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Rendi Lustanto

Philosophy Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia, rendi95lustanto@gmail.com

Ganang Dwi Kartika

Philosophy Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia, ganangdekarts@yahoo.com

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**HANNAH ARENDT'S "POLITICAL BEINGS" AS A
REPRESENTATION OF POLITICAL EXISTENTIALISM FOR
HUMANS EXISTING IN THE WORLD**

Rendi Lustanto, Ganang Dwi Kartika
Philosophy Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia
rendi95lustanto@gmail.com, ganangdekarts@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

Discussions in politics often focus on a broad range of political systems or political movements. This focus leads to the efforts to direct the public to the conversation of "Politics" in the sense of a system and it overlooks the fact that politics is built on the crystallization of ideas from individuals who interpret the condition of togetherness in the world. The interpretation is very important because it is the starting point for political discourse to grow and develop, which is often referred to as individual's "political" struggle. The struggle involves a conversation between me and myself which is later embodied into an individual political idea. The effort to uncover the importance of "politics" within the framework of individual struggle becomes very important when the discourse provided by "Politics" reaches an impasse. This condition gives an impact on the quality of "Politics" that can cause a significant decline, that is "Politics" is not interpreted to achieve justice but only as a means of pursuing mere interests. This study applies qualitative methods based on theoretical and literary studies on Hannah Arendt's existentialism, namely *Vita Activa* theory. The expected result of this study is to reconstruct the political concepts on the individual level that are necessary for human beings to be in the world.

KEYWORDS: *Politics, Existentialism, Political Philosophy, Togetherness, Vita Activa, Political Struggle.*

INTRODUCTION

The condition of recent society that gets trapped in the dilemma produced by "Politics" has absorbed public energy in a new societal dynamic that tends to overlook the fundamental problems of the politics itself. There are some phenomena that show problems in the broader range of "Politics" system, for instance the appearance of 212 movement in Jakarta that used religious identity and ethnic issues as "fuel" to achieve "Politics" interests. Furthermore, the phenomenon of ethnic Rohingya genocide issue in the last few years shows that "Politics" is unable to guarantee individual rights while individuals are by nature a part of the "Politics" itself. More than that, the problems of morality are notoriously showcased by people's representatives in Indonesia. Instead of positioning themselves as the representatives of the people to voice the people's interests in democracy framework, they showed their

arrogance and greed proven by the corruption cases they got involved in. Almost every day the national media reported corruption cases of the people's representatives or politicians who failed to show their stature to work for achieving justice for the people.

The most concerning condition of recent politics is when public spheres are dominated by the efforts to apply identity politics as a means to obtain power. The situation is very horrible because it can eliminate individual rights and freedom. Moreover, a threat of plurality destruction will become a nightmare because if that happens the recent "Politics" system will destroy human modality (namely freedom and plurality) which characterizes every human being. When we observe the situation and condition just described, we know that there are serious problems in recent "Politics" discourse.

Is there something wrong with recent "Politics" system so that it fails to implement the very political essence? In finding the solution for the "Politics" failure in actualizing its ideals to fight for justice for the society, people often ignore individual "political" struggle. In fact, the "politics" problems are no less important in contributing to the "Politics" failure in striving for justice itself. The problems of individual "politics" become central points that should be given equal highlight as those of "Politics". This is because "Politics" will not run smoothly if "politics" problems are not considered to be important and urgent to solve. If people ignore the later, the problems of "Politics" will not undergo significant changes.

Individual struggle in finding the essence of "politics" in itself cannot be separated from the individual's mode of being in the world. This is because "politics" in the individual is the result of existential struggle in him/her. The existential struggle comes from a conversation between *me* and *myself* to find the true self. Moreover, the effort to uncover "politics" process on the individual level cannot be separated from the modality owned by human beings since their birth, namely plurality and freedom in them. The modality in human beings is the main element that enables them to question the status of human beings while being with others living their worldly life. The conversation regarding "politics" cannot be separated from the nature of human beings who always need others, or in Aristotelian political theory it is said that human beings are basically *zoon politicon*, that is humans are political beings.

