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# LANGUAGES AND POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMUNICATION IN CENTRAL EASTERN EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR I

## 1. Languages in International Scientific Communication

In the area of international scientific cooperation, with its numerous congresses, associations and publications, having been established in the nineteenth century, the leading scientific languages French, English and German dominated communication and, at the same time, were rivals in exerting influence. Additionally, Italian was used in some cases and Spanish rarely.

The use of a foreign language as lingua franca served purposes of communication and comprehension among many scientists from different countries. In view of the multilingualism in scientific cooperation, experts had to be well acquainted with at least one official language, and understand the others. Given the close relationship between language, perception and thought, those scientists who could use their native language for specific terms and formulating precise arguments naturally enjoyed linguistic and cognitive advantages in international communication. Moreover, they were better able to promote their own research work.[1] At the same time, an evolved scientific lingua franca gave scientists speaking other languages

[1] The German historian Jürgen Kocka, for example, pointed out the consequences of specific terms in different languages for research work. In the context of nineteenth-century European history, he argued, the meaning of the German term *Bürgertum* would not be congruent with the French term *bourgeoisie* and the English term *middle class*. In a workshop Kocka used the German term as a key term (*Leitbegriff*). Otherwise, he explained, the use of the French or the English term as a key term would have led to a different formulation of questions, a different research process and different results; JÜRGEN KOCKA, Mehrsprachiges Europa. Die Bedeutung der eigenen Sprache in der Wissenschaft, in: Die Wissenschaft spricht Englisch? Versuch einer Standortbestimmung, ed. by UWE PÖRKSEN, Special Issue of Valerio 1 (2005), p. 19-24, p. 19.

access to advanced knowledge and methods that they would not have found in their own countries. The use of more than one scientific language multiplied these advantages and offered different perspectives. On the other hand, an orientation and dependence on highly developed and specialized knowledge and science in a foreign language had the potential to entrench the relationship with the country in question, with scientific, political and economic consequences. Therefore, the scientific powers endeavoured to strengthen their own languages in international scientific communication in order to increase their own influence.

When during World War I international scientific cooperation was disrupted and the opposing sides extremely accelerated research for war purposes, especially in the fields of technology, natural sciences and medicine, the languages were also affected. For their part, the Allies used French and English, while the Central Powers used German. Even after the war, the choice of a scientific lingua franca was often the expression of a political motivation. This was also evident in international scientific organizations involving scientists from Central Eastern Europe. The decline of German as an international scientific language and the rise of French and English were forced during this time.

## 2. The Allies' New Scientific Organization Including Poland and Czechoslovakia

The rift in international scientific communication and the struggle for scientific power among the erstwhile enemies continued after the war, especially in relevant disciplines. The victorious Allied countries, particularly the Allied academies of sciences from the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy, created new international scientific organizations under their leadership. The chief among these were the International Research Council (IRC) founded in Brussels in 1919, with affiliated unions for special branches of science, and the International Union of Academies for the humanities, as successors of the International Association of Academies, founded in Wiesbaden in 1899, when the unity of the sciences (natural sciences) and humanities was still observed.

The primary objective of this project of the Allies was to prevent reconstruction of the prewar dominance of German scientists, the German language and German publications in the area of international scientific cooperation. Therefore the scientists of the Central Powers, and even the German language itself, were excluded from the new organizations, their re-

search work, conferences and publications.[2] The official languages of the new scientific organizations were French and English, just as in the League of Nations. With respect to official documents, the French text was considered to be the authoritative text, because French was the traditional language of science and diplomacy.

This boycott against German science and the German language was based on the nationalism and militarism of the German scholars during the war. In a manifesto 'To The Civilized World!' (*Aufruf 'An die Kulturwelt!'*) from 4 October 1914, arranged by the Reich Naval Office (*Reichsmarineamt*) and the Foreign Ministry for propaganda purposes,[3] ninety-three prominent German scholars representing German science and culture denied German war guilt and war crimes in Belgium and France[4] and at the same time glorified the German army and the unity of German militarism and German culture.[5] The fact that most of them refused to change their minds afterwards[6] made it difficult if not impossible for scientists from the Allied countries, particularly Belgium and France, to resume scientific relations with the Germans after the war. Above all, the Allied scientists sought to prevent the re-establishment of German power in the international scientific arena. Therefore they created new scientific institutions without German participation, undermining the Germans' influence.

The breakup of international collaboration in the sciences passed right through to Central Eastern Europe. Hungary, part of the Central Powers during the war, was excluded, while the newly formed states Poland and Czechoslovakia were integrated into the IRC and other international institu-

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[2] SIEGFRIED GRUNDMANN, Der Boykott der deutschen Wissenschaft nach dem ersten Weltkrieg, in: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Technischen Universität Dresden 14/3 (1965), p. 799-806; BRIGITTE SCHRÖDER-GUDEHUS, Deutsche Wissenschaft und internationale Zusammenarbeit 1914–1928. Ein Beitrag zum Studium kultureller Beziehungen in politischen Krisenzeiten, Genève 1966; DANIEL J. KEVLES, "Into Hostile Political Camps". The Reorganization of International Science in World War I, in: Isis 62 (1971), p. 47-60; ROSWITHA REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache und der Boykott nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg, Frankfurt am Main 2006.

[3] JÜRGEN VON UNGERN-STERNBERG/ WOLFGANG VON UNGERN-STERNBERG, Der Aufruf 'An die Kulturwelt!'. Das Manifest der 93 und die Anfänge der Kriegspropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg. Mit einer Dokumentation, Stuttgart 1996.

[4] JOHN HORNE/ ALAN KRAMER, German Atrocities, 1914. A History of Denial, New Haven 2001.

[5] BERNHARD VOM BROCKE, 'Wissenschaft und Militarismus'. Der Aufruf der 93 'An die Kulturwelt!' und der Zusammenbruch der internationalen Gelehrtenrepublik im Ersten Weltkrieg, in: Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren, ed. by WILLIAM M. CALDER III/ HELMUT FLASHAR/ THEODOR LINDKEN, Darmstadt 1985, p. 649-719.

[6] HANS WEHBERG, Wider den Aufruf der 93! Das Ergebnis einer Rundfrage an die 93 Intellektuellen über die Kriegsschuld, Berlin 1920.

tions dominated by the Allies from the beginning. In these new organizations, Poland and Czechoslovakia actively supported the boycott against German, Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian scientists and the German language as a language of science. Although German was widespread as the language of science in these countries, they forced it back because of conflicts with German minorities, especially in the territories that Germany and Austria-Hungary had lost in the war, and German ambitions for renewed conquest.

Personal and institutional relationships between Poland and Czechoslovakia and the new international organization of science were built up systematically. This cooperation offered chances for the development and modernization of science and scientific institutions in both countries and at the same time served the strategic ends of the associates. Since these scientific relationships have not yet been researched, this paper can only give a general outline suggesting that it should be explored how collaboration within the new international scientific organizations established by the Allies after the war had practical consequences, including the transformation of national institutions in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

As a delegate of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow, the writer Władysław Mickiewicz had already joined the Inter-Allied Conference of the Academies of Sciences in November 1918 in Paris when the boycott was declared.[7] One year later, Władysław Natanson, another member of the Polish Academy of Sciences and professor of natural science at the University of Krakow, attended the 1919 Constitutive Assembly of the IRC in Brussels as a delegate of Poland.[8]

Polish delegates at the subsequent assemblies of the IRC were Kazimierz Kostanecki, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences and professor of anatomy at the University of Krakow,[9] Władysław Szajnocha, professor of geology at the same institution, and Stefan Pieńkowski, physi-

[7] Conférence des Académies des sciences interalliées (deuxième session) tenue à Paris en novembre 1918. Compte rendu: Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des sciences, no. 1, 1919, p. 63-81, p. 64, 80.

[8] International Research Council. Constitutive Assembly held at Brussels, July 18th to July 28th, 1919, Reports of Proceedings, ed. by Sir ARTHUR SCHUSTER, London 1920, p. 62.

[9] At the beginning of World War II and the German occupation of Poland, Kostanecki was arrested by the Nazis. They deported him together with other Polish scientists to the concentration camp Sachsenhausen, where he died in 1940 (Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950, ed. by Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 4, Wien 1969, p. 153).

cist at the University of Warsaw. They assisted in establishing the respective scientific unions.[10]

Czechoslovakia sent a delegate to the assembly of the IRC for the first time in 1922 – the botanist Bohumil Němec, chancellor of Charles University in Prague. At the subsequent conferences of the IRC, he was accompanied by Ladislav Syllaba, professor of medicine in Prague and president of the National Research Council, Václav Posejpal, general secretary of the National Research Council, and physicist and mathematician Bohuslav Hostinský from Brno University.[11] A National Research Council had already been founded in Czechoslovakia, copying the American model founded in 1916. The creation of such national institutions had been advocated in a paper by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences presented at the Allied conference in London in 1918, the intention being to build up a new international system of scientific cooperation. The paper suggested that all countries should establish national research councils, the central instance of which should be the International Research Council (IRC). The same system, it proposed, should be adopted by the scientific unions for the special branches of science, as was partly implemented by Poland and Czechoslovakia. This was intended to create an efficient organization for the transmission and transformation of international research in the national institutions.[12]

The most significant scientific unions of the IRC, founded in 1919, were:

- the International Astronomical Union (IAU) with thirty-two to thirty-five commissions, among them the International Time Commission, the International Central Bureau for Astronomical Telegrams and the Commission of Bibliography, replacing the Astronomical Society (*Astronomische Gesellschaft*) founded as an international association in Heidelberg in 1863 and the International Union for Co-operation in Solar Research founded in St Louis in 1904;[13]

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[10] International Research Council, Second Assembly held at Brussels July 25th to July 29th, 1922. Reports of Proceedings, ed. by Sir ARTHUR SCHUSTER, London 1923, p. 48-49; Third Assembly held at Brussels, July 7th to July 9th, 1925. Reports of Proceedings, ed. by Sir ARTHUR SCHUSTER, London 1925, p. 22.

[11] Ibid. 1922, p. 49; 1925, p. 23.

[12] Suggestion for the International Organization of Science and Research. Submitted by the Council of the National Academy of Sciences; Outline of plan for an Inter-Allied Research Council; REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 131-132.

[13] International Research Council. Constitutive Assembly 1919, p. 14-19, 78-109, 160-172; Transactions of the International Astronomical Union. Vol. I. First General Assembly held at Rome May 2nd to May 10th , 1922, London 1922; ADRIAN BLAAUW, History of the IAU. The Birth and First Half-Century of the International Astronomical Union, Dordrecht

- the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics (IUGG) with seven sections for Geodesy, Seismology, Meteorology, Terrestrial Magnetism and Electricity, Physical Oceanography, Volcanology, Scientific Hydrology, replacing the International Geodesic Association (*Internationale Erdmessung*) founded in Berlin in 1886 and the International Association of Seismology (*Internationale Seismologische Assoziation*) founded in Strasbourg in 1903;[14]
- the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry (IUPAC), replacing the International Association of Chemical Societies founded in Paris in 1911.[15]

In medicine, for example, Allied physicians replaced the International Anti-Tuberculosis Association (*Internationale Vereinigung gegen die Tuberkulose*) founded in Berlin in 1902 with the International Union against Tuberculosis founded in Paris in 1920.[16]

Scientists from Poland and Czechoslovakia were members of these unions and contributed to their scientific work. At the same time, they supported the boycott against German and Austrian scientists and the German language.[17]

The Polish astronomer, mathematician, geodetic scientist and cartographer Tadeusz Banachiewicz, director of the Krakow Observatory and professor at the University of Krakow, had already sent a letter to the Constitutive Assembly of the IRC in 1919 when the IAU was established, offering the cooperation of the Krakow Observatory, although his research was impeded by the lack of modern instruments.[18] Banachiewicz became a

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1994; REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 41-55, 138-140, 144-146, 299-308, 378-383.

[14] International Research Council. Constitutive Assembly 1919, p. 20-24, 173-178; Union géodésique et géophysique internationale. Première Assemblée générale réunie à Rome du 2 au 10 mai 1922, Toulouse 1923; REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 56-75, 140-146, 384-390; MARIELLE CREMER, Seismik zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts. Internationalität und Disziplinbildung, Berlin 2001.

[15] International Research Council. Constitutive Assembly 1919, p. 25, 179-184; Union internationale de la Chimie pure et appliquée. Comptes rendus de la première Conférence internationale de la Chimie. Rome 22-24 juin 1920, Paris; ROGER FENNELL, History of IUPAC 1919–1987, Oxford 1994; ULRIKE FELL, Disziplin, Profession und Nation. Die Ideologie der Chemie in Frankreich vom Zweiten Kaiserreich bis in die Zwischenkriegszeit, Leipzig 2000; REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 141-148, 298-299, 391-397.

[16] Conférence internationale contre la tuberculose. Paris 17-21 octobre 1920, Paris 1921; REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 88-95, 218-243.

[17] Ibid., p. 138-163.

[18] Banachiewicz, 1 July 1919, cited in: International Research Council. Constitutive Assembly 1919, p. 14-15.

delegate for Poland within the IAU and IUGG and president of the Polish National Committee for Astronomy. Before the war, he had been a member of the Astronomical Society, when German was the official language. Now the languages of IAU and IUGG were English and French. Banachiewicz preferred to speak French.[19]

The function of the National Committee of Poland in the IUGG was fulfilled by the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow. The organization of Polish experts in the IUPAC was much the same: The affiliate institution was the Polish Federation of Pure and Applied Chemistry (*Polskie Towarzystwo Chemiczne*). When the IUPAC conference was held in 1927 for the first time in Warsaw, the Polish delegation was composed of five professors from the Warsaw Technical College, one from the Warsaw Pharmaceutical Institute, three from the University of Krakow and two from the University of Lwów.[20]

In Czechoslovakia also, national committees for astronomy as well as geodesy and geophysics were established as affiliate organizations of the IAU and IUGG. In the IAU, the Czechoslovakian government initially functioned as the adhering organization until a national committee was constituted. The president of the National Committee for Astronomy was Vladimír Heinrich, professor of astronomy at Charles University in Prague. Further delegates in the IAU were František Nušl, professor at the same university and director of the National Observatory in Prague, and Ladislav Beneš from the Military Geodetic Institute in Prague. From 1928 to 1932, Nušl became one of the four vice-presidents of the IAU. Because of the close relationship between astronomy, geodesy and geophysics, Nušl and Beneš were at the same time the Czechoslovakian delegates in the IUGG. Nušl headed the Czechoslovakian delegation composed of meteorologists, hydrologists and engineers. In 1927, the IUGG held a general assembly for the first time in Prague. Eighteen Czechoslovakian experts from the University, Technical College, Observatory, Ministry of Finances (office of triangulations), Meteorological Institute and Hydrological Institute (all in Prague), as well as the Brno Technical College and Pribram Mining School attended the conference.[21]

In the IUPAC, Emil Votoček, professor of organic chemistry at the Prague Technical College and president of the Czechoslovakian Chemical

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Union internationale de la Chimie pure et appliquée. Comptes rendus de la huitième Conférence internationale de la Chimie. Varsovie: 4 septembre – 14 septembre 1927, Paris [s. a.].

[21] Union géodésique et géophysique internationale. Troisième Assemblée générale réunie à Prague du 3 au 10 septembre 1927, Toulouse 1927.

Society, was among those representing Czechoslovakia. At the same time, the Czechoslovakian Chemical Society was the affiliate organization of the IUPAC. Votoček was elected one of the four vice-presidents of the IUPAC (1922-24).[22]

Thus, many scientists and scientific institutions in Poland and Czechoslovakia were involved in the science networks the Allies had established after the war, and some experts attained leading positions. The assemblies of the IUGG in Prague (1927) and the IUPAC in Warsaw (1927) emphasized the importance of these countries for the scientific cooperation the Allies had instituted.

Protection against German ambition for power was an important motivation for Polish and Czechoslovakian scientists to join the Allied project. How deep the aversion against the German, Austrian and Hungarian scientists was could be seen in the position of the Polish and Czechoslovakian delegates at the General Assembly of the IRC in 1925: When the delegates of the neutral countries Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands, supported by the delegates from the United States, Great Britain and Ireland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Switzerland and South Africa, put to the vote the motion to abolish the boycott, the Polish and Czechoslovakian delegates voted against it together with the hardliners France and Belgium as well as Egypt and Morocco. The Spanish delegates abstained.[23] Not until the following year was the boycott successfully removed. And cooperation with the former outcasts was not immediately re-established. Instead, the negotiations mediated by neutral scientists continued into the 1930s.[24]

For the purposes of international communication, Polish and Czechoslovakian scientists generally spoke and wrote in French. An example may illustrate the intentional shift in the use of the languages: At the International Congress of Anthropology in Prague in 1924, organized by the International Anthropological Institute in Paris (founded in 1920), German and Austrian scholars as well as the German language were banned. 'Obviously the German language was boycotted at the request of the Czechs,' reported the German ambassador.[25] Many members of the congress would have been forced to speak French, even though they could speak German much better. A proposal brought forward by a Dutch anthropologist to

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[22] Union internationale de la Chimie pure et appliquée. Comptes rendus de la troisième Conférence internationale de la Chimie. Lyon 27 juin – 1er juillet 1922, Paris [s. a.], p. 59.

[23] International Research Council. Third Assembly (1925), p. 6-13.

[24] REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 250-251, 345-397.

[25] Walter Koch, German ambassador in Prague, to Auswärtiges Amt, 23 September 1924, in: PA AA (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts), R 64500 (author's translation).

invite German and Austrian scholars as soon as Germany joined the League of Nations met with broad support, but was not put to the vote because of its refusal by the Czechoslovakian hosts.[26]A central demand of German scholars was the re-admission of German as an equal language with French and English. In most international institutions, however, the equal status of German was not regained. Thus, in international communication, especially in significant branches of science, the boycott entailed an enduring decline of the German language, particularly in Central Eastern Europe.

In Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries, the decline of the German language was promoted by an active language policy on the part of France, coupled with an attack on German power politics. When in 1925 the University of Paris, supported by the French Ministries of Education and Foreign Affairs, founded a French Institute (*Institut Français*) in Warsaw for promoting the French language, culture and science,[27] about six hundred French intellectuals sent a declaration to the presidents, chancellors and members of the Academy of Sciences and the universities in Poland who had representatives in the council of the institute, warning of the German endeavours of conquest: 'L'Allemagne n'a point désarmé. […] elle aspire à conquérir.'[28] A similar French Institute had already been established in Prague in 1920,[29] but in Budapest the foundation was not achieved until 1947.

Although the French language was successful in gaining temporary influence at the expense of German in most areas of science, English won out in the long run. The U.S.A. had risen during and after the war to the leading scientific power in the world and created an international market for scientific publications in the English language. Due to the boycott, but also due to the U.S.A.'s rich resources, American publications displaced German books and periodicals worldwide. American foundations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Institution, Smithsonian Institution or the Anglo-American University Library for Central Europe granted scholarships and extensive donations to research funds and university libraries, intended to enhance scientific development and simultaneously promote the

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[26] Ibid.; Institut International d'Anthropologie. II[e] Session Prague 14-21 septembre 1924, Paris 1926. At the conference only three Czechoslovakian anthropologists used English and one Argentine Spanish.

[27] KARL REMME/ MARGARETE ESCH, Die französische Kulturpropaganda. Auf der Grundlage französischen Quellenmaterials und eigener Beobachtungen im Ausland, Berlin 1927, p. 36-37.

[28] La Pologne (Paris), cited in: Mitteilungen des Verbandes der Deutschen Hochschulen 5/8 (1925), p. 147-148, quote on p. 147.

[29] REMME/ ESCH, Die französische Kulturpropaganda, p. 35.

spread of the English language in Central Eastern Europe and other countries. The Rockefeller Foundation, for example, asked scholars who applied for a scholarship to master English.[30]

By contrast, the export of German scientific books and journals to Central Eastern Europe as well as to the Baltic and Scandinavian countries or the Netherlands, where German scientific literature traditionally had a large circulation, fell back.

## 3. German Activities against the Boycott

Many German scientists did not have a very conciliatory attitude and even staged a counter-boycott.[31] 'Donation from Polish side refused' – with these words the director of the Mathematical Institute of the University of Jena immediately returned the journal of the Polish Academy of Sciences, *Fundamenta mathematicae*, which a professor of mathematics at the University of Warsaw had sent to him.[32] Similarly, the Hamburg University Library refused an exchange of academic publications with the University of Bratislava after the German University Conference (*Deutscher Hochschultag*) decided in 1925 to stop the exchange of publications with Czechoslovakian universities as long as German scientists were excluded from congresses.[33]

At the same time, German scientists and scientific organizations launched numerous initiatives to break through the isolation that the boycott had brought about, and to save the international reputation of the German language and scientific community. For this purpose, with the support of scientists from neutral countries, they founded for example the Baltic Geodesic Commission (*Baltische Geodätische Kommission* – BGK) in 1924 for coordinating a survey of the coastal areas of the Baltic Sea. Members of the commission, which the Germans planned to use as a counter-organization against the IUGG, were Germany, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Po-

[30] REINHARD SIEGMUND-SCHULTZE, Rockefeller and the Internalization of Mathematics between the two World Wars. Documents and Studies for the Social History of Mathematics in the 20th Century, Basel 2001, p. 89.

[31] REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 329-343.

[32] Kurjer Warszawski, 17 June 1921; Robert Haussner to the editors of Fundamenta mathematicae, 31 May 1921, in: PA AA, R 64979 (author's translation).

[33] Gustav Wahl, director of the Hamburg University Library, to the chancellor of Bratislava University, 7 April 1925, in: PA AA R 64981; Die Hamburger Universitätsbibliothek im Dienste der intellektuellen Zusammenarbeit, in: Prager Presse, 14 May 1925; Entschließung über Schriftenaustausch mit der Tschechoslowakei, in: Mitteilungen des Verbandes der Deutschen Hochschulen 5/2 (1925), p. 51.

land, Danzig, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. Obviously, in this area Poland accepted cooperation with Germany to a certain extent. In 1929, the Soviet Union also joined the BGK.[34]

In addition to the Swedish president Karl Rosén, the Polish astronomer and geodetic scientist Banachiewicz, member of the IAU and IUGG, was elected vice-president of the BGK for the first three years. Because German geodetic scientists occupied a leading scientific position in the BGK, German was the main language used at the conferences. But the attempt to make German the exclusive language of the BGK was prevented by scientists from other countries, thus limiting the Germans' power. Instead, French was selected as the second language. Banachiewicz in particular gave his opening speeches at the first conference in Helsinki in 1924 and at the sixth conference in Warsaw in 1932 in French.[35]

Gradually, the conflicts diminished and ties between the BGK and the IUGG were strengthened. This led to the decision to hold the 1932 session of the BGK in Warsaw.

## 4. German Relations with Hungary: The International Zoological Congress in Budapest 1927

While Hungary was still suffering from the boycott, German scientists tried to maintain close relations with the country. Before the war, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences had been a member of the International Association of Academies, and Hungarian scientists had joined international astronomical, geodetic, chemical and medical associations, which the Allies had now replaced with new organizations. Some German scientific societies demonstrated solidarity, holding their annual conferences in Budapest, e.g. the German Society of Pediatric Medicine in 1927 or the Astronomical Society in 1930 – using the German language of course.[36] Hungarian journals added

[34] REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 308-317.

[35] Comptes Rendus des Séances de la Conférence Géodésique. Réunie à Helsingfors du 28 juin au 2 juillet 1924. Rédigés par le Secrétaire-Général ILMARI BONSDORFF – Verhandlungen der in Helsingfors vom 28. Juni bis 2. Juli 1924 abgehaltenen Geodätischen Konferenz. Redigiert vom Generalsekretär ILMARI BONSDORFF, Helsinki 1925, p. 49 [title page in French and German]; Comptes Rendus de la Sixième Séance de la Commission Géodésique Baltique. Réunie à Varsovie du 14 au 18 juin 1932. Redigés par le Secrétaire-Général ILMARI BONSDORFF – Verhandlungen der in Warschau vom 14. bis 18. Juni 1932 abgehaltenen sechsten Tagung der Baltischen Geodätischen Kommission. Redigiert vom Generalsekretär ILMARI BONSDORFF, Helsinki 1933, p. 39-40.

[36] 38. Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Kinderheilkunde in Budapest, 11.-15.9.1927, in: PA AA, R 66120; 29. Versammlung der Astronomischen Gesellschaft, 7.-13.8.1930 in Budapest; on scientific connections between Hungary and Germany, e. g.:

extracts from articles in German, for instance the medical journal *Orvosképzés*. To promote multilingualism, including German, the *Monatsschrift Ungarischer Mediziner* (Monthly Review of Hungarian Physicians) was actually published in four languages: German, English, French and Italian. The abstracts of the articles were presented in the other three languages, respectively. In order to provide Hungarian university libraries with publications in the German language, the Emergency Association of German Science (*Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft*), founded in 1920, donated numerous scientific books and periodicals with the financial support of the German Foreign Ministry.[37]

Also, international scientific congresses that did not accept the boycott were held in Budapest. Thus, the International Zoological Congress organized its first session after the war in Budapest in 1927. The decision for Budapest had already been reached before the war, but the organizers waited until the boycott had been abolished. As in former times, German, English, French and Italian were the official languages of the congress. Thus, the four papers of the opening session were presented respectively in German, English and French by zoologists from Germany, Great Britain, the U.S.A. and France. In the plenum, the nine sections and the discussions, however, German for once dominated in the contributions. A large number of German zoologists had come to this international forum in order to demonstrate the excellence of German science and the German language. Among the roughly 700 members of the congress, there were 242 Hungarians, 166 Germans and 33 Austrians. By contrast, only 35 zoologists were there from Great Britain, 33 from the U.S.A., 31 from Czechoslovakia, 23

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LAJOS BARTHA, Deutsch-ungarische Beziehungen auf dem Gebiet der Astronomie in der Neuzeit, in: Wissenschaftsbeziehungen und ihr Beitrag zur Modernisierung. Das deutsch-ungarische Beispiel, ed. by HOLGER FISCHER, München 2005, p. 99-126; GÁBOR PALLÓ, Deutsch-ungarische Beziehungen in den Naturwissenschaften im 20. Jahrhundert, in: Technologietransfer und Wissenschaftsaustausch zwischen Ungarn und Deutschland. Aspekte der historischen Beziehungen in Naturwissenschaft und Technik, ed. by HOLGER FISCHER/ FERENC SZABADVÁRY, München 1995, p. 273-289; HOLGER FISCHER, Deutsch-ungarische Beziehungen in der Geographie der Zwischenkriegszeit, in: Technologietransfer und Wissenschaftsaustausch, p. 291-352.

[37] Adolf Jürgens, Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft (Bibliotheksausschuß), to Auswärtiges Amt, 25 January 1924, in: PA AA, R 65520; Monatsschrift Ungarischer Mediziner, in: PA AA, R 66120; a list of periodicals is contained in: PA AA, R 65521; on German book acquisitions in Hungarian libraries: JAMES P. NIESSEN, Német nyelvű könyvek beszerzése három budapesti nagykönyvtárban 1900 és 1990 között. A kulturális viszonyok és a könyvtári szereposztás 1. rész: 1900–1945 [The Acquisition of German-Language Books in Three Budapest Research Libraries between 1900 and 1990. Cultural Relations and Library Division of Labour. Pt. 1: 1900–1945], Könyvtári Figyelő [Library Review] 4 (2004), p. 851-860.

from France and 19 from Poland. In line with the composition of the participants, the linguistic breakdown of the 234 total papers (opening session, plenum, sections)[38] was as follows: 155 German, 42 English, 30 French, 5 Italian and 2 Spanish. From the Hungarians, 38 [39] chose German, 6 [7] English and 1 French. From the Czechoslovakians, 17 [19] chose German, 1 English and 2 French. Of the Polish speakers, 3 chose German, 3 [2] French and 1 English.[39] Among the German-speaking experts from Central Eastern Europe were, of course, some representatives of the German minorities. As if to counterbalance German dominance, the title page and the information on the report of the congress were published in French by the general secretary of the Hungarian committee of the conference, Ernő Csiki. The fact that in addition to universities, academies and societies from twenty-eight countries, twenty-two foreign governments had also sent delegates to the congress was certainly also a factor, given that French was the traditional language of diplomacy.[40]

## 5. The International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw 1933

In any case, German experts as well as the German government and special federations were keenly interested in intensifying relations with the German minorities in Central Eastern and Eastern Europe in order to strengthen their position and reinforce the influence of German language, culture and science.[41] Thus, they used the international conferences to further their political ambitions.

The German preparations for the 1933 International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw are an example: The German historian Karl Brandi, president of the Association of German Historians (*Verband Deutscher Historiker*), was involved with the preparations, and emphasized the advantage of German participation in the congress. He expected support from ethnic Germans in Central Eastern Europe to demonstrate a strong scientific front. Therefore, before the congress he visited representatives of the German minorities in Poland who welcomed German participation in

[38] Discussion papers are not included.

[39] The number of papers is set in brackets; some scientists presented two papers, several scientists together only one joint paper.

[40] X$^{e}$ Congrès International de Zoologie. Tenu à Budapest du 4 au 10 septembre 1927. Publié par ERNŐ CSIKI, Secrétaire Général du Congrès, Budapest 1929.

[41] REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 440-444.

the Warsaw Congress as part of the German 'fight for the East' (*Kampf um den Osten*).[42] In this regard, Brandi recommended that at the congress German historians should act as a 'fighting force' (*Kampftruppe*).[43] Even if they could not prevent discussions about German-Polish and Eastern European history and war guilt, they should be prepared to interject clever arguments that serve national interests more than historical truth. Above all, they were to give special prominence to the German language in order to break the predominance of French.[44] However, they did not achieve their goal. While the official agenda of the congress avoided the discussion of current problems, in many informal discussions historians from other countries protested against the politics of the National Socialists, particularly at the universities. The Polish congress committee, however, refused to read aloud a protest declaration by the English historians, because it wanted to prevent the congress from taking on an anti-German slant.[45] Brandi was even elected vice-president of the International Historical Committee – in addition to the Polish historian Bronisław Dembiński from Poznań.[46]

The official languages of the congress were French, German, English, Italian and Spanish. Still, at the congress 61 of a total of 284 papers were held in German, compared with 149 in French, 43 in Italian, 25 in English, 3 in Spanish and 3 in Polish.[47] Although numerous participants came from

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[42] Karl Brandi, Denkschrift über den Besuch des VII. Internationalen Historiker-Kongresses in Warschau, 4 May 1933, to Preußisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, Auswärtiges Amt, Reichsministerium des Innern, in: GStA PK (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz), I. HA, Rep. 76 Kultusministerium, Vc Sekt.1 Tit. XI Teil VI Nr.13 Bd. III, fol. 51-53, quotation fol. 53.

[43] Brandi to Preußisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, 1 August 1933, ibid., fol. 80.

[44] Brandi, Denkschrift, fol. 52; cf. REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 433-440.

[45] German ambassador in Warsaw Hans Adolf von Moltke to Auswärtiges Amt, 30 August 1933, Brandi, Denkschrift, fol. 93-94; cf. INGO HAAR, Historiker im Nationalsozialismus. Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft und der "Volkstumskampf" im Osten, Göttingen 2000, p. 145-146; KARL DIETRICH ERDMANN, Ökumene der Historiker. Geschichte der Internationalen Historikerkongresse und des Comité International des Sciences Historiques, Göttingen 1987, p. 199-202.

[46] VII[e] Congrés international des Sciences historiques. Varsovie (1933) [21-29 août 1933], Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, vol. V-VIII, 1933-1936, vol. VII, pt. I, no. 26, March 1935, p. 69.

[47] From a total of 1,214 members, 600 came from Poland, 108 France, 86 Italy, 59 Germany, 51 Great Britain, 47 U.S.A., 35 Czechoslovakia, 33 Belgium, 26 Hungary, 14 Spain, 8 Soviet Union, 7 Austria; Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, vol. VII, pt. II, no. 27, June 1935, p. 139.

Poland, the host country, of the 73 papers by Polish historians, only very few were held in the Polish language, because Polish was not one of the five official languages of the congress and only a very few historians from other countries could understand Polish.

## 6. The International Conference on Tuberculosis in Warsaw 1934

One year later, in 1934, the National Socialists misused the Conference of the International Union against Tuberculosis in Warsaw for propaganda purposes. They tried to influence the local press to propagandize the German medical policy, particularly the new eugenics policy, and ensured an impressive representation of German physicians and the German language. Arthur Gütt, the highest medical official in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, who had prepared the new eugenics law (*Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses*) one year earlier, became the leader of the German delegation. The German Propaganda Ministry at once instructed the embassy in Warsaw to inform newspaper editors about German participation, particularly about this prominent expert and his medical policy. At the conference itself, the German physicians were meant to do their part to strengthen the position of the German language in the papers and discussions as well as in the conference report. This point had been explicitly decided at a special meeting of the Reich and Prussian ministries with medical institutions in Berlin.[48]

The political importance the Germans attached to the use of their language at the Warsaw conference was linked to their ambitions to reattain the status the German language had lost at preceding conferences and to restore its international prestige while serving German power politics. Before World War I, German, French and English had been the official languages of the International Tuberculosis Conferences, and German had been the dominant language.[49] When in 1928, German physicians, having been excluded from the conferences after the war, finally took part in the Conference of the International Union against Tuberculosis for the first time in Rome, the German language, previously banned, was re-admitted but did not enjoy the status of an official language equal to French and English. This circumstance was created not only by the Union's French

[48] REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 235-236.

[49] Elfte Internationale Tuberkulose-Konferenz, Berlin 22.-25. Oktober 1913. Bericht, Berlin-Charlottenburg 1914 [title page in German, French and English]; cf. REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 88-95.

general secretary, but also by the claims of the Italian and Spanish delegates, who demanded the same conditions for their languages if German was recognized as an official language of the Union.[50]

At the conferences in The Hague in 1932 and Warsaw in 1934, the executive committee of the Union settled the language dispute by a compromise. Diplomatically the term 'official languages' was dropped and substituted with the vague term 'languages in use'. In addition, a difference was drawn between languages used in scientific papers and those used for 'current information'. In view of the multilingualism in the scientific papers, besides French and English a further four languages were admitted: German, Italian, Spanish and, for the first time, Polish representing the Slavic languages. Consequently, scientific papers could be printed in one of these languages in the Union's Bulletin, with summaries in the other five. But still, official reports and the 'News of the Union' were provided only in English and French – for practicable and economical reasons, the general secretary claimed.[51] For the first time this language policy was extended to the proceedings of the International Tuberculosis Conference the Union held in 1934 in Warsaw. To facilitate communication at the conference, the principal papers were printed and distributed beforehand. Altogether, at the Warsaw conference the languages of the scientific papers were spread as follows: The 3 principal papers were presented respectively by a Polish, Italian and French physician. The paper by the Polish physician Leon Karwacki was later published in Polish and French. In the other 125 papers, the French language was prominent once again: 76 papers (around 60 per cent) were in French, 14 in Italian, 12 in German, 11 in English, 10 in Polish and 2 in Spanish. 12 Poles spoke French and 2 spoke German. Moreover, 13 Romanians and 8 Italians chose French as a lingua franca. The dominance of the French language at this and other conferences in Poland was not only attributable to the great number of participants speaking French or other Romance languages, but also to the close scientific relationship between Poland and France as well as the long-standing boycott against German science and the German language.[52] In Warsaw, the Polish physician and politician Eugenjusz Piestrzyński presided over the

[50] Bulletin de l'Union Internationale contre la Tuberculose, vol. IX, no. 4, Octobre 1932, p. 430-433 [title page in French and English].

[51] Ibid., p. 428-437; Bulletin vol. X, no. 2, April 1933, p. 132-133, 138-140; Bulletin vol. X, no. 4, Octobre 1933, p. 368-371, 376.

[52] 905 physicians came from 36 countries: Poland 486, Italy 78, France 70, Germany 37, Romania 27, U.S.A. 22, Czechoslovakia 19, Belgium 16, Soviet Union 5, Great Britain 3, Hungary 3, Austria 3; Union des Organisations Antituberculeuses de Pologne, IX$^{ème}$ Conférence de l'Union Internationale contre la Tuberculose. Varsovie 4-6 septembre 1934, Varsovie.

conference and was appointed the Union's president for the following three years, assisted by the Polish deputy general secretary Marja Skokowska-Rudolf.

Still, the Germans attempted to improve their position and, having begun at the Warsaw Conference, after several years their activities were rewarded: Their motion to hold the International Conference on Tuberculosis in September 1939 in Berlin was agreed upon. There, German was to become one of the four official languages of the conference, equal to French, English and Italian, and represented by numerous German participants and contributions. To improve communication, the organizers intended to install a new technical system for simultaneous interpreting. Moreover, