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Short-term Program for International Students  
Faculty of Humanities  
Eötvös Loránd University  
Budapest, Hungary  
AY 2011-12  
Program Director: Professor Tibor Frank, PhD, DLitt

## NATIONALISM STUDIES

### Course Descriptions

<b>Enikő BOLLOBÁS</b>	<i>National and Post-National Narratives in Literature</i>
<b>Péter DÁVIDHÁZI</b>	<i>Poetry and Nation Building: Classic Texts of 19th-century Hungary</i>
<b>Tibor FRANK</b>	<i>Arts and Nations: The Rise of the National Idiom in East-Central European Music, Literature, and the Visual Arts</i>
<b>Miklós LOJKÓ</b>	<i>Along the Fault-lines of Three Empires: Nationalism in Central and South-Eastern Europe, 1790-1990</i>
<b>Csaba OLAY</b>	<i>Hannah Arendt's Theory of Totalitarianism</i>
<b>András L. PAP</b>	<i>Law and Ethnicity: Legal and Institutional Approaches to Minority Protection</i>
<b>Attila PÓK</b>	<i>Scapegoats, Victims and Heroes in Fascist and Communist Europe</i>
<b>Szabolcs POGONYI</b>	<i>Introduction to the Study of Nationalism</i>
<b>Szabolcs POGONYI</b>	<i>Protection of Minorities: Standards and Institutions</i>

## ***National and Post-National Narratives in Literature***

Instructor: Professor Enikő Bollobás

### Course description:

Reading American literature as the conduit of the various concepts of nationhood, the course explores the problematics of national vs. postnational narratives. First we will identify the image repertoire of the national narrative (American Adam, Virgin Land, city upon a hill, “different drummer,” errand into the wilderness, national compact; Liberty, Equality, and Social Justice, among others) in certain sacred texts of fiction that have contributed to the construction of American nationhood. In the second part of the course, by reading postnational narratives that assigned voice to previously muted cultures (works of women authors, authors of color, and texts “queered” in other respects), we will explore how the central national identity was replaced by a postnational identity, contributing to the representational diversity that has informed the Americanness of American literature.

Prerequisites: none

Language of instruction: English

Method of presentation: seminar

Course requirements: attendance, paper, final test

Grading: based on class participation, seminar paper, final test

Attendance: mandatory

### Contents

Week I: Orientation

Week II: National vs. postnational narratives

Week III: The topoi of American nationhood

Week IV: The classic canon

Week V-VII: *Moby Dick*, *Walden*, *Huckleberry Finn*, *As I Lay Dying*

Week VIII: Constructing the “post-nation”

Week IX: The gender of American literature

Week X: The color of American literature

Week XI: Queering American literature

Week XII: Wrapping up

### Reading list for the course

Donald Pease, “National Identities and Postnational Narratives,” *boundary 2* 19.1 (Spring 1992): 1-13.

Donald Pease, ed., *National Identities and Post-Americanist Narratives* (1994).

Larry J. Reynolds and Gordon Hutner, eds, *National Imaginaries, American Identities* (2000).

Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson’s Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (2000).

Robert S. Tilton, *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative* (1994).

Yael S. Feldman, *Glory and Agony: Isaac’s Sacrifice and National Narrative* (2010).

Robert K. Martin and Eric Savoy, *American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative* (2009).

J. Gerald Kennedy, “National Narrative and the Problem of American Nationhood” in *A Companion to American Fiction, 1780-1865*, ed. Shirley Samuels (2004).

## ***Poetry and Nation Building: Classic Texts of 19th-century Hungary***

Instructor: Professor Péter Dávidházi

### Course description:

The course focuses on major poetic texts of 19th-century Hungarian culture to show how literature could serve nation building. Whether in terms of narrative identity, a sense of belonging, or a vocabulary of patriotism, present-day Hungarian national consciousness still owes a great deal to distinguished 19th-century poems, to Dániel Berzsenyi's *To the Hungarians* (1810), to Ferenc Kölcsey's *Hymn* (1823), to Mihály Vörösmarty's *Appeal* (1836), to Sándor Petőfi's *National Song* (1848), to János Arany's *The Bards of Wales* (1857), and others. The seminars would take these poems one by one so as to analyse the way poetry suggested an idiom of belonging.

Prerequisites: good command of English

Language of instruction: English

Method of presentation: seminars.

After a brief introduction we read the major texts together, analyze their language, study their historical allusions and explore their political implications, so as to reveal their significance in terms of nation building and beyond.

Course requirements: a home paper of 6-10 pages will be required by the end of the term.

Grading: grading will be based on both the student's activity during the seminars and the quality of the term paper presented at the end.

Attendance: mandatory. Seminars are to be attended on a regular basis, no more than 2 absences per term are allowed.

### Contents

Week I: Poetry and Patriotism in 19th Century Hungarian Culture: A Survey

Week II: Dániel Berzsenyi: *To the Hungarians* (1810)

Week III: Dániel Berzsenyi's *To the Hungarians*: The Shaping of a National Archetype

Week IV: Ferenc Kölcsey: *Hymn* (1823)

Week V: Ferenc Kölcsey's *Hymn*: From Poem to Anthem

Week VI: Mihály Vörösmarty: *Appeal* (1836)

Week VII: Mihály Vörösmarty's *Appeal* and the Problem of Exile

Week VIII: Sándor Petőfi: *National Song* (1848)

Week IX: Sándor Petőfi's *National Song* and the Revolutionary Ethos

Week X: János Arany: *The Bards of Wales* (1857)

Week XI: János Arany's *The Bards of Wales* and the Tradition of Resistance

Week XII: Conclusions: The Legacy of 19th-century Hungarian Poetry

### Reading list for the course

*In Quest of the Miracle Stag: The Poetry of Hungary: An Anthology of Hungarian Poetry from the 13th Century to the Present in English Translation*, ed. Adam Makkai. Chicago: Atlantis-Centaur and Framo, Budapest: Tertia, 2000.

*The Lost Rider: A Bilingual Anthology*, eds. Péter Dávidházi, Győző Ferencz, László Kúnos, Szabolcs Várady, George Szirtes. Budapest: Corvina, 1997.

Lóránt Czigány, *The Oxford History of Hungarian Literature: From the Earliest Times to the Present*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

## ***Arts and Nations: The Rise of the National Idiom in East-Central European Music, Literature, and the Visual Arts***

Instructor: Professor Tibor Frank

### Course description:

The rise of nations and nationalism in most Central and East-Central European countries in the 19th and much of the 20th centuries was supported and accelerated by, as well as reflected on, art and art-forms. The study of art in this region helps understand the way “imagined communities” or real we call nations emerged. The national language, poetry, music, painting, sculpture, architecture, and a host of other artistic genres have impacted the philosophy and politics of nation-building, national and nationalist movements throughout the former “Eastern” Europe. The fabric of national and nationalist thinking can be better approached and understood through the study of artistic expression.

