

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO**  
*Department of Political Science*

**POL 310 H1-S**  
**Spring 2023**

**The People from Nowhere**

Professor Paul Robert Magocsi  
Lectures: Wednesdays 3-5  
University College 244

Office Hours: Thurs. 12-1  
and by appointment: 416-978-3332  
Jackman Humanities Bldg, Room 201  
170 St. George Street

**COURSE OUTLINE**

Introduction

1. Carpathian Rus' and nationalism
2. The Habsburg Empire and Revolution of 1848
3. Carpatho-Rusyns in Austria-Hungary and the United States
4. World War I and the reconfiguration of Central Europe
5. Carpathian Rus' during the Interwar Years
6. Carpathian Rus' during World War II
7. The Communist Era in Soviet Transcarpathia
8. Carpatho-Rusyns in Communist Czechoslovakia and Poland
9. The Revolutions of 1989 and Carpatho-Rusyns in post-Communist Ukraine
10. Carpatho-Rusyns in post-Communist Slovakia and Poland
11. A real or virtual people

**REQUIRED READINGS (On separate list)**

**WRITTEN WORK**

Essay of 2,500 words (10 one-sided, double-spaced pages)

**GRADING**

Map test (February 1; due February 12)	10%
Term test (February 15; due March 1)	30%
Essay (due April 5)	60%

**PENALTIES**

2 points deducted per day of lateness in submitting essay

## **LECTURES FOR POL 310 H1-S**

### **January 18**

1. What is the history of Carpatho-Rusyns and the land of Carpathian Rus'?  
Nationalism and the language question

### **January 25**

2. Habsburg reforms and their impact on Carpatho-Rusyns  
The Revolution of 1848 and the first Carpatho-Rusyn national awakening

### **February 1**

3. Carpathian Rus' in Austria-Hungary, 1868-1914  
Carpatho-Rusyn diasporas before World War I

### **February 8**

4. Carpathian Rus' during World War I, 1914-1918  
The end of the old and birth of a new order, 1918-1919

### **February 15**

5. Subcarpathian Rus' in interwar Czechoslovakia, 1919-1938  
Interwar Prešov Region and Lemko Region, 1919-1938

### **February 20-24**

READING WEEK

### **March 1**

6. Autonomous Subcarpathian Rus' and Carpatho-Ukraine, 1938-1939  
Carpathian Rus' during World War II, 1939-1944

### **March 8**

7. Carpathian Rus' in transition, 1944-1945  
Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia in the Soviet Union, 1945-1991

### **March 15**

8. The Prešov Region in Communist Czechoslovakia, 1945-1989  
The Lemko Region and Lemko Rusyns in Communist Poland, 1945-1989

### **March 22**

9. The Revolutions of 1989  
Carpatho-Rusyns in post-Communist Ukraine

### **March 29**

10. Carpatho-Rusyns in post-Communist Slovakia  
Carpatho-Rusyns in post-Communist Poland

### **April 5**

11. Carpathian Rus'—real or imagined?

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**Spring term 2023**

**Reading List**

1. INTRODUCTION

Required:

Magocsi, Paul Robert. With Their Backs to the Mountains: A History of Carpathian Rus' and Carpatho-Rusyns (Budapest and New York, 2015), pp. 1-14.  
DJK28 .R87M348 2015

2. NATIONALISM

Required:

Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony, eds. Nationalism (Oxford and New York, 1994): essays by Ernest Renan, Joseph Stalin, Karl Deutsch, Clifford Geertz, Walker Connor, pp.17-21, 26-34, 36-46.  
JC311 .N2945

Kohn, Hans. The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of Its Origin and Background (New York, 1958), pp. 3-24.  
JC311 .K567

Gellner, Ernest. Nations and Nationalism. (Ithaca and London, 1983), pp. 52-61.  
JC311 .G46

Magocsi, Paul Robert. "On the Writing of the History of Peoples and States," Canadian Slavonic Papers, XLVI, 1-2 (Edmonton, 1998), pp. 121-128.  
PG6 .C3 (in Robarts Stacks)

Magocsi, With Their Backs to the Mountains, pp. 112-115.  
DJK28 .R87M348 2015

3. NATIONALISM AND STATELESS PEOPLES

## Required:

Lewis, Bernard. History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented (Princeton, N.J., 1975), pp.43-69.

D13 .L46 1975

Kamusella, Tomasz. Creating Languages in Central Europe During the Last Millennium (New York, 2015), pp. 8-23.

P381 .E848K36 (also eBook available)

Shafer, Boyd C. *Faces of Nationalism* (New York, 1972), pp. 208-216.

Hutchinson and Smith, Nationalism: Benedict Anderson, “Imagined Communities,” pp. 89-96.

JC311 .N2945

Kohn, Idea of Nationalism, pp.427-441.

JC311 .K567

Magocsi, Paul Robert. The People from Nowhere: An Illustrated History of Carpatho-Rusyns, 2<sup>nd</sup> revised ed. (New York, 2018), pp. 25-49.

DJK28 .R87 M3435 2018

## 4. MULTICULTURAL HABSBURG AUSTRIA

## Required:

Judson, Pieter M. The Habsburg Empire, pp. 16-18, 28-42, 51-75.

DB36.3 .H3J83 2016

Lendvai, The Hungarians, pp. 160-182 and 206-241.

DB925.3 .L46313 2003

Magocsi, With Their Backs to the Mountains, pp. 87-128.

DJK28 .R87M348 2015

Rusinko, Elaine. Straddling Borders: Literature and Identity in Subcarpathian Rus' (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 2003), pp. 111-142, 173-181.

PG3990.5 .R88 2002

## 5. CARPATHO-RUSYNS IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

## Required:

Lendvai, The Hungarians, pp. 281-328.  
DB925.3 .L46313 2003

Zweig, Stefan. The World of Yesterday (Lincoln, Nebr., 1964), pp. 1-27.  
PT2653 .W2Z5 1964

Magocsi, With Their Backs to the Mountains, pp. 129-165.  
DJK28 .R87M348 2015

Mayer, Maria. The Rusyns of Hungary: Political and Social Developments, 1860-1910 (New York, 1997), pp. 124-152.  
DK508.9 .Z35 M39313

## 6. WORLD WAR I AND THE RECONFIGURATION OF CENTRAL EUROPE

Required:

Magocsi, With Their Backs to the Mountains, pp. 167-190.  
DJK28 .R87M348 2015

Recommended:

### Hungary

Kolarz, Walter. Myths and Realities in Eastern Europe (Port Washington, N.Y. and London, 1946), pp. 86-98.  
DR36 .K46 1946

Sugar, Peter F., ed. A History of Hungary (Bloomington, Ind. 1990), pp. 275-318.  
DB925.3.H57 1990

Kárácsonyi, János. The Historical Right of the Hungarian Nation to Its Territorial Integrity (Budapest, 1920).  
D651 .H7K37

### Czechoslovakia

Kolarz, Myths and Realities, pp. 136-149.  
DR36 .K46 1946

Mamatey, Victor S. and Luža, Radomír, eds. A History of the First Czechoslovak Republic (Princeton, N.J., 1973), pp. 10-38.  
DB215 .M27

MacMillan, Margaret. Paris 1919 (New York, 2002), pp. 229-242.  
D644 .M32 2002

Poland

Kolarz, Myths and Realities, pp. 99-117.  
DR36 .K46 1946

Watt, Richard M. Bitter Glory: Poland and Its Fate, 1918-1939 (New York, 1979), pp. 44-78.  
DK4400 .W37

MacMillan, Paris 1919, pp. 213-228.  
D644 .M32 2002

Ukraine

Magocsi, Paul Robert. A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples, 2nd rev. ed. (Toronto, 2010), pp. 547-554.  
DK508.51 .M34 2010

Kuchabsky, Vasyl. Western Ukraine in Conflict with Poland and Bolshevism (Edmonton and Toronto, 2009), pp. 136-176.  
DK508.9 .U37K8313 2009

Carpathian Rus'

Magocsi, Of the Making of Nationalities There is No End, Vol. I: "The Rusyn Decision to Unite with Czechoslovakia"; "The Lemko Rusyn Republic (1918-1920) and Political Thought in Western Rus'-Ukraine," pp. 124-146 and 303-315.  
DJK28 .R87 M343

The Origin of the Lems: Slavs of Danubian Provenance: Memorandum to the Peace Conference Concerning Their National Claims (Prešov, 1919).

