

## **History 13X: Europe and its Others: From the Enlightenment to the European Union**

Spring 2019

Wednesdays, 12-2:45 p.m.

Sever 111

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This course is cross-listed in European Studies. It counts toward the secondary field in European History, Politics, and Societies, the “European Studies” field in History & Literature, and concentration credit in History and Social Studies.

### **Course Description:**

Recent years have witnessed an upsurge of far-right populism across the European continent. From Britain, France, and Germany to Hungary and Poland, new parties and movements demand the closing of borders, the expulsion of migrants, and the reclaiming of homogenous collective identities—whether in the guise of the nation, Christendom, Europe, or the West. Commentators attempting to make sense of the “new populism” often point toward economic dislocations since the end of the Cold War, social tensions born of rising immigration, and national and regional disparities within the European Union. Such factors are surely significant, but the current discussion tends to lack historical perspective, and to assume (rather than inquire into the conditions for) a connection between migration and social conflict. In fact, the identity of “Europe,” Europe’s relationship to Christianity and the “West,” and the practices that determine Europe’s boundaries are hardly new questions. The premise of this course is that contemporary struggles to define Europe can be better understood against the background of a long historical canvas, extending back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This seminar explores how Christian Europeans since the eighteenth-century Enlightenment have constructed their identities vis-à-vis Jews, Muslims, Africans, and colonized peoples. We analyze the discourses through which Europe’s “Others” were defined, asking how ideas about racial and religious difference evolved in response to the rise of a global slave economy, the expansion of European imperialism, the crises of the world wars, and decolonization. Our readings comprise three sets of sources. First, we read major authors of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European political thought “against the grain,” asking how race theory emerged alongside ideas about cosmopolitanism and human rights. Second, we examine writings by more recent thinkers reflecting on this tradition and its relationship to the political calamities of the twentieth century. Third, we read works of historical scholarship that provide models for relating ideas and politics, as well as competing interpretations of the issues under discussion.

The course covers a broad historical sweep, with each week introducing key texts that are aimed to provoke further thinking and exploration. We begin with the Enlightenment origins of European racial theory, and move to the role of new sciences—such as anthropology, philology, and biblical criticism—in reconfiguring European racial and religious identities during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We conclude by asking how race and religion continued to serve as markers of belonging and exclusion in Europe in the wake of the Holocaust and decolonization. We pay particular attention to shifting relationships between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam; between science and faith; and between empire and knowledge. Questions for discussion include: Did Enlightenment conceptions of universalism rest on racist or antisemitic premises? Did nationalism supersede Christian constructions of European identity? Was scientific racism a secular theology? To what extent were European colonialism and racial science implicated in the Holocaust? Is the “Muslim Question” the new “Jewish Question”?

As a course in intellectual and cultural history, this seminar will provide you with opportunities to deepen your skills in close reading, historical contextualization, and making pointed written and oral arguments. The final assignment will ask you to explore themes of interest in greater depth, combining new research with careful readings of course texts.

### **Course Books:**

The following books are available for purchase at the COOP (<https://tinyurl.com/300-W19-HIST-13X-1>) and are placed on reserve at Lamont Library:

- ❖ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Schocken Books, 2004) [1951], ISBN: 9780805242256
- ❖ Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, trans. Margaret Mauldon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) [1721], ISBN: 9780192806352

\*\*For Montesquieu, the Oxford edition from 2008 is required. For Arendt, any edition published in 1967 or later is fine.

Available online through the Hollis catalog (and in the Harvard library system):

- ❖ Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, trans. Joan Pinkham (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000) [1955]
- ❖ Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley, and Atina Grossmann, *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009)
- ❖ Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, trans. Sylvie d’Avigdor (New York: Dover, 1988) [1896]
- ❖ Joan W. Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)
- ❖ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)

\*\*A copy of Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., New York, 2003) is also placed on reserve at Lamont, though the required sections have been uploaded to the Canvas site as well.

## **Course Requirements:**

### ***1. Attendance and Participation***

Because this is a discussion-based seminar, your regular attendance and participation are crucial to the seminar's success. In general, students are expected to attend all meetings of the course. However, if you need to miss class due to illness or a family emergency, or due to an academic event for another course, please inform me in advance.

