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## Introduction

Seventy years after the end of the Nazi regime seemed a suitable moment to examine the insufficiently studied question of the impact of that minority of those driven from Austria and Central Europe into exile who returned after World War Two. It is meanwhile well-known that it was not until the 1960s that the awareness of the tremendous cost of the expulsion and persecution of intellectuals and artists who belonged to the cultural and ethnic Jewish group in Central Europe, or who held views incompatible with the Nazi ideology, found expression in systematic scholarly investigations.<sup>1</sup> The catastrophic brain drain in the Humanities, Natural and Life Sciences gradually became the subject of historical studies, and produced an increasing number of substantial contributions to the field of Exile Studies. The harvest of a large number of individual research projects finally became apparent in a number of manuals and reference works, which have documented the terrible loss for science and scholarship, and the individual fortunes of 10,000 persons in the field of literary and cultural activities in Germany. A number of factors seem to have delayed a similar investigation of the exile of Austrian intellectuals who were driven out of or fled the

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<sup>1</sup> On the chronology of investigations into the experience of exile and the rise of Exile Studies in Germany and Austria after the early debate about exile and inner emigration immediately after World War Two and the determined shift in Germany towards research into literature produced in exile from the 1960s onwards, and further delays in Austria see Eugen Banauch, *Fluid Exile: Jewish Exile Writers in Canada 1940-2006*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter 2009, 56-57, 58-67. A synopsis of the field was provided in John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka, ed. *Deutsche Exilliteratur seit 1933. Studien zur deutschen Exilliteratur*, [rptd.] 3 vols. Berlin: Francke, 1976-2005. More comprehensive through the inclusion of scholars and scientists from various disciplines was *Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration 1933-1945*, ed. by Claus-Dieter Krohn, Patrick von zur Mühlen, Gerhard Paul and Lutz Winckler, Darmstadt: Primus Verlag 1998. A significant number of large research projects have meanwhile explored many aspects of the dramatic loss of intellectual and artistic potential through involuntary exile, and the related brain gain of the USA (and Canada) as described in various studies from Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, ed. *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America 1930-1960*, Cambridge, MA, 1969, onwards.

country after the *Anschluss*.<sup>2</sup> While the preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of the *Anschluss* had fostered an increased effort to commemorate those refugees whose departure from Austria had resulted in a dramatic loss of first-rate talent and professional expertise in the Humanities, Social, Natural and Life Sciences, and while Exile Studies had made a significant contribution to Contemporary History, there had not been enough attention paid to the role of those who, after having escaped persecution and the Holocaust, were willing to return to their original home, in spite of the humiliation and the barbarous treatment suffered at the hands of the henchmen of the regime. Only a very limited number of studies of the phenomenon of the return movement were undertaken; apart from the early documentation by F. Wilder-Okladek, Christoph Reinprecht's sociological thesis of 1992, focused on the primarily involved group.<sup>3</sup> Estimates of the size of this movement differ considerably in studies published in the 1990s (between 4,500 and 15,000 returnees). Jacqueline Vansant began her research on the experiences of returnees manifest in the memoirs of seven *reémigrés*, two men and five women, in the early 1990s, and published the fruits of her study in *Reclaiming Heimat* in 2001.<sup>4</sup> By that time there had been a much-increased readiness to confront the issue of the involvement of Austrians in the disastrous acts of the Nazi regime, and sociologists and historians as well as scholars in the field of literary and cultural studies had been willing to face and investigate the deplorable phenomena of the past: the expulsion<sup>5</sup> and then the great reluctance to recall the many intellectuals

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<sup>2</sup> The loss of intellectual and artistic competence in Austria in a wide range of fields and disciplines was first documented in Friedrich Stadler (ed.), *Vertriebene Vernunft: Emigration und Exil österreichischer Wissenschaft*, 2 vols. Wien: Verlag Jugend und Volk, 1987-88, rpt. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004. The consequences in the realm of literature were summarized by Siglinde Bolbecher and Konstantin Kaiser in their ed. of *Lexikon der österreichischen Exilliteratur*, Wien: Deuticke, 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wilder-Okladek, *The Return Movement of Jews to Austria after the Second World War*. Publications of the Research Group for European Migration Problems 16. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1969, and Christoph Reinprecht, *Zurückgekehrt: Identität und Bruch in der Biographie österreichischer Juden*. Sociologica 3. Wien: Braumüller, 1992.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Reclaiming Heimat: Trauma and Mourning in Memoirs by Jewish Austrian Reémigrés*. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 2001.

