

Ph.D. Program in Global History and Governance
I Semester 2024/2025

Minorities and minority collective rights in Europe from the Vienna Congress to the European Convention on Human Rights

(9 January-27 February)

Thursday, 15:00-17:00

Location: Room no. 2

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Office hours: by appointment

Overview

This course explores the emergence, development, disappearance, and re-emergence of minority / collective rights in Europe alongside individual rights between the French Revolution and the European Convention on Human Rights adoption in 1950.

We will concentrate on the timeline of nationality, minority, and then collective rights in Europe, analyze the genealogy of concepts, terms, and practices, discuss ideas and narratives, and compare them with the emergence and development of minority / collective rights in other settings

We will analyze and discuss historical texts and various sources alongside the secondary literature.

Organization of the course

The course consists of 10 two-hour sessions. The introductory class provides a general overview of concepts and historiography. The subsequent seven sessions concentrate on specific chronology and topics. The last two will occur at the end of April and are devoted to presenting and discussing students' papers.

Class discussion is at the heart of the course. Students must read the suggested chapters and articles critically, considering their authors, methodologies, sources, and arguments.

Grading

- **Class participation**, including timely presence and participation in class discussion: 50% of final grade. Class participation is compulsory and an essential part of this course. Please notify your instructor before the class meeting if you miss class because of illness or any other emergency. Failure to do so will be reflected in the grade.
- **Final paper**: Students must prepare a paper to be discussed in the last two sessions of the course. Papers (5000-7000 words, bibliography excluded) must be submitted by April 13. Please adopt the Chicago style for footnotes and bibliography. The topic will be confirmed with the instructor by the end of February. The papers will be presented and discussed in the second half of April.

Course material

The reading materials will be available online via the SSM digital library, on paper at university libraries, or provided by the instructor via a shared Zotero folder.

SESSIONS

Session 1: Introduction

9 January

Topics:

- A few words about the instructor
- Organization of the course and grading
- Presentation of the topic
- Scale and scope of the course
- A Glossary: Religious Rights, Nationality Rights, Minority Rights, Collective Rights, Group Rights
- A periodization

No readings for this session

Session 2: From collective to individual rights and from religious to nationality rights in the age of nationalism

16 January

Topics:

- The French Revolution, individual rights, and representative governments
- From Westphalia to the Congress of Vienna and from religious to nationality rights
- The age of nationalism and the emergence of the nationality question in the multi-ethnic empires

Readings:

- C. A. (Carlile Aylmer) Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (London: Oxford University Press H. Milford, 1934), pp. 92-156.
- Andre Liebich, "Minority as Inferiority: Minority Rights in Historical Perspective," *Review of International Studies* 34, no. 2 (April 2008): 243–63.

Sources:

- [French Constitutions 1791, 1793, 1795](#)
- [Final Act of the Congress of Vienna](#)

Session 3: Language, religion, and nationality in the multi-ethnic empires

23 January

Topics:

- The Ottoman Empire: extraterritoriality and the *Millet system*
- Nationality rights in the Dual Monarchy
- Nationalities and “minorities” in the Russian Empire
- The Jews in the multi-ethnic Empires

Readings:

- Karen Barkey and George Gavrilis, “The Ottoman Millet System: Non-Territorial Autonomy and Its Contemporary Legacy,” *Ethnopolitics* 15, no. 1 (January 2016): 24–42.
- Benjamin Braude, “Foundation Myths of the Millet System,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Bernard Lewis and Benjamin Braude (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 69–88.
- Pieter M. Judson, “Making Minorities and Majorities: National Indifference and National Self-determination in Habsburg Central Europe,” in Emmanuel Dalle Mulle, Davide Rodogno, and Mona Bieling, *Sovereignty, Nationalism, and the Quest for Homogeneity in Interwar Europe* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023), pp. 21-38.
- Jeremy King, “Who Is Who? National Classification in Imperial Austria, 1867–1914,” *The Journal of Modern History* 96, no. 2 (2024): 291–331.
- Paul W. Werth, “What Is a ‘Minority’ in an Imperial Formation? Thoughts on the Russian Empire,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 41, no. 3 (2021): 325–31.

Sources:

- [The 1869 Ottoman law on citizenship](#)
- [1867 Austrian constitution](#)

Session 4: Protecting “minorities:” an international issue 30 January

Topics:

- The Crimean War and the Treaty of Paris (1856)
- The Russo-Ottoman War, 1875-1877
- The Congress of Berlin
- The status of “minorities” in the Balkans
- The Jews in Romania
- Forced migrations and exodus

Readings:

- C. A. (Carlile Aylmer) Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (London: Oxford University Press H. Milford, 1934), pp. 157-175.
- Jennifer Jackson-Preece, *National Minorities and the European Nation-States System* (Oxford-New York: Clarendon Press-Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 31-43.
- Carole Fink, *Defending the Rights of the Others: The Great Powers, The Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878-1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 3-38
- Constantin Iordachi, *Liberalism, Constitutional Nationalism, and Minorities: The Making of Romanian Citizenship, c. 1750–1918* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), chapters 7-9.

