

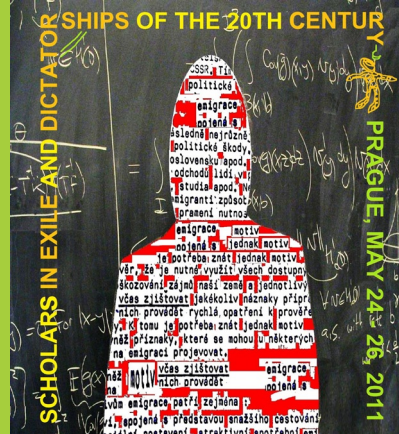
SCHOLARS IN EXILE AND DICTATORSHIPS OF THE 20th CENTURY

MAY 24–26, 2011

PRAGUE



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A ARCHIV AV ČR, v.v.i.



Cover Design by Magdalena Buriánková & Antonín Kostlán

The Conference is supported by the grant of the Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic No. IAAX00630801.

Dear friends,

It is our great pleasure to greet you in Prague, one of the great historical cities of the world, protected by UNESCO. We hope you will enjoy not only the scientific sessions, but also the walks in Prague's magic streets, admiring its architecture, visiting museums and theatres, drinking beer or wine and eating good food in the countless pubs and restaurants or just talking to the inhabitants. Many people, especially the younger ones speak English. We are sure most people will be nice to you and ready to help. The Czech colleagues whom you will meet at the conference will be happy to assist you with any questions.

Welcome and have a wonderful and relaxed time in the Czech Republic!

Soňa Štrbářová

Principal Organizer

Antonín Kostlán

Head of the Centre for History of Sciences and Humanities of the Institute for the Contemporary History of the ASCR

SCHOLARS IN EXILE AND DICTATORSHIPS OF THE 20TH CENTURY

International Conference, Prague, May 24 – 26, 2011

ORGANIZERS & PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS

- Centre for the History of Sciences and Humanities, Institute for Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (ASCR) – principal organizer
- National Technical Museum in Prague
- Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Academy of the ASCR
- Czech Society for History of Sciences and Technology

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Karel Raška, Robert Wood Johnson Medical School, New Jersey, USA, President of Czechoslovak Society of Arts & Sciences (SVU)

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Marco Stella, Faculty of Science, Charles University, Prague

Petr Svobodný, Institute of the History of Charles University and Archive of Charles University, Chairman of the Czech Society for History of Sciences and Technology

Michal Šimůnek, Institute of Contemporary History of the ASCR

Soňa Štrbáňová, Institute of Contemporary History of the ASCR

TOPIC OF THE CONFERENCE

Issues concerning scientists in exile have attracted attention especially in relation to the large emigration wave that hit Europe facing the Nazi regime after 1933. This wave has been already well documented by numerous encyclopaedic projects, treated in synthetic works, and also analyzed from the methodological point of view. Still, other émigré and exile waves in 20th century Europe have so far escaped more detailed attention, like those that have been evoked by European and non-European authoritarian regimes and dictatorships or other malignant political developments.

Insufficiently explored as yet is the effect of the Communist regimes that came into power at first in the Soviet Union and later in several European countries on escapes of scholars (both the average and the top ones) to outside their spheres of influence. This process retained in all these countries its significant specific features and took its particular time course depending on the acuteness of the local political pressure. Attention seeking are also the problems concerning intellectuals and scholars expelled from their home countries by several other authoritarian regimes, some of which have been active up to the present day. The Conference approaches these questions from two angles – partly from the all- European perspective and partly considering the Czech developments.

The Conference presents general and comparative contributions and also those concerned with particular scientific institutions, specific situations and countries and individual fields in sciences technical sciences and humanities. In relation to Czech exile, the Conference attempts to accomplish two tasks: determine the present state of research and serve as a platform where the former “émigrés” can share their personal experience and position.

PRINCIPAL ORGANIZING INSTITUTIONS

CENTRE FOR THE HISTORY OF SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES OF THE INSTITUTE FOR CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF THE ASCR

The Centre specializes in historical investigation of scientific development understood in terms of intellectual and social history as an entirety of empirical, theoretical and practical knowledge leading to new findings produced by specific communities of researchers. The time and thematic span in which research is pursued in the Centre is quite wide: from the cosmology of the Middle Ages, through analysis of the intellectual potential of the Early Modern “res publica litteraria”, to the 20th century communication in science and relation of science and politics. A long-term priority represents tracking scientific development and transformation of the Czech scientific community in the multicultural and multinational interwar Czechoslovakia and during the totalitarian regimes, both the Nazi (1939-1945) and the communist (1948-1989) ones. The scientific disciplines whose history is treated are especially astronomy, nuclear physics, genetics and biochemistry, some chemical disciplines, and selected humanities, especially historiography. One of the Centre’s recent key projects is “Czech Scholars in Exile, 1948-1989”; it explores the phenomenon of scientific exile investigating as target group scientific workers of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences who escaped from the country during the communist oppression in the years 1952-1989. The Centre issues irregularly its own Czech, German and English publications in the series *Práce z dějin vědy – Studies in the History of Sciences and Humanities*, as well as individual works, monographs, proceedings and editions. For further information, see <http://www.science.usd.cas.cz/>.

NATIONAL TECHNICAL MUSEUM

The National Technical Museum has the status of a central museum of the Czech Republic and a scientific institution with documentation, presentation, methodological, and information functions. The fundamental element of its activities are the collections that have been created as the nation's memory. They amount about 58,000 filing items (comprising several times higher number of individual objects), majority of them being stored in depositories on about 13,000 m² while only 15% of the collection objects are shown in permanent exhibitions. The collections include such unique objects as astronomical instruments from the 16th century used by Tycho Brahe, the first Czechoslovak car, some of the oldest daguerreotypes in the world and many other unique items. The scope of the collections and complexities associated with the care for them can be documented by about 100 railway vehicles owned and partially operated by the National Technical Museum. The collections also encompass a large archive of history of technology and industry including 3,500 running meters of archival items and the library with about 250,000 books. The collections, archival items and book funds are not only presented to the public in permanent and temporary exhibitions but also through educational and professional programmes; the publication activity of the Museum is oriented in this direction. For more information, see www.ntm.cz.

GENERAL INFORMATION

VENUE OF THE CONFERENCE

National Technical Museum (NTM)

Kostelní 42
170 78 Prague 7
Czech Republic

The NTM is located within 20 minutes reach from the Prague centre by public transport. Take the tram No. 1, 8, 15, 25, 26 and get off on the stop **Letenské náměstí**. The closest metro stations are Hradčanská (line A) or Vltavská (line C). From the metro station take the tram to Letenské náměstí: No 1, 8, 25, 26 from Hradčanská, or No. 5, 8, 15, 25 from Vltavská. The NTM is 5 minutes walk from the tram stop (see the map in the conference pack).

VENUE OF THE EVENING SESSION AND SOCIAL EVENING

Hotel Splendid

Ovenecká 33
170 00 Praha 7

Hotel Splendid is 10 minutes walk from the National Technical Museum and 5 minutes walk from the tram stop Letenské náměstí (see the map). It can be reached by public transport the same way as the NTM.

TRANSPORT FROM/TO THE AIRPORT

Taxi – could cost between 400-600 CZK; it is strongly recommended to take the official airport taxi. If you contact at the airport the booth of the AAA taxi company, the service will get you a taxi or a minibus on fixed price 28 CZK/km and you also obtain a discount coupon for your way back. see <http://www.cedaz.cz/transport-from-airport-to-hotel-in-prague.php>

Public transport

Bus No. 119; takes you to the metro end station Dejvická (line A) – direct transport to Masaryk College

Bus No. 100; takes you to the metro end station Zličín (line B)

TRANSPORT FROM/TO THE RAILWAY STATION HLAVNÍ NÁDRAŽÍ

Taxi – could cost between 200-500 CZK; it is strongly recommended to settle the fare in advance.

Metro line “C, **tram** 5,9,26 (2 minutes walk from the station)

TRANSPORT FROM THE RAILWAY STATION HOLEŠOVICE

Taxi – as above.

Metro line C , **tram** 5,12,14.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT TICKETS (see also <http://www.dpp.cz/en/fares-in-prague/>)

Basic: 26 CZK for 75 minutes, including transfer between lines

24 hours: 100 CZK

72 hours: 300 CZK

120 hours: 500 CZK

The tickets can be bought in automats or at information centres (see <http://www.dpp.cz/en/list-of-info-centres/>)

FOOD AND REFRESHMENTS

There are many convenient restaurants and cafés near the National Technical Museum; their list will be distributed with the materials of the Conference. Beverages and light refreshments will be served during the coffee breaks.

PUBLICATION OF PROCEEDING

The Proceedings of the Conference will appear on a CD-ROM. The editors will only accept papers submitted before August 30; articles arriving after this date cannot be published. The Instructions for Authors are in the Conference pack.

CONTACTS TO THE ORGANIZERS

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A FEW ADDITIONAL WORDS

Prague is a comparatively safe city and easy to walk around thanks to its extensive and well-organised public transport system. It is attracting, however, millions of visitors especially this time of the year so that places of interest might become quite crowded and such situation is often abused by pickpockets; therefore please take good care of your belongings.

Try to avoid taxis, but if you need to take one, settle the fare in advance or hire a reliable taxi company, like the AAA (phone: 14014 or 22233322, the operators speak English). You can also see in the centre taxicab stands marked "Taxi Fair Place" with taxis that guarantee fair rate and safe service. The organizers will be happy to assist you with all your questions and problems.

PROGRAMME

This final version of the programme is based on titles and abstracts received before April 15 and includes all changes that arose during the conference.

**SCHOLARS IN EXILE AND DICTATORSHIPS
OF THE 20TH CENTURY**
International Conference, Prague, May 24 – 26, 2011

May 24, 2011

13.00 – 18.00 **Registration**

14:30-15.30 **Opening Session**
Welcome Speeches

General Problems of Scientific Exile

Chair: Soňa Štrbářnová

15.30-16.00 Kettler, David: A Paradigm for the Study of Political Exile: The Case of Intellectuals

16.00-16.30 Palló, Gabor: Migration of Scientists in Changing Context

16.30-17.00 Weindling, Paul: Refugee Czechoslovak Physicians in the UK in WW2. Assistance Organisations and Careers

17.00-17.30 Ash, Mitchell: Forced Migration and Scientific Change in the “Age of Extremes”; Questions from the Nazi Era

17.30-18.00 Discussion – moderator Dieter Hoffmann (Hotel Splendid)
Sugiyama, Anna: Exile as an Act of Relativization; Comparison between Kundera and Patočka through Poetry (Hotel Splendid)

18.00 Welcome Drink (Hotel Splendid)

May 25, 2011

8.30-14.00 **Registration**

Scientific Exile – International Comparisons

Chair: Dieter Hoffmann

9.00-9.20 Kostlán, Antonín: Czech Scholars in Exile, 1948 –1989

9.20-9.35 Martínez-Vidal, Àlvar, Zarzoso, Alfons: Spanish Exile. Medical Excellence and American Philanthropy in the South of France: the Hospital Varsovia – Walter B. Cannon Memorial, Toulouse, 1944-1950.

9.35-9.50 Izquierdo, Isabel: The Immigration of Soviet Scientists to Mexico during the nineties

9.50-10.30 Discussion

Hladký, Jan: Particle Physicists' Emigration after August 1968
Hirsch, Yaël: Bringing Scholars and Artists from Occupied Europe to America: The Action of Varian Fry at the Emergency Rescue Committee (1940-1942).

- 10.30-11.00 Coffee Break
- 11.00-11.15 Ulyankina, Tatiana: The fate of the Russian Scientific Emigration in Europe in 1940s-1950s
- 11.15-11.30 Popa, Catrinel: Dictatorship. Exile and Realms of Memory: A Romanian Case Study (Matei Călinescu)
- 11.30-11.45 Hirsch, Yaël: Milosz' choice: The Right Distance in Exile
- 11.45-12.00 Schulte-Umberg, Thomas: Creating Another Europe in Exile: The Review of Politics during War and Postwar
- 12.00-12.45 Discussion
- 12.45-14.00 Lunch

Interwar Emigration

Chair: Mitchell Ash

- 14.00-14.20 Hoffmann, Dieter: The Emigration of German Scientists to Prague after 1933
- 14.20-14.35 Frank, Tibor: Between Nazism and Stalinism: The Interwar Migration of Hungarian Scientists
- 14.35-14.50 Krivosheina, Galina: Scientists and Physicians in the 1922 Exile Lists: Why Some of Them Were Forced to Emigrate and Some Were Permitted to Stay
- 14.50-15.20 Discussion
- 15.20-15.45 Coffee Break
- 15.45 – 16.00 Gilley, Christopher: Ukrainian Scholars and the Soviet Regime in the 1920s: The Movement of Reconciliation and Return
- 16.00 -16.15 Gasimov, Zaur: With Ukraine on Mind: Roman Smal-Stockyj Between Prague and Warsaw
- 16.15 -16.30 Morávková. Alena: Ukrainian Philosopher in Czechoslovakia – Dmytro Čyževskij
- 16.30 -17.15 Discussion

18:00-19.30 Evening Session (Hotel Splendid)

Scientific Exile Seen Through the Prism of Personal Experience

Chair: Ivan Lefkovits

Lefkovits, Ivan: Adaptation and Selection Processes in Emigration

Stark, Jaroslav: Catching up Trust

Novotný, Miloš V.: Unto a Good Land. Out of Necessity

Hudlická, Olga: Why I left Czechoslovakia after 20 Years Membership in the Communist Party

Discussion

19:30

Social Evening (Hotel Splendid)

May 26, 2011

Exile of Scholars Before and During World War II

Chair: Paul Weindling

- 9.00-9.20 Šimůnek, Michal – Hermann Tomáš: Emigration Before and After the Nazi Occupation: Exemplified by the Academic Staff of the Faculty of Medicine of the German University in Prague, 1938–40
- 9.20-9.35 Bošnjakovič, Branko: Science in Croatia in the First Half of the 20th Century: Between Autonomy, Authoritative State and Migration
- 9.35-9.50 Karlsson, Blanka: Hodin, Vaněk, Schieche and their Writings in Sweden during World War II (and after) in Previous Top Secret Documents in Swedish Archives
- 9.50-10.05 Elina, Olga: Between Rock and a Hard Place. Soviet Plant Breeders During and After WWII
- 10.05-10.45 Discussion
Rechcigl, Miloslav: Czech Intellectual Immigrants from Nazism in the US (short theses read in absence)
Hořejš, Miloš: Jindřich Kolben – an Engineer in Exile
- 10.45-11.15 Coffee Break

Emigration of Scholars during the Communist Regime 1945-1968

Chair: Vilém Prečan

- 11.15-11.30 Olšáková, Doubravka – Durnová, Helena: Academic Asylum Seekers in Czechoslovakia

11.30-11.45	Hampl, Petr: Emigration of Vladimír J. A. Novák or Back to the Origins
11.45 -12.30	Discussion Kázecký, Stanislav: Alexander Cejnar, Linguist and Editor of Exile Journals in Brazil
12.30-14.00	Lunch
14.00-14.15	Josefovičová, Milena: Emigration of Scholars in Documents
14.15-14.30	Lorencová, Ivana: The Twisted Life Course of the Chemist Jan Roček
14.30-14.45	Závěta, Karel: Czech Scientists in Exile: Science vs. Music
14.45-15.00	Marlinová, Olga: The Psychology of Emigration and Exile.
15.00-15.30	Discussion Łukasiewicz Sławomir: Criticism of Marxism in Publications of Polish Emigré Scholars after the Second World War
15.30-16.00	Coffee Break

Emigration of Scholars after 1968

Chair: Josef Michl

16.00-16.15	Prečan, Vilém: Czech Historians who Emigrated in the 1970s and 1980s and their Cooperation with Independent Historians in Czechoslovakia
16.15-16.30	Gorniok, Lukasz: The Reception of "Intellectual Refugees" from Poland and Czechoslovakia in Sweden 1968-1971
16.30-16.45	Štrbáňová, Soňa: Women Scholars in Exile
16.45 -18.00	Discussion and Final Discussion Janata, Jiří: Dictators, Personal Anecdotes and Science. Přenosil, Jiří: Professional and Private Conflict Issues Related to Emigration. An Attempt to Generalise a Personal Experience. Englová, Jana: The Significance of the Contacts of Some Czech Emigré Historians with the Historians in Czechoslovakia Kotůlek, Jan: Inner migration within Vysoká škola báňská (Mining University) in Ostrava after 1968
18.00	Conclusion of the Conference

ABSTRACTS

The texts of the abstracts have been printed as received from the authors without thorough English language editing

Forced Migration and Scientific Change in the “Age of Extremes”: Questions from the Nazi Era

Mitchell Ash

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The forced migration and exile of scientists and scholars during the 1930s and 1940s has been a topic of research for decades. The present conference is a welcome attempt to widen the scope of inquiry to include earlier and later periods, in particular the migrations during the long period of Communist dictatorship in Central and East-Central Europe. Without trying to anticipate future research results, it seems appropriate to consider two questions in this context: (1) Do the forced migrations and scientific changes of the Nazi era represent a paradigmatic case, with issues and results that could be applied or transferred to other cases, or rather a unique situation - the study of which is surely important in itself, but which is not comparable in any way to other situations? (2) On the basis of what we have learned from numerous studies of Nazi-era migration and exile of scientists and scholars, what questions could now be asked that might lead to fruitful inquiry in other cases of forced migration and exile of scientists and scholars? This paper addresses both of these questions, focusing primarily on the second. Drawing on examples from various fields of science and scholarship, three dimensions of inquiry will be addressed: the politics of ejection and exile, asylum and retention; the social history of scientists and scholars, especially the impacts of interrupted and changing careers; the epistemic dimension, meaning the complex relations of forced migration and changing scientific and scholarly research programs. Common to all three dimensions is a perspective that views scientific change as a re-organisation of resource ensembles; this includes personal, institutional, methodological and conceptual as well as financial resources. In this perspective, both forced migration and scientific change under political duress are in principle open-ended and context-dependent. At the same time, available resources in given circumstances place inherent limits on the process.

Science in Croatia in the First Half of the 20th Century: Between Autonomy, Authoritarian State and Migration

Branko Bošnjaković

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Based on existing literature, a broad picture is given of the political and economic frameworks and indicators within which science and technology in Croatia have been developing during the first half of the 20th century. The characteristics of subsequent political regimes (Austro-Hungarian monarchy until 1918; “Yugoslavia” from 1918 to 1941; “Independent” State of Croatia during the 1941-1945 war period; and Titoist Yugoslavia from 1945 onward) are briefly described with regard to their impacts on scientific institutions and individuals. The discontinuities implied by above periodisation, including its sub-divisions, are set against the institutional and individual continuities surviving the political upheavals as illustrated by examples. The position of the main institutions (Zagreb University, Academy

of Sciences and Arts, some other institutes and professional associations), are highlighted, with special emphasis on how these institutions were trying to maintain their academic autonomy and scientific integrity in view of political interference. The role of enterprises, of special importance for technology development and education, is only briefly addressed. The scientific and technological developments, and the obstacles on the way to achievements during the above-mentioned periods, will be briefly discussed. Whereas the importance of the mobility of scientists has been recognised as being an inherent feature of exact sciences and technology during centuries, the pressures exercised by dictatorial regimes, within and outside Croatia, have led to additional migrations during the 20th century. In this respect three developments and their consequences for science and technology receive special attention: inflow of refugee scientists after the Russian revolution; political extremism (totalitarian ideologies, ultranationalism, antisemitism) as a European phenomenon; and people leaving countries under Communist regimes established after the Second World War. The implications of these developments for science and technology in Croatia are discussed as core part of this contribution.

Academic Asylum Seekers in the Communist Czechoslovakia

Helena Durnová – Doubravka Olšáková

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Communist Czechoslovakia offered political asylum to over 15,000 people, mainly from Greece, Italy, and Spain, but also to a few Americans, Frenchmen, Iranians, and the like. Some of these refugees were prominent leftist scientists with an outstanding political career and background. One such person was George Wheeler, one of the creators of Roosevelt's New Deal policy and a close colleague of General Lucius D. Clay in post-war Germany, where he participated in the process of de-nazification and economic reconstruction. His career in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences followed the typical course of a Western Marxist and a social sciences scholar. Wheeler succumbed to the Communist ideology, made an excellent academic career (his books were translated to several East European languages), and after 1968 returned to the USA where he pursued his academic career. Czechoslovakia also provided a temporary home to the electrical engineer Morton Nadler, who sensed that his career in the US would be difficult because of his political opinion. The choice of Prague was motivated by the reputation of the Czechoslovak industry, like in the case of Joel Barr and Alfred Sarant.

Between Rock and a Hard Place. Soviet Plant Breeders During and After WWII

Olga Elina

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This paper examines the circumstances of the work of Soviet plant breeders during the National Socialists' occupation of the USSR, their exiles, escapes and emigration after WWII.

By 1940s, Soviet plant scientists, especially Nikolai Vavilov and his VIR institute, had the leading position in the international plant breeding. However, simultaneous efforts of Vavilov's opponents – Trofim Lysenko in the first place – contributed to the decline of the Soviet genetics. This led to dramatic changes in the research activity of VIR and other institutions, arrests of Vavilov and many of his associates. Sanctioned by Lysenko and his patrons from the Communist leadership, this policy led to the concealed protest of many plant breeders. This could be one of the motivations of cooperation between some breeders and the Nazi occupiers. When retreating, the Germans took with them not only scientific material but also research fellows. Most of the plant breeders who survived the occupation later were arrested for collaboration. The paper also analyses the other possibilities for the plant scientists to escape from the Soviet Union at that period and their activities after WWII.

The Significance of the Contacts of Some Czech Emigré Historians with the Historians in Czechoslovakia

Jana Englová

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During the Prague Spring in 1968, a number of Czechoslovak scientists got a chance to travel abroad for even long-term research stays. But after the August 1968 occupation a strict command was done to them in December to promptly come back till the 1st of January 1969 regardless of remaining months of their stay. All even repeated applications to finish their stay were rejected. If they did not come back to Czechoslovakia on a given day, state authority enunciated them as emigrants. They lost their home and their property. We can illustrate it on married couple of Prof. Dr. Alice Teichová (historian of between World Wars economy) and Prof. Dr. Mikuláš Teich (historian of natural sciences). They were repudiated in Czechoslovakia during the Normalization period. Despite of it they were during world congresses in unofficial (secret) professional contact with some of Czechoslovak historians. Alice Teichová successfully supported Czechoslovak dilemma in the world historiography. Just after the Velvet Revolution she mediated a connection of research activities between Austrian and Czechoslovak historians of economic history. She participated in establishment of the Institute of Economic and Social History of Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague and in publishing of its foreign-language journal. Together with the Czech historians she partook in a conception of international conferences. In 2010 Alice Teichová was honoured for these her activities by honourable medal of the Charles University at the Czech Embassy in London.

Between Nazism and Stalinism: The Interwar Migration of Hungarian Scientists

Tibor Frank

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Many Hungarian scholars and scientists were forced to leave Hungary in or after 1919 because they had been politically involved in the Hungarian revolutions of 1918-19 (in most cases the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919). Others became innocent victims of the anti-Semitic campaign and legislation that followed the aborted Bolshevik-type coup in 1919-20, the first of its kind in Europe. These groups typically spoke good German, were educated in the German cultural tradition, and had many earlier contacts with Germany and other German-speaking cultural and scientific centres of Central Europe, including those in Czechoslovakia. It seemed natural for them to seek what turned out to be temporary refuge in the intellectually flourishing and politically tolerant atmosphere of Weimar Germany. Though the Hungarian government realized the potential loss the country would suffer from intellectual exile, most émigrés withstood official endeavours to lure them back to Hungary and chose to stay in Germany until Hitler took over as Chancellor in January 1933. Hungarian scientists, scholars, artists, musicians, filmmakers, authors, and other professionals enjoyed high recognition and prestige in pre-Nazi Germany. This “German” reputation helped them rebuild their subsequent career in England and, particularly the United States, where, after 1933, most of these “German” Hungarians were heading. Their repeated traumas (1919 in Hungary and 1933 in Germany) in interwar Europe led them to become militant anti-Nazis and anti-Communists, who looked upon the United States as a bulwark of freedom and fought against all forms of totalitarianism. Coming from this background, some of the very best and ablest joined the U.S. war effort and contributed to the fall of tyranny in German-dominated Europe and Japan.

With Ukraine on Mind: Roman Smal-Stockyj between Prague and Warsaw

Zaur Gasimov

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Roman Smal-Stockyj (1863-1969) was an Ukrainian philologist, politician and emigrant. Born in Habsburg Empire, he promoted the idea of Ukrainian samotiynost being involved into the political processes in Galicia at the beginning of the 20th century. After the Ukrainian Republic ceased to exist as a result of the Bolshevik expansion in 1920, Smal-Stockyj’s emigrant life began. Educated in Vienna, Munich and Leipzig, he was one of the co-founders of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague and taught linguistics for years at the University of Warsaw. Smal-Stockyj was close to the Promethean movement – a movement of the emigrants from Ukraine, the Caucasus and Crimea, which was financed and supported by the Polish government in the Inter-War Period. Smal-Stockyj headed the Club Prometeusz in Warsaw and cooperated intensively with the Ukrainian government in emigration, particularly with Petlyura and with the emigrants from the former Russian Empire in Paris.

As a philologist, Roman Smal-Stockyj was in opposition to the Russian emigrant circles of Eurasianists based in Paris and mostly in Prague (Prince Nikolay Trubetskoy, Roman Yakobson a.o.). Simultaneously, the exiled linguist criticized the policy of russification in the Soviet Ukraine. Together with his Polish colleagues, he organized several international conferences on the language policy in the USSR in 1930s. During World War Two Smal-Stockyj lived in Prague and left to the USA in 1947. There he was appointed Professor of Eastern European Studies at the Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. My aim is to show the emigrant activity of the politician and linguist Roman Smal-Stockyj in the 1920-30s between Prague and Warsaw. I intend to analyze it in the context of his disputes with the Russian emigrants but also with the representatives of structuralism school of Prague and with Masaryk's and Bidlo's visions of Russia as well. It is important to depict his perception of the totalitarian idea concepts of the inter-war period. Theoretically, the case-study is based on the approach of the Cambridge School of Intellectual History.

Ukrainian Scholars and the Soviet Regime in the 1920s: The Movement of Reconciliation and Return

Christopher Gilley
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The failure of the attempts to create a Ukrainian state during the 1917-21 revolution and civil war created a large Ukrainian émigré community in Central Europe, above all in Prague and Vienna. This included leading Ukrainian scholars and intellectuals, for example the historian Mykhailo Hrushevskyi and the author and playwright Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Despite the fact that they had participated in governments, which had fought the Bolsheviks, many émigrés such as Hrushevskyi and Vynnychenko soon began advocating reconciliation with the Soviet leadership and return to the Ukraine. At the same time, many academics from Eastern Galicia – the predominantly Ukrainian province occupied by Poland – immigrated to the Soviet Ukraine. The paper gives an overview of the reasons for adopting a pro-Soviet stance and charts the development of this émigré movement. It identifies two major arguments. Some Ukrainian Sovietophiles saw the Bolsheviks as the leaders of the world revolution; in doing so, they reinterpreted the heritage of 19th-century populism so as to present the Soviet regime as the successor to that legacy. Others stressed the national achievements made in the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in the 1920s, particularly in response to the Bolsheviks' introduction of Ukrainianisation in 1923, which created many opportunities for Ukrainian speakers in educational and research institutions in the republic. In this way, the paper examines how the Soviet system could continue to exert an attraction, even over those scholars who had once fled it.