All readings should be completed prior to the date indicated on the syllabus, and you are expected to participate actively in discussions each week. Try to engage directly with the ideas and perspectives of your classmates, rather than only responding to my questions; I will also do my best to facilitate this engagement. Remember that the quality of your contributions to discussions is as important as the quantity, and that asking a well-informed question also counts as participation. Feel free to meet with me early in the semester if you would like to discuss strategies for reading and/or participating in class.

### ***2. Weekly In-class Responses***

This course does not require written response papers. Instead, I will circulate a list of reading questions prior to each class, and we will begin class with an initial go-around, in which each of you will offer a brief (3-4 minute) response to a question from the list. (Or, feel free to respond to your own question, if a different theme strikes you as most salient.) You may read from a prepared statement, speak from notes, or extemporize (though in the latter case, your response should still follow a logical structure.) The key is *not* to attempt to summarize all of the week's readings; rather, you should focus on advancing an *argument* backed up by specific evidence from the texts. Concision is essential, and I would recommend practicing your "talk" before class for the first week or two, to be sure you can make your case in under 4 minutes. During the second part of each class, we will move to a broader discussion of the readings, beginning with disagreements or points of tension that emerged in your initial responses.

### ***3. Response Essay, due by Wednesday, March 13***

Your first written assignment is an essay of 4 or 5 double-spaced pages, responding to a question on one of the sets of readings from the first half of the course. You are encouraged, but not required, to build on one of your weekly in-class responses for this essay. Essays are due at the beginning of class one week after we discuss the relevant readings. They may be turned in anytime between week 3 and week 7 (responding to the readings from weeks 2 through 6). The purpose of this assignment is for you to reflect more deeply on the texts read for class, and to practice analytical and argumentative writing before completing the final paper. No outside sources are required or expected.

### ***4. Final Paper, due Saturday, May 11***

The final assignment for this course is what might be termed a "restricted research paper." That is, you will identify a research question to be addressed through primary and secondary sources,

but your research need not be entirely original. Instead, you will choose one or two weeks of the seminar that you found particularly compelling, and write a paper deepening our class discussion of some aspect of that week's themes. You are encouraged to use the class readings for that week as sources in your paper, and you should also complete some additional reading in primary and/or secondary sources to expand your knowledge of the topic. The paper should be between 12-15 pages doubled-spaced.

We will discuss this assignment further, including expectations for quoting, paraphrasing, and citing sources, before spring break. For now, please note that there are several preliminary assignments to keep your work on track:

- One-page description of your topic and research question: **due Monday, April 1**
- Annotated bibliography of at least six sources (including at least three primary sources): **due Monday, April 15**
  - An annotated bibliography includes a paragraph accompanying each source, briefly describing both the content of the source as well as its relevance for your paper. At least three of your sources should be in addition to the course readings.
- In-class presentation: **May 1**
  - During the final class meeting, each student will offer a brief overview of their project (approximately five minutes), and will have the opportunity to take questions from the class. We will also leave time for a discussion of common challenges.

If you are a junior history concentrator and would like to write a senior thesis next year, you will need to write at least one longer seminar paper this year (if you have not already done so). You are welcome to use this seminar as an opportunity to complete this requirement; in such a case, your final paper will need to be at least 20 pages. Please let me know in advance if you are interested in this option.

### **Evaluation:**

Discussion participation (including weekly presentations): 45%

Response essay (4-5 pp.): 10%

Preliminary assignments for the final paper: 5%

Final paper (12-15 pp.): 40%

The grading scale is as follows:

90-100=A-range

80-89=B-range

70-79=C-range

60-69=D-range

**Late Work:**

Late work will be excused only in cases of a documented medical or family emergency. Papers will lose 1 point (out of 100) for the first day late, and 3 points per day late after that. Please note that I am not able to accept final papers after Saturday, May 18, the last day of the spring semester, without the permission of the Harvard College Administrative Board, which is granted only in exceptional circumstances.

**Collaboration Policy:**

Discussion and the exchange of ideas are essential to academic work. For assignments in this course, you are encouraged to consult with your classmates on the choice of paper topics and to share sources. You may find it useful to discuss your chosen topic with your peers, particularly if you are working on the same topic as a classmate. *However, you should ensure that any written work you submit for evaluation is the result of your own research and writing and that it reflects your own approach to the topic.* You must also adhere to standard citation practices in this discipline and properly cite any books, articles, websites, lectures, etc. that have helped you with your work. If you received any help with your writing (feedback on drafts, etc.), you must also acknowledge this assistance.

We will discuss expectations for citing sources in your written work early in the semester. If you have questions about how to properly cite a source, or whether a citation is required in a particular instance, please speak with the instructor or TF *before* the assignment is due. There is no penalty for checking in advance, and we will let you know if you need to adjust your writing or citation in order to avoid unacknowledged appropriation of a source. Please note that dual submission of work prepared for another course is *not* permitted.

Students enrolled in this course are expected to abide by the Harvard College Honor Code:

*Members of the Harvard College community commit themselves to producing academic work of integrity – that is, work that adheres to the scholarly and intellectual standards of accurate attribution of sources, appropriate collection and use of data, and transparent acknowledgement of the contribution of others to their ideas, discoveries, interpretations, and conclusions. Cheating on exams or problem sets, plagiarizing or misrepresenting the ideas or language of someone else as one's own, falsifying data, or any other instance of academic dishonesty violates the standards of our community, as well as the standards of the wider world of learning and affairs.*

Further information about Harvard's policies on academic integrity is available in the Harvard College Handbook for Students (<https://handbook.fas.harvard.edu/>).

**Students with Disabilities:**

Students needing academic adjustments or accommodations because of a documented disability should present their Faculty Letter from the Accessible Education Office (AEO) and speak with the instructor by the end of the second week of the term. Failure to do so may result in the Course Head's inability to respond in a timely manner. All discussions will remain confidential, although instructors are invited to contact AEO to discuss appropriate implementation.

**Laptop Policy:**

Use of laptops is permitted for course-related activities only (e.g. taking notes and referencing readings). Please, no checking email or social media during class. If you need to take a call or text, you may leave the classroom and return when you are ready.

**A Note on Sources:**

The course raises sensitive issues surrounding race, gender, nationalism, religion, and violence. It is crucial that we remain respectful of one another's viewpoints in discussion. If you disagree with a classmate (and debate and disagreement are encouraged!), then be sure to direct your comments at the idea, not the person – and it is often helpful to summarize a peer's idea before disagreeing, to ensure you have really understood it. I will alert the class in advance as to readings that contain especially offensive language. Please do not hesitate to meet with me if you have concerns about particular aspects of the course content.

**Schedule of Readings:**

Readings except for Montesquieu and Arendt will be available either as pdf documents on the Canvas site or as online books through Hollis. In selected weeks, I will post additional, optional readings that offer further historical context or commentary on the texts to be discussed in class. These background readings are by no means required, but you may find it helpful to read those related to the topic of your final paper.

**January 30 (Week 1): Introduction****February 6 (Week 2): Enlightenment Universalisms and Particularisms**

- ❖ Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, pp. 3-213 [can skip pp. 95-115, 129-140, 149-159, 168-174, 194-198]

**February 13 (Week 3): Enlightenment Origins of European Race Theory**

- ❖ Immanuel Kant, "On the Concept of the Beautiful and Sublime," sections I, IV [1763]; "Determination of the Concept of a Human Race" [1785]; "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose" [1784]
- ❖ J. G. von Herder, "Letters concerning the Progress of Humanity [1793-7] – Tenth Collection": Letters 114-117, 122-124 (pp. 380-399, 415-424 in *Herder: Philosophical Writings*, ed. Michael N. Forster)
- ❖ Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People* (New York, 2010), pp. ix-xii, 43-50, 72-90

**February 20 (Week 4): Specters of Revolution**

- ❖ G. W. F. Hegel, “The natural context or the geographical basis of world history,” in *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge, 1975) pp. 152-196 [1822-30]
- ❖ Heinrich von Kleist, “Betrothal in Santo-Domingo” [1811]
- ❖ Susan Buck-Morss, “Hegel and Haiti,” in *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh, 2009), pp. 21-75

**February 27 (Week 5): Orientalism and the Age of Imperialism**

- ❖ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), pp. 1-25, 113-123, 130-148
- ❖ Jan E. Goldstein, “Toward an Empirical History of Moral Thinking: The Case of Racial Theory in Mid-Nineteenth-Century France,” *American Historical Review* 120 (2015): 1-27
- ❖ Arthur de Gobineau, “Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races” [1853-5] in *Gobineau: Selected Political Writings*, ed. Michael D. Biddiss (London, 1970), pp. 79-84, 108-134, 176-183
- ❖ Ernest Renan, *General History and Comparative System of the Semantic Languages*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. [1863], pp. 1-25, 490-505