The modality in human beings is used to reveal the nature of human's humanity. Basically, humans are political beings. In this nature, the modality in human beings can be used to find an ontological universalism in humans, such as expressed by Seyla Benhabib (2000) as follows: "*Plurality is a condition of equality and difference, or condition of equality in difference*". Through this human ontological universalism, the concept of "politics" is important to discuss because it is not only an existential problem but it also leads to the most fundamental "politics" problem in human life. The basis of "Politics" is built on "political" struggle on the individual level. Thus, to reconstruct "Politics" system, an excavation and solidification of foundation of the "politics" building need to be done. If Seyla Benhabib's arguments are further analyzed, they are in fact interpretation toward Hannah Arendt's ideas regarding original condition of plurality. This is a representation of anthropological universalism, as stated by Seyla Benhabib (2000):

“Hannah Arendt’s thinking is deeply grounded in a position that I shall call “anthropological universalism”. The human condition treats human being as member of the same natural species, to whom life on earth is given under certain condition, namely, those of natality, plurality, labor, work, and action”.

Hannah Arendt’s idea is a fundamental understanding of a position which is called “anthropological universalism”, which describes a condition in which human treats human being as a member of the same species, and life on earth is given in a certain condition, namely birth, plurality, *labor, work, and action*. In Hannah Arendt’s thinking, labor is not identical with labor force or workers. Labor is one phase of *The Human Condition (Vita Activa)* in human life. Labor is understood as something “which corresponds to the biological life of man as an animal” which suits natural condition that involves human biological life as rational animal. While work is not identical with working activities, but it is a series of phase with labor as a part of human *Vita Activa*. Work is understood as something “which correspond to the artificial world of object that human being built upon the earth” which suits artificial world built by humans while living on earth. Action is something “which correspond to our plurality as distinct individual”, which means that action is something that relates to our plurality as different individuals.

The concept of plurality is also specifically stated by Hannah Arendt in her book *The Human Condition* (1998), saying that: “*Plurality is the condition of human action because we are all the same, that is, in such away that no body is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live*”. In this concept, Arendt mentioned that plurality was a condition of human action because we are all the same, in the sense that humans are originally created in such a way that there is no same body like those who ever lived, are living, or will live. This is an ontological basis for the first foundation of plural society.

Furthermore, this concept of plurality is very important and becomes a key for the relationship between one individual with another, even with society in the sphere theory, “*Arendt’s theory subdivided society into a public, a social, and a private sphere and argued that “the democratic state has a different set of controlling functions in each of the three spheres”* (Wicker, 1997). In this context, Hannah Arendt has already included a connection in which a democratic state must have a function to control domain division among the public, the social, and the private in the societal structure. From this position, this study will further explore the concept of *citizenship* proposed by Hannah Arendt, as a search for an ideal human model that represents individual who succeeds at overcoming “political” struggle in him/her and that can make politics a necessary condition in achieving his/her human condition.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The problem that will be studied in this research is how to explore Hannah Arendt’s ideas from existentialist perspective into political existentialism. This issue is important because Arendt uncovers ontological problems that lie behind “Politics” at the lowest ground, that is individual struggle with him/herself. In her mind, Arendt makes politics a necessary

condition for human beings to grasp their humanity status. This position is very unique because Arendt tries to shift existentialist problems that are identical with individual's struggle with him/herself into "political" ontological struggle that gives significant impacts to the reconstruction of broader "Politics". Moreover, Arendt also uses modality typically owned by human beings, namely plurality and freedom, as a starting point to conceptualize political existentialism. By applying those two components, through Arendt's thinking, we will have a radical understanding of recognition toward plurality which is a necessary requirement to achieve an ideal human condition, which we call "Politics Humans". Furthermore, this research tries to uncover how the contribution of human beings as a part of social body in the citizenship system becomes a necessary and perfect condition to achieve "Politics Humans" in their life.

