

## DISCIPLINE DESCRIPTION

### 1. Information about the program

1.1 Higher education institution	BABEŞ-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY
1.2 Faculty	FACULTY OF POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND COMMUNICATION SCIENCES
1.3 Department	JOURNALISM DEPARTMENT
1.4 Field of study	COMMUNICATION SCIENCES
1.5 Level of study	MASTER
1.6 Study program / Qualification	APPLIED MEDIA STUDIES

### 2. Information about the discipline

2.1 Discipline title	<b>Competitive Gulag-Holocaust Martyrology in Former Communist States: Causes and Consequences</b>						
2.2 Course lecturer	Dr. Zoltán TIBORI SZABÓ						
2.3 Seminar assistant	Dr. Zoltán TIBORI SZABÓ						
2.4 Year of study	2	2.5 Semester	4	2.6. Evaluation type	E	2.7 Discipline type	DS

### 3. Total estimated time (hours of didactic activities per semester)

3.1 Number of hours per week	3	of which: 3.2 course	2	3.3 seminar/laboratory	1
3.4 Total hours in the study plan	42	of which: 3.5 course	28	3.6 seminar/laboratory	14
Time distribution:					hrs
Studying the manual, course reader, bibliography and notes:					1
Supplementary documentation in the library, on electronic platforms and in the field:					1
Preparing seminars/laboratories, homework, syntheses, portfolios and essays:					1
Tutorials					0,5
Examinations					0,5
Other activities: .....					0
3.7 Total hours of individual study	60				
3.8 Total hours per semester	86				
3.9 Number of credits	5				

### 4. Prerequisites (where applicable)

4.1 based on the curriculum	•
4.2 based on competences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• - computer skills, Word, Excel, internet connection</li> <li>• - participation in the exam: conditional upon the submission of the written papers requested by the course holder</li> </ul>

### 5. Conditions (where applicable)

5.1 for the course	• -
5.2 for the seminar/laboratory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• attendance of at least 75%</li> <li>• presentation of individual papers</li> </ul>

## 6. Accumulated specific competencies

<b>Professional competencies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Raising awareness of the Holocaust, anti-Semitism, negationism, xenophobia;</li> <li>- familiarizing with historical notions and facts about the Holocaust and the Gulag phenomenon</li> </ul>
<b>Transversal competencies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- deepening the knowledge on the history of the Holocaust in Europe, Hungary and Ukraine;</li> <li>- deepening the knowledge on the history of communist dictatorship;</li> <li>- to recognize and combat the phenomena of negation (negation, minimization, trivialization, etc.).</li> </ul>

## 7. Discipline objectives (from the accumulated competencies grid)

7.1 General objective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The overall objective of the course is to provide students with tools to understand the causes and mechanisms that trigger a martyr competition between the victims of the Holocaust and their offspring and the victims of the Gulag and their offspring in the former communist states. For this purpose, the students will go through some "case studies", and then proceed to a socio-psychological analysis of the phenomenon.</li> </ul>
7.2 Specific objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Special emphasis will be placed on the following: history and memory; the role of the myth in memory; distorting history under the communist regime; the need for "positive history"; the formation and transmission of memory and its subjectivity; History, myth and memory in Poland, Hungary and Romania; "Democratic memory" and its limits.</li> </ul>

## 8. Contents

8.1 Course	Teaching methods	Observations
Week 1 - Memory, history and myth (I)	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Halb wachs; Motzkin.
Week 2 - Memory, history and myth (II)	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Judt, „Trecutul este o altă țară”.
Week 3 - Memory, history and myth (III)	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Sorel
Week 4 - Memory and the necessity of the usable past in post-communism; Myth as a legend and the mobilizing myth	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Rupnik; Shafir, „Varieties”, „Nürnberg II”.
Week 5 - The myth of Nuremberg as a legend and its use in post-communism	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Herf, 2002; Ackermann; Garton Ash. <b>Optional reading:</b> Herf, 2005, Frey; Jaraus ch; Niven, 2002.
Week 6 - Memory and History: The Case of Poland	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Gross, <i>Fear</i> ; Gross,