**March 6 (Week 6): The Jewish Question in Question**

- ❖ Karl Marx, “On the Jewish Question” [1844]
- ❖ Herzl, *The Jewish State* [1896]: “Preface”; “I. Introduction”; “II. The Jewish Question”; “V. Society of Jews and Jewish State”; “VI. Conclusion”
- ❖ Carl E. Schorske, “Politics in a New Key: An Austrian Trio,” in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1980), pp. 116-180

**March 13 (Week 7): Religion, Science, and the Colonial Gaze**

- ❖ Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, intro, chs. 1-7, conclusion
- ❖ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Carol Cosman (Oxford, 2008) [1912], intro (pp. 3-21)

**\*Response essay on the previous week’s readings due any class between Feb. 13-March 13**

**\*\*Spring Break\*\*****March 27 (Week 8): Race and National Socialism**

- ❖ Susannah Heschel, *The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany* (Princeton, 2008), pp. 1-11, 18-55, 63-66
- ❖ Mark Roseman, “Racial Discourse, Nazi Violence, and the Limits of the Racial State Model,” in *Beyond the Racial State: Rethinking Nazi Germany*, ed. Devin O. Pendas, Mark Roseman, and Richard F. Wetzell (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 31-57
- ❖ Jürgen Zimmerer, “The Birth of the *Ostland* out of the Spirit of Colonialism: A Postcolonial Perspective on the Nazi Policy of Conquest and Extermination,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 39 (2005): 197-219

- ❖ Documents in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, ed. Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman (Berkeley, 2013): Walter Gross, “National Socialist Racial Policy: A Speech to German Women”; *Reichsführer* SS Central Office for Racial Policy, “Racial Policy”; Adolf Hitler, “Aryan and Jew” (from *Mein Kampf*); Walter Grundmann, “Jesus of Nazareth and Jewry”; Karl Haushofer, “National Socialist Thought in the World”

*\*One-page topic description due on Monday, April 1 at 5 p.m.*

### **April 3 (Week 9): Antisemitism, Imperialism, and the Holocaust**

- ❖ Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*: “Preface to the First Edition”; Preface (1967) to Part I; “The Dreyfus Affair”; “Race-Thinking Before Racism”; “Race and Bureaucracy,” first part; “Continental Imperialism: The Pan-Movements,” first part; “The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man”; “Total Domination” [final portion of “Totalitarianism in Power”]; in 2004 ed.: pp. xxv-xxvii, 3-9, 117-155, 210-257, 287-312, 341-384, 565-592

### **April 10 (Week 10): Anticolonial Challenges**

- ❖ Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*
- ❖ Frantz Fanon, “Algeria Unveiled” [1959]
- ❖ Simone de Beauvoir, “Preface to *Djamila Boupacha*” [1962]

*\*Annotated bibliography due on Monday, April 15 at 5 p.m.*

### **April 17 (Week 11): Race and the Postwar Conjuncture**

- ❖ Chin et al., *After the Nazi Racial State*, introduction (can skip pp. 5-15), chs. 1, 3, 5
- ❖ John Solomos, Bob Findlay, Simon Jones, and Paul Gilroy, “The Organic Crisis of British Capitalism and Race: The Experience of the Seventies,” in *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in ‘70s Britain*, ed. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (London, 1982), pp. 7-44
- ❖ May Opitz, Katharina Oguntoye, and Dagmar Schultz, ed., *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women Speak Out*, trans. Anne V. Adams (Amherst, MA, 1992), pp. 101-118

### **April 24 (Week 12): Gendered Secularisms**

- ❖ Scott, *Politics of the Veil*, intro, chs. 1-3, 5
- ❖ European Court of Human Rights, “Dogru v. France” (2008)

### **May 1 (Week 13): Conclusion and In-Class Presentations of Final Papers**

- ❖ Jürgen Habermas, “February 15, or, What Binds Europeans Together: Plea for a Common Foreign Policy, Beginning in Core Europe” (2003)

*\*Final paper due on Saturday, May 11 at 5 p.m.*