<sup>5</sup> See especially Johannes Feichtinger, *Wissenschaft zwischen den Kulturen. Österreichische Hochschullehrer in der Emigration 1933-1945*, Frankfurt: Campus 2001, Christian Fleck, "Autochthone Provinzialisierung. Universität und Wissenschaftspolitik nach dem Ende der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft in

and artists driven from Austria's institutions and its cultural life, and deal with the ramifications of a largely neglected part of recent history. The commemoration of various historical events, including most recently the celebration of the 650<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University of Vienna, gave a special impetus to many a timely reflection. Still, the scarcity of comprehensive studies of the phenomenon of the "return" made it seem appropriate to deal with the difficulties faced by writers, artists and scholars in the Humanities and Social Sciences who returned and realized the lack of a "welcome culture," widespread procrastination in dealing with their grievances and the parochialism of incumbents of academic positions irritated at the arrival of those who had meanwhile broadened their views and achieved status, but were still willing to return to a country in serious economic difficulties and with doubtful prospects. It seemed a timely endeavor to assess the importance of the contributions they were able to make in various disciplines, the innovations in the scholarly and cultural scene they brought back from overseas, and to consider the factors which represented hurdles in their readiness to establish themselves again in Austria and Central Europe.

The members of the commission "The North Atlantic Triangle" of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, who as scholars in Romance, North American, English and German Studies, in Musicology, Contemporary History, Philosophy and Sociology pursue their studies in a wide range of disciplines and have demonstrated their joint interest in several conferences exploring the complexities of the transatlantic exchange of individuals and ideas, and gladly accepting this challenge, have undertaken the task of convening an international conference, thus providing space for the close examination of the important contributions of individuals in the Humanities

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Österreich" *Österreichische. Zs. f. Geschichtswissenschaft* 7/1 (1996), 67-92. See also Johannes Feichtinger, Herbert Matis et al. (eds.), *Die Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 1938 bis 1945*. Katalog zur Ausstellung. Wien: Verlag der ÖAW, 2013. Recently several publications have analyzed and documented the critical developments in the academic sphere and their deplorable consequences, in the four volumes of *650 Jahre Universität Wien – Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert*, gen. ed. Friedrich Stadler, esp. vol. 1, Katharina Kniefacz et al. (eds.), *Universität – Forschung – Lehre*, and vol. 2, Mitchell G. Ash and Josef Ehmer (eds.), *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft*. Göttingen: V&R unipress/Vienna UP, 2015. Cf. also Klaus Taschwer, *Hochburg des Antisemitismus: Der Niedergang der Universität Wien im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*. Wien: Czernin Verlag, 2015, and Karl Sigmund, *Sie nannten sich Der Wiener Kreis: Exaktes Denken am Rand des Untergangs*. Wiesbaden: Springer Spektrum, 2015.

and Social Sciences who as returnees directly and indirectly had an impact in Austria and adjacent parts of Central Europe. Their project in this under-researched sphere is currently being complemented by ongoing studies which explore the achievements of exiled scholars and scientists who were able to establish themselves professionally abroad, especially in the USA, and through their contributions in the Humanities, Social and Natural Sciences, influenced advances in these disciplines in the global sphere and thus indirectly also had an impact on the generation of knowledge in Austria and Central Europe.<sup>6</sup> The members of the commission were fortunate in being able to draw on the expertise of many colleagues from Austria, from abroad and overseas who were willing to analyze the experiences, assess the challenges and determine the role of those individuals who fostered new developments or acted as catalysts in a number of academic disciplines.