The course will serve as an introduction into the most important cultural differences among various Central and East-Central European countries, ethnic, national and religious groups. Special emphasis will be given to what we may identify as the “national idiom” such as the language, the folk poetry and folk music, and the “national genres” such as the national opera, the national painting and the historical novel, which have both created and expressed national cultures. As Central and East Central European nations are deeply embedded in their languages, cultures, and cultural symbolism, this field of study is essential to the historical appraisal of the region. Providing a general cultural background to Central European studies in Vienna, the course is essential to understand nationalism as it has developed in the modern history of Central and East-Central Europe.

Prerequisites: basic knowledge of 19th and 20th century European history

Method of presentation: lectures, organized discussions, student presentations

Language of presentation: English

Required work and form of assessment:

- (1) Mid-term exam (identifications of terms, names, dates; map quiz; essay question)
- (2) A take-home paper of 15,000 characters (cca 10-12 pages)
- (3) Final exam (identifications of terms, names, dates; map quiz; essay question)

Grading: attendance 10%, mid-term exam 30%, take-home paper 30%, final exam 30%

Attendance: mandatory

Learning outcomes:

By the end of the course, students should

- be able to know of the history of nationalism and the arts in Europe;
- understand the contribution of music, literature and the visual arts to the building of the nations in Europe;
- develop the ability to relate his/her experiences of nationalism and patriotism in the U.S. with similar phenomena in Europe;
- learn substantially of the European origins of patterns of American thought.

## Contents

Week I-II: The Age of Nationalism  
Week III: From Romantic to Modern: the Making of National Art  
Week IV: National idioms I: The Rise of the National Language(s), Folksong and Poetry  
Week V: National idioms II: National Symbol, National Design  
Week VI: Review session, mid-term exam  
Week VII: National Genres I: The Opera  
Week VIII: National Genres II: Historical Painting and Sculpture  
Week IX: National Genres III: Historical Fiction  
Week X: Theories of National Art. The National Canon. Art, Ideology, and Politics.  
Week XI-XII: Review session, final exam

## Reading list for the course

### I

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Chapters 1-6, 1-111.

Donald E. Pease, "New Americanists: Revisionist Interventions into the Canon," *Boundary, An International Journal of Literature and Culture*, Vol. 17, No. 1, Spring 1990, 1-37.

Donald E. Pease, "New Perspectives on U.S. Culture and Imperialism," in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, 22-37.

Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds, *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*  
Frantz Fanon, "On National Culture," 16-52.  
Anthony Giddens, from *The Consequences of Modernity*, 180-189.  
Deniz Kandiyoti, "Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation," 376-390.

### II

George L. Mosse, "Nationalism," in *The Culture of Western Europe. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 3rd ed., 65-84.

Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*, Chapters VII and X, 367-405, 521-564.

Emil Niederhauser, "National Language and National Scholarship," in *The Rise of Nationality in Eastern Europe*, 37-92.

Peter F. Sugar, ed., *Eastern European Nationalism in the 20th Century*

Peter F. Sugar, "Nationalism, The Victorious Ideology," 413-429.

Tibor Frank, "Nation, National Minorities, and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century Hungary," 205-242.

Nikolai Danilevski, from *Russia and Europe*, in Peter N. Stearns, ed., *World History*, Vol. II, 44-48.

Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, "Habsburg Vienna: City of Paradoxes," in *Wittgenstein's Vienna*, 33-66.

Paul Hoffmann, *The Viennese: Splendor, Twilight, and Exile*, 1-51.

A. J. P. Taylor, "The Vienna of Schnitzler," in A. J. P. Taylor, *From Napoleon to the Second International. Essays on Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 383-389.

Carl E. Schorske, "Politics in a New Key: An Austrian Trio," in Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture*, 116-180.

### III

Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, 19-33.

Gerald Abraham, "Opera (1830-93)," in Gerald Abraham, *The Concise Oxford History of Music*, 705-745.

William Weber, "Wagner, Wagnerism, and Musical Idealism," in David C. Large and William Weber, eds, *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, 28-71.

Jacques Barzun, "The Artistic Revolution," in Jacques Barzun, *Darwin, Marx, Wagner*, 231-317.

Gerald Abraham, *Essays on Russian and East European Music*, 68-82, 113-171.

Malcolm Hamrick Brown and Roland John Wiley, eds, *Slavonic and Western Music: Essays for Gerald Abraham*

David Brown: "Tchaikovsky and Chekhov," 197-205.

John Clapham, "Dvorak's Visit to Worcester, Massachusetts," 207-214.

Edward Garden, "Sibelius and Balakirev," 215-218.

Martin Cooper, "Alexander Scriabin and the Russian Renaissance," 219-239.

Howard Hartog, ed., *European Music in the Twentieth Century*

Everett Helm, "The Music of Béla Bartók," 11-39.

Bernard Stevens, "Czechoslovakia and Poland," 296-319.

Béla Bartók, *Rumanian Folk Music*, Vol. III, xxxix-cvl.

*Historische Volksmusikforschung*

Bálint Sárosi, "Historical Documents Concerning Gipsy Musicians and Their Music in Hungary," 111-120.

Ghizela Suliteanu, "Antique South-East-European Elements in the Rumanian and Greek Contemporary Musical Folklore," 181-208.

*Musica Antiqua* pod Patronatem UNESCO, Acta Scientifica, Bydgoszcz, Polska, 1982, 223-236, 565-579, 651-667.

Károly Viski, *Hungarian Dances*, 7-63, 80-90.

### Optional Programs

- Touring national/historical public monuments in Budapest, Hungary
- An audio/video performance and discussion of an East-Central European national opera such as *Bánk bán* by Ferenc Erkel or *Prodaná nevěsta* by Bedřich Smetana

***Along the Fault-lines of Three Empires:  
Nationalism in Central and South-Eastern Europe, 1790-1990***

Instructor: Miklós Lojkó, Associate Professor

The course is designed to describe the dynamic of the historical development as well as the changing historiographical narrative concerning nation-building and nationalism in Central and East-Central Europe from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the late 20<sup>th</sup> centuries with an emphasis on the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The controversial concepts of ‘historic’ vs. non-historic nationhood will be introduced in the context of medieval state formation and its perceptions and subsequent modelling by modern political authors and intellectuals. It will be argued that the nature of the nationalisms inherent in the ethnic struggles of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Central Europe depended largely on the imperial contexts of the Russian, Habsburg and Ottoman empires within which the national consciousnesses of various ethnic groups had gestated for centuries since the early modern period. It will be further argued – through samples of the detailed histories of the nations that make up the region – that the nationalisms (most notably the German and Hungarian and to a lesser extent Romanian) as epitomised by their leading intellectuals, that peaked during the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century failed to grasp the modern popular radicalism that had come to dominate national feeling in Central Europe by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and which underlay the nationalist settlement reached at Paris in 1919. The interwar and wartime radical shift to the Right in Austria, Hungary and Romania will be explained in this context. The course will end with a survey of the post-WWII disintegrationist and integrationist trends and forces in the region.