The Background of Hannah Arendt's Thinking and Its Connection with Some Great Existentialist Philosophers

Hannah Arendt is one of the very influential political thinkers and also a very important 21st century philosopher at the second half of modern thinking (Benhabib, 2000). Hannah Arendt always claims herself as an observer and political thinker and a representation of intellectuals throughout her life and she never thinks of herself as a philosopher because to her the label is elitist and being a philosopher is the prerogative of male thinkers. Arendt was born in a Jewish secular family in Germany in 1906, and she left the country in 1933 due to anti-Jewish sentiment propagated by Adolf Hitler, then she stayed in Paris as a refugee for eight years, and she worked voluntarily to help educate the refugees' children in the refugee camps so that the children got basic education such as reading and writing. In 1941, Arendt chose to leave Europe to go to the United States of America, then she joined intellectuals' activities in New York. During post-war (after the Second World War) she taught in various renowned universities in America such as Princeton, Berkley, Chicago, but she was officially a professor of philosophy at *New School for Social Research* in New York until her death in 1975.

In 1924, Hannah Arendt finished her senior high school, then she went to Marburg University to learn from Martin Heidegger. Martin Heidegger influenced her personal life after Arendt had an *affair* with him, and he also gave an impact toward her thinking throughout her intellectual life. After one year of study at Marburg University, she then went to Freiburg University, where she spent one semester to join the lectures of Edmund Husserl. In the spring of 1926, she went to Heidelberg University to learn from Karl Jaspers, one of the thinkers who built a long lasting intellectual relationship and a personal friendship. Hannah Arendt finished her doctoral dissertation with the title "*Der Liebesbegriff bei Augustin*" (*hereafter LA*) in 1929 under the guidance of Jaspers.

Some important works of Hannah Arendt among others are "*The Origin of Totalitarianism*" which she finished in 1944 and became one of the main books discussing politics at that time; then in 1946, she published "*What is Existenz Philosophy*"; in 1958, she published "*The Human Condition*", and collaborated with Rahel Varnhagen publishing "*The*

Life of a Jewess"; in 1959, she published "*Reflections on Little Rock*," which was based on her controversial opinion about civil right movement for Afro-American people at that time; in 1961, she published "*Between Past and Future*," and went to Jerusalem to cover the trial of Nazi Adolf Eichmann for *New Yorker Daily*.

In 1963 she published her controversial reflections on Eichmann trial, first in *New Yorker*, and then in a book form "*Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on The Banality of Evil*". In the same year, she also published "*On Revolution*". In 1967, after holding a position in Berkeley and Chicago, she took a position in *New School for Social Research* in New York. In 1968, she published "*Men in Dark Times*".

In 1970, her husband Blücher passed away. In the same year, Arendt gave a seminar on Kant's *philosophy of judgment* in *New School* (published after her death as a political philosophical reflection from Kant's point of view, 1982). In 1971 she published "*Thinking and Moral Considerations*" and the following year "*Crisis of the Republic Appeared*" was published. In the following years, she worked on a tripartite book entitled "*The Life of the Mind*", volume 1 and volume 2 "*on Thinking and Willing*" published posthumously. Hannah Arendt passed away on Desember 4, 1975, when she just started working on the third part *Judging*.

Some Influences that Molded Hannah Arendt's Thinking

Historical background of Hannah Arendt as a Jewish influenced her thinking lanscape to a great degree. It can be seen not only from her works such as *Eichman In Jerusalem: A Report on The Banality of Evil*, but it is shown from how she saw herself as a human being of a Jewish descent. The first experience of Hannah Arendt's encounter with politics happened when Jewish people were persecuted in Europe, herself as a citizenless immigrant in Paris, then as an immigrant in the States, and finally she became a citizen in that country.

Hannah Arendt's critical reflection on the problem of dilemma and paradox befalling Jewish people appeared when she felt herself as a *human being* entity and at the same time being Jewish as an identity marker, then it was followed by an odyssey for a political homeland for the Jewish. The most significant matter was that Hannah Arendt always questioned her relationship with nationalist Zionist movement, which then became one of her important political theses, namely regarding society division dichotomy, in which there was a division between "*The Pariah*" and "*The Parvenue*". "Pariah" was first introduced by Max Webber, who was actually a German sociologist. Webber used the term *Pariah people* to categorize Jewish people who lived in Europe at that time. While "Parvenue is a dichotomist concept, in which it was always related to *the pariah*, these two concepts were used to describe the assimilation process carried out by the Jewish community in Europe at that time. Not only criticizing the concept of nationalism, Hannah Arendt also made a reflection on the paradox of human kindness. Moreover, she believed in the capacity of human beings to become new or to undergo a becoming process and to create a common space that comes from the political power and capacity owned by human beings (Benhabib, 2000).

Hannah Arendt herself introduced a social-political analysis of Jewish people regarding the dichotomy between the “*Pariah*” and “*Parvenue*”. This reflection described the condition the Jewish people experienced at that time, in which there was a paradox in the assimilation process of the Jewish people to become a part of modern society. Hannah Arendt borrowed the term “*Pariah*” and “*Parvenue*” from a French journalist, namely Bernard Lazard; in which “*Paria*” was a person being thrown or excommunicated from the society, marginalized and treated with contempt by the society because of his/her being *the other*, while “*Parvenue*” was an effort to deny his/her status as “*the other*” in order to be accepted by the society and general majority at that time. This condition cannot be separated from the context of the era, in which in the 20th century paradoxes grew and developed in society. The biggest challenge and typical threat of modern time was people encountered others without protection in the face of different situations and conditions in that era. This very new concept about sameness made an interracial relationship so difficult in modern time because in interracial relationship we met natural differences and it was impossible to make any drastic condition change, “It is because equality demands that I recognize each and every individual as my equal, that the conflicts between different groups, which for reasons of their own are reluctant to grant each other this basic equality, take on such terribly cruel forms” (Arendt, 1958).

In her work *The Origin of Totalitarianism*, there was a more complicated struggle, in which two different thoughts mingled and it showed the maturity of Hannah Arendt, on one side there was a clear debate between *equality/difference* in the modern society condition at that time through an analysis of anti-semitic, anti-racial, and imperialism problems, and on the other side there was a central and dominant paradigm characterizing Hannah Arendt’s works, that is existential and phenomenological nuances of a totalitarian condition that were created through contemplation process and self-isolation. Hannah Arendt owed to Martin Heidegger, exactly through “*Being and Time*” which was difficult to understand without Heidegger’s ideas and critiques toward the condition of modernity at that time, namely on the interpretation of *dasein*, which was adopted from the concept “*being there*” (Benhabib, 2000).

In particular, Heidegger influenced Hannah Arendt so much in constructing her thinking regarding how human beings entered the phase of “*being in the world*”. For Hannah Arendt, Heidegger’s thinking created a possibility that never occurred to the previous philosophers to think productively about the political realm. Hannah Arendt’s transition of thought can be seen from *The Human Condition* or *Vita Activa*. Those works showed clearly how Hannah Arendt struggled intellectually with her lover, Martin Heidegger. For the first time, Hannah Arendt did not fully apply Heidegger’s concept, but she radically was transformed into a Heideggerian. Before this phase she took the concept offered by Heidegger that “*Being in the world*” was the main form or foundation of “*being with other*” then the concept was transformed into “*Human Plurality*” as a foundation of “*Human condition*”.

Although Heidegger always admitted that “*being in the world*” as a foundation for “*being with other*” but he saw the following condition with great ambivalence. More often

than not, “*being with other*” was represented inauthentically and there was a problem with form (original form) of *togetherness*. For Hannah Arendt, however, “*being with other*” in the world was like a unity and it was possible to distinguish *human condition par excellence* from the unity concept.