An awareness of specific differences between various fields and spheres of activities made it advisable to look at disciplines separately and deal with individual cases as representative examples of the differences resulting from varying opportunities as well as the hurdles for returnees in the various fields.

Like the international conference, the documentation in the present collection of essays, which are organized in several clusters of related fields, opens with articles surveying certain trends and highlighting tendencies in important fields.

## GENERAL ESSAYS

Johannes Feichtinger considers the deleterious effect of the massive brain drain in the academic sphere and beyond, and dwells on the deplorable reluctance of officials and political figures of the reestablished Republic of Austria to counteract the resulting stagnation and provincialism by calling back exiled scholars and scientists, who might have stimulated innovation in research and teaching. Yet he lists a considerable number of that minority of

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<sup>6</sup> The survey provided by E. Wilder Spaulding in *The Quiet Invaders: The Story of the Austrian Impact upon America*. Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1968, has meanwhile been updated by detailed analyses, esp. by Christian Fleck, esp. in *Transatlantische Bereicherungen. Zur Erfindung der empirischen Sozialforschung*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 2007, and *Etablierung in der Fremde. Vertriebene Wissenschaftler in den USA nach 1933*. Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2015. The Austrian historian Günter Bischof, Marshall Plan Professor of History at New Orleans University, is currently engaged in a comprehensive research project on “‘Quiet Invaders’ Revisited”.

returnees who fostered modernization in the Austrian universities and other relevant institutions, and focuses on several experts in economics who usually outside the universities, introduced new concepts related to the achievement of full employment and economic growth and who encouraged the foundation of institutions such as the Austrian Science Fund.

This topic is further elaborated in the essay by Raoul Kneucker, who refers to the removal of around half of the academic staff of the University of Vienna, leading to the forfeiture of preeminence in medical research as well as to disastrous losses in philosophy, economics and in the social sciences. He contrasts the lack of serious efforts to persuade highly competent individuals to return and contribute to Austrian intellectual life and culture in the post-war years with the determined efforts in the Eastern European countries after 1989 to regain the intellectual potential of their emigrants. But he also dwells on the various obstacles to the return of exiles, especially the failure of removing bureaucratic hurdles left over from the preceding Nazi regime.

In dealing with the lot of Austrian refugees in Canada on the basis of archival cards so far not analyzed, Andrea Strutz revisits the situation in which these refugees from Nazi Germany, including Austria, found themselves in Britain from mid-1940, when males were indiscriminately put in camps as “enemy aliens” together with German prisoners-of-war and suspect Nazis before being sent overseas to internment camps in Canada. The eventual release of very young adults with permission to return to Britain resulted only in a few cases in a desire to go back to Austria, following the humiliations and barbarous treatment and the murder of relatives that had occurred. A number of these refugees, who had benefitted from instruction in the camps and then in Canadian universities, however, achieved prominent positions in North America in scholarship and science.

## WRITERS AND ART HISTORIANS

Among these interned refugees Heinrich Kreisel, focused upon in an essay by Neil Besner, found recognition as an academic in Canada and as a writer. Concerning a potential return, his own essays reflect the fact that his image of Vienna was permanently tarnished by the memory of injustice and persecution, while his imagination was haunted by the memory of atrocities perpetrated on Central European soil, which engendered two works of fiction. Yet Kreisel, who had abandoned his native tongue in his eyes permanently corrupted by Nazism, in favor of English, did return for a visit

– and might have come back again, but unfortunately his terminal illness prevented an already planned act of public reparation by his native city, where as a youth he had enjoyed its cultural offers.

While the decision was taken by young Henry Kreisel in the internment camp to sever his links with the city, other individuals overcame their well-founded bitterness and seriously considered and debated a potential return. Initially there was great reluctance to remigrate, an attitude which gradually changed after the Moscow Declaration. Against this background Primus Heinz Kucher analyzes the discussions conducted in several journals such as the *Aufbau*, the *Austro-American Tribune* and *Books Abroad*, about the future role of potential returnees in a re-constituted Austria, and touches upon the isolated appeal made by Vienna alderman Viktor Matejka to those in exile to return and contribute to the necessary reconstruction of Austria.

Helga Schreckenberger sketches the only limited success of a versatile theatrical talent such as Karl Farkas, who was one of the early returnees, and she dwells on the reasons for his return and the diplomatic reticence with which he avoided references to his ethnic background and years of exile, while gradually establishing himself as a popular entertainer on the radio, in Cabaret Simpl, and on TV.

In his essay Wolfgang Straub analyzes the remarkable leverage of four returnees in the field of literature and the theatre, who were closely associated with the US occupying forces, in two cases cultural officers of the US army, Ernst Lothar and his son-in-law, Ernst Haeusserman, Friedrich Torberg and Hans Weigel, who as convinced anti-Communists managed to shape the cultural programs of the press, radio and theaters in Austria. Straub demonstrates the conservative stance of the first two, the cultural pundits Lothar and Haeusserman, reflected in fictional representations of the experiences of returnees and in their work for theaters in Salzburg and Vienna, and illustrates the mediation of the emphatic anti-Communism of the last two intellectuals, Torberg and Weigel.

While their clout in the theatrical realm and the media reflected the success of some returnees in the sphere of public culture, who achieved managerial roles there, Robert Leucht highlights the impossibility of an American writer of Austrian background, Walter Abish, to come to terms with post-war Austria, where he encountered too many uncanny reminders of the dark past which had driven his family from Austria in 1938.

On the basis of their papers at the University of Illinois at Urbana, Daniel Abosso considers the middle-class Viennese background of the prominent Jewish art historian Philipp Fehl and his wife Raina, née Schweinburg, who met only after their complicated emigration, as guardians in a camp for



German prisoners-of-war in North Carolina, and later returned to Europe, working as part of the Nuremberg Trials staff. Abosso investigates Philipp Fehl's subsequent pioneer research work on Christian art of the Renaissance and the Baroque at the Vatican museums, and his prolific publications, which benefitted from the loyal collaboration of his wife. The essay also sheds light on their memories of the city of Vienna from which they had fled and of which they felt deprived while they lived in the USA and then resided in Rome for ten years.

From the perspective of one of the few surviving contemporary witnesses, Hermann Fillitz, the Nestor of Austrian art history studies, offers a very personal essay on the attempted re-building of the art collections in Vienna after World War Two. After looking back at the reorganization of the rich holdings of art treasures in the First Republic, he summarizes the dramatic loss of expertise with international reputation through the forced retirement of directors and curators or their emigration after the *Anschluss*. While drawing attention to the laudable initiatives of some returnees in times of great economic difficulty, he then chronicles some ill-advised rearrangement of museum holdings, and he regrets the lack of flexibility in decisions concerning personnel and some far-reaching but adverse measures.

#### COMPOSERS, MUSICOLOGISTS AND FILM DIRECTORS

In his article on his father, Paul Nettl, the émigré musicologist of German-Jewish extraction Bruno Nettl sketches the difficulties his father encountered in the USA after his unprepared emigration there, following the German takeover of Czechoslovakia and the beginning of World War Two. The article demonstrates how Nettl senior retained his allegiance to German culture, continued to interact with other émigrés and to publish in Austrian and German scholarly journals and collections on his areas of expertise (in Baroque music and Mozart's cultural links) for a general public. As a professor at Bloomington, Indiana, he failed to get used to the competitive spirit in the profession in American academia and kept his close ties with Europe, where he "return[ed] ... in spirit and emotion, but not physically."

After reminding the reader of the regular periods of Ernst Krenek's residence in Austria over six years and the many professional engagements of this prominent composer as a teacher of master classes and participant in festivals in Central Europe in the decades after 1945, Claudia Maurer Zenck investigates the factors which account for his vacillation between the two continents and his persistent feeling of being in exile in both hemispheres.

She analyses the many well-documented tentative and the firm offers to the distinguished musician to positions as the director of several conservatories and music academies in Germany and Austria and assesses the reasons for his hesitation over and final rejection of such offers. The essay also illustrates the impact of the exiled musician by drawing on the testimony of young composers who were deeply indebted to him, and refers to his influence on several Austrian musicians who attended some of the summer master classes he held in the 1950s in Kranichstein or Darmstadt and benefited from his function as a composer, who had further developed variants of dodecaphonic music, as a performer, teacher and author of analytical studies.

On the basis of archival material and unpublished correspondence held privately, Dörte Schmidt explores the complex cooperation between Recha Freier and Roman Haubenstock-Ramati, the prominent avant-garde composer of Polish origin, who after his emigration to Israel returned to Europe and taught composition in Vienna. Schmidt discusses the advice Freier received from Haubenstock-Ramati, when she developed and designed the *Testimonium* project. Its six festivals, which took place in Israel between 1968 and 1983, involved many avant-garde composers and music critics, evolved after the debates between Freier and Haubenstock-Ramati. The genesis of the official foundation, which was to link Israel's high culture with Europe and the USA, also reflects different perspectives of returnees and those permanently remaining in exile.

In his essay on Fritz Lang, Jörg Türschmann briefly surveys the stages in the life and career of the prominent film director from his early studies in Vienna, followed by his transfer to Berlin, where he directed films which became milestones in the history of the cinema. The essay focuses on his work after his abrupt emigration to Paris in 1933, where he directed *Liliom* before his departure for the USA, and links this emblematic film to the Viennese past of the director, which arguably continued to preoccupy the émigré. The essay also ponders the intriguing role of a film director played by Lang in Godard's *Le Mépris*, after Lang's return from his long exile in the USA to Central Europe, and speculates on the puzzling ambiguity of shots from the film which capture the experience of a restless traveler who managed to integrate himself into host countries without ever fully establishing a home.



## HISTORIANS, POLITICAL SCIENTISTS AND SOCIOLOGISTS

In their essay Waltraud Heindl and Herta Nagl-Docekal jointly sketch the international career of their academic advisor Friedrich Engl-Janosi, whose role in Viennese intellectual circles in the decades between the World Wars and whose emigration as a member of a family of upper-middle class Jewish industrialists are rendered in his autobiography covering his youth and early manhood in Vienna, his years in the USA as well as his eventual return to Vienna. The essay pays tribute to his singular combination of detailed archival research concerning historical periods from the Renaissance to the twentieth century, with a focus on Austria-Hungary, and the inquiry into crucial theoretical issues of the historical discipline. The essay also highlights Engl-Janosi's role as a dedicated teacher who inspired many disciples, and the disappointments of the distinguished returnee in the face of provincialism, whose full academic reinstatement in Austria was held up by bureaucratic hurdles.

In his essay David Kettler takes the reader beyond the confines of post-war Austria as he focuses on two professors of political science who had grown up in Germany, which they had to leave after the Nazi takeover: Ernst Fraenkel and Franz Neumann. Kettler discusses their different paths to prominence in their new disciplines, which led them to academic positions in the USA, from where they came back after the War with the American occupation forces. The essay speculates on their hesitant and incomplete return, with diverse though related tasks, in Fraenkel's case for a professional position in Berlin, while Neumann's promotion of the development of the new university in the Western sectors of Berlin was cut short by a fatal accident.

In contrast to most of the other exiled scholars or artists considered in this volume the prominent sociologist Norbert Elias, the stages of whose exile in France and Great Britain Fritz Peter Kirsch refers to in his article, did not cross the Atlantic nor did he permanently return to Germany but eventually resided in the Netherlands. Kirsch reflects on the disciplinary shift of the former student of philosophy to sociology, and on the widening of his interest from the study of aristocratic circles in seventeenth-century France to a comparative analysis of processes of civilization involving individuals and societies and extending over long periods of time, before returning to observations on German society. Kirsch stresses the global horizon of the humanist Elias, whose familiarity with diverse societies inspired his ambitious interdisciplinary effort, which has provided explanatory models for different disciplines and thus exerted a considerable influence.