Prerequisites: general modern European history survey course is an advantage, but not an absolute prerequisite

Language of instruction: English

Method of presentation: seminar

Course requirements: two uncertified absences allowed without consequences. More than five uncertified absences disqualify the student from completing the course. 3 short in-class papers and 1 end-of-term ‘take-away’ essay.

Grading: Attendance 15%, class contribution 10%, mid-term take-away exam 35%, final take-away exam 40%.

Attendance: mandatory

Contents

Week I: Concepts of European nationalism. The theory and consequences of ‘lateness’ in Central and South-eastern Europe.

Week II: Reading Central Europe into the past: Historic kingdoms before the Ottoman conquest.

Week III: The Faithful and True Sons of the Motherland: The Russian Decembrists and the religious-military-rural definition of nation. The Slavophil debate. How Poles and Moldavians fared under the influence and the shadow of Russian power.

Week IV: Decentralised stagnation: East-Central Europe under the Ottomans. Byzantine Constantinople. Bulgarians, Macedonians, Wallachians, Moldovans, Serbians and their national awakenings from the 1820s to the beginning of the First World War.

- Week V: Unlikely survivor: Supranational-cosmopolitan versus nationalist forces within the Habsburg Empire. The watershed of the Compromise of 1867. Czech, Slovak, Polish, Hungarian, German, Romanian and Croat national movements in the multinational empire
- Week VI: Claims to divided loyalties: frontiers, borderlands and peripheries in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Partitioned Poland, the Ukraine, Transylvania, Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- Week VII: Central Europe and the Balkans in the cauldron of nationalism during the First World War.
- Week VIII: Self-Determination and the Paris peace treaties ending the First World War. Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Poles, Croats, Serbs, Romanians of Transylvania, Austrian Germans, Hungarians and the birth of a New Europe.
- Week IX: The New Europe under severe test 1: Poland and Czechoslovakia during the Interwar Years.
- Week X: The New Europe under severe test 2: Austria, Hungary and Romania during the Interwar Years. Constitutionalism vs far Right ideologies.
- Week XI: The Collapse of the Interwar System in Central and South-eastern Europe 1938-1945.
- Week XII: Epilogue: Latent nationalist sentiments during Communism. Nationalist disintegration vs European Integration after 1990.

### Reading list for course

- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso, c1983.
- Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Manfred F. Boemeke, Gerald D. Feldman and Elisabeth Glaser, eds, *The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years*. Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Gordon Brook-Shepherd, *The Austrians: a thousand-year Odyssey*. London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 1996.
- Bryan Cartledge, *The Will to Survive: A history of Hungary*. London: Time, 2006.
- Mark Cornwall, ed. *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary: essays in political and military history 1908-1918*. Exeter Studies in History No. 27. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1990.
- Mark Cornwall and Robert J.W. Evans, eds, *Czechoslovakia in a Nationalist and Fascist Europe, 1918-1948*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Norman Davies, *God's Playground: a history of Poland*, rev. ed. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- István Deák, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians 1848-1849*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.
- Mircea Eliade, *The Fate of Romanian Culture*. București: Editura Athena, 1995.
- Robert J. W. Evans, and Guy P. Marchal, eds, *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: history, nationhood and the search for origins*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Tibor Frank and Frank Hadler (eds). *Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts: Overlapping National Histories in Modern Europe*. Basingstoke, London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell, c1983.
- Keith Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed: The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1860-1914*. Bucharest: The Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1999.
- Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. London: Cardinal, c 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Nations and nationalism since 1780 : programme, myth, reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c1990.



- Iorga Nicolae, *A History of Romania: land, people, civilization*. München: Verlag Rumänische Studien, 1971.
- Emil J. Kirchner, ed. *Decentralization and Transition in the Visegrád: Poland, Hungary, The Czech Republic and Slovakia*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999.
- Stanislav J. Kirschbaum, *A History of Slovakia: the struggle for survival*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1995.
- András Körösenyi, *Government and Politics in Hungary*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 1999.
- Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: regionalism, nation building, & ethnic struggle, 1918-1930*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Miklós Lojkó, *Meddling in Middle Europe: Britain and the 'Lands Between', 1919-1925*. Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2006.
- C.A. Macartney and Alan Palmer, *Independent Eastern Europe*. London: Macmillan, 1962.
- C.A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968.
- Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers: the Paris Conference of 1919 and its attempt to end war*. London: John Murray, 2001.
- Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: the land and its peoples*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Toronto and London: Toronto University Press, 2010.
- Victor S. Mamatey and Radomir Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- Robin Okey, *Eastern Europe 1740-1985: Feudalism to communism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Hutchinson, 1986.
- Alan Palmer, *The Lands Between: a history of East-Central Europe since the Congress of Vienna*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. London: John Murray, 1992.
- Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *A History of the Balkans, 1804-1945*. London: Longman, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Improbable Survivor: Yugoslavia and its problems, 1918-1988*. London: C. Hurst, c 1988.
- László Péter, "The Dualist Character of the 1867 Hungarian Settlement", in György Ránki, ed. *Hungarian History — World History*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984, 85–164.
- Susanna Rabow-Edling, *Slavophile Thought and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism*. Albany: State University of New York Press, c2006.
- Thomas Sakmyster, *Hungary's Admiral on Horseback: Miklós Horthy, 1918-1944*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1994.
- Robert William Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians: from Roman times to the completion of unity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks*. London: Hutchinson, 1943.
- Jenő Szűcs, *The Three Historical Regions of Europe: An outline*. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1983.
- Balázs Trencsényi, "‘Imposed Authenticity’: Approaching Eastern European National Characterologies in the Inter-war Period", in *Central Europe*, Vol. 8 No. 1, May, 2010, 20–47.
- Andrzej Walicki, *The Slavophile Controversy: history of a conservative Utopia in nineteenth-century Russian thought*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975.
- Adrian Webb, *The Routledge Companion to Eastern and Central Europe since 1919*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.
- Zbynek Zeman, *The Break-up of the Habsburg Empire 1914-1918: a study in national and social revolution*. London: Oxford University Press, c 1961.

## MAPS

- Richard and Ben Crampton, *Atlas of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*, London: Routledge, 2006.
- Kartographisches Institut Bertelsmann, ed. *Atlas of Central Europe*, London: John Murray, 1963.
- Paul Robert Magocsi, ed. *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe*, (Vol 1 of A History of East Central Europe). Seattle and London: The University of Washington Press, 1993.
- Lajos Pándi, ed. *Köztes-Európa 1763-1993 (Térképgyűjtemény)* [The Europe in Between, 1763-1993 (A Collection of Maps)]. Budapest: Osiris, 1997.

## ***Hannah Arendt's Theory of Totalitarianism***

Instructor: Csaba Olay, Associate Professor

### Course description:

The course focuses on Hannah Arendt's classical description of totalitarianism within the context of her political philosophy. *The origins of totalitarianism* made her well-known and triggered investigations that inspired her thought later on. The three relatively independent parts of the book tries to depict the essential moments of a situation where totalitarian domination could emerge. Hotly disputed by historians since then, Arendt's study combines in an impressive manner the analysis of anti-Semitism, of imperialism, and of total domination. Seen in the context of her entire oeuvre, the book on totalitarianism characterizes modernity from the perspective of a catastrophe, i.e. from the perspective of the horrors of World War II. In the course we shall examine the thesis that her political philosophy is grounded basically on a conception of human life and existence. The course discusses the main issues in her thinking along this basic idea. Special attention will be given to her typology of human activities (labour, work, action), to her analysis of the public realm and different descriptions of the modern age.

Prerequisites: none

Language of instruction: English

Method of presentation: seminar

Course requirements: attendance, 2 short papers

Grading: attendance 25 %, papers 75%

Attendance: active participation in class discussions, students may be absent from three sessions at the maximum

### Contents

Weeks I-III: introduction into theories of power, introduction into Arendt's political philosophy; *The Human Condition* Ch. 1-2

Weeks IV-VIII: Arendt's description of total domination; *The Origins of Totalitarianism* ch 5., Ch 9., Ch. 10-12

Weeks IX-XII: Arendt's political philosophy; *The Human Condition*, Ch. 5

### Reading list for course

Hannah Arendt, chapters from *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Schocken, 1951.

Hannah Arendt, chapters from *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

### Recommended reading

Seyla Benhabib, *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt*. London: Sage, 1996.

Antonia Grunenberg, *Arendt*. Freiburg–Basel–Wien: Herder, 2003.

Jean-Claude Poizat, *Hannah Arendt, Une introduction*. Paris: Pocket, 2003.

Garrath Williams, *Hannah Arendt. Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers*. I-IV. London–New York: Routledge, 2006.

## ***Law and Ethnicity: Legal and Institutional Approaches to Minority Protection***

Instructor: András L. Pap, Associate Professor

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### Course description

The course is designed to provide a comprehensive overview of the major issues and questions within the purview of minority protection. Following a theoretical introduction and general discussions about the concept and evolution of minority rights and various rights-based approaches to recognizing minorities, such as individual rights, collective rights, self-determination, land-rights equality, discrimination and affirmative action, separate sessions are dedicated to the analysis of specific and specialized legal regimes and institutions. These include the assessment of indigenous rights, refugee protection, Diaspora policies and politics, as well as the scrutiny of legal and political dilemmas concerning hate speech, hate crimes, the legal conceptualization of minority identity and the processing of ethno-national data.

There will be weekly meetings in a seminar format. Seminar discussions of the required readings will have two parts: a general discussion, in which all students are expected participate, and individual student presentations that explore, contest, or specify the major arguments of the required readings.

Prerequisites: none

Language of instruction: English

Method of presentation: seminar

Course requirements: attendance, presentation, discussion, final essay

Grading: attendance, presentations, discussion of readings, final essay

Students are expected to attend all seminars, read all the required readings and prepare to be active in seminar discussions. It is absolutely essential to read assigned materials prior to each session.

In addition to this, students are required to

- (i) give presentations and act as discussants on the assigned readings; and
- (ii) submit a final essay incorporating and critically analyzing readings discussed during the course.

(i) Students will be asked to sign up for at least one seminar presentation (choices will be discussed in the first class). The presenters will be expected to sum up the main arguments of the reading and pose some key questions for class discussion. The presentation should be supported by an outline or a response paper of 1-3 pages which discusses some of the selected themes of the reading, to be submitted via e-mail by 8:00 p.m. the day prior to the class. For the class, presenters should bring printed copies for all seminar participants. Discussants are also encouraged, but not required to submit response papers.

(ii) The term paper should be an original research paper that has at least 2000 and no more than 3000 words, double-spaced, with bibliography added. All students are expected to submit a project proposal at the 5th seminar. The proposal should outline the main questions asked and be discussed with the instructor. The topic should relate to the broad themes of the course and class discussions. The paper should follow the genre of a scholarly essay either as a case study or as a literature review. Both the outline and final research paper are expected to be products of each student's individual effort. Evaluation will be based on the quality of research, its originality, quality of grammar, accuracy of spelling, and soundness of content. It constitutes plagiarism if a

student quotes or adopts ideas from a source without appropriate attribution (for example, by failing to utilize endnotes or footnotes properly). Similarly, direct quotations must be attributed and indicated by quotation marks.

Please note that late papers submitted after the deadline will be marked down by half of a letter grade per day.

Final grades will be calculated on the basis of the above; also, class attendance, preparation and participation will be factored into the final grade.

Attendance: mandatory. Seminars are to be attended on a regular basis, no more than 2 absences per term are allowed.

Grading: based on the following scale: A, A-, B+, B, B-, C+, C. The course is deemed to be above BA level, therefore, any grade below 'C' shall qualify as a failure.

Grading will be based on both the student's activity during the seminars and the quality of the term paper presented at the end.

Class participation and activity:	25%
In-class presentation:	25%
Position papers:	50%

## Contents

Class 1: Overview

Class 2: The concept of rights, and various rights-based approaches to recognizing minorities: individual rights, collective rights, self-determination, land rights: An historical and institutional overview

Class 3: Conflicts of individual and collective rights

Class 4: Equality and discrimination

Class 5: Reversed discrimination/Affirmative action

Class 6: Special legal regimes I: Indigenous rights

Class 7: Special legal regimes II: Refugee protection

Class 8: Special regimes III: Non residual citizenship, Diaspora bonds, status laws: the many sides of Diaspora policies and politics

Class 9: Special regimes IV: Definition-making and data processing

Class 10: Special regimes V: Hate crimes

Class 11: Special regimes VI: Hate speech

## Reading list for course

This interdisciplinary course is designed to engage and challenge students in critical debates. The subject combines several areas of legal studies—human rights, legal theory, theory of EU law, rights of ethnic minorities—with various fields within the social sciences. Besides reading excerpts from books and academic articles, students will also become familiar with a wide range of case law dealing with the topic. Each session is designed to combine academic articles and excerpts from books with legal texts or reports and policy recommendations by international organizations, and with the analysis of case law and jurisprudence. Students will not be given ready answers at the outset; instead, they will be encouraged to take an active part in debating and understanding the analyzed issues.