Since phenomenological influence was very strong in Hannah Arendt’s thinking, the influence of two phenomenologists must be mentioned, namely Husserl dan Heidegger. Especially in her work *The Human Condition*, Arendt found a human condition regarding worldliness as a typical characteristic of his/her plurality, which was unthinkable without action and speech, and it was later also influenced by Aristotle’s thinking on praxis. The concept of praxis offered by Aristotles becomes very important for Hannah Arendt to reconstruct her own phenomenological thinking. This concept reinforces her effort to revise the phenomenological concept offered by Heidegger on human being interaction with the world, and it is the implementation of the concept *Being in the world* as a foundation for *Being with other* into *Human Plurality* as the foundation for *Human Condition*. In Aristotle’s concept, all kinds of activity need and are always in *human communities* (in the sense of humans not individuals), ... *only two were deemed to be Political and to constitute what Aristotle called the bios politikos, namely action (Praxis) and speech (Lexis)*, only two are considered to be the prerequisites as the representation of what is called the politics, which Aristotle called “*bios politikos*”, namely action (*praxis*) and speech (*lexis*).

In this case, *praxis*, speech and action were real action (actuality), and that was the most meaningful ontological reality of human beings. Hannah Arendt built a very rigid argument in her effort to ontologically distinguish human status as human beings from other entities. Animals do not have praxis because they do not have words. Gods do not need praxis because they do not need a public space like the one used by human beings to interact with one another (a demand to become a *zoon politicon*, Aristotle’s concept that human is a social being), for *togetherness*. Only a being with a body has the need to rely on other individuals through words and action in living the essence of “being in the world”. Human mode in the appearance sphere is created by web narrative and is displayed through the actuality of speech and action. Web narrative is human effort to narrate his historicity while being in the world. Without web narrative, human mode of being in the world is impossible to achieve because web narrative is a kind of tools that unites plurality in human beings with others. Web narrative depends much on two main components of human life in the world, namely action and speech. This condition is revealed typically through speech and action. For Hannah Arendt human action can occur through the mediation of socialized language in *dasein, being in the world*.

Vita Activa as Human Foundation of Being in the World

Hannah Arendt’s thinking focuses on the effort to uncover political ontological condition in human beings. This thinking is one of the most significant advances because it tries to see the problems of existentialism as a foundation for individual’s political action in the world. Hannah Arendt tries to shift the existentialist debate that seems to be only an

individual's struggle with him/herself into a foundation for ontological politics of human life in public spheres. Indeed Arendt's thinking refers to political existentialist ideas of human beings. This is due to the fact that Arendt's starting point in developing the concept derives from modalities owned by an individual, namely plurality and freedom. The two modalities are the first stepping stones for human beings to make use of politics as their effort to uncover their selves of being humans. This is explained in the concept of *vita activa* or *the human condition* in Hannah Arendt's ontological concept of human beings.

In the concept of *vita activa*, first Arendt tried to analyze the ontological condition of human beings in the world. As Arendt (1998) said in *Vita Activa or The Human Condition* as follows: "*with the term vita activa, I propose to designate three fundamental human activities: labor, work and action. They are fundamental because each corresponds to one of the basis condition under which life on the earth has been given to man*". In her thinking about the concept of *vita activa*, Hannah Arendt proposed to design three basic human activities, namely: labour, work and action. The three are basic because each is in accordance with one of basic conditions in which life on earth is given to human beings.

First of all labor. Arendt stated that: "*Labor is the activity which corresponds to the biological process of the human body, whose spontaneous growth, metabolism, and eventual decay are bound to the vital necessities produced and fed into the life process by labor. The condition of labor is life itself*" (ibid.). Labor is an activity that relates to biological process of human body including spontaneous growth, metabolism, and decay that finally are bound to the vital need created and injected into life process by the labor phase. Human condition at the labor phase is life itself as an individual.

The next is work. The explanation of this phase is as follows: "*work is the activity which corresponds to the unnaturalness of human existence, which is not imbedded in, [...] Work provide an "artificial" world of things, distinctly different from all natural surroundings. The human condition of work is worldliness*" (ibid.).

The last is the key phase, and the most important, namely: *Action*, as Arendt stated as follows:

"Action, the only activity that goes on directly between men without the intermediary of thing or matter, correspond to the human condition of plurality, to the fact that men, not Man, live on the earth and inhabit in the world. While all aspect to the human condition are somehow related to Politics , this plurality is specifically the condition-not only the conditio sine qua non but the conditio per quam-of all political life" (ibid.)

Using the starting point of *action*, particularly the concept of plurality is very important in Arendt's thinking; therefore, it needs to be made clear that plurality is not only *conditio sine qua non* (an absolutely necessary condition) in human life. Implicitly, it means that plurality is one of the many political possible conditions and some of them might be erased, ignored, and eliminated, but the one thing that must exist is plurality. However, for Arendt, the relationship between plurality does not relate to politics in this way; instead, plurality is

conditio per quam (the condition itself) which implicitly has two meanings that implicate one another: first, it means plurality is the only possible condition for politics; and secondly, it is the only condition because anthropological human fact is plural, *men* and not *man*. In other words, using philosophical language, plurality is not only “necessary condition”, but “adequate condition” for politics, and it means politics is made possible only by plurality. The other anthropological aspects are only additional and optional (Terre at al., 2013).

The concept of plurality is used as the starting point to build an individual’s interaction with other individuals, or it is even used in a broader scope, namely *sphere*. This is to radicalize the concept of plurality in every human being and his/her connection with the public and private realm itself. The plurality concept is based on [...her belief that we are not born equal but we become equal through being recognized as a member of a moral and political community]” (Benhabib, 2000).

A more fundamental reason why the concept of plurality is very important for an individual is: “Plurality is the condition of human action because we are all the same, that is, in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live” (Arendt, 1998). Plurality is then embodied in the concept of *action* as an actualization of individual existence. Explicitly, it stresses that *action* is the main element of human life. On *action* phase, human beings really give meaning to the fact that they live on earth and in the world. Moreover, through *action* human beings are distinguished from other species.

Human dimension that represents *Human Being* inherently includes freedom and plurality as absolute condition. That is achieved when human beings reach *human action*, which throws humans into the activity context that connects directly with public sphere, and vice versa, that is public sphere is characterized by the existence of human activity in the form of *human action*. Analyzed more radically, the character of *human action* relates to two characteristics of public sphere, namely appearance sphere and common sphere, which are the embodiment of unpredictability as unexpected and relational (like a given condition). What is meant by public sphere as a representation of appearance sphere is that everything that appears in public can be seen and heard by everybody else and it has as much publicity as possible. If public sphere is related to the human mode of being in the world, the public sphere in the sense of appearance sphere is a medium for humans to know each other and to understand other fellow beings. That is very important as an effort to live “*togetherness*” in the world. What is meant by public sphere as a representation of common sphere or “*common world*” is that public sphere is the place where humans exist physically and live their life in the world. Then, a big question comes up, what makes human action possible? The answer lies on freedom and plurality in humans themselves.

Furthermore, the concept of the individual relates to the concept of individual connection with a broader *sphere*:

“Hannah Arendt who developed a model that divided society into three spheres, the public, social and private spheres Within the public sphere, that sphere where political cohesion is produced, “equality among individuals is the defining principle” (Wicker, 1997).

According to Wicker, Hannah Arendt made a model to describe the condition of society in three phases, namely *the public, social and private spheres*. The three are put in a unity, that is *Public Sphere*. Human beings will be in a sphere, in which political cohesion is produced. The political cohesion is based on the sameness among the individuals. From these conceptual series, Hannah Arendt's idea of plurality can work as an alternative model to solve the problems of "Politics" through political existentialist approach in the context of a more radical and profound "political" individual struggle.

Vita Activa Theory as an Ontological Basis for Plurality Concept in the Society Context

Hannah Arendt's thinking on *Vita Activa* or *The Human Condition* is her effort to set herself free from conceptual chains of Martin Heidegger. In this work, Hannah Arendt tried to combine phenomenological concept of Martin Heidegger and Edmund Husserl with profound reflections on political discourse. It can be clearly seen that Hannah Arendt found her own path of thinking when she criticized Martin Heidegger regarding the concept of "*Being in the world*" as a foundation for the concept of "*Being with other*", which was revised by Hannah Arendt into "*Human Plurality*" that became the foundation for "*Human Condition*". Hannah Arendt proved that she could set herself free from the shadow of the great philosopher Martin Heidegger and constructed an authentic philosophical concept. The phenomenological concept combined with political reflections of Hannah Arendt produced a radical conceptual framework in explaining a new perspective on the ontological status of human's humanity condition. Moreover, the result of the conceptual combination is how human relation with other human beings becomes a central debate, not only from shallow political viewpoint, but also to the phenomenological reflections so that it can reconstruct human relation with other human beings (human affairs) to be one of absolute conditions for human beings to achieve their existence. At this phase, two elements owned by human beings are the main concern, namely freedom and plurality.

If freedom is an absolute condition for political discourse, plurality is an inherent condition. Plurality is not only a necessary condition for political life, but it is an absolute condition. Thus, figuratively speaking, freedom and plurality are like two faces of a coin, and the opposite of the two (restriction and singularity) is a representation of apolitical. Apolitical condition in this context means that human beings do not yet achieve their existentialist level, or have not united and lived their worldliness. Using the analogy made by Martin Heidegger to describe the apolitical condition, it can be said to be like "*Dasman*" who was still struggling with him/herself, or at the phase of "*Being in itself*". Analyzed more profoundly, the function of politics in human life as an effort of *aletheia* to uncover the essence of *human being*. Politics also becomes a *vice versa* part in the context of finding the meaning of "*human being*". The logical consequence of such condition is that man is not human if s/he is apolitical. However, politics is not an alternative for human life. Instead, it is the highest achievement of his/her existence, something which we call "existential construction" that enables him/her to find the truth that s/he is a human (Terre et al., 2013). At this phase, the concept of *aletheia* works to uncover the essence of *human being*.

The *aletheia* effort (truth uncovering) lies in Hannah Arendt's own thinking framework, especially in the concept of *Vita Activa* or *The Human Condition* that consists of *labour*, *work* and *action*. However, the uncovering process occurs at action phase because it gives much impact toward the human essence to become a political being to achieve the status of human being itself. On one side, politics is a sphere for action to be understood as action itself. On the other side, action is only understood in the context of human being who essentially has the inevitable condition of freedom and plurality.

On a broader scope, Hannah Arendt wanted to convey that human being in his/her fullness was the political human, in which inherently s/he tried to grasp his/her existential status through action based on freedom and plurality that s/he had. In details, at least there are six concepts of Hannah Arendt's thinking on human's humanity essence that correlates with political action as the embodiment of individual existential achievement to get the label *Human Being*.

First, the main part of human life as *men* not as *man* is *action* and *speech*, so that it can be directly seen that those two are ways of being that are very fundamental for humans in having relationship with other human beings. Moreover, there are two other elements, that is communication and expression as humans' further effort to achieve their political condition.

Second, in a more profound analysis, the first concept gives impact toward Hannah Arendt's effort to construct philosophical anthropology as a starting point of her view on *human being*. Hannah Arendt then considered human as a being of action and speech, expressive and communicative in building his/her existential relational construction in order to be political human. This is due to the first assumption that human is a being that has plurality and freedom as something given and conditioned. The plurality side of human beings lies on his/her sameness, that is they (men) are equally different, while freedom is the implication of his essence as human who has free will. That is an existential reflection regarding the philosophical anthropology of human itself.

