

History 433: Topics in East European History
Refugees and Forced Migration in Historical Perspective
Spring 2019

Professor Stauter-Halsted
Office hours: 1:30-2:00 Tues., 1003 UH and by apt.
e-mail: stauterh@uic.edu

class: 3-5:30, Th
304 Lincoln Hall

Course description: People have long left home for political reasons, placing themselves in exile from the countries of their birth. But the legal category of refugee or asylum seeker grew out of a particular convergence of war, revolution, and genocide in the early twentieth century, culminating in new understandings of international law and new ways of treating vulnerable populations. This course examines the roots of the modern concept of statelessness and displaced persons, considering the history of forced evacuation, deportation, and genocidal campaigns as constitutive of a new set of legal norms. Situated in the decline of empire and the rise of nation-states across Europe, Eurasia, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East, the course traces the ways notions of political homelessness have evolved in the modern period, assessing shifts in how we view state, society, and the borders of belonging. It looks at the evolution of discourses and policy surrounding forced migration, and at the ways migrants themselves have constituted their fate. Who counts as a political refugee and who as an “ordinary” economic or labor migrant? How are the criteria for citizenship determined and in what ways have these definitions shifted over the past century? What concepts and institutional entities arose to address the problems associated with the resettlement of stateless or expelled people? And, most importantly, how have individuals, families, and whole communities reshaped themselves in response to moving borders and disappearing homelands?

Beginning with a glimpse at rhetoric surrounding refugees in Europe over the past few years, the course traces the waves of refugees created by nineteenth-century wars, the collapse of empire, the rise of the nation state and the exclusionary policies they followed. It examines the reconstruction of Europe after World War I, the exodus from the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution, the flow of Jewish refugees from the former Pale of Settlement, and the process of repatriating thousands of nationals who found themselves on opposite sides of new international frontiers after the Versailles Peace Settlement. We consider the waves of exiles following World War II and compare them to the population transfers resulting from decolonization in India and elsewhere. We look at the birth of new aid agencies and the professionalization of humanitarian assistance. Finally, the course evaluates the growing categories of exclusion at the border, including sexual, racial, religious and economic restrictions, and assesses the importance of memory and commemoration in constructing refugee images of home.

Course Requirements: Students will be evaluated on the basis of three types of class activity: in-class participation (20%), weekly short papers (50%), and a 10-12 page final research paper (30%).

- 1. Weekly attendance and oral participation.** This is an advanced undergraduate seminar, not a lecture course. As such, much of the work takes place during class sessions. It is expected that students will come to all classes and participate fully in discussions. Please complete all readings in advance of each seminar meeting and

think hard about your reaction to them. Come prepared to ask questions and make arguments about the assigned readings. Class participation comprises 20% of students' final grade for the course; it will be difficult to do well in the course if you do not participate in discussions. If you need suggestions for how to join in the conversation during class, please see me during office hours. All of us were once shy students!

2. **Short critiques of weekly readings (300-500 words each).** Each week students will write a one-page response to the week's readings. These responses should include a brief (one paragraph) summary of the material in the reading, followed by an assessment of its contribution to the historical literature, the author's particular perspective, or a considerations of shortcomings or inconsistencies of the work. The critiques are due by e-mail to me each Wednesday evening/ Thursday morning (absolute deadline 7 a.m. Thursday) at stauterh@uic.edu. Students may skip two of these weekly papers without penalty. Weekly critiques make up 50% of the final grade, or 5% each.
3. **Final project and class presentation.** Students will select a topic related to the history of forced migration or refugee studies, and write a paper of approximately 10-12 pages. Papers should make use of both primary and secondary materials, they should include formal footnotes and a bibliography, and they must have a clear thesis and interpretive framework. All topics must be approved by the instructor. Clear deadlines for each element of the paper are included in the weekly schedule.

Statement on plagiarism. If you take words from any source, you must use quotation marks and ¹_{SEP}acknowledge the source with proper citation in your footnotes. Even when ¹_{SEP}you use your own words but have borrowed an idea from another source, you must reference it. Presenting someone else's work as your own can result in the disqualification of your work and a failing grade for this class. It is also not acceptable to use your own work from another class (in the form of complete term papers turned in for a different course) for assignments in this one.