For each class, the reader contains mandatory and recommended readings. Each mandatory reading is assigned to two students, one of whom will present it in class and submit an outline for it in class. The other assigned student will act as discussant. Presenters and discussants are expected to be familiar with the recommended readings.

## Class 2

Louis Henkin, Age of Rights, Introduction: The human rights idea, 1-10.

Amartya Sen, "Human Rights and Asian Values," *The New Republic*, July 14-July 21, 1997, 1-5.

Will Kymlicka, "The Shifting International Context: From Post-war Universal Human Rights to post-Cold War Minority Rights." In: *Multicultural Odysseys, Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity*. Oxford, 2007, 27-55.

Georg Brunner–Herbert Küpper, "European Options of Autonomy: A Typology of Autonomy Models of Minority Self-Governments." In: Kinga Gál (ed.), *Minority governance in Europe*, Budapest: LGI & ECMI, 2002, 11-37.

### Recommended

Diane F. Orentlicher, Separation Anxiety: International Responses to Ethno-Separatist Claims, *Yale Journal of International Law*, Winter 1998. 1-77

Peter L. Berger, On the Obsolescence of the Concept of Honour. In: Michael J. Sandel, *Liberalism and Its Critics*. Blackwell, 1984, 149-158.

Will Kymlicka, Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe. In: Will Kymlicka and Magda Opalski (eds.), *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported?* Oxford University Press, 2001, 13-107.

## Class 3

Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship, Individual Rights and Collective Rights, 34-48

Susan Okin Moller, "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?" In: Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard and Martha C. Nussbaum (eds), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999. 1-17

Will Kymlicka, Liberal Complacencies, *op. cit.*, 1-4

Saskia Sassen, Culture Beyond Gender, *op. cit.*, 1-3

Wisconsin v. Yoder, 406 U.S. 205 (1972)

Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of Oregon v. Smith, 494 U.S. 872 (1990)

### Recommended

Martha Minow, "Should Religious Groups Be Exempt From Civil Rights Laws?" *Boston College Law Review*, September, 2007

Lisa Biedrzycki, "Conformed to this World: A Challenge to the Continued Justification of the Wisconsin v. Yoder Education Exception." In: A Changed Old Order Amish Society, *Temple Law Review*, Spring 2006

Vera Sanchez, "Whose God Is It Anyway? The Supreme Court, the Orishas, and Grandfather Peyote," *Suffolk University Law Review*, Spring 1994

## Class 4

Dena Ringold, "Roma and the Transition in Central and Eastern Europe: Trends and Challenges," Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2000, 1-34.

Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin

Cristopher McCrudden, "Thinking about the Discrimination Directives," *European Anti-Discrimination Law Review*, No. 1 (April 2005), 17–21.  
Mieke Verloo, "Multiple Inequalities, Intersectionality and the European Union," *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13, No. 3 (2006), 211–28.  
Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896)  
Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)  
D.H. v. Czech Republic  
"Indian Women Find New Peace in Rail Commute," *The New York Times*, September 16, 2009.

#### Recommended

ECRI Report on Hungary, June 20, 2008  
Contribution to the EU Fundamental Rights Agency Annual Report 2009, Hungary, October 2008, Institute for Legal Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Ethnic and National Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Equal Treatment Authority, Hungarian Helsinki Committee  
Roma Education: The Promise of D.H., Roma Rights 1, 2008

#### Class 5

Charles R. Lawrence III: "The Id, the Ego, and Equal Protection: Reckoning with Unconscious Racism," *Stanford Law Review* Vol. 39, No. 2 (January 1987), 1-56.  
Iris Marion Young, Justice and the Politics of Difference. Princeton University Press, 193-225.  
University of California Regents v. Bakke, 438 U.S. 265 (1978)  
Grutter v. Bollinger, 539 U.S. 306 (2003)  
"Jewish couple sue over lighting that makes them 'work' on sabbath," *The Times*, June 17, 2009.  
David Stout, "Justices Rule for White Firefighters in Bias Case," *The New York Times*, June 30, 2009.

#### Recommended

Ricci v. Destefano  
Board of Education of Kiryas Joel Village School District v. Grumet, 512 U.S. 687 (1994)

#### Class 6

ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Populations, 1957 (No.107).  
ILO Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (1991).  
UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).  
Indigenous & Tribal People's Rights in Practice, A Guide to ILO Convention No. 169, 9-27.  
Fareeda Banda–Christine Chinkin, Gender, Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, 1-36.  
Rose Cuison Villazor, "Blood Quantum Land Laws and the Race versus Political Identity Dilemma," *California Law Review*, June 2008, 16.

#### Recommended

Rice v. Cayetano  
Morton v Mancari  
Siegfried Wiessner, "Indigenous Sovereignty: A Reassessment In Light of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, October 2008.  
Elena Cirkovic, "Self-Determination And Indigenous Peoples In International Law, Theoretical Approaches to International Indigenous Rights," *American Indian Law Review* 2006-07.  
Patrick Macklem, "Indigenous Recognition in International Law: Theoretical Observations," *Michigan Journal of International Law*, Fall 2008.  
Joshua Castellino, "Territorial Integrity and the 'Right' to Self-Determination: An Examination of the Conceptual Tools," *Brooklyn Journal of International Law*, 2008.

## Class 7

UN Convention on Refugees

*UNHCR Handbook on Procedures*, Para 1-168.

James C. Hathaway, *The Law of Refugee Status*, Well-founded fear, 65-97.

Asylum in Hungary, A guide for foreigners who need protection, Hungarian Helsinki Committee  
Canadian unease at white 'refugee'.

John Ward, "Judge orders rehearing of white South African's bid for refugee status," *The Canadian Press*, November 2010.

Marta Falconi, "Germans Acquitted After Rescuing Migrants at Sea." Rome: The Associated Press, October 7, 2009.

### Recommended

Guy Goodwin-Gill, *The refugee in International Law*, 32-79

## Class 8

Szabolcs Pogonyi, Dual citizenship and sovereignty

Mária Kovács, "The Politics of Non-Resident Dual Citizenship in Hungary." *Regio*, 2005, Vol. 8., 50-73.

Anupam Chander, "Diaspora Bonds." *New York University Law Review*, October, 2001, 1-26 (excerpts).

Ieda Osamu, "Post-Communist Nation Building and the Status Law Syndrome." In: Zoltán Kántor et al., *The Hungarian status law: nation building and/or minority protection*, Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 3-58.

### Recommended

Michael Stewart, "The Hungarian Status Law: A New Form of Transnational Politics?" In: Zoltán Kántor et al., *The Hungarian status law: nation building and/or minority protection*, Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 120-152.

George Schöpflin, "Citizenship and Ethnicity." In: Zoltán Kántor et al., *The Hungarian status law: nation building and/or minority protection*, Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 87-105.

Constantin Iordachi, "Dual Citizenship and Policies Toward Kin-Minorities in East-Central Europe." In: Zoltán Kántor et al., *The Hungarian status law: nation building and/or minority protection*, Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 239-270.

## Class 9

John Tehranian, "Performing Whiteness: Naturalization litigation and the construction of racial identity in America," *Yale Law Journal*, January 2000, 1-30.

James Goldston, "Race and Ethnic Data: A Missing Resource in the Fight Against Discrimination." In: Andrea Krizsán (ed.), *Ethnic Monitoring and Data Protection. The European Context*, CPS Books, Central European University Press-INDOK, 2001, 19-45.

András L. Pap, *Ethnicity and Race-Based Profiling in Counter-Terrorism, Law Enforcement and Border Control*, European Parliament, 2008, 1-63.

### Recommended

Patrick Simon: "Ethnic" statistics and data protection in the Council of Europe countries  
Study Report, Institut National d'Études Démographiques, Strasbourg, 2007.

No data—no progress. Country findings. Data collection in countries participating in the decade of Roma inclusion 2005–2015, August 2010, Roma Initiatives, OSI.



Julie Ringelheim: Processing Data on Racial or Ethnic Origin for Antidiscrimination Policies: How to Reconcile the Promotion of Equality with the Right to Privacy? NYU School of Law, The Jean Monnet Working Paper Series.

Jeanne Tadeusz–Tara Dickman–Alex Bartik, Who are we, anyway? Sensitive Data, Classification, and Discrimination in France, Humanity in Action – France, 2007.

#### Class 10

Hate Crime Laws, A Practical Guide, OSCE ODHIR Part I

“For African Immigrants, Bronx Culture Clash Turns Violent,” *The New York Times*, October 20, 2009.

“House Votes to Expand Hate Crimes Definition,” *The New York Times*, October 9, 2009.

#### Recommended

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights: Addressing violence, promoting integration. Field assessment of violent incidents against Roma in Hungary: Key developments, findings and recommendations, June-July 2009, 1-70

#### Class 11

Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law.

Claudia E. Haupt, “The Scope of Democratic Public Discourse: Defending Democracy, Tolerating Intolerance, and The Problem of Neo-Nazi Demonstrations In Germany,” *Florida Journal of International Law*, August 2008.

#### *Part II*

Elettra Stradella, “Hate Speech in the Background of the Security Dilemma,” *German Law Journal* January 1, 2008.

Sévane Garibian, “Taking Denial Seriously: Genocide Denial and Freedom of Speech in the French Law, Denying Genocide: Law, Identity and Historical Memory in the Face of Mass Atrocity Conference,” *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Spring 2008.

National Socialist Party v. Skokie, 432 U.S. 43 (1977)

Brandenburg v. Ohio, 395 U.S. 444 (1969)

Garaudy v. France, 2003

#### Recommended

R. A. V. v. City Of St. Paul, Minnesota

Virginia v. Black et al

Allison R. Hayward, “Regulation of Blog Campaign Advocacy on the Internet: Comparing U.S., German, and EU Approaches,” *Cardozo Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Summer 2008.

Jeannine Bell, “Restraining the Heartless: Racist Speech and Minority Rights,” *Indiana Law Journal*, Summer 2009.

Richard Delgado–Jean Stefancic, “Four Observations About Hate Speech,” *Wake Forest Law Review*, Summer 2009.

## ***Introduction to the Study of Nationalism***

Instructor: Szabolcs Pogonyi, Assistant Professor

### Course description

The course will examine the main contemporary theories of nationalism, analyze key concepts and discuss classical debates in the study of nationalism. First we will discuss why nationalism is still an important moving force in contemporary politics and why its scholarly study is still relevant. We will then overview and assess the major systematic typologies of nationalisms, and examine how the key concepts, such as 'nation', 'nationalism', 'ethnicity', 'identity' and related terms are used by different authors.

The second part of the course will discuss the main theories (modernism, constructivism, primordialism, postmodernism) explaining the emergence of nationalism. Next, we will examine a normative question: whether nationalism can be squared with liberal norms. The last class will try to look into contemporary social and political changes that affect the future of nationalism, and will try to assess how globalization affects sovereignty, national belonging and nations states.

### Requirements

Students registered for this course are expected to attend classes and participate in class discussions. All students must read all the readings, and give two presentations. In-class presentations should sum up and critically analyze the argument of the assigned reading.

Students are to prepare two 2,000 word essays offering critical analysis of the topics and the literature discussed during the course. The first paper is due on the 8<sup>th</sup> week of the semester, the deadline of the second paper will be agreed during the first week. Papers submitted after the deadline will be marked down by half of a letter grade per day.

Prerequisites: none

Language of instruction: English

Method of presentation: seminar

Course requirements: attendance, presentation, position papers

Attendance: active participation in class discussions, students may be absent from three sessions at the maximum

### Course evaluation

Class participation and activity:	20%
In-class presentation:	30%
Position papers:	50%

### Contents

Week I: Introduction

Week II: Why does nationalism still matter?

Week III: Typologies of nationalism

Week IV: Defining nationalism, nationhood, nation and patriotism

Week V: Philosophical origins of nationalist doctrines

- Week VI: Nationalism and modernity 1.  
 Week VII: Nationalism and modernity 2.  
 Week VIII: Primordialism, Ethno-Symbolism and Their Discontents  
 Week IX: Beyond groupism  
 Week X: Post-colonialism and self-determination  
 Week XI: Can Nationalism be Liberal?  
 Week XII: Beyond the nation state? (Roundtable discussion)

Reading list for course

- Lord Acton, "Nationality." In: Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.): *Mapping the Nation*. London: Verso, 1996. 17-38.
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983. 1-46.
- Benedict Anderson, Long-Distance Nationalism. In: *The Spectre of Comparisons. Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World*. London: Verso, 1998. 58-74.
- Benedict Anderson, "Western Nationalism and Eastern Nationalism." *New Left Review*. May-June 2001. 31-42.
- Lowell W. Barrington, "Nation" and "Nationalism": The Misuse of Key Concepts in Political Science. *PS: Political Science & Politics*. December 1, 1997. 712-716.
- Brian Barry, "The Abuse of 'Culture'." In: *Culture and Equality. An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001. 253-292.
- Isaiah Berlin, "Kant as an Unfamiliar Source of Nationalism." In: *The Sense of Reality*. 1996. 232-248.
- Isaiah Berlin, "The Bent Twig." In: *The Crooked Timber of Humanity. Chapters in the History of Ideas*. London: Fontana Press, 1990. 238-261.
- John Breuilly, Introduction. In: *Nationalism and the State*, 1993. 1-16.
- Rogers Brubaker, "Civic" and "Ethnic" Nationalism. In: *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004. 132-146.
- Rogers Brubaker, Beyond "Identity". In: *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004. 28-63.
- Rogers Brubaker, Ethnicity without Groups. In: *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004. 7-27.
- Rogers Brubaker, "Myths and Misconceptions in the Study of Nationalism." In: John Hall (ed.): *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. 272-305.
- Rogers Brubaker, The French Revolution and the Invention of National Citizenship. In: *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1992. 35-72.
- Craig Calhoun, Is it Time to be Postnational? In: *Nations Matter. Culture, History and the Cosmopolitan Dream*, 2007. 11-26.
- Henk Dekker–Darina Malová–Sander Hoogendoorn, Nationalism and Its Explanations. *Political Psychology*. Vol. 24. No. 2, 2003. 345-376.
- Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States." In: *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*. New York: Free Press. 1963. 105-157.
- Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997.
- Nathan Glazer – Daniel P. Moynihan, Introduction. In: Nathan Glazer–Daniel Moynihan (eds): *Ethnicity. Theory and Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975. 1-26.
- Johann Gottfried von Herder, "Treatise on the Origin of Language." In: *Philosophical Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 146-154.

- Liah Greenfeld, Etymology, Definition, Types. In: Alexander J. Motyl (ed.): *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*. San Diego: Academic Press, 2000. 251-265.
- Hurst Hannum, "International Law." In: Alexander J. Motyl (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*. San Diego: Academic Press, 2000. 405-419.
- Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In: *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. 1-14.
- Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914." In: *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. 263-307.
- Eric Hobsbawm, Eric: Nationalism in the Late Twentieth Century. In: *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780. Program, Myth Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 163-192.
- John Hutchinson, "The End of the European Nation-state?" In: *Modern Nationalism*. London: Fontana. 1994. 134-163.
- Elie Kedourie, "Nationalism and Politics I-II." In: *Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell. 1993. 87-112.
- Hans Kohn, "Western and Eastern Nationalism." In: John Hutchinson–Anthony Smith (eds): *Ethnicity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. 162-164.
- Judith Lichtenberg, "How Liberal Nationalism Can Be?" In: Ronald Beiner (ed.): *Theorizing Nationalism*, 1999. 167-188.
- Michael Mann, "A Political Theory of Nationalism and Its Excesses." In: Sukumar Periwai (ed.): *Notions of Nationalism*. Budapest: CEU Press, 1995. 44-64.
- Michael Mann, "Nation-States in Europe and Other Continents: Diversifying, Developing, not Dying." In: John Hutchinson – Anthony Smith (eds): *Nationalism. Critical Concepts in Political Science*, 2000. 353-374.
- John Stuart Mill, "Of Nationality, as Connected with Representative Government." In: *Considerations of Representative Government*. Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1991. 98-103.
- Thomas Nairn, "The Break-Up of Britain." In: *Crisis and Neo-Nationalism: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*, 1977. 330-341.
- John Plamenatz, "Two Types of Nationalism." In: Eugene Kamenka (ed.): *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973. 22-37.
- Anthony Smith – Ernest Gellner, *The Warwick Debates*, 1995.  
<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/gellner/Warwick0.html>
- Anthony Smith, "Beyond National Identity?" In: *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. 143-177.
- Anthony Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. 1-27; 125-147.
- Anthony Smith, "The Varieties of Nationalism." In: *Theories of Nationalism*, 211-229.
- Louis L. Snyder, "Anticolonial Nationalism: Asian Trends." In: *The New Nationalism*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968. 140-155.
- Yael Tamir, Making a Virtue Out of Necessity. In: *Liberal Nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. 140-167.
- Michael Walzer, "The New Tribalism: Notes on a Difficult Problem." In: Ronald Beiner (ed.): *Theorizing Nationalism*, 1999. 205-218.

## ***Protection of Minorities. Standards and Institutions***

Instructor: Szabolcs Pogonyi, Assistant Professor

### Course description

This course offers a systematic overview of the main standards and institutions of the protection of national minorities in Europe from the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian empires to the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the EU. It investigates the historical, political and legal reasons why a system of minority rights protection has evolved since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and how it works in practice.

In addition to looking at the principal instruments of and mechanism in the area of minority protection, the course also tries to trace the corresponding legal debates. Although the course does not pretend to offer an analysis of all relevant issues, it nevertheless tries to combine a description of basic conceptual, substantive and procedural aspects with a critical assessment.

Particular emphasis will be put on examining contemporary international standards and institutions for protecting the rights of persons belonging to national minorities. Case studies will be used to demonstrate these mechanism for the implementation of minority rights.

### Requirements

Students registered for this course are expected to attend classes and participate in class discussions. All students must read all the readings, and give least two short presentations. In-class presentations should sum up and critically analyze the argument of the assigned reading.

Students are to prepare a final paper (2,000 words, with bibliography added) on a subject connected to the topics discussed in the course. Papers should include the critical and comparative analysis of class readings on the topic and include ideas on the applicability of the minority rights standards discussed.

Prerequisites: none

Language of instruction: English

Method of presentation: seminar

Attendance: active participation in class discussions, students may be absent from three sessions at the maximum

### Course evaluation

Class participation and activity:	20%
In-class presentation:	30%
Final paper:	50%

### Contents:

Week I: Introduction: The emergence of minority rights protection norms

Week II: Inter-ethnic issues before 1919 and the 1919 preace treaties

Week III: The inter-war period: the League of Nations and the PCIJ

Week IV: The UN framework  
Week V-VI: The UN institutions and cases  
Week VII-VIII: The Council of Europe framework I.: The ECtHR and the *ECHR*  
Week IX: The Council of Europe framework II.: The ACFC, the *FCNM* and the *ECRML*  
Week X: The CSCE/OSCE framework  
Week XI: The EU framework  
Week XII: Roundtable discussion: the Hungarian Status Law

## Readings

### International treaties and cases discussed

President Wilson's Address to Congress, Analyzing German and Austrian Peace Utterances  
Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (excerpts)  
B. de Witte, "Politics versus law in the EU's approach to ethnic minorities", European University Institute Working Paper No. 2000/4, 2000;  
Gabriel N. Toggenburg, "Minorities (...) the European Union: Is the Missing Link an 'or' or a 'within'", *European Integration*, Vol. 25(3), September 2003;  
President Wilson's Fourteen Points

*Polish Minority Treaty*  
*German Settlers in Poland*  
*Acquisition of Polish Nationality*  
*The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*  
*International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*  
*International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*  
*General Comment No. 23: The rights of minorities (Art.27)*  
*Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*  
*The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*  
*Explanatory Report*  
*The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*  
*Explanatory Report*  
*CSCE Copenhagen Document (1990)*  
*The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities (1996);*  
*The Oslo Recommendations Regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities (1998);*  
*The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*  
*Lovelace v. Canada*  
*Diergaardt et al. v. Namibia*  
*Länsman et al. v. Finland*  
*Sidiropoulos et al. v. Greece*  
*Ekin v. France*  
*Case "Relating to Certain Aspects of the Laws on the Use of Languages in Education in Belgium" v. Belgium*  
*Act LXII of 2001 on Hungarians Living in Neighbouring States (19 June 2001)*  
European Commission for Democracy Through Law (Venice Commission), *Report on the Preferential Treatment of National Minorities by Their Kin-State*, Venice, 21 October 2001;  
*Act LXII of 2001 on Hungarians Living in Neighbouring States* (the consolidated text inclusive of amendments passed by the Parliament on 23 June 2003)

### Recommended readings

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Patrick Thornberry, *International Law and the Rights of Minorities*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.

Thomas Musgrave, *Self-Determination and National Minorities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

## ***Scapegoats, Victims and Heroes in Fascist and Communist Europe***

Instructor: Attila Pók, Deputy Director, Institute of History, HAS

### Course description

The course looks at some patterns of public and private behaviour in the societies of authoritarian regimes in Europe between the 1930s and the 1950s with a concluding outlook to the present legacies of these regimes. A number of case studies are used to enlighten limits and possibilities of choices made in most critical, often extreme situations. Special attention will be paid to understandings of the concepts of crime, sin, punishment and retribution.

Teaching materials include readings on historic, philosophical and moral aspects of heroism, scapegoats and victimhood, a classical short story on scapegoating and feature films. The course encourages active student participation, it is rather a series of seminars than a series of lectures.

### Requirements

- class attendance *10 per cent*
- five short (1-2 pages) response papers *30 per cent*
- one essay (5-6 pages) on any aspects of the issues discussed or a book-review of the same length or an in-class presentation of 15-20 minutes with an outline to be submitted at the time of the presentation. *40 per cent*
- in-class activity *20 per cent*

Prerequisites: none

Language of instruction: English

Method of presentation: seminar

Grading: attendance 25 %, papers 75%

Attendance: active participation in class discussions, students may be absent from three sessions at the maximum

Week I: Introductions, explanation of the aims and requirements of the course, lecture on psychological approaches to history, scapegoating, heroism, victims, onlookers, devils and angels, on the concept of authoritarianism, on the common and distinctive features of communist and fascist regimes, on the problem of defining perpetrators and victims from the perspective of a historian of modern Europe.

Week II: After a short introduction viewing a film based on George Orwell's novel *Animal Farm* followed by a short prepared, structured discussion.

Week III: Seminar based on response papers to the film and reading 7.

Week IV: After a short introduction viewing the film *Modern Times* directed by Charlie Chaplin followed by a short, prepared, structured discussion.

Week V: Seminar based on response papers to the film and reading 9.

Week VI: After a short introduction viewing a film based on Franz Kafka's novel, *The Trial*, directed by David Hugh Jones, starring Anthony Hopkins followed by a prepared, structured discussion.

Week VII: Seminar based on response papers to the film.

Week VIII: After a short introduction viewing the film *Taking Sides* directed by István Szabó followed by a prepared, structured discussion



Week IX: Seminar based on response papers to the film and readings 1 and 3.

Week X: After a short introduction viewing the film *Repentance* directed by Tengiz Abuladze followed by a prepared, structured discussion

Week XI: Seminar based on response papers to the film and readings 2 and 12.

Week XII: Summary, prepared discussion on the cultural, social, political legacies of European authoritarian regimes based on readings VIII and XI.

### Reading list for course

Omer Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews and the Holocaust." *American Historical Review*, Vol. 103, Issue 3 (June, 1998), 771-816.

István Deák, "Perpetrators." In: *Essays on Hitler's Europe*. Lincoln-London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000. 23-34.

István Deák, "Seduction or Complicity. How Guilty Were the Germans?" *Rechtshistorisches Journal* 16. 635-641.

István Deák, "The Goldhagen Controversy in Retrospect." In: *Essays...* 100-110.

István Deák – Jan GROSS – Tony JUDT (eds): *The Politics of Retribution in Europe. World War II and Its Aftermath*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000. Preface and introduction.

István Deák, "The Pope, the Nazis and the Jews." In: *Essays...* 169-184.

Shirley Jackson, *The Lottery* (First published on June 28, 1948)

Tony Judt, "The Problem of 'Evil' in Post War Europe." *The New York Review of Books*, February 14, 2008.

Mark Mazower, "Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century." *American Historical Review*, Vol. 107 (no. 4) Oct 2002, 1158-78.

Jeffrey K. Olick – Brenda Coughlin, "The Politics of Regret: Analytical Frames." In: John Torpey (ed.) *Politics and the Past. On Repairing Historical Injustices*. Lanham-Boulder-New York-Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003, 37-62.

Attila Pók, *The Politics of Hatred in the Middle of Europe. Scapegoating in Twentieth Century Hungary: History and Historiography*. Savaria Books on Politics, Culture and Society. Szombathely: Savaria University Press, 2009. Introduction

Tymothy Snyder, *Bloodlands*. New York: Basic Books, 2010. Introduction and Conclusion.

**All mandatory readings are available in electronic form.**

### Recommended reading

Daniel Johan Goldhagen: *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. Any edition

Günter Grass: *The Tin Drum*. Any edition

Rolf Hochhuth: *The Deputy*. Any edition

Attila Pók: *The Politics of Hatred in the Middle of Europe. Scapegoating in Twentieth Century Hungary: History and Historiography*. Savaria Books on Politics, Culture and Society. Szombathely: Savaria University Press, 2009.

### Recommended films

*Fatelessness* directed by Lajos Koltai, based on the novel by Imre Kertész

*Der Untergang* directed by Oliver Hirschbiegel

*The Pianist* directed by Roman Polanski

*The Witness* directed by Péter Bacsó

*Sunshine* directed by István Szabó