		<i>Vecini</i> ; Michlic, 2002, 2007; Michnik, 2001; Polonsky and Michlic. <b>Optional reading:</b> Garber; Hartman; <i>Thou Shalt Not Kill</i> ; Zubrzycki.
Week 7 - Memory and History: The Case of Hungary	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Shafir, 2004, 2006. <b>Optional reading:</b> Benda; Berend 1993, 2006; Braham, 2004; Pók; Weaver.
Week 8 - Memory and History: The Case of Romania	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Comisia internațională, <i>Raport final</i> , pp. 339-386; Shafir, 2000, 2002, 2004; Cioflâncă 2007.
Week 9 - The Zionism and the Holocaust as mobilizing myths	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Benbassa; Benbassa, Attias; Shafir, „Nürnberg II”. <b>Optional reading:</b> Sternhell.
Week 10 - The Gulag as a mobilizing myth	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Comisia prezidențială; Shafir, „Raportul Tismăneanu”, „Rotten Apples”, „Nürnberg II”. <b>Optional reading:</b> Abraham.
Week 11 - Jews and Communism	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Gross, 2003; Gitelman, 2005. <b>Optional reading:</b> Krajewski; Voicu 2004.
Week 12 - Causes of competitive martyrology	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Abraham; Shafir, „Nürnberg II”.
Week 13 - Competitive martyrology and paroxysm	conferencing	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Coja, 2006; Goma; Hogeia; <b>Optional reading:</b> Ioanid, 2005.
Week 14 - Conclusions and questions for future research	conferencing + summary and free discussion about the lessons of the course	<b>Mandatory reading:</b> Ackermann; Courtois, 1998, 2008; Besancon; Gheorghiu, 2001, 2007; Gregor, 2002; Herf, 2004; Ionescu, 2007; Malia; Olick, 2003; Todorov, 1999, 2004. <b>Optional reading:</b> Beattie; Diner; Lang; Lukes; Meuschel; Shafir, „Raportul Tismăneanu”; Wohlfahrt; Wolton.

## Course Bibliography

### Mandatory

1. Benbassa, Esther, “ Sionism și ‘negarea exilului’; O altă formă de ură de sine?’ in *Ura de sine: Identități dificile*, eds. Esther Benbassa, Jean-Cristophe Attias, București, Editura EST, 2005, pp. 69-88.
2. Benbassa, Esther, Attias, Jean-Cristophe, *Evreul și celălalt*, București, Editura EST, 2002.
3. Connerton, Paul, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006.
4. Goma, Paul, *Săptămâna roșie 28 iunie-3 iulie sau Basarabia și evreii*, București, Editura Vremea XXI, 2004.
5. Halbwachs, Maurice, *Memoria colectivă*, Iași, Institutul European, 2007.
6. Herf, Jeffrey, *Divided Memory. The Nazi Past in the Two Germanies*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1997.
7. Judt, Tony, “Trecutul este o altă țară: Mit și memorie în Europa postbelică” in István Deák, Jan T. Gross, Tony Judt, *Procese în Europa. Al doilea război mondial și consecințele lui*, București, Curtea Veche, 2003, pp. 369-408.
8. Shafir, Michael, “Nürnberg II?’ Mitul denazificării și utilizarea acestuia în martilologia competitivă Holocaust-Gulag” in *Gulag și Holocaust în conștiința românească, Caietele Echinox*, Vol. 13, 2007, pp. 87-104.
9. *Idem*, “Rotten Apples, Bitter Pears: An Updated Motivational Typology of Romania’s Radical Right’s Antisemitic Postures”, Paper presented at the workshop “The Radical Right in Post-1989 Central and Eastern Europe-The Role of Legacies”, New York, New York University, April 24-26, 2008.
10. *Idem*, “Varieties of Anti-Semitism in Post-Communist East Central Europe: Motivations and Political Discourse” in *Jewish Studies at the CEU III, 2002-2003*, eds. András Kovács, Eszter Andor, Budapest, Central European University, 2003, pp. 175-210.
11. Sorel, Georges, *Reflecții asupra violenței*, București, Editura Incitatus, 2003.

8.2 Seminar	Teaching methods	Observations
Week 2. - Case study: Poland	oriented discussions on the bibliography	Students will choose during the first month - with the teacher's agreement - subjects for individual papers. The papers will be presented and discussed in the seminars. Seminars are held together for two hours every second week.
Week 4. - Case Study: Hungary	oriented discussions on the bibliography	
Week 6. - Case Study: Hungary (continued)	oriented discussions on the bibliography	
Week 8. - Case Study: Romania	discussions focused on students' multimedia presentations	
Week 10. - Case Study: Romania (continued)	discussions focused on students' multimedia presentations	

Week 12. - Case Study: Romania (continued)	discussions focused on students' multimedia presentations	
Week 14. - Conclusions of the Decipline	free discussions with the students	