A note on professional courtesy. Please make every effort to arrive at class on time and to leave only when the instructor ends class unless you have made prior arrangements to depart early. Leave your cell phones in your pockets and your laptops closed unless you need to check something in an online reading. Please also be aware of proper etiquette in e-mailing your professor. It is important, for example, that you sign your name to e-mails so that the instructor knows whom she is talking to.

Required reading. The following text should be purchased at UIC's bookstore or via any on-line vendor.

Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*
All additional readings are posted on blackboard.

Schedule of Topics and Assignments. Please complete all readings prior to class. Any changes will be announced in class and via blackboard.

Jan 17 Introduction. The return of refugees to the world stage: the view from

East Central Europe

Why do refugees make us feel vulnerable? What do we fear from them? What do they represent for the settled population? What is unique about the way Poland and the rest of East Central Europe have responded to the refugee crisis? What can this response tell us about the particular anxieties of the population in this region?

Zygmunt Baumann video on "The Fear of Refugees;" Washington Post.
"Raising Barriers: A New Age of Walls," *Washington Post* episode 1

PLEASE READ BEFORE CLASS ON THURSDAY:

Reading: "Critical Forum: The East European Response to the 2015 Migration Crisis," *Slavic Review* 76, no. 2 (Summer 2017): 285-296.

Jan 24 **The pre-history of refugeedom in Eastern Europe. Terminology and conceptualization: refugees, forced migrants or political exiles?**

Reading: Dariusz Stola, "Forced Migrations in Central European History," *International Migration Review* 26, no. 2 (1992): 324-341 **(BB)**

Jerome Elie, "Histories of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, 23-35 **(BB)**

Richard Bessel and Claudia Haake, "Forced Removal in the Modern World," in Bessel and Haake, *Removing Peoples: Forced Removal in the Modern World* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 3-32 **(BB)**

Peter Gatrell, "Introduction: The Making of the Modern Refugee," in Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, 1-13

Jan 31 **Internment camps and the construction of refugee "needs"**

Reading: Aidan Forth, *Barbed-Wire Imperialism: Britain's Empire of Camps, 1876-1903*, Chapter 5, "Camps in a Time of War," 129-158 **(BB)**

Tara Zahra, 'Condemned to Rootlessness and Unable to Budge': Roma, Migration Panics, and Internment in the Habsburg Empire," *The American Historical Review* 122, no. 3 (2017): 702-726 **(BB)**

Martina Hermann, "'Cities of Barracks': Refugees in the Austrian Part of the Habsburg Empire during the First World War," in *Europe on the Move: Refugees in the Era of the Great War*, 129-55 **(BB)**

Konrad Zielinski, "Population Displacement and Citizenship in Poland, 1918-24," in *Homelands: War, Population and Statehood in Eastern Europe and Russia, 1918-1924* (2004), 98-118 **(BB)**

Feb 7 **World War I and the (re)invention of human rights**

Reading: Gatrell, "Empires of Refugees," in *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, 17-51

Bruno Cabanes, "The Tragedy of being Stateless: Fridtjof Nansen and Rights of Refugees, in *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918-1924*, 133-88

Eric D. Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions," *American Historical Review* 113, 5 (2008): 1313-1343

Hannah Arendt, "The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man," in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1976), 267-302