Sources:

- [Berlin Treaty](#)
- [1866 Romanian Constitution](#)

Session 5: Non-Territorial Autonomy from a Historical Perspective (with Dr. Marina Germane, U. Vienna)

6 February

Topics:

- Origins of the idea of non-territorial autonomy, theoretical development, and actual implementations, across time and space from the late Habsburg and Russian Empires to the Paris Peace Conference.

Readings:

- Marina Germane, Börries Kuzmany, "Origins and Early Implementations of Non-Territorial Autonomy," in Andeva, M., Dobos, B., Djordjević, L., Kuzmany, B., Malloy, T.H. (eds) *Non-Territorial Autonomy* (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2023), pp.

Sources:

- Karl Renner, "State and Nation (1899)," in *National Cultural Autonomy and Its Contemporary Critics*, (London-New York: Routledge, 2005), 15–47.
 - Otto Bauer, "The Nationalities Program of the Social Democratic Workers' Party," in Id., *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy*, 1st ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 417-426.
 - Simon Dubnow et al., "Autonomie", in *Encyclopaedia Judaica: Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Eschkol A.G, 1928)

Session 6: The First World War, Paris, and the Creation of a System of International Minority Protection

13 February

Topics:

- The First World War
 - The Paris Conference
 - Self-determination
 - The Minority Treaties
 - New borders and new successor states
 - Citizenship, options, statelessness, and the emergence of minorities

Readings:

- Eric D. Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions," in *The American Historical Review*, 2008, Vol. 113/5, pp. 1313-1343.
 - Jörg Fisch, *The Right of Self-Determination of People. The Domestication of an Illusion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 126-159.
 - Carole Fink, "Minority Rights as an International Question," *Contemporary European History* 9, no. 3 (2000): 385–400.
 - Carole Fink, *Defending the Rights of the Others: The Great Powers, The Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878-1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 67-100.

Sources:

- [Treaty of Saint-Germain](#)

- [The Polish Treaty](#)
- [Clemenceau's letter to Paderewski](#)
- Vladimir Lenin, "[What is meant by self-determination](#)," in Lenin's *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, 1972, Moscow, **Volume 20**. pp. 393 ss.
- [President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points \(1918\)](#)

Session 7: Nationalities and Minorities in the Interwar Period 20 February

Topics:

- Nationalities and minorities in post-WWI Europe
- Implementing the minority protection system
- The League of Nations and the minorities
- German and Jewish Minorities: petitions and advocacy
- The Congress of European Nationalities
- Nationalities and Minorities in the USSR

Readings:

- Mark Mazower, "Minorities and the League of Nations in Interwar Europe," in *Daedalus*, 1997, Vol. 126/2, pp. 47-63.
- Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*, Cornell University Press 2001, pp. 1-28.
- Kari Alenius, "The Birth of Cultural Autonomy in Estonia: How, Why, and for Whom?," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 38, no. 4 (2007): 445-62.
- Emmanuel Dalle Mulle, Volker Prott, and Alessandro Ambrosino, "The Paris System in Western Europe: Minorities, Self-Determination, and the Management of Difference in the 'Civilized West,'" *Nationalities Papers*, May 27, 2024, 1-21.

Sources:

- LoN Petitions
- [Tittoni Report 1920](#)
- The Estonia Law on Autonomy (1925)
- The December 1925 debate at the LoN
- The Congress of nationalities

Session 8: Human Rights and Minority Rights after the Second World War 27 February

Topics:

- Minorities in WWII
- Europe after the WWI
- The failure of the system of minority protection
- The emergence of human rights
- The Council of Europe and the writing of the European Convention on Human Rights

Readings:

- Mark Mazower, "The Strange Triumph of Human Rights, 1933-1950," *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 2 (2004): 379-98.
- Marco Duranti, *The Conservative Human Rights Revolution: European Identity, Transnational Politics, and the Origins of the European Convention* (Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 1-10.
- Patrick Pasture, "The Invention of European Human Rights," *History* 103, no. 356 (2018): 485-504.

- Christian Hillgruber and Matthias Jestaedt, *The European Convention on Human Rights and the Protection of National Minorities* (Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1994), pp. 13-21, 87-103.

Sources:

- Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* [1951] (London, 1976), pp. 267–303.
- Council of Europe, *Collected Edition of the “Travaux Préparatoires” of the European Convention on Human Rights = Recueil des travaux préparatoires de la convention européenne des droits de l’homme*, (The Hague-Boston: Hingham, MA: M. Nijhoff ; Kluwer Boston, distributor, 1975), vol. I, pp. 192-212 [Teitgen Report].
- [European Convention on Human Rights](#)
- [Universal Declaration on Human Rights](#)

Sessions 9

TBD

Papers’ presentations and discussions.

Sessions 10

TBD

Papers’ presentations and discussions.