**Optional Bibliography (depending on the subject chosen for the individual paper)**

1. Abraham, Florin, “‘Rezistentă’, ‘Gulag’, ‘Holocaust’ și construirea memoriei democratice după 1989” in *Gulag și Holocaust în conștiința românească, Caietele echinox*, Vol. 13, 2007, pp. 40-57.
2. Ackermann, Ulrike, “Totalitarian Attempts, Anti-Totalitarian Networks : Thoughts on the Taboo of Comparison” in *concepte înrădăcinate în literatura de specialitate*, 2004, pp. 169-181.
3. Aguilar, Palomara, “Institutional Legacies and Collective Memories: The Case of the Spanish Transition to Democracy” ” in *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Durham, Duke University Press, 2003, pp. 128-160.
4. Ahonen, Pertti, “Victims of the Berlin Wall” in *Germans as Victims*, ed. Bill Niven, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 130-146.
5. Aleksov, Bojan, “Adamant and Treacherous: Serbian Historians on Religious Conversions” in *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Pal Kolsto, London, C. Hurst & Co. 2005, pp. 158-190.
6. Andreescu, Andreea, Nastasă, Lucian, Varga, Andrea (editori), *Evreii din România (1945-1965)*, Cluj, Cluj, Centrul de resurse pentru diversitate etnoculturală, 2003.
7. Andreescu, Gabriel, *Extremismul de dreapta în România*, Cluj, Centrul de resurse pentru diversitate etnoculturală, 2003.
8. Antic, Ana, “The Evolution of Boundary: Defining Historical Myth in Serbian Academic and Public Opinion in the 1990s” in *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Pal Kolosto, London, C. Hurst & Co., 2005, pp. 191-222.
9. Aschheim, Steven F., “Imagining the Absolute: Mapping Western Conceptions of Evil”, in *The Lesser Evil: Moral Approaches to Genocide Practices*, eds. Helmut Dubiel, Gabriel Motzkin, London, Routledge, 2004, pp. 73-84.
10. Beattie, Andrew H., “The Victims of Totalitarianism and the Centrality of Nazi Genocide: Continuity and Change in German Commemorative Politics” in *Germans as Victims*, ed. Bill Niven, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 147- 161.
11. Beichelt, Tim, “Leninsit Legacies and the Russian Radical Right”, ” Paper presented at the workshop “The Radical Right in Post-1989 Central and Eastern Europe-The Role of Legacies”, New York, New York University, April 24-26, 2008.
12. Bell-Filakoff, Andrew, *Ethnic Cleansing*, New York, St. Martin’s Griffin, 1999.
13. Benda, Lukas, “Populism in Contemporary Hungarian Politics” in *Populism in Central Europe*, Prague, Association for International Affairs, 2007, pp. 156-173.
14. Berend, Ivan T., “Jobbra Át! [Right Face]: Right Wing Trends in Post-Communist Hungary” in *Democracy and Right-Wing Politics in Eastern Europe in the 1990s*, ed. Joseph Held, New York, Columbia University Press, 1993, pp. 105-134.
15. *Idem*, “The Revival of Anti-Semitism in Post-Communist Hungary” in *The Holocaust in Hungary: Sixty Years Later*, eds. Randolph L. Braham, Brewster S. Chamberlin, New York, Columbia University Press, 2006, pp. 167-176.
16. Berger, Stefan, “On Taboos, Traumas and Other Myths: Why the Debate about German Victims of the Second World War Is not a Historians’ Controversy” in *Germans as Victims*, ed. Bill Niven, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 210-224.
17. Berger, Thomas, “The Power of Memory and Memories of Power: The Cultural Parameters of German Foreign Policy-Making since 1945” in *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past*, ed. Jan-Werner Müller, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 76-99.
18. Besancon, Alain, *Nenorocirea secolului: Despre communism, Nazism și unicitatea ‘Shoah’-ului*, București, Humanitas, 1998.
19. Bet-El, Ilana R., “Unimagined Communities: The Power of Memory and the Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia”