- Feb 14** **Roma as a distinct category of refugees**
Reading: "One Culture or Many Cultures: The Diversity of Roman People in Poland"
 "Europe not for All? Romani Immigrants in Western European Countries"
- Attend lecture by Joanna Talewicz-Kwiatkowska, "The Roma Holocaust: Breaking Silence: Public and Educational Discourse," 4 pm, Institute for the Humanities, Stevenson Hall, Lower Level*
- Feb 21** **The rise of the nation-state and the birth of internationally sanctioned forced migration**
Reading: Peter Gatrell, "Nation States and the Birth of the 'Refugee Problem,' in Interwar Europe," in *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, 53-81
 Annemarie H. Sammartino, "A Flooding of the Reich with Foreigners," in *The Impossible Border: Germany and the East, 1914-1922*, 120-137
 Joshua A. Sanborn, "Unsettling the Empire: Violent Migrations and Social Disaster in Russia During World War I." *The Journal of Modern History* 77, 2 (2005): 290-324
 Renee Hirschon, "The Consequences of the Lausanne Convention: An Overview," in *Crossing the Aegean* (2003), 13-20
- ** Paper topics due via e-mail before class ****
- Feb 28** **No class. Work on bibliographies for papers.**
- Mar 7** **Fascism, the creation of political/religious refugees, Jewish diaspora, and perceptions of exile**
Reading: Michael Marrus, "The Flight From Fascism," in *The Unwanted*, 122-207 **(BB)**
 Anthony Smith, "Diasporas and Homelands in History: The Case of the Classic Diasporas," in *The Call of the Homeland: Diaspora Nationalisms, Past and Present*, eds. Allon Gal, et al. (2010), 1-26 **(BB)**
 Hannah Arendt, "We Refugees," in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*, ed., Marc Robinson (1996), 110-119 **(BB)**
- Mar 14** **The United Nations and the invention of Displaced Persons. Role of the UN High Commission on Refugees**
Reading: G. Daniel Cohen, "Displaced Persons in the 'Human Rights Revolution,'" In *War's Wake: Europe's Displaced Persons in the Postwar Order* (2012), 79-99 **(BB)**
 Michael Marrus, *The Unwanted*, 296-345 **(BB)**
 Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, 89-117
 Tara Zahra, "'The Psychological Marshall Plan': Displacement, Gender, and Human Rights after World War II," *Central European History* 44, no. 1 (2011): 37-62 **(BB)**
- Mar 21** *** No class. Work on final papers. ***
- Apr 4** **Internationally sanctioned forced population exchanges**
Reading: Timothy Snyder, "The Ethnic Cleansing of Ukrainians, 1943-47," *Journal of*

- Cold War Studies*, 1, 2 (Spring 1999), 86-120 **(BB)**
 Krystyna Kersten, "The Polish-Ukrainian Conflict under Communist Rule,"
Acta Poloniae Historica 73 (1996), 135-51 **(BB)**
 Andrew Demshuk, *The Lost German East*, 33-62 **(BB)**
 Benjamin Frommer, "To Prosecute or Expel? Czechoslovak Retribution and
 the "Transfer" of Sudeten Germans," in *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic
 Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944-1948*, 221-240 **(BB)**
 Tara Zahra, "Lost Children: Displacement, Family, and Nation in Postwar
 Europe," *The Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 1 (2009): 45-86 **(BB)**

**** Bibliography for final paper due with weekly response paper ****

- Apr 11** **The collapse of communism and the post-communist refugee crisis**
Reading: Karolina S. Follis, *Building Fortress Europe: The Polish-Ukrainian Frontier*,
 117-141
 Follis, "Are the European Union's New Boundaries Like the Iron Curtain?
 1989, Borders, and Freedom of Movement in Poland and Ukraine,"
International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society IJPS 22, no. 3
 (2009): 385-400
 Pinar İlkaracan and Leyla Gülçür, "The 'Natasha' Experience: Migrant Sex
 Workers from the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in
 Turkey," In *Deconstructing Sexuality in the Middle East*, 211-226
 Laura Agustín, "The Disappearing of a Migration Category: Migrants Who sell
 Sex." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32, no. 1 (2006): 29-47
- Apr 18** **The business of refueedom**
Reading: Ruben Andersson, *Illegality, Inc.: Clandestine Migration and the Business of
 Bordering Europe* (2014), 1-65 **(BB)**
 Peter Tinti and Tuesday Reitano, *Migrant, Refugee, Smuggler, Savior* (2018),
 1-33 **(BB)**
- Apr 25** **Refugee stories: memory and return.**
Reading: Thea Halo, *Not Even My Name: A True Story* (2001), selections
 Marwan Hisham and Molly Crabapple, *Brothers of the Gun: A Memoir of the
 Syrian War* (2018), selections
- May 2** **21st century refugee crisis revisited**
 Tara Zahra, "The Return of No Man's Land: Europe's Asylum Crisis and
 Historical Memory," *Foreign Affairs* (September 2015)
 Other readings to be determined

**** Research papers due electronically to me by midnight May 9 ****
Have a great summer!