Third, Hannah Arendt tried to shift the philosophical anthropological concept into political anthropology, namely human is actually a political being. That is the consequence of *free will* and consciousness that s/he owns, not a natural disposition. Hannah Arendt was between two big camps in the struggle of political theory, on one side she took up Aristotelian concept of political anthropology, and on the other side she followed Hobbessian political sociology.

Fourth, speech and action will only occur, and can only be understood, in society. At this position, the connection between the public and private sphere becomes a very essential factor in reconstructing Hannah Arendt's thinking on *Vita Activa*. Society in this context is a representation of the public sphere as an arena for human beings to interact with each other. The necessity of reciprocal interaction is caused by the connection between the concept of public sphere as a medium for human beings to achieve their existential position as political humans on one side, while the public sphere itself is a channel for the effort of *aletheia* to uncover truth through the relation of freedom and plurality owned by human beings. On the other side, conceptually the public sphere can be said as an arena to connect various human interests that are part of a great activity in the action framework in the society.

Fifth, according to Arendt the concept of citizenship still directly relates to the concept of public sphere which she proposed, in which through citizenship that is public in character, as a part of the public sphere, human beings are acknowledged as far as they express themselves in action and communicate their ideas and interests through speech.

Sixth, beyond the five categories, human beings are not political humans, which means they fail to achieve their existential condition as human beings. They may be only a representation of *homo economicus* or economic being, or social being. Thus, briefly speaking the six points of Politics Humans that are represented in *Vita Activa* are the implementation of political phenomenological reflections of Hannah Arendt to see how human status exists in the world and how s/he relates to other human beings.

CONCLUSION

Arendt's "Politics Humans" is an interpretation of the embodiment of ideal human in Hannah Arendt's thinking. This idea derives from the effort to reconstruct the political concept with existentialism. Through Arendt's thinking it is possible to shift existentialist problems that are originally an individual's struggle with him/herself into an accurate foundation to build the basis for political existentialism that can be a starting point for reconstructing the "Politics" system in a broader scope. Politics Human is the representation of ideal individual who can grasp his/her whole human being status because with the modality of freedom and plurality, s/he can live his/her life in the world. Thus, "Politics Humans" is the representation of ideal humans who can reconstruct their existential struggle in themselves to become the foundation for their political action. The struggle is essentially a form of the individual's "politics" dynamic in life.

Essentially, if an individual can achieve the ideal condition, existentially speaking s/he is complete in her/himself. Such an individual can understand and uncover her/his essence by politics. Complete in her/himself here means that the individual has gone beyond the phase of labor, work, and action. The three are the main components in human life in Arendtian perspective. The individual then can apply and dedicate her/his life to build public sphere as the representation of political sphere. The effort to reconstruct political sphere as a struggle to live plurality and freedom gives impact toward a demand for togetherness with other individuals. Public sphere is a transitional field of individual existentialism into political existentialism to be "politics humans" in their fullness. Individual activity in public sphere becomes a key factor to grasp the political existentialist status.

Public sphere plays the most important role for politics humans because in the public sphere two meanings determine the effort to grasp the individual's existentialist status. The two meanings are as follows: first, public sphere must be viewed as an arena of appearance sphere for the individual to live togetherness, and second, public sphere must be seen as a common world for the individual to live in. In the public sphere the individual lives and enlivens plurality and freedom s/he owns in order to build public discourse. In the public discourse "politics" seed will accumulate into "Politics" contained in citizenship system. At the transitional phase the individual shows his/her position as a part of social body. The transition necessitates the individual to contribute ideas and thoughts as a representation of the individual's political action in the form of citizenship.

The most determining phase for an individual to become full "Politics Human" is when the individual contributes ideas and thoughts in the form of political action. After that, the individual works together with other individuals to accommodate political action into common action that represents the interests of the whole parts of citizenship. In such condition, *res-publica* is really applied because every individual will ensure that his/her freedom and rights are granted in public sphere. If the individual has been able to play his/her role in citizenship stage and to embody his/her political action for the welfare of public sphere, the individual has achieved political existentialism stage in him/herself and the stage of ideal human, namely "politics humans".

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