The Reception of „Intellectual Refugees“ from Poland and Czechoslovakia in Sweden 1968-1971

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The paper focuses on the reception of refugees from Czechoslovakia and Poland immigrating to Sweden between 1968 and 1972. According to the materials of the Swedish Labour Market Board (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, AMS), during those years close to 1,500 Czechoslovaks and more than 2,000 Polish Jews came to Sweden. Slightly lower numbers of Czechoslovak asylum seekers granted by Swedish visa were presented by the correspondence from the Swedish Embassy in Vienna. On the contrary, the documents from the Jewish Community in Stockholm refer to more than 2,500 Polish Jews that came to Sweden. Despite those inaccuracies, they were the tiny group of refugees forced to emigrate after the political upheavals of 1968 in both countries. Interestingly, in the debate between the various state authorities, they were often perceived as intellectual refugees with certain difficulties in the processes of their integration. Numerous studies have focused on the composition of emigrants expelled from the communist regimes. But how did the fact that this group consists to significant extent of intellectuals and scholars influence the reception policy? In my paper, I will firstly discuss the correspondence between the Swedish Labour Market Board (AMS) and the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) regarding acceptance of the asylum seekers from Czechoslovakia and Poland to Sweden. Secondly, I will examine how the label “intellectual refugees” influenced Swedish integration policy. My presentation is a part of a larger project that investigates Swedish migration policy towards Polish-Jewish refugees that came to Sweden between 1968 and 1972. The presentation will be a work-in-progress-report.

Emigration of Vladimír J. A. Novák or Back To The Origins

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Illegal emigration and exile of scholars is mostly connected with escape from ideological oppression or with hope for better economic/social conditions. Emigrants thus leave their home country to get free of dangers or obstructions. The paper deals with particular case of illegal escape from Czechoslovakia after the World War II. Emigration of the Czech biologist Vladimír J.A. Novák was part of the very first wave of escapes after the Communist coupe in 1948. Compared to his colleagues, Novák – entomologist, dedicated evolutionist and promising talent in insect endocrinology – did not escape because of dissent from official ideology or because of absence of scientific opportunities. His illegal exile in 1951 headed to Soviet Union in a desire for elaborating so called “red biology” topics together with Soviet scientific coryphaeuses. The paper presents history of this story, Novák's personal motivations in evolutionary biology and Lysenkoist entomology as well as institutional consequences of this illegal escape.

Milosz' choice: The Right Distance in Exile

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Born in Lithuania in 1911, Czeslaw Milosz grew up in a family that spoke Polish since the 16th century. As he points out in his Lecture of Reception of the Nobel Prize in 1980, he always thought of himself as a Polish (and not a Lithuanian) Poet. A patriot - and also a convicted socialist - Milosz nevertheless chose to leave Poland in 1951. He lived in exile in the United States for more than 40 years. Ultimately, after the fall of the Iron Curtain, he went back to his country where he died in 2004. He is now buried in Cracow. In exile, although he taught at the University of California in Berkley young Americans, Milosz kept writing in Polish. His poems circulated as Samizdat in Poland during the Cold War, where they were very influential. Then, why did Czeslaw Milosz chose to emigrate? Couldn't he find an alternative to pursue his work in Poland? The purpose of this presentation is to explain the necessity of this exile for Milosz. Departing from his infamous essay, *The Captive Mind* (1953), where he explains his refusal of Stalinism, and analyzing the rich and complex body of works left by Milosz (poems, but also autobiographical works such as *The Issa Valley*, conferences and essay such as *The Witness of Poetry*), I would like to show that this exile was necessary for Milosz to find what he calls "the right distance" to the reality of the 20th century. In fact, Milosz was always inhabited by the idea that the poet – and the scholar- has a role to play by giving a fair account of the reality of the world. And Milosz was hit very early by the dark reality of WWII at the gate of the Warsaw ghetto in 1943. Later, while facing Stalinism, only in exile could he find the resources to witness his world. Furthermore, he decided to act upon this reality by reminding the West of the situation of Central Europe, which he called "The Other Europe".

Bringing Scholars and Artists from Occupied Europe to America : The Action of Varian Fry at the Emergency Rescue Committee (1940-1942)

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Arrived in Marseille in August 1940, just after the occupation of Northern France, American journalist Varian Fry brought a list of 200 Jewish intellectuals and artists he had the mission to save. Helped by the artist Miriam Davenport and the economist Albert O. Hirschman, Varian Fry raised money to get visas and transportation via Spain and Portugal for these intellectuals. In two years, he saved about 2 200 Jews. Among them : founder of the surrealist movement André Breton, philosopher Hannah Arendt, film theoretician Siegfried Kracauer, German historian of literature Wilhelm Herzog, first biographer of Hitler, Konrad Heiden, the writers Franz Werfel, Heinrich and Golo Mann and artists Marc Chagall, Max Ernst and Victor Brauner. The purpose of this "discussion" is to briefly describe the action of this rescue network.

Particle Physicist's Emigration after August 1968

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The paper describes scholars in exile after August 1968 in one special case. It deals about the scholars from the Department of High Energy Physics of the Institute of Physics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague. The Department had in the Institute a very special position. The group of its physicists was included since the mid of 50's into broad international scientific collaboration of many scientific institutions and universities all over the world. At the beginning the collaboration occurred only at a distance. During the early sixties, the collaboration grew. The scholars and technicians could visit western scientific institutions and work there also for a longer time. After the Soviet invasion in 1968 to Czechoslovakia most of these people decided to emigrate and so the number of workers in the Department in Prague decreased to one half. The scientific prospects and positions of the emigrated scholars are described.

The Emigration of German Scientists to Prague after 1933

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In contrast to the emigration of German politicians and artists, which has been well analyzed since the 1980s, we know very little about the emigration of German scientists and engineers to Czechoslovakia after 1933. I will provide an overview of this emigration, its socio-political setting, and the living and working conditions of the émigrés at the German University in Prague, in particular. I also will discuss in more detail the cases of the astronomer Erwin Finlay-Freundlich, the physicist Fritz Reiche, the chemist Johann Böhm, and the philosopher Walter Dubislav.

Jindřich Kolben – an Engineer in Exile

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Kolben's name is indelibly written into the history of the Czech machine engineering. Because of its Jewish origin, the Kolben family was deported to Theresienstadt and later to Auschwitz during the Protectorate period. Jindřich Kolben was the only one of the family to survive: he made his escape from the concentration camp and spent the end of the war as a soldier in the Czechoslovak Army of General Svoboda. Despite all difficulties, which Jindřich Kolben encountered, due to his before-the-war German nationality, he completed his studies and became one of the best Czechoslovak aircraft engineers. After August 1968, Jindřich Kolben was not willing to face more problems and that is why he chose exile. Thanks to his professional repute, he asserted himself in aircraft industry in the former West Germany.

Why I left Czechoslovakia after 20 Years Membership in the Communist Party

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I worked in the Institute of Physiology of the CSAS in Prague from 1950 until 1969. When I started we had hardly any equipment and very little money but reasonable good access to literature and excellent mentors. Therefore, we had to design very carefully experiments that would answer the question we considered important and this taught us to use much more our brains than equipment. Most people in our department were members of the communist party and until early 50's we did not have many objections to the party's "ruling role". Later we tried to protest as much as possible against the rules, which we considered unreasonable. In the 60ties the situation started to improve – not only from the material (it was possible to get or built some equipment and to travel occasionally abroad) but also political point of view. A few colleagues who emigrated then did so mainly for personal rather than political reasons. The situation changed with the Soviet occupation. I was in USA at that time and asked my husband to come and join me with the children. He refused. So I returned to Czechoslovakia by the end on 1968 hoping that at least some of the reforms could be maintained. It became obvious that it was not going to happen. I and my colleagues felt betrayed. When I realized that we would either have to bring up our children in lies or prevent them access to higher education and that nobody would care about our work (with contact with scientists abroad almost impossible and the interest of the party negligible) I thought that emigration was the only way out. We had no idea where to go and left with hardly any money, but we knew that my husband could get a job in Germany as a physician but we did not want to settle there. I approached several scientists in different countries whom I knew. The first reply came from Birmingham and this is where we went.

The Immigration of Soviet Scientists to Mexico during the nineties

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In the recent history of Mexico there have been three higher skilled people's immigrations waves: the Spanish exile was the first in 1930; the South America exile, in particular from Argentina and Chile in the 70's and 80's, and the 90's the immigration of Soviet scientists. The three immigrations came to Mexico through different institutional mechanisms and for different reasons. The first two had political reasons. The last wave is considered as an "economic immigration"; this group came to Mexico through an institutional program, and it was operated by the Mexican Science and Technology Council (CONACyT) from 1991 to 2002. This is a work in progress and is part of my PhD Thesis. I am studying the Former Soviet Union scientist's immigration to Mexico during the 90's and specifically those who came to Mexico through the institutional program. In this communication, I discuss the following questions: How many immigrant scientists came and remained at the Mexican higher education institutions? What kind of academic characteristics did they have? And how was their migration-immigration process?

Dictators, Personal Anecdotes and Science

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Wars, revolutions, totalitarian regimes, dictators and despots of all kind played defining role in lives of writers, scientists, and artists. On the personal level they affected individual lives in different and always unique way, creating spectrum of life anecdotes. Ultimately, they defined the course of science itself, reaching far beyond the individual lives. On my personal anecdote, lasting from July 1939 until present, I will show how they affected me and the work that I have done. I will also touch on one general barrier that often separates the work of Czech exiles from their homeland.

Emigration of Scholars in Documents

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The contribution deals with the source base to the problems of emigration of Czech scientists at the turn of 1960s and 1970s. It analyses documents related to the decision making processes at the level of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and consequently of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CSAS), where there are described from the regime's point of view "undesirable phenomena", such as illegal departures of scientists abroad or their non-returning, influence of propaganda, overestimation of the "Western" economic motivations, etc. The documents contain proposals of resolving the situation including specification of the particular tasks. Implementation of the accepted steps and its impact is demonstrated by other documents coming from the different CSAS institutes.

Hodin, Vaněk, Schieche and their Writings in Sweden during World War II (and after) in Previous Top Secret Documents of Swedish Archives

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Hodin, Vaněk, Schieche - three different examples of emigration and its activity in Sweden from 1920's until recent times. Josef Paul Hodin (1905-1995) - the art historian - settled in Sweden in 1935. During World War II he was forced to appear before the Court because, in a group with Vladimír Vaněk and others, he secretly sent through neutral Sweden messages for the Exile Czechoslovak Government in London. Hodin, even before the end of the war, then moved to London, where lived until he died. In Sweden, he wrote monographs and biographies of artists, in England he continued writing books about art. In 1954, he received the first prize in the Venice Biennale of art critics. Vladimír Vaněk – diplomat, major of the Czechoslovak Army, was in 1921 military attaché in Stockholm, where he then permanently

returned in 1939. He wrote novels under the pseudonym Valdemar van Ek. Emil Schieche (1901-1985) – historian, was born in Vienna, Austria from German parents who came from Děčín. He graduated from the Prague University with a doctoral thesis on the Czech king Jan Lucemburský. He was then scientific employee of the Czech Bohemian Archives. He came to Sweden secretly with the help of Přemysl Pitter in 1946. He became assistant to Nils Ahnlund, professor of history, and in 1950 became Associate Professor of the University of Stockholm, where he lectured in palaeography. In 1960 he became a member of the management of the historic Royal Academy of Sciences. He is the author of many scientific books from history. Hodin, Vaněk, Schieche – all three of them wrote about Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670) – three different emigrants writing about the same emigrant (Comenius). Their works are preserved in Swedish archives and libraries for the next generations.

Alexander Cejnar, Linguist and Editor of Exile Journals in Brazil

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Like many people of his war-torn generation, the Czech journalist and linguist Alexander Cejnar was denied the opportunity to complete his formal education. He was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 as a 15-year old student in his hometown Jablonec nad Nisou and after the war he spent two years in Soviet custody. In 1950, Alexander Cejnar fled from Czechoslovakia to Germany, ending up in the Valka refugee camp. After moving to Sao Paulo in 1952, he began to develop his publishing projects that documented the life of the Czech community in Brazil and provided a platform for his vigorous promotion of anti-communist activities. Between the 1950s and 1990s, Cejnar launched a number of magazines with different titles but similar content. So far, the periodicals identified as his include Čecho-Brazilián, Čecho-Evropan, Brazilské listy, Mladá Evropa, Ozvěna, Euroopinion, Základy and Západoslavia. Though lacking formal education, Alexander Cejnar was a natural linguist. Linguistics always had a special place in his publishing activities; starting from the 1970s it became his dominant interest. For many years, he worked on a European constructed language – Europé. In 1967, he published a brief Europé grammar (private edition in Sao Paulo) and continued to promote the language in later years. Cejnar designed Europé as a neutral, international and interethnic auxiliary language to foster communication across the whole Europe. He never intended to create a universal global language along the lines of Esperanto; his Europé was created to help preserve European languages and dialects and facilitate the process of European unification. In Cejnar's opinion, the prevalence of the existing dominant languages meant the danger of "destruction of all cultures ...the end of fruitful, and therefore desirable, diversity". This original thinker and tireless man of letters died in 2007 in Sao Paulo. The year after his family decided to donate his correspondence and books to the National Archives of the Czech Republic.

A Paradigm for the Study of Political Exile: The Case of Intellectuals

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The aim of the presentation is to propose a scheme for the comparative study of political exile, with special attention to the distinctive issues confronting the study of intellectuals. Political exile is not a metaphor of estrangement, but a political condition arising from the displacement and exclusion of individuals or groups from their familiar scenes of public action by purposive acts, their actions and circumstances elsewhere in consequence of this condition, and their relationships to the prospects of return. The topics of (1) starting point, (2) locus, (3) project, (4) mission and end of exile provide a framework of questions designed to elicit similarities and differences among cases, as well as to facilitate the construction of typologies. Among the distinctive features of the approach to be presented are the questioning of the traditional emphases on “home” as the point of departure, the multiple and structurally diverse negotiations that mark the political exile of intellectuals, including questions of relations with those who do not emigrate, the attendant problems of “recognition,” as well as the fluidity and liquidation of exile. Although the studies from which the exercise derives almost all refer to the best-studied case of intellectuals in exile from Hitler’s regime, the objective has always been to guard against the risks of provincialism, romanticism, and sentimentalism in “*Exilforschung*”.

Czech scholars in exile, 1948 -1989

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Czechoslovakia in the years 1948-1989, represented one of the countries of the Soviet power bloc where the development of research was in many ways supported by the country's government, but at the same time subjected to various restrictions and strong political pressure. The paper focuses on the main characteristic features of the emigration of scientists and intellectuals in the period of the communist regime and presents the results of an analysis of departure of the workers of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences to exile. It tries to estimate the overall extent of this emigration, deliberates about the further careers of exile scholars and introduces an attempt of exile typology.

Inner migration within Vysoká škola báňská (Mining University) in Ostrava after 1968

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We analyse the situation on Department of Mathematics and Descriptive Geometry after 1968. The head of the department, Professor Oldřich Hajkr, was Rector of the university at the same time. There were mathematicians who were forced to leave the department after 1968, but in many cases (e.g., Arnošt Šarman and Vladimír Šmajstrla) they were moved to other departments within the university, where they were not allowed to teach, but where they were able to proceed with their research.

Scientists and Physicians In the 1922 Exile Lists: Why Some of Them Were Forced to Emigrate and Some Were Permitted to Stay

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The 1922 expulsion of “anti-Soviet intelligentsia” was a part of a large-scale campaign aimed at suppression of any forms of dissent and elimination of intellectual elite of the country. Though the whole story of deportation of eminent Russian philosophers, litterateurs, scientists, and engineers has been studied well enough by Western students, in the Soviet Union it was one of the forbidden subjects, as well as many other episodes of national history. Only in 1990s, when many documents on 1922 deportation of intellectuals became available, a whole series of books and papers on this matter was published in Russia. Nevertheless, many questions have remained open, e.g. the total number of those who were expelled from the country (not including the members of their families) is still uncertain and varies according to different authors from 50–60 to several hundred and even several thousand. Exile lists (there were four of them – Moscow, Petrograd, Ukrainian and Additional), compiled in July–August, 1922, contained 217 names. Not all of those included in the exile lists were forced to leave Russia. Part of them was forced to stay. It is a paradox, that while the fate of the former is studied well enough, the fate of the latter arouse almost no interest among either Western or Russian researchers, though it is no less illustrative of the attitude of the Soviet state towards the Russian intelligentsia.

Decline of the Communist Authority in the Perspective of Social Sciences. With Special Attention to the Contributions from Polish Scholars In Exile. 1968-1989

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The purpose of the presentation is contribution to the reflection on the sustainability of communist-ruled regimes in Europe by Polish scholars in exile, who ceased their functioning in the Polish establishment beginning in ca. 1968 and onward. Of particular interest is the body of scholars belonging, either by education or by disciplinary commitment, to the social sciences, although scholars acting occasionally as social scientists, especially philosophers and to some extent commentators and political activists shall also be considered. Their socio-scientific contributions focusing at the issues related to sustainability of the communist regimes will be primarily focussed on, in partial comparison with similar contributions offered by scholars (or semi-scholars) that remained in the country and published either pseudonymously underground or authored “over-ground” contributions. Poland is perhaps a unique country with respect to practicality of such comparisons for that period, since both exiled scholars as well as independent scholars and semi-scholars remaining in Poland provided contributions concerning the dynamics and prospects of communist regimes in this part of the world. I intend to outline some important qualitative differences between emigrant waves salient to the sub-wave in question, as well as offer observations on effects of period, age and cohort in the approach to the survival of communist regimes and their internal dynamics. Besides factual information I would be interested to make comparisons of substantive character, dealing with the epistemology of the reflections in question: were theories, interpretations and predictions influenced solely by the vantage point, in terms of exile location, or were the interconnections more involved? Finally, I would also like to address the seeming paradox of ardent and fundamentalist anticommunism of some scholars (or intellectual activists) of younger generation, who might have been expected not to have developed such a tendency, having suffered from protracted effects of indoctrination mediated by their parents and institutions of political socialization. This presentation is related to a publishing project in progress on “The Decline of Communist Authority in Poland in the Perspective of Social Sciences, 1977-1989” (in Polish), in preparation and under scientific editorship of the author.

Adaptation and Selection Processes in Emigration

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After World War II there have been several waves of emigration from the communist countries. Most prominent ones were in the years 1948, 1956 and 1968. The waves of 1948 and 1968 were from Czechoslovakia, while the 1956 was from Hungary. Scientists, research workers, medical and pharmaceutical professionals, engineers settled in various European countries or overseas, and started new lives. Not everyone could continue in his or her career of choice, and an adaptation process started. The success and failure depended on many things: country of choice, the composition of family members, knowledge of language, age, previous status in the home country hierarchy and many others. This contribution intends to

compare several destinations (especially Switzerland, Germany, Italy, France, UK, USA and Canada) and it intends to show selection processes during the career development. And finally it intends to hint towards difficulties in attempts to return to their “old” home countries after the fall of the totalitarian system.

The Twisted Life Course of the Chemist Jan Roček

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Professor Jan Roček (born 1924) is a Czech organic chemist. During WW2, he was deported into Theresienstadt and later to Auschwitz. In 1946, he entered the School of Chemical Technology of the Czech Technical University in Prague. On the recommendation of Professor Otto Wichterle, he joined after his graduation the Department of Organic Synthesis of the Institute of Organic Chemistry and Biochemistry of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. In 1959, he was on a research stay at the London University College with Professor Christopher Ingold, distinguished organic chemist. In 1960 – under rather dramatic circumstances – Roček escaped from Czechoslovakia, together with his family. Almost 30 years of his professional life, he spent at the University of Illinois (Department of Chemistry) in Chicago. At present, he is living in Chicago. In 2003, he published his memoirs (Jan Rocek: My life 1924-1966).

Criticism of Marxism in Publications of Polish Emigré Scholars after the Second World War

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Emigration of Polish scholars started just after the beginning of the Second World War. The threat of Nazi “Neuordnung” was the first reason of their escape to France and after its collapse to Great Britain and the USA. But the end of the war did not mean the end of exile. Emigrants regarded the birth of communist regime as a danger for their life and freedom of speech, similar to the threat embodied by the Nazi regime during the war. Maintaining of free thought in exile became the main purpose for scholars. In my paper, I would like to compare policies towards Polish intellectuals of such countries like Great Britain and the United States, with a little reference to France and Canada. I would like to characterize also special institutions created or inspired by the émigrés themselves with the aim to consolidate the scientific milieu and to enable free scientific research. But the main theme of my paper is criticism of Marxist ideology that meant criticism of fundamentals of the communist system in Poland. This criticism was permanently the reason, which strengthened the emigrants in their decision to stay in the West. But there were also deep philosophical and cultural levels of this criticism, not possible in those times in Poland. I would like to focus on three main examples. Firstly, I will present views of some prominent scholars living in the USA. Secondly, I will characterize the achievements of the Parisian monthly “Kultura” (i.e. Culture), edited by Jerzy Giedroyc. Thirdly, I will mention the research made by famous Polish philosopher and publicist Zbigniew Jordan, later professor at Carleton University in Canada. Considering these examples, I will also try to show the interaction between scientific thought in Poland and in exile.

The Psychology of Emigration and Exile

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From a psychological perspective, emigration constitutes a stressful process involving traumas and losses. During the era of the Cold War, Czech emigrants and refugees in the Western countries were cut off from their countries and close people; free contacts and dialogue between them and their compatriots was not possible or restricted. This traumatic situation did not allow natural developmental separations and necessary returns to the homeland. In addition, the distorted view of emigrants was supported by Communist propaganda. The author discusses the main characteristics of the immigration process that involves cultural shock and crises of overload and loss. She stresses that healthy adaptation in the new country requires experiencing the mourning process and some changes in a person's identity. Complications and problems of emigration involve depressive and anxiety states, increased aggressiveness, psychosomatic symptoms, personality disorders and interpersonal difficulties. When immigration is successful, the core identity is reaffirmed and broadened under the influence of the new culture.

Spanish Exile. Medical Excellence and American Philanthropy in the South of France: the Hospital Varsovia – Walter B. Cannon Memorial, Toulouse, 1944-1950

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After the Civil War (1936-1939), more than one thousand Spanish physicians who supported the Republican government fled to France and other European countries. At least a half of them crossed the Atlantic and found shelter in America, mainly in Mexico. However, a number of them were trapped in France and suffered all hardships of the Second World War. Some of them were involved in the Resistance during the war and after the liberation of France in August 1944 they founded a hospital in Toulouse for the Spanish partisans injured in the so called "Operación Reconquista de España". This hospital was called "Varsovia" or "Varsovie" after the name of the street where it was situated, but in USA it was renamed "Walter B. Cannon Memorial", to honour this Harvard professor of Physiology (1879-1945). From March 1945, it offered health care to all Spanish refugees, mainly civilians, living in the south of France. Paradoxically, this institution was not at that time just a healthcare centre for treating refugees, but also a modern hospital with medical training activities, research projects and sanitary campaigns, all carried out with excellence. Our hypothesis is that this hospital kept the medical ethos reached in Barcelona during the Civil War, fashioned after the Hospital de Sant Pau and Santa Creu. The main source used in this study are the nine issues of the medical journal, titled *Anales del Hospital Varsovia – Walter B. Cannon Memorial*, which were published in Spanish in Toulouse between July 1948 and July 1950. The series of reports sent from France to the headquarters of the Unitarian Service Committee (a philanthropic organization for helping refugees during and after the Second World War) have also been used. This paper is included in the frame of the 'Physicians in Exile', an educational project promoted and developed since 2006 by the

Catalan Museum for the History of Medicine as a means to recover the historical memory of hundreds of Catalan physicians who were forced to go into exile during and, above all, after Spanish Civil War.

Ukrainian Philosopher in Czechoslovakia – Dmytro Čyževskij

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Dmytro Čyževskij (1894-1977), a Ukrainian Scholar of world repute, historian of literature and philosopher, was one of the most important exile scholars who worked in Czechoslovakia between the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s. Thanks to the magnanimous offer of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, T.G. Masaryk, he found in Prague his new home and the place of work. Between 1924-32, he first lectured at the Ukrainian Institute of Education in Prague, and, later, at the Ukrainian University in the same city. During his Prague stay, he co-operated with both the Czech and foreign scholarly institutions, e.g. the Prague Linguistic Circle, the Philosophical and the Dostoyevsky Society, the Institute of Slavonic Studies and others. His extensive scholarly work includes over 9000 items, mostly works on the history of literature. His comparative method is based on the philosophy of literature. He was influenced significantly by the structuralism of the Prague Linguistic Circle. He was engaged in the subject of the Slavonic baroque, in the philosophy of Nietzsche, Kant and Hegel, in the work of Skovoroda, Gogol and Dostoyevsky and in the history of Slavonic literatures.

Unto a good land. Out of necessity

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The 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia changed the lives of many people in this part of the world. The disgrace combined with uncertain future for my generation of the young upcoming scientists and professionals identified the exile as the necessary step. While leaving one's homeland forever is never an easy process, our situation was much better than the risks, which the refugees from communism in the previous years had to take. In the late 1960's, America was a powerful magnet for young foreign scientists: the American society then highly appreciated science due to its successes in space exploration, medical advances and the new early of biology. Ironically, our basic scientific education under communism served us well here, and, in some ways, was even an asset under the new conditions. Most importantly, we were eager to prove our worth in the new dynamic environment and many Czech chemists and medical scientist arriving in the U.S. did remarkably well. While still outside the U.S., I was amazed by the spectacular Moon landing in 1969, but in 1973, I was actually invited to make an experimental contribution to NASA's Viking 1975 Mission to probe the surface chemistry on Mars! In which other country in the world could this happen? My academic home for 40 years, Indiana University, has made it possible for me to become and internationally recognized scientist. The Czech scientists in America have received benefits of their American Dream while serving the nation which generously accepted them after 1968. I am extremely pleased about the recently renewed friendship and connections with my native county.

Migration of Scientists in Changing Context

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Scientists have often changed places of work throughout the history of science but 20th century seems to make this process more emphatic. With the extension of scientific research and the growing impact of scientific centres upon local sciences, migration of scientists became a massive sociological phenomenon. Some political and economic conditions significantly intensified the process of scientific migration. Totalitarian regimes, such as German Nazism, Soviet communism, and various political and economic crises caused extensive migration of the general population and some scientists joined these mass movements. In Hungary several waves of migration was formed in the 20th century, including the one that was related to the revolt against the Soviet type socialism in 1956. Through some notable examples, the paper shows how the scientific and political context influenced the movement of Hungarian natural scientists. It argues for the primacy of scientific components over the political ones but emphasizes the significance of the political and ideological factor in the process.

Dictatorship. Exile and Realms of Memory: A Romanian Case Study (Matei Călinescu)

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Starting from the ascertainment that every book Matei Călinescu (1934-2009) has written, regardless of whether academic essays, journals, fictional works and so on, carries the stamp of his struggle to construct and assume a double identity (Romanian and American), this paper intends to analyse the defence mechanisms which the author uses in order to harmonize memory and forgetfulness, writing and (re)reading, autobiography and rigorous academic study. Until recently an Emeritus Professor of Indiana University, in Bloomington, Matei Călinescu emigrated from Romania in 1973, in order to escape from the constraints of the sombre reality of the Ceausescu era. The goal of this paper is to reveal some specific characteristics and paradoxes of this interesting case, stressing especially on the author's quest for preserving the ultimate meaning of some "realms of memory", as well as on his permanent movement between different spaces, both real and imaginary.

Czech Historians who Emigrated in the 1970s and 1980s and their Cooperation with Independent Historians in the Home Country

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Of all the academics in Bohemia and Moravia it was historians who were hardest hit by the purges of late 1969 and early 1970. Only several historians, however, emigrated immediately after the Soviet-led military intervention of August 1968. Others did not follow till the mid-1970s, after being dismissed and forced to find employment outside their field. Some other historians – signatories of the Charter 77 Declaration of January 1977 – did not leave the country till the early 1980s, after experiencing police persecution and imprisonment. Most of the historians who emigrated stayed in touch with their friends and colleagues at home. The latter tried to continue their scholarly work and came together round the samizdat periodical *Historické studie* [Historical Studies], which began to come out in 1978. At the international congresses of the historical sciences in Bucharest (1980) and Stuttgart (1985) and at the Third World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies (Washington, D.C., 1985) exiled historians presented works by their independent-minded colleagues who had remained behind; they also saw to the dissemination of samizdat publications abroad. For their colleagues from Czechoslovakia, they obtained scholarships, books and periodicals published in exile, and scholarly literature in other languages; they also organized the publishing of those historians' works abroad.

Professional and Private Conflict Issues Related to Emigration. An Attempt to Generalise a Personal Experience

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Emigration is a social phenomenon, which is an integral part of human activity observed throughout history. Amongst a number of positive aspects of scholar emigration, the instigation of technological and cultural progress must be emphasised. The negative socio-political aspects become apparent only due to a massive migration noticed in the recent time. Two fundamental impacts of emigration can be regarded as of personal and social nature. The personal part may be further divided into professional, social, and family aspects, whereas the social part may be regarded from view of "sending" or receiving countries separately. A due space will be given to the important time related aspects influencing both social and individual issues connected with the exile duration. Finally, a discussion of the actual event and outcome of emigration will be set against the background of personal experience. In conclusion, an attempt will be made to assess a role of emigration in the future. Can we give an advice to future expats?

Czech Intellectual Immigrants in the US from Nazism

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It has been said that the wave of intellectuals from Continental Europe arriving in the United States in the thirties and early forties, driven there by intolerance and oppression, was so large and of such high quality that it constituted a phenomenon in the history of immigration. The only previous wave that may be comparable was that of the Forty-Eighters, the refugees of the revolution that swept most of Europe in 1848. The intellectual immigrants of the thirties were, however, different from their predecessors, not only by sheer numbers, but also by their intellectual talent. They also became Americanized more quickly, learning English faster and becoming American citizens as soon as the law permitted. The above generalizations fit the intellectual refugees, who had to escape from Czechoslovakia from Nazism in that period, remarkably well. They too were fully made with their PhDs and other professional diplomas, and, in many ways, being the best brains in the country, which forever, lost them. Their beginnings in the new surroundings were not necessarily easy but they did the outmost to adjust and to get ahead, against all odds, frequently overtaking others, in the same field, which were born in the US. This paper is essentially a survey of scholars and scientists with roots in Czechoslovakia who had to leave their native country, or other place in which they may have lived at that time, and sought refuge in the United States because of Nazi persecution. As one would anticipate, the overwhelming majority were Jewish, although a number of non-Jewish people were also among them. The success these individuals attained in the US has been phenomenal and their contributions to the United States have been judged as unique and immeasurable. Considering the high cost of education (according to 1960 estimates, the cost of top education in the US was as high as \$45,000), the financial loss to Czechoslovakia must have been staggering. This does not, of course, take into account the distinctive and priceless contributions these individuals could have made to their native land, had they been permitted to stay there.

Creating Another Europe in Exile: The Review of Politics during War and Postwar

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Founded in 1939 by an emigrant from Nazi-Germany, the political scientist Waldemar Gurian, *The Review of Politics* has published articles by authors as diverse as Hannah Arendt, John Kenneth Galbraith, Jacques Maritain, Yves R. Simon, Talcott Parsons, Clinton Rossiter, Edward Shils, Leo Strauss and Eric Voegelin. The publishing office was located at the University of Notre Dame (Indiana, USA). Nevertheless, it neither was a Catholic journal in scope and content nor was it a typical American social sciences journal which usually concentrated on methodologies and empirical research. Instead, it provided a publication platform for learned essays on the state of humanity and the political order. Many of the essays were written by emigrants from all over Europe. In my conference contribution, I will try to show why and how an analysis of the *Reviews* contents and contributors provides an excellent opportunity to sketch a transeuropean network of scholars that tried to create a

new order for Europe. Their common ground was their opposition to the totalitarian dictatorships of the 20th century and their respect for human rights.

Catching up Trust

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It was a great opportunity for me to spend two years training in London (1965-1967) as a postgraduate doctor. However, during this time my family was kept in Prague as potential hostages. After the Russian invasion in 1968, my family and I left Prague. Having completed my training in London and Boston I was appointed consultant Cardiothoracic Surgeon at the Hospital for Sick Children, London in 1971. Professor Hucin, Head of Cardiac Surgery at the Kardiocentrum in Prague and I kept in close contact over the years. As a consultant, I was in a position to offer training posts to surgeons, cardiologists, and anaesthetists from Kardiocentrum in my Department in London. These positions were for 6-12 months and were fully paid by our Hospital. Invitations to the Czech Doctors had to come from my English colleagues, not surprisingly, as I myself was sentenced to 1 year in labour camp for leaving the country. Ironically, the Czech Ministry of Health also started to send me Czech and Slovak children to be operated upon by myself, before the Kardiocentrum in Prague was built and established!!! After the fall of Communism in 1989, my wife and I wanted to help the Czechoslovak physicians from other specialities, to update their knowledge and practises which had been denied to them during the years of communist rule. My wife Olga, a pediatrician, and I, founded a charitable organisation called "The Catching Up Trust" (CUT). Raising money was not easy, but we were helped greatly by the mother of one of my patients, the wife of Sheikh Maktoum al Maktoum from Abu Dhabi. She originally donated £30,000, and 6 months later another £100,000. The scholarships were for three months in many of the best Hospitals in London, Bristol, Birmingham, Edinburgh and elsewhere. At that time, the English hospitals introduced tuition fees, which were around £12,000 per year. Through our personal contacts, our English colleagues waived the fees in all instances. The administrative expenses of the trust were covered by our family. With the help of friends, we also arranged inexpensive accommodation for the visiting physicians. Deans of the Medical Schools, many of whom were my personal friends, selected the candidates. Evaluation of the language abilities of the candidates was done by our friend Mrs. Joyce Parkinson, teacher of English for Medical Foreign Graduates in London. She ran one-week courses over a period of 3 years, finished by an evaluation exam. One of the things, which struck us after our arrival in the UK, was the approach to children and their families during their time in hospital. The parents were spending all their time, including nights, with their children in the hospital, which was considerably different from the practices back home. With the help of Doc Parizkova, head of the University Department of Paediatrics in Hradec Kralove, we started a project "DAR" ("Děti a rodiče v nemocnici", or Children and Parents in Hospital), persuading hospital Departments in Czechoslovakia to allow parents to spend unlimited time with their children while in hospital. This project was also financed through our Trust. We therefore extended the scholarships to other health professionals: play specialists, physiotherapists and nurses. Over the next 14 years, over 110 physicians and other health specialists participated in these two programmes.

Thinking Cosmopolitan or How Joseph became Joe Buttinger

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Like in Germany after the takeover of the Nazi Party, during the time after the "Anschluss" a large wave of emigration hit the Austrian Republic too. Tens of thousands of "enemies of the government" were forced to emigrate. The paper is about one of those who emigrated as a result of ideological reasons. It describes the life of the former Socialist leader, International Rescue Committee (IRC) founding member, and historian Joseph Buttinger who had to flee his native country to start a new life in an unfamiliar continent like many of Austria's "unpleasing Persons". The main intention of this paper is to depict how and why Buttinger integrated in to his new homeland and when he became a "real American". The description of his difficult and eventful youth when he worked his way up from a poor agricultural servant with little perspectives to a respected leader of one of Austria's largest parties is also of interest here. On the one hand, it will help us find answers on the paper's primary purpose. On the other hand, a biography about a person with a strong will such as Buttinger possessed is not possible without a description of his fascinating personal background that characterized the development of his exceptional personality.

Exile as an Act of Relativization; Comparison between Kundera and Patočka through Poetry

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Politically, the exile is known as a physical movement from one place to another, seeking for emancipations, especially for scholars, of ideas. It is no wonder that many Czechoslovak thinkers had to decide, whether they would "endure" or "leave" under the Communist rule in 1970s, especially after Prague Spring. Since Czechoslovakia had a heritage of being significant in the context of intellectual history, the suppression on thoughts by the Socialist ideology was rather "unacceptable" than "unbearable." In this paper, the comparison of two opposite attitudes toward exile is discussed; one is Milan Kundera's, to regard this suppression as unbearable one and escaped physically from his determined place to a foreign country. Another is showed by Jan Patočka, a philosopher, who never accepted the life in untrue, nor emigrated physically, but tried to release himself by his own philosophical investigation. This distinction between "escaping" and "enduring" poses a question on the exile. How can it be possible to see the exile as "enduring", which usually seems to be totally opposite to "escaping"? In order to answer, I would propose each intellectual's view on poetry as a clue; poetry reflects the relation between subjects and objects, such as a point s/he stand, what s/he relies on. As Lacoue-Labarthe says "poetry is a fetishism for object itself" in his texts on Heidegger, one of the teachers of Patočka, their approaches to poetry could be analyzed as the relations of a thinker and a nation. While Kundera converted from a poet to a novelist, that means to be more distant from objects, Patočka lived exactly in the act of involving, staying in Prague. These explicit and implicit attitudes will give a perspective on the exile in mind. The analysis via poetry finally aims at defining the exile as an act of relativization, based on the sense of distance toward a nation.

Free Europe Summer Schools in 1957-1960 in Strasbourg

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In the years 1957-1960, Free Europe organised Summer schools for the students in exile that had scholarship from this organisation. These schools took place for one month at the Château Pourtales in the Robertsau suburb of Strasbourg. The students themselves were from countries under Soviet dominion including the Baltic states and came from different European universities; the speakers were prominent European and American professors, intellectuals and politicians, some of them also exiled from the Communist countries. The main topic was the analysis of Communist ideology and praxis in all fields of social science and politics. The list of the speakers and topics include Paul Barton (Jiri Veltrusky) on recent developments in Czechoslovakia, Jozef Maria Bochenski on contemporary philosophy, Sidney Hook on Soviet-style Marxism, Walter Kolarz on Soviet colonisation of Siberia, Czeslaw Milosz on the opposition of the youth against Communist regimes, and many others treating different aspects of Communism in contradistinction to the institutions of the free world.. The Free Europe Summer schools were a unique place where people of different background and disciplines could meet, exchange their experiences and become aware of the history of their countries that was hidden to them in their own countries under Soviet rule.

Emigration Before and After the Nazi Occupation: Exemplified by the Academic Staff of the Faculty of Medicine of the German University in Prague, 1938-40

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The Faculty of Medicine of the German University in Prague belonged to the most distinguished academic institutions in the Czech Lands. Many faculty members became targets of the arising Nazi groupings within Czechoslovakia already before the Crisis of 1938, not only because of the high number of academics of Jewish origin, but also because of the deep controversies with the official Nazi doctrine within the medical science. After the Munich agreement and after March 1939 the '*Gleichschaltung*' of the faculty was given high priority by the new authorities. This particular case serves as a unique example of several parallel ongoing processes that lead or should have lead to emigration of significant part of the country's medical elite. As to the ways of emigration, there was the planned and 'successful' emigration prior to 1938; then there are several cases of using various opportunities (e.g. fellowships, conferences) to emigrate; some 'successful' emigrations took place under the changed conditions during the Nazi rule, and last but not least 'unsuccessful' emigrations after 1940 that lead in many cases to personal tragedies during the Nazi occupation and especially the Holocaust. It is the aim of this paper to present statistical overviews documenting the above-mentioned processes. Demonstration of some personal histories should help to analyse the scientific emigration during the era of Nazism in its alternative perspectives.

Women Scholars in Exile

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The gender aspect of scientific exile has not been investigated in more detail as yet. The database of the Czech university educated workers of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CSAS) who left for exile before 1989 shows that only about 22% of them were women. The statistics further demonstrate that the highest numbers of émigré women came from the social sciences and life sciences (about 30% each), while only 13% from the technical sciences. In the encyclopaedia "One Hundred Czech Scholars in Exile" (Prague: Academia, 2011), which records biographies of 100 top-notch Czech exile scholars from the CSAS, only nine belong to women; such low number apparently reflects the lower scientific achievements of women academics in exile. Although it is evident that the chances of men and women under such exceptional conditions were not equal, the issue of scientific careers of émigré women scholars is apparently a quite complex one. The paper attempts to analyse it by investigating the biographies in the encyclopaedia, interviews with women scholars, and other sources indicative of personal experience of women academics that left for exile.

The fate of the Russian Scientific Emigration in Europe in 1940s-1950s

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In May 1945, a mass repatriation of Russian citizens was taking place in Europe. It was carried out by NKVD at the border filtration camps and especially at «DP» (displaced persons) camps on the German, Austrian, Italian territory (controlled by the USA and Great Britain), numbering hundreds of thousands refugees of the Second World War. Among them there were a lot of scholars and scientists – emigrants of the post – October period – who had left Russia in the 1920-th as Russians (not Soviets) and having either «Nansen's» passports or the passports of the East or Central Europe countries, already occupied by the Soviet troops. Many of them had to wait what the future may bring them in store, for several years constantly feeling fear and being under the sword of Damocles. A number of international organizations took an active part in the destinies of those people, like The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration –UNRRA, the International Refugee Organization - IRO and others. However, the most effective action to rescue the Russians from repatriation in Europe and to assist them to the USA was taken by so called Tolstoy Foundation in New York. It was created in 1939 by Alexandra L. Tolstoy (1884-1979), the youngest daughter of the famous Russian writer and thinker Leo Tolstoy. In the course of work under the project "Russian scientists – emigrants of the 'first wave' in Europe 1940s-1950s" most part of the documents from American archives: The Archive of Russian Academic Group in the USA, Kinnelon (New Jersey); The Archive of Tolstoy Foundation, Valley Cottage (New York); Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture, The Columbia University, New York (New York) have been elaborated. After they became the structural part of the monograph "The Wild Historical Period: The Fate of the Russian scientific emigration in the 1940s –1950s in Europe" (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2010).

Refugee Czechoslovak physicians in the UK in WW2, assistance organisations and careers

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Despite the short window of time between the Munich agreement of September 1938 and the outbreak of war one year later, nearly 500 Czechoslovaks involved in health care (mainly physicians, but also dental surgeons, psychoanalysts and nurses) managed to come to Britain. This was due to effective refugee assistance organisations. Notable among these was the Society for Protection of Science and Learning, which assisted academics and - as the emergency became acute - physicians. Jewish refugee assistance organisations included a professional committee, which supported a concessionary quota for Czech physicians. A key element was the personal engagement on behalf of refugees by administrators like Esther Simpson and Yvonne Kapp. Additionally, there was a remarkable set of associations based on the principle of self-organization. Many initiatives were supported by the Czechoslovak government in exile and the Czech Refugee Trust Fund. As early as April 1939 a Czechoslovak Medical Association was established. British academic institutions were especially supportive in terms of facilitating the qualifying examinations of Czechoslovak medical students and physicians. In January 1941 the British government recognised foreign medical qualifications, including Czechoslovak medical degrees. Most (but not all) Czechoslovak citizens were not interned and were in a favoured position as regards employment. For many Britain was a place of safety before onward emigration to the United States or Canada, or return after the war, although here the UK was for some a place of renewed refuge from communism. But for the majority the UK was to be a place of permanent settlement.

Itinerary and Experience of a University Professor from Communism to Democracy

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In my long teaching career, I have had the privilege of working under three successive regimes. As soon as I came to Czechoslovakia in September 1949, the Greek Communist party sent me to run a children's home of the Greek Civil War refugees. It was the time of "triumphant Stalinism", persecutions, trials and witch-hunts. The field of knowledge narrowed to match the increasingly dogmatic ideological criteria, which reflected on both teaching and education. My rejection of totalitarianism goes back to those years. The second "regime", that of "thaw" unevenly covering the sixties. At the end of the 1950s, I was teaching in a high school in Ostrava. This experience has been useful for me afterwards since we were already skirting the official ideology in progressively liberating the field of knowledge. In the beginning of the 1960s I was appointed "odborný asistent" (assistant professor) first at the University of Olomouc and then Prague. The University was still a stronghold of the ideologists – the Communist party censors, but already the power was being eroded. The liberalization of the culture with its impact on the society, circumventing censorship, the internal crisis of the Communist party was opening room for free thinking

and free speech. For me these were the most productive years in my commitment inside the reformist movement. In August 1968, I left Czechoslovakia for France. So begins my “third regime”, that of democracy. Inevitably, it was a question of deciphering as quickly as possible the working of the system and the diversity of teaching, the prevailing mentalities in order to become an integral part of the teaching community. Though, at that time the French universities were in the middle of upheaval after the events of “May 68”. It was necessary to get use to these new realities. As a contemporary historian, I had to retort to extremist splinter groups, but what a feeling of freedom to be able to teach without “ideological or hierarchical” control. Simultaneously to teaching, a commitment to the dissidence of East countries represented a continuation of what distinguished the Czechoslovak years, the fundamental refusal of totalitarianism.

Czech Scientists in Exile: Science vs. Music

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The set of 100 Czech scientists who achieved eminent recognition for their scientific activities either before or during their exile and were included into our selection, represent a sufficiently large ensemble for various analyses. Beside the talent, dilligence, hard work, and maybe stroke of luck (but Fate favours the prepared ones) which enabled them their outstanding achievements, they had to possess the determination to persist in their decisions. One of their first decisions was the choice of their field of interest or studies and in relatively frequent cases, they faced the alternative to devote themselves to either science or music. We shall look in which scientific fields they worked and illustrate on several examples the level they reached in music although it only remained their hobby.

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