- in *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past*, ed. Jan-Werner Müller, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 206-222.
20. Beyme, Klaus von, "Populism and Right-Wing Extremism in Modern Democracies" in *Populism in Central Europe*, Prague, Association for International Affairs, 2007, pp. 26-40.
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  22. Braham, Randolph L. (ed.), *Anti-Semitism and the Treatment of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Eastern Europe*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994.
  23. *Idem*, "Hungary and the Holocaust: The Nationalist Drive to Whitewash the Past" in *The Treatment of the Holocaust in Hungary and Romania During the Post-Communist Era*, ed. Randolph L. Braham, New York, Columbia University Press, 2004, pp. 1-42.
  24. *Idem*, *Romanian Nationalists and the Holocaust: The Political Exploitation of Unfounded Rescue Accounts*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1998.
  25. Brunnbauer, Ulf, "Ancient Nationhood and the Struggle for Statehood: Historiographic Myths in the Republic of Macedonia" in *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Pal Kolosto, London, C. Hurst & Co., 2005, pp. 262-296.
  26. Bucur, Maria, "How to Tell the Story of Your Grandparents? Ethical Dilemmas of Post-Memory", Paper presented at the Symposium "Holocaust and Gulag", Cluj-Napoca, 25-27 May 2007.
  27. Budeanca, Cosmin, Olteanu, Florentin, Pop Iuliu (editori), *Rezistentă anticomunistă: Cercetare științifică și valorificare muzeală*, 2 vol., Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut, 2006.
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  29. Byford, Jovan, "From 'Traitor' to 'Saint': Bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic in Serbian Public Memory", Jerusalem, The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, *ACTA*, no. 22.
  30. Cala, Alina, "Antisemitism Without Jews and Without Antisemites" in *Jewish Studies at the CEU III, 2002-2003*, eds. András Kovács, Eszter Andor, Budapest, Central European University, 2003, pp. 39-52.
  31. *Idem*, "Poland: Attitudes to Jews in the Light of Sociological Research", *Anti-Semitism at the End of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Bratislava, Museum of Jewish Culture, 2002, pp. 108-112.
  32. Carter, Steven K., "The CIS and After: The Impact of Russian Nationalism" in Luciano Cheles, Ronnie Ferguson, Michalina Vaughan, *The Far Right in Western & Eastern Europe*, Longman, London, 1995, pp. 174-197.
  33. Cesereanu, Ruxandra, *Comunism și represiune în România: Istoria tematică a unui fratricid național*, Iasi, Polirom, 2006.
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  35. *Idem*, "Raportul Final asupra Holocaustului și Raportul Final asupra Dictaturii Comuniste în România (reperetice și istorice)," in *Gulag și Holocaust în conștiința românească, Caietele echinox*, Vol. 13, 2007, pp. 255-262.
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  38. *Idem*, "Holocaustul, memoria europenilor și scrisul istoric în perioada postbelică" in *Studia Hebraica*, Vol. 4, 2004, pp. 123-164.
  39. Cibulka, Frank, "The Radical Right in Slovakia" in *The Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet, University Park, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999, pp. 109-132.
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44. *Idem, Marele manipulator si asasinarea lui Culianu, Ceausescu, Iorga*, Bucuresti, Editura Miracol, 1999.
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50. Confino, Alon, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance. Promises and Limits of Writing History*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
51. Connerton, Paul, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006.
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- in *The Tragedy of Romanian Jewry*, ed. Randolph L. Braham, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994, pp. 173-236.
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## **9. The corroboration of discipline contents with the expectations of epistemic community representatives, professional associations and representative employers in the study program's corresponding field**

Following the course students will become aware of the importance of documenting the treatment of Holocaust and Gulag phenomena knowingly as well as the nature of anti-Semitic, negationist, xenophobic,

ethnic, religious and racial intolerance, as well as of memory and competitive martyrology. The knowledge and skills acquired will be of real help in their work, no matter if they will act in the future as political scientists, journalists, members of the public administration, communicators of indigenous, multinational companies, or as communicators of political organizations or NGOs. They will be able to orient public opinion through well-documented readings and positions, an important desideratum of today's professional organizations.

## 10. Evaluation

Type of activity	10.1 Evaluation criteria	10.2 Evaluation methods	10.3 Weight in final mark
10.4 Course	semestrial examination	exam	30%
10.5 Seminar/laboratory	handing over of the individual paper in due time	evaluation by the seminar holder	50%
	active attendance at seminars	keeping track of attendance and activity	20%

### 10.6 Minimum performance standard

Course attendance is optional according to the regulations. Presence at seminars is mandatory at least 75%. Each student will write by the end of the course a paper which topic is to be approved by the course holder. For this purpose, he will submit an early bibliography proposal (4-6 books, articles) in the first month of the course. Plagiarism in any form, including the Internet, entails the sanctions in force by suspending one year of studies (under Article 50). Works of those who do not have a minimum seminar attendance of 75% will not be corrected. The seminar holder will participate in the correction of the works, recommending the increase or decrease of the final grade (max. 2 points) depending on the activity at the seminars. Handing over of the individual paper is compulsory and a condition for the examination. Copying from colleagues' materials or works of others (with or without their will) is a fraud and is sanctioned under the rules in force (see above). Complaints must be submitted within one week of the results being displayed. The contestant shall be informed of the outcome of the action, the decision being irrevocable.

Date  
September 19, 2023

Course lecturer signature  
Dr. Zoltán TIBORI SZABÓ

Seminar assistant signature  
Dr. Zoltán TIBORI SZABÓ

*Tibori Szabó Zoltán*

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Date of approval in the Department  
.....

Head of department's signature  
.....