–68, 74–75, 77, 100–101, 203, 210–211  
 common interest, action and, 203  
 communities, 100–101, 181–182, 204–205  
 political vs. nonpolitical forms of, 82–83  
 political vs. ruled by one man, 72, 81–82, 245–246

- compacts, 198, 201–202, 204–208, 211,  
 219–220, 222, 229  
   Mayflower Compact, 200–201  
 concepts, pure, 170n15  
 consensus, 202, 208, 236–237  
 consent, 208, 211, 255, 258–260, 262, 264  
   as fictitious, 207  
   of the governed, 193–194, 244–247  
   law and, 206–208  
   responsibility and, 207–208  
   tacit, 207–208  
 constitutional monarchies, 213–214  
 constitution-making, 219–222  
 Continental Congress, 213, 254–255  
 contracts, 178–180, 184–186, 201–203  
   American colonists and, 199–203  
   horizontal, 178–180, 202–208, 219–220,  
   244–245, 250–251  
   as means by which power is generated and  
   sustained, 178–180  
   vertical, 178–180, 202–204, 206–208,  
   219–220, 244, 249–250  
 covenant of first church of Boston, 200  
 covenants, 198–203, 211, 219–220  
 critical dismantling, 34–38, 119–121  
   *Destruktion*, 34–36, 42–46  
   *Konstruktion*, 34, 37–38, 42–46  
   *Reduktion*, 34, 36–37, 42–46  
  
 Declaration of Independence, 7, 188, 194,  
 196–197, 209–210, 219–255  
   as act of foundation, 247–252, 255  
   as act of revolution, 228, 255, 264–265  
   Bill of Rights in, 213, 227–255  
   as horizontal contract, 250–251  
   legitimacy based on practical principles  
   implicitly governing act of Declaring  
   Independence, 245–246, 248–249,  
   251–255, 261–262, 264–265  
   modeled on colonial compacts, 229  
   modeled on mathematics, 229–232  
   as performative, 247–249, 255  
   political authority in, 251–255  
   principle(s) in, 164  
   rooted in practical experiences of colonists,  
   198  
   self-evident truths in, 231–233, 248–249,  
   251–252  
   self-reflexive self-grounding structure of,  
   248–249, 251–252  
   as statement of political theory, 228  
   two different forms of discourse in,  
   229–232  
   two notions of power and legitimacy in,  
   245–246, 249–251  
  
 deliberation, 22–23, 56–58, 69–72, 84–85, 106,  
 115–116, 124–129, 138, 202–203,  
 210–211, 237–238, 245–246, 255,  
 258–260  
   common, 56, 99–100, 105–107, 124–126,  
   202–203, 237–238, 245–246, 255,  
   258–260  
   reduction of deliberation to instrumental  
   thinking, 136–137  
   Socratic thought and, 113–115  
 democratic politics, 31–33, 82–83, 108–109,  
 168, 198–199  
 Derrida, Jacques, 48n4, 249n152  
 Descartes, René  
   on principle(s), 162–163  
 despotism, 61, 70  
 dialogue, 84–85, 108–111, 115–116  
 Dio Cassius, 149  
 Diogenes Laertes, 109n4  
 dissent  
   principle(s) of, 208  
   right to, 188, 206–208  
 domination, 21–22, 50, 81–83, 142, 183,  
 204–205  
*doxa*, 87, 105–106, 110. *See also* opinion  
*Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 236–237  
  
 Economics and politics, 60–61, 77–78  
 Eichmann, Adolf, 27–30, 91–92, 98–99,  
 114–115  
 Epictetus, 144–147, 182–183  
 Epicurus, 25  
 equality, 68–69, 77, 202–205, 255, 258–260,  
 262  
   Declaration of Independence and, 233–234  
   freedom and, 233–234  
   legal, 54–57, 77, 143–144, 193–194,  
   233–234, 252  
   natural inequality, 233–234  
   political, 77, 233–234  
   principle of, 68–70  
 essence, 130–132  
   Aristotle's concept of, 134–135  
   as idea, 120–124, 126–127  
   as measure, 117–120  
   Plato's concept of, 119–121  
   Socratic thought and, 110–113  
 essentialism, 111n9  
 Euripides  
   *Ion*, 59  
   *The Phoenician Women*, 58–59  
   *The Suppliant Women*, 58–59, 81–82,  
   143–144  
 events, 20, 92, 94, 96–98  
   historical meaning of, 94

- events (cont.)  
 limited perspective on, 190–191  
 novelty of, 94–98, 103–104, 137  
 singularity of, 94–98, 103–104  
 evil, 27–28, 114–115  
 examples, thinking in, 91–92  
 prime examples in phenomenology,  
 79–80  
 experience as basis of thought, 7–8, 31, 36–37,  
 47, 225
- family, vs. the polity, 81  
 fascism, 4, 79–80  
 Finley, M. L., 3–4, 52n19, 53n20, 55–56, 78–81,  
 158–159  
 force, 44–45, 82–83, 174–175  
 Foucault, Michel, 3–5, 78–80, 167–168  
 foundation(s)  
 authority and, 152–153, 155–156, 221–222,  
 251–254  
 Connecticut, founding of, 201–202, 204–205  
 Declaration of Independence as act of,  
 247–249  
 principle(s) and, 187–188  
 freedom, 13, 27, 60, 137, 139–140, 186–187,  
 211, 252  
 action and, 62–63, 184, 186, 188  
 American colonists' understanding of,  
 208–210  
 vs. arbitrariness, 187  
 autonomy and, 182–183  
 causality and, 186  
 Christian concepts of, 145–147, 182–183  
 contracts and, 184–186  
 elevated over life, 143  
 and enfranchisement, 215  
 equality and, 233–234  
 exemplar shifts from citizen to the sovereign,  
 145  
 experienced in action, 140–141  
 as freedom of choice, 79–80, 145, 239–240  
 Greek understanding of, 58–59, 141–145  
 as horizon of possibilities, 188, 214, 239–240  
 inner freedom as derivative, 184  
 law and, 159, 169  
 liberation and, 143, 146–148, 182–183,  
 208–209, 214–215  
 natality and, 186–187  
 negative, 140, 147–148, 182–186, 214,  
 239–241  
 nonsovereign, 183–186  
 nontheoretical understanding of, 140  
 not understandable by returning to ancient  
 political philosophy, 140  
 plurality and, 183–186  
 politics and, 62–63, 70, 81, 143–144, 186  
 and the power to act, 184–186, 214, 239–240  
 principled action and, 187–188  
 self-government and, 208–210, 214–215,  
 239–240  
 sovereignty and, 142–143, 145, 147–148,  
 169, 182–186  
 Stoic philosophy and, 147  
 from subjection to arbitrary will of others,  
 208–209  
 from subjection to necessities of life, 142  
 transposition of worldly to spiritual, 144–147  
 will and, 147–148, 182–183  
 freedom of assembly, 188, 215, 237–238  
 freedom of choice, 184–186  
 freedom of movement, 214  
 freedom of speech, 56–59, 103–105, 143–144,  
 188, 214–215, 237–238  
 freedom of thought, 105  
 free obedience, 124–126  
 French Revolution, 27, 195, 215, 217–218
- Glorious Revolution of 1688, 213  
 government, 27  
 based on contract, 244–245  
 as distinct from politics, 73  
 power as essence of, 177  
 republican, 193–194, 213–214, 216–217,  
 219–220  
 supposed ends of, 166–167  
 understood as forms of rule, 42–46, 49,  
 123–126, 168
- Greek political thought, 17, 66, 108–109,  
 149–150, 156–157  
 authority as foreign concept in, 149–150  
 distorted by the Western philosophical  
 traditions, 108–109  
 exemplarity of, 66  
 nontheoretical discourse of, 52–53  
 understanding of freedom in, 58–60, 141–145  
 understanding of politics, 50–66 (*see also* the  
 polis)
- Habermas, Jürgen, 172n21  
 happiness, 241–242  
 American revolutionaries and, 242–244  
 in Declaration of Independence, 241–244  
 political life and, 135–137, 241–242  
 private vs. public, 242–244, 257–260  
 Hegel, G. W. F., 34, 95  
 Heidegger, Martin, 10–11, 13, 26–27, 41,  
 50–51, 80  
*Being and Time*, 10–11, 38–40  
*Introduction to Metaphysics*, 86n4  
 on being and appearance, 86n4

- on *Destruktion*, 34–35, 119–121
- on *Konstruktion*, 37
- on Plato's view of truth, 122–123
- on the political, 50–52, 79
- on *Reduktion*, 36
- on theory, 38–39
- on three tasks of critical dismantling, 34–37
- Herodotus, 43–44, 70, 142–143, 161
  - The History*, 68
- hierarchy, 129, 151–152
  - authority and, 175–176
  - law(s) and, 181–182
  - as only one possible power structure, 171
- historiography, Greek and Roman, 96–98
- history, 27, 84, 96–98, 137–138
  - Arendt's approach to, 43–44, 98–99
  - complexity of historical truth, 98
  - distorted by concepts of causality, 94–95
  - distorted by concepts of laws of, 22–23
  - distorted by concepts of process, 94, 96
  - distorted by concepts of progress, 94–95
  - distorted by concepts of *telos* of, 95
  - distorted by delusion of human control over, 95
  - modern philosophies of, 94–96
  - totalitarian views of, 21–22
- Hobbes, Thomas, 4–5, 168–169, 178–180
- Homer, 161, 252
  - Achilles in, 63–64, 91, 161
  - Athena in, 57–58
  - Hector in, 63–64
  - Odysseus in, 161
  - as exemplar of impartiality, 100–101
  - The Iliad*, 63–64, 100–101
- Honig, Bonnie, 72n87
- the household (*oikos*) vs. the polity, 60–63, 81, 124–126
- Hugh of St. Victor, 24–25
- human nature
  - Arendt on, 234
  - Aristotle on, 134–135, 138–139
  - natural rights and, 166–167, 234
  - political rights and, 234
- human rights, 193–194, 235–238
- Hutcheson, Francis, 238–239
- the ideal, 127
  - essence and, 120–123, 127
  - as measure of the actual, 120–122
- idea(s), 119–124, 130–132, 166–167
  - essence as, 120–124, 126–127
  - Plato on, 95–96, 150–151, 156
  - as transcending politics, 166–167
- imagination, 84–86, 90–91, 99, 102–104
- impartiality, 100–101, 123–124, 210–211
- the individual
  - powerlessness of, 174
  - sovereignty of, 182–183
  - strength and, 174
- instrumental thinking, 22–24, 127–128, 176–177
- interpretation, tasks of, 197–198
- isegoria*, 56–59, 143–144
- isonomy, 43–44, 54–59, 68, 81–82, 143–144, 233–234. *See also* equality
- Jaspers, Karl, 10–13, 23–24
- Jefferson, Thomas, 164, 188, 191–194, 209–210, 238–239, 244–251, 258–260. *See also* Declaration of Independence
  - happiness and, 241–244
  - self-evident truths and, 228–234
- Jouvenel, Bertrand de, 167–168
- judgment, 29–31, 84–86, 89, 99, 102, 115–116, 123–124, 138, 210–211
  - determinant, 89–90
  - reflective, 89–90, 103–104
  - as seeing things in their singularity, 89–90
- Kant, Immanuel, 10, 25–26, 182–183
  - “enlarged way of thinking,” 99, 104–105
  - on history, 94–95
  - on representative thought, 99, 105
  - on two kinds of judgment, 89
- Kirk, Russell, 4–5
- law(s), 27, 139, 211, 222–223
  - as artificial, 158–160, 206–208
  - authority and, 157–160, 227
  - commandments and, 159–160, 168–169, 181–182, 225–227
  - concepts of, 167, 181–182, 225–227, 262, 264
  - as directives, 181–182, 206–208, 227
  - divine, 157–160, 194, 217–218, 222–223, 225–227
  - freedom and, 159, 169
  - genealogy of, 225–227
  - Greek understanding of *nomos*, 158
  - as imperatives, 159–160, 181–182, 206–208, 227
  - legitimacy of, 206–208
  - natural, 151–152, 156, 158–160, 222–224, 234
  - new understanding of in American politics, 206–208, 227
  - Roman understanding of *lex*, 158, 225–227
  - secular, 159, 225–227
  - set above men, 166–167
  - sovereignty and, 159, 181–182
  - Ten Commandments as model of, 159, 225–227

- leadership, vs. rulership, 124–126
- legitimacy  
 in Declaration of Independence, 245–246  
 problem of, 158–160, 166–167, 182, 221
- Lévinas, Emmanuel, 3–4, 78–80, 167
- liberalism, 193–194, 208–209, 214
- liberation, 147, 215–216, 218  
 as emancipation from subjection, 208–209, 214  
 freedom and, 146–147, 182–183, 214–215  
 sovereignty and, 145
- liberty, 238–244  
 as end of politics, 49  
 vs. freedom, 143, 182–183  
 negative, 184–186, 239–241  
 positive, 182–183  
 as right to limited government, 215, 240–241  
 as right to self-government, 240–241
- life, as the end of politics, 49, 238–244
- life of the mind, vs. life of action, 15–16
- Locke, John, 238  
 appeal to “God in Heaven,” 224  
 on political contracts, 249–250  
 on principle(s), 163–164  
 self-evident truths in, 228–229
- Madison, James, 222
- Maier, Pauline, 216n63, 254
- making, 119–121, 126–127, 132–134  
 vs. acting, 95–96, 124–129, 135–136
- Mao Zedong, 168
- Marx, Karl, 21–24, 95–96  
 debt to the Western philosophical traditions, 23  
 totalitarianism and the philosophy of, 21–23
- measure, 88, 101, 120–124  
 essence and, 117–120  
 Plato and, 117–120
- memory. *See also* remembrance  
 failures of, 192, 260–262  
 the polis as space of, 65–66
- metaphysics  
 Aristotle and, 130–139, 161–162, 186  
 critical dismantling of, 119–121  
 political philosophy and, 130–131
- Mill, John Stuart, 147–148, 182–183
- Mills, C. Wright, 167–168
- monarchies, 72, 168, 181–182, 213–214, 249–251  
 rejected by American revolutionaries, 193–194  
 vertical contracts and, 249–250
- Montesquieu (Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu)  
 on principle(s), 187–188  
*The Spirit of the Laws*, 163–164
- Mouffe, Chantal, 3–4, 6, 167
- Nancy, Jean-Luc, 4
- narrative thought, 92–99  
 anecdotes, 98  
 life stories, 93–94
- nativity, free action and, 186–187
- National Socialism (Nazism), 4, 9, 20–22, 27–31, 77. *See also* Nazis
- natural law(s), 151–152, 156, 158–160, 222–224, 234
- natural right, 193–194, 224, 234, 248–249
- Nazis, 9, 11–12, 31–33, 98
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 25, 102
- nontheoretical discourse, 40–42, 47, 52–53, 85, 197–198
- nontheoretical thought, 38–42, 84–86, 197–198, 218–221, 225, 230–231
- nonviolence, 69–70, 170–171, 255, 258–260
- nonviolent revolutions, 256–257
- Oakeshott, Michael, 3–4, 78–80
- obedience, 21–22, 29–30, 44–46, 49, 68, 72, 124–126, 167–168, 170–171, 175–176, 245–246  
 authority and, 168,  
 power and, 170–173
- objectivity, 102  
 impartiality and, 101, 123–124  
 plurality of perspectives and, 104–106  
 in political thought, 101–102, 104–106  
 scientific, 101–102
- oligarchies, 72, 168, 178–180, 258–260
- opinion, 84–88, 99–106, 110, 117–119, 123–126, 208  
 measure and, 118–119  
 perspective and, 88, 99–101, 123–124  
 Platonic demotion of, 123–124  
 political thought and, 86–89  
 reconceived by Arendt in light of her phenomenological concept of appearing, 87–88
- Paine, Thomas, 213n53
- partisanship, 100–101, 263–265
- Paul, St., 145–147, 159, 182–183
- perspective(s), 16, 64–65, 90–91, 102n55, 102, 105, 117–119, 190–191  
 opinion and, 88, 99–101, 123–124  
 plurality of, 88, 101–106, 102n55  
 political thought and, 101–102  
 representative thought and, 99–101
- persuasion, 57–58, 69, 71–72, 85, 103, 117, 124–126, 150, 175–176. *See also* rhetoric
- phenomenology, 7, 26, 34, 39–41, 43–44, 86–88, 120, 148

- philosophers  
 philosopher-kings, 126–127, 150, 154–155, 228–229  
 political role of, 115–116, 121–122  
 philosophy, 40–41, 85  
 political (*see* political philosophy)  
 political theory and, 20  
 politics and, 18–19, 24–27, 84–85, 91, 102, 108–109, 116–117, 129, 138–141, 263–264  
*phronesis*, 89  
 Plato, 7, 23–25, 42–46, 84, 111–113, 116–129, 140, 191–192  
 allegory of the cave, 121–124  
 anti-political philosophy, 123–126, 129  
 authority and, 150–152, 154–156  
 concept of measure in, 117–120  
 concept of rule in, 124–126  
 departure from Socrates, 116–117  
 distortion of Greek understanding of politics, 108–109, 123–126, 129  
 doctrine of ideas, 95–96, 150–151, 156  
*Gorgias*, 24  
 on opinion, 123–124  
 philosopher-kings and, 124–126  
 politics and, 23–24, 108–109, 120, 123–129, 136, 150–151  
 on politics as matter of rule, 123–127, 129, 150–151  
*The Republic*, 129  
 self-evident truths and, 163, 228–229  
*Seventh Letter*, 117  
 on task of political philosopher, 121–124  
 truth and, 122–124, 163, 228–229  
 Platonic thought, vs. Socratic thought, 109  
 plurality, 67, 74–75, 88  
 action and, 203  
 as a condition of politics, 47, 67, 74–75  
 freedom and, 183–186  
 objectivity and, 102n55, 104–106  
 of perspectives, 101–106, 102n55, 123–124  
 power and, 184–186  
 rights and, 237–238  
 truth and, 102n55, 104–106  
 the polis, 24, 50–66, 108, 140  
 Aristotle on, 134  
 distinctive character of, 66, 79–80  
 the family vs., 81  
 Greek understanding of, 50–52  
 the *oikos* and, 60–61, 81, 124–126, 143  
 as the prime example of political community, 43–44, 79–80  
 as space of appearances, 64–65  
 as space of freedom, 62–63  
 as space of memory, 65–66  
 as space of struggle, 63–64  
 vs. three other kinds of communities, 60–61  
 two institutions defining, 55–56  
 the political  
 Arendt's concept of, 26, 41–42, 47–48, 74–83  
 definitions of, 31–33, 76, 78  
 four distinctions implied by, 71–74  
 Greeks' understanding of, 50–66 (*see also* the polis)  
 Heidegger on, 50–52, 79  
 other concepts of, 78–83  
 pure concept of, 24, 34, 47–84  
 seven traits defining, 68–71  
 political discourse, 71–72, 85, 102–107  
 vs. philosophical discourse, 84–85, 102  
 political life, 41, 211, 263–265  
 Aristotle's debasement of, 138–139  
 dignity of, 6, 62, 210–211, 217–218, 237–238  
 happiness and, 135–136, 198–211, 215–216, 241–242  
 vs. philosophical life, 108, 140–141  
 Plato's debasement of, 123–124  
 Socrates' stance toward, 115–116  
 political philosophy, 18–19, 26, 139  
 classical, 122–124, 139–165 (*see also* Aristotle; Plato; Socrates)  
 metaphysics and, 130–131  
 phenomenology and, 40–41  
 political questions, vs. technical questions, 73–74  
 political rights, 237–238  
 derived from nature of politics, 237–238  
 human nature and, 234  
 political sphere, 26–27  
 definition of, 76  
 as distinct from other spheres of human existence, 79–82  
 seven traits defining, 68–71  
 political theory. *See also* political philosophy  
 Arendt's approach to, 7, 42–46, 265  
 vs. nontheoretical understanding of politics, 218–221, 225, 230–232  
 vs. political philosophy, 20  
 political thought, 85. *See also* political philosophy; political theory  
 Arendt's view of, 85  
 Aristotle's view of, 138  
 faculties of, 84–91, 102–104  
 forms of, 91–102  
 as largely nontheoretical, 7, 84, 88–89, 102, 122–123  
 objectivity of, 102, 104–106  
 vs. philosophical thought, 84–85, 91, 102, 123–124, 129  
 Plato's view of, 122–124

- politicization, 71–72, 77  
 politics, 47, 62, 134  
   conditions of, 74–75  
   essence of, 23–24, 71–72  
   as matter of rule, 49, 123–127, 129, 166–167  
   meaning of, 3–7, 23–24, 26–27, 43–44, 48–50, 167, 265  
   as means to an end, 49, 82–83, 136, 166–167  
   not a universal and necessary part of human life, 48–49, 74–75, 82–83, 166–167  
   philosophy and, 18–19, 24–27, 108–109, 116–117, 129, 138–141, 263–264  
   prejudices against, 1–3, 48–50, 74–75, 80, 82–83  
   as struggle for power to rule, 21–22, 50, 82–83, 167  
   as technical expertise and management, 124–126, 129, 136  
   totalitarianism as death of, 21–22  
 power, 1–2, 27, 44–45, 81–83, 167–169, 204–205, 211, 214  
   American colonists' understanding of, 201–202, 219–220, 244–245  
   Arendt's definition of, 172–173  
   authority and, 154–157, 168, 175–176, 222–223  
   command and, 170–173  
   contracts as means to generate, 178–180  
   in Declaration of Independence, 245–246, 249–251  
   de jure vs. de facto, 73  
   domination and, 82–83  
   as essence of government, 177  
   horizontal contracts and, 245–246  
   inherited concepts of, 44–46, 170–174, 262, 264  
   nonhierarchical forms of, 171  
   plurality and, 184–186  
   as power-over-others, 167–168, 173–174, 219–220, 244–245  
   as power-to-do, 173–174, 178–180, 184–186, 214, 219–220, 239–240  
   precedes distinction between means and ends, 176–177  
   revolutions and, 44–45, 170–171  
   sovereignty and, 82–83  
   strength and, 174  
   two levels of, 173–174  
   tyranny and, 173–174  
   vertical contracts and, 245–246  
   violence and, 168, 170–172, 176–177  
 prejudices against politics, 1–3, 48–50, 74–75, 80, 82–83, 263–264  
   end of politics as liberty, 49  
   end of politics as life, 49  
   politics as means to an end, 49  
   politics as struggle for power to rule, 49–50  
   politics as universal and necessary part of human life, 48–49  
 principle(s), 130–132  
   actions and, 161–162, 187–188, 252–254  
   American revolutionaries and, 157–158, 164  
   Aristotle on, 161–163, 187–188  
   authority and, 161, 252–253  
   in Declaration of Independence, 164  
   Descartes on, 162–163  
   freedom and, 187–188  
   genealogy of concept of, 161  
   Locke on, 163–164  
   Montesquieu on, 163–164, 187–188  
   practical, 251–255  
   as self-evident truths, 162–163  
   as “spirit of the laws,” 163–164  
 private happiness, 242–244  
 private sphere, 193–194, 208–209  
   vs. public sphere, 21–22, 70–72, 104–106, 106n62, 124–126  
 promises, mutual, 184–186, 202–204, 210–211, 222, 244–245, 250–255, 258–260  
 public happiness, 209–211, 215–216, 241–244, 257–260  
 public sphere, 67, 70, 74–75  
   vs. private sphere, 70–72, 104–106, 106n62, 124–126  
 public spirit, 210–211, 257–260  
 pure concepts, definition of, 170n15  
  
 questions  
   political vs. social, 77–78, 195  
   political vs. technical, 73–74  
  
 representative government, 193–194, 258–260  
 representative thought, 99–102, 104–105  
   Kant on, 99, 105  
   Socratic thought and, 113–114  
 responsibility, 114–115, 207–208  
 revolution(s), 27, 77, 94, 98–99, 164, 211–213  
   as change of rules, 181–182  
   Cuban revolution, 27  
   definition of, 27, 211–213  
   distinguished from similar phenomena, 211–213, 217  
   as fight for political freedom, 216–217  
   as founding of new form of government, 211–213, 217  
   genealogy of concepts of, 27  
   history of, 170–171  
   Hungarian Revolution, 27, 170–171  
   nonviolent, 170–172, 256–257  
   pathos of novelty in, 137, 217



- power and, 44–45, 170–171  
 problem of authority and, 221–222  
 secularization and, 217–218  
 vicious circle of legitimation in, 221  
 violent, 170–171
- rhetoric, 57–58, 84–85, 123–124, 262
- rights, 235–236  
 belonging to human beings in the plural, 235–238  
 citizenship as the right to have, 236–238  
 human nature and, 166–167, 234–235  
 natural, 193–194, 223–224, 234, 248–249  
 right to revolution, 247–251
- Robespierre, Maximilien, 195, 224
- Rome, Ancient  
 authority in, 149, 152–156, 161, 222–223, 252–253  
 founding of, 152–154, 156, 187–188  
 as model for American revolutionaries, 253  
 religion in, 152–155  
 tradition in, 17
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 147–148, 178–180, 182–183
- rule, 42–46, 49, 81, 126–127, 129, 263–265  
 concept taken from household, 124–126  
 excluded from political life, 68, 70, 72–73, 82–83, 124–126, 142–143, 204–205, 209–210, 217  
 as “fundamental problem of political philosophy,” 169–170  
 politics as matter of, 49, 150–151
- rulership, 72, 81–82, 124–126, 129, 245–246  
 vs. citizenship, 68, 70  
 vs. leadership, 124–126
- Ryan, Alan, 124n39
- Schmitt, Carl, 3–4, 51, 78–80, 167
- secular politics, 149, 217–218, 221–222
- self-evident truths, 228–233  
 Arendt’s view of, 231–232  
 Jefferson and, 228–234, 248–249, 251–252  
 Locke and, 228–229  
 Plato and, 163, 228–229
- self-government, 198–203, 211, 263–265  
 American colonists’ experience of, 198–211, 215–220, 222, 239–240, 256–260  
 arising out of practical considerations, 198–199, 202–203  
 freedom and, 208–210, 240–241
- self-sufficiency, ideal of, 184–186
- Seneca, 143
- singularities/singularity, 92–98, 103–104  
 of events, 96  
 judging, 89–92  
 of persons, 103–104
- slavery, 69, 142, 145, 147  
 in ancient Greece, 53–55  
 in the United States, 236–237
- social and political equality, 77
- social histories of the American Revolution, 195–196
- Socrates, vii, 87, 91–92, 108–116, 129  
 as model of politically engaged thinker, 108–109  
 trial and death of, 116–117, 142n103, 150, 228–229
- Socratic thought, 109–116  
 cognition and, 113–115  
 deliberation and, 113–115  
 dialogue, 87, 108–109, 115–116  
 essences and, 110–113  
 judgment and, 113–115  
 vs. Platonic thought, 109n4, 109  
 relevance to political life, 115–116  
 representative thinking and, 113–114
- sovereignty, 81–82, 140, 147–148, 219–220
- citizenship and, 142  
 freedom and, 142–143, 147–148, 169, 182–186  
 illusion of, 183–184  
 law and, 159, 181–182  
 political power and, 82–83, 169  
 of the will, 182–183  
 “spirit of 1776,” 256–258  
 “spirit of the laws,” 163–164  
 Strauss, Leo, 123n38, 128n50, 129, 136n84  
 strength, 44–45, 82–83  
 power vs., 174
- Taney, Roger, 236–237
- technical questions, vs. political questions, 73–74
- telos*, 94–95, 130–136, 161–163, 166–167, 187–188
- theory, 38, 88–89, 138, 197, 229–230  
 Arendt’s concept of, 38, 41  
 history and, 43–44  
 limits of, 197–198  
 nontheoretical discourse and, 40–42  
 nontheoretical thought and, 29–30, 38–42, 84, 197–198  
 phenomenology and, 39–41  
 scientific conceptions of, 22–23
- thinking, 7–8, 30–31  
 action and, 15–16, 25–26, 84, 128–129, 265  
 essences and, 110–111  
 everyday speech and, 41  
 in examples, 91–92  
 experience of, 14–15  
 in narrative, 92–99 (see also narratives)  
 remembrance and, 198, 260–262  
 representative (see representative thought)  
 tasks of, 14–16, 265

- thoughtlessness, 114–116  
 Thucydides, 102  
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 196  
 totalitarianism, 98–99  
   as anti-political, 21–22, 24, 31–33, 176–177  
   as eluding terms of traditional political theory, 17–18  
   essence of, 20–22  
   Marxism and, 21–23  
   “politicization” of everything within, 4  
   unprecedented nature of, 20  
 town meetings, 202, 208–211, 240–241, 255, 258–260  
 tradition(s), 7–8, 17–20  
   authority and, 152–155  
   *Destruktion* and, 34–36  
 tradition(s), internal differences in, 17n27  
 truth(s), 27, 84, 87–88, 93–94, 98, 123–124. *See also* self-evident truths  
   as correspondence, 122–124  
   as illumination or *aletheia*, 98, 122–123  
   plurality of perspectives and, 104–106  
 tyranny, 59, 61, 81–82, 246–247  
   Oedipus and, 61  
   Peisistratos, 54–55, 173–174, 246–247  
   powerlessness generated by, 173–174  
   Thirty Tyrants and, 115  
   the universal, 130–132, 137–138  
 U.S. Constitution, 194–196, 258–260  
   exclusion of Black and Native Americans from, 236–237  
   Founders’ failure to incorporate town meetings in, 258–260  
   God not mentioned in, 224–225, 227  
   understanding of authority implicit in, 261, 264–265  
 violence, 44–45, 78, 82–83, 124–126, 175–176, 204–205  
   excluded from political life, 69–72, 76–77, 176–177  
   as extra-political condition of politics, 176  
   power and, 168, 170–172, 176–177  
 Virgil, 161, 187–188, 252–253  
   the *Aeneid*, 153–154  
*vita activa*, 24–27, 40–41, 84, 108, 138–140, 210, 242  
*vita contemplativa*, 24–27, 40–41, 84, 108, 135–136, 138–141, 210, 242  
 Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), 167–168  
 will, 30–31, 140, 147–148, 169  
   freedom and, 147–148, 182–183  
 Wills, Garry, 238–239