## 7. THE INTERWAR YEARS AND AUTONOMY

## Required:

Magocsi, With Their Backs to the Mountains, pp. 191-239, 269-278.  
DJK28 .R87M348 2015

Macartney, C. A. Hungary and Her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and Its Consequences, 1919-1937 (London, New York, and Toronto, 1937): "Ruthenia," pp. 221-250.  
D651 .H7M15

Magocsi, Of the Making of Nationalities There is No End, Vol. I: "The Nationality Problem in Subcarpathian Rus', 1938-1939" and "Rusyns and the Slovak State," pp. 220-241.  
DJK28 .R87 M343

## 8. WORLD WAR II AND "REUNIFICATION"

Required:

Magocsi, With Their Backs to the Mountains, pp. 279-304.  
DJK28 .R87M348 2015

Rusinko, Straddling Borders, pp. 425-442.  
PG3990.5 .R88 2002

Nemec, F. and Moudry, V. The Soviet Seizure of Subcarpathian Ruthenia  
(Toronto, 1955), pp. 83-124, 157-183.  
DK508.9 .Z35 N43 1955

## 9. THE COMMUNIST ERA

Required:

Magocsi, With Their Backs to the Mountains, pp. 305-342.  
DJK28 .R87M348 2015

Lacko, Michael. "The Forced Liquidation of the Union of Užhorod," Slovak Studies, I (Rome, 1961), pp. 146-157.  
DB663 .S5 (in Robart Stacks)

Best, Paul and Stepien, Stanislav, eds., Does a Fourth Rus' Exist? (Przemysł and Higganum, Conn, 2008): Valerii Padiak, "The Reduction of the Status of the Rusyn Language to that of a Ukrainian Dialect," pp. 81-88.  
GN549 .S6D64 2009

Magocsi, Of the Making of Nationalities There is No End, Vol. I:  
"National Assimilation: The Case of the Rusyn-Ukrainians of  
Czechoslovakia," pp. 242-289.  
DJK28 .R87 M343

Best, Paul and Moklak, Jaroslaw, eds. The Lemko Region, 1939-1947:  
War, Occupation and Deportation (Cracow and New Haven, 2002): articles  
by Roman Drozd, Yurii Kramar, Peter Potichnyj, and Bogdan Horbal on the  
deportation of Lemkos and the UPA, pp. 83-99 and 149-177.  
DK4121.5 .L4L44

Kordan, Bohdan. "Making Borders Stick: Population Transfer and  
Resettlement in the Trans-Curzon Territories, 1944-1949," *International  
Migration Review*, XXXI, 3 (New York, 1997), pp. 704-718.

## 10. THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1989

## Required:

Magocsi, With Their Backs to the Mountains, pp. 355-362.  
DJK28 .R87M348 2015

Magocsi, Of the Making of Nationalities There is No End, Vol. II:  
“Carpatho-Rusyns: A New or Revived People,” pp. 249-274.  
DJK28 .R87 M343

Hunka, Jaroslav. “The Lemkos Today,” Carpatho-Rusyn American, X, 4  
(1987), pp. 4-8; and “Responses,” *ibid.*, XI, I (1988), pp. 4-7  
E184 .U5C37 (in Robart Stacks)

Kürti, László and Langman, Juliet. Beyond Borders (Boulder, Colo., 1997):  
Chris M. Hann, “Ethnicity in the New Civil Society: Lemko Ukrainians in  
Poland,” pp. 17-35.  
DJK26 .B49 1997x

Smith, Raymond A. “Indigenous and Diaspora Elites and the Return of  
Carpatho-Ruthenian Nationalism,” Harvard Ukrainian Studies, XXI, 1-2  
(Cambridge, Mass., 1997), pp. 141-157.  
DK508 .A2H34 (in Robarts Stacks)

## 11. POST-COMMUNIST CARPATHIAN RUS'

## Required:

Magocsi, With Their Backs to the Mountains, pp. 363-391 and 409-412.  
DJK28 .R87M348 2015

Magocsi, Of the Making of Nationalities There is No End, Vol. II: with  
“Commentaries” by L'udovit Haraksim, Mykola Mušynka, Andrzej A.  
Zięba, and P. R. Magocsi, pp. 138-193.  
DJK28 .R87 M343

Best and Stepien, Does a Fourth Rus' Exist?: Ewa Michna, “Methods Used by  
Carpatho-Rusyn Leaders to Legitimize Their National Aspirations,” pp. 215-  
226.  
GN549 .S6D64 2009

Halemba, Agnieszka. Negotiating Marian Apparitions: The Politics of



Religion in Transcarpathian Ukraine (Budapest and New York, 2015),  
pp. 90-116.  
BT652 .Z35H35 2015