On the basis of interviews conducted with her over many years, Andreas Pribersky sketches the untypical career of Charlotte Teuber, who – after experiencing discrimination as the offspring of a family of officers of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, who were after the *Anschluss* suspect in the eyes of the Nazis, was prevented from completing secondary school. She left Austria for the USA only in 1957, after taking a degree in art history at the University of Innsbruck. She shifted her academic focus in Harvard from Byzantine Studies to political science and established contacts there with her prominent teachers, which later facilitated her role as an occasional advisor to Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. Pribersky also describes various attempts to win her expertise for the discipline of political science in Austria, and draws attention to the difficulties accompanying her position over many years as a visiting professor at the University of Vienna, where she generously supported her students, while herself addressing a wide range of political issues.

#### PHILOSOPHERS AND PSYCHOANALYSTS

Two essays are devoted to the significance of the remigrant Kurt Rudolf Fischer, whose biography reflects the serious challenges those emigrants experienced who were ready to return after the war and make a contribution to the recovery and rejuvenation of their academic discipline, in his case especially analytical philosophy. In his tribute to Fischer, Friedrich Stadler, also on the basis of Fischer's own accounts, reviews Fischer's studies and teaching in Berkeley, and then in New York and Pennsylvania, after his flight following the Nazi takeover and the ensuing stay in Shanghai, and dwells in particular on his extended sojourn as a Fulbright fellow at the University of Vienna, where he came to hold the title of an honorary professor. The essay also illustrates how through his initiatives Fischer inspired many of the younger academics in the Department of Philosophy and stimulated discussion through the preparation of conferences, workshops and seminars. In his own prolific output he demonstrated in particular the continuity of a philosophical tradition in Vienna and also encouraged the building of bridges between analytical and continental philosophy, while his own remigration unfortunately did not end successfully.

In a companion piece, Ludwig Nagl specifies Fischer's generous support of young Austrian academics, whom in his capacity as the chair of the Department of Philosophy in Millersville, Pennsylvania, he involved in teaching American students there, and whom he helped establish professional

contacts with their American peers. The essay assesses Fischer's contributions in Vienna to the connection between philosophy and psychoanalysis and lists several of the working groups, colloquia and seminars which Fischer initiated. It elaborates on the broad range of his philosophical readings of Nietzsche, Freud and fin-de-siècle Vienna; and provides an account of how Fischer through his close friendship with Stanley Cavell facilitated contacts between his Viennese colleagues and Harvard philosophers. It also shows how – as a accomplished mediator and catalyst – Fischer through his ties to Cavell engendered interest in Vienna in the new field of the philosophy of the film.

In her essay Patrizia Giampieri-Deutsch documents the impact of Hedda Eppel, the stages of whose life and career as a practicing psycho-analyst she summarizes. Her emigration to England in 1939 and her work as a kindergarten teacher led to her therapeutic work with hundreds of traumatized orphaned Jewish children. This experience prepared her for the study of psychology in Vienna after the war and her simultaneous involvement in psychoanalytic training with experienced analysts. The essay also points out Eppel's contribution to the transfer of psychoanalytic knowledge in Vienna and her role in the convening of an international congress of psychoanalysts in the city as early as 1971, on the condition that the aggression which had destroyed the flourishing discipline in Vienna be a central topic in the deliberations of the participants. Giampieri-Deutsch also stresses Eppel's openness to empirical methods and her promotion of psychoanalysis as part of a functioning health service.

## ECONOMISTS

The cluster of essays on the impressive array of prominent economists who as members of intellectual circles extant in Vienna in the 1920s and 1930s went into exile or as young talented students acquired excellent credentials abroad as refugees, and either considered a return to Austria after the war or should have been called back – though only a minority of them actually returned – is opened by an essay by Herbert Matis. He recounts the different experiences of three individuals who either as returnees or occasional visitors exerted considerable influence on the discussion of important economic issues, and through their fostering of young talent in the discipline contributed significantly to innovation in the study of economic problems and the evolution of theoretical economic models and economic history: Eduard März, Alice Teichova, née Schwarz, and her husband Mikuláš Teich.

The essay delineates the different experiences of the three individuals, who all came from Jewish artisan families, and were forced to emigrate to the USA or Great Britain. Matis dwells on the challenges März faced as a refugee to the USA and his return to Austria, where he failed to get the recognition he deserved, though he became the mentor of younger economists outside the academic sphere, and pays tribute to Alice and Mikuláš Teich, who, after their return to the husband's native Czechoslovakia, were compelled to flee again in 1968, but who still retained their idealistic version of Marxism, inspiring younger scholars through their generous attitude and urbanity.

Günther Chaloupek opens his essay with a survey of the more than 80 emigrants of Austrian origin who went to the USA or to England before or after the *Anschluss*, and he sketches the professional challenges faced by the émigrés to the USA who represented the "Austrian School of Economics", with their opposition to Keynesian economics in that country. Chaloupek contrasts this dilemma with the situation in British universities, which provided opportunities for Austrian exiles with sympathies for Keynesian or socialist ideas. The essay demonstrates how almost half of those economists in British exile later returned to Austria, while few émigrés to the USA did so. But both groups faced many hurdles, as they failed to get recognition in Austrian universities for their accomplishments in research and the credentials gained abroad. The essay shows how they indirectly influenced economic policy in Austria in the post-war period through their work in the Austrian Institute of Economic Research and especially at the Chamber of Labor. Chaloupek illustrates this fact in his description of the successes and disappointments of the economists Eduard März, Maria Szecsi-März and Adolf Kozlik.

Before considering the dispersal of Austrian economists before and after the *Anschluss* and the transformation of the Austrian School of Economics into individually distinct approaches, Richard Sturn reflects on the developments in the pre-emigration period in interwar Austria. He reminds the general reader of the limited number of positions for economists at Austrian universities and the high level of expertise in self-organized platforms and several circles, as well as in institutes aided by Rockefeller Foundation grants, which also facilitated the departure of accomplished and eventually very prominent economists for other European countries and especially for the USA. The new social contexts and different challenges the émigrés found there are shown to have led to an increasing degree of diversity in their perspectives, while their recognition abroad tended to reduce their readiness to return to Austria.

On the basis of his close analysis of pertinent passages from Oskar Morgenstern's comprehensive diaries covering many years, Christian Fleck annotates Morgenstern's succinct responses to his impressions of the University of Vienna and Austria's economic sphere resulting from his contacts with former colleagues and academic functionaries during his 1947 visit to Europe, which included two weeks in Vienna. With extensively quoted comments Fleck shows how Morgenstern harshly judges some individuals who had greatly disappointed him, and how he tersely assesses them as opportunists or Nazis, while he is saddened by the decline of Vienna from its pre-war intellectual heyday into a kind of autochthonous provincialism. While this evaluation was to prompt his advocacy of funding by American institutions, the essay also suggests the understandable reluctance of recognized international experts, who were meanwhile American citizens, to consider a permanent return to an impoverished and still insecure country.

In his essay Heinz D. Kurz deals with the contrasted careers of two important economists of international renown who had had to emigrate and later returned to Austria from Britain: one of them, Josef Steindl, failed to receive the recognition he deserved in spite of his originality in developing theoretical models, which he tested empirically, thus questioning mainstream neoclassical economics. Kurt Rothschild, in contrast, who had become interested in economic theories only after his emigration, is remembered as a scholar with a remarkably wide range of research interests and publications, eclectic in his ideas and for the adoption rather than the development of economic models. While he, like Steindl, based his analyses on empirical foundations, he had a significant academic impact in his discipline, which once again illustrates the very different experiences of returnees to post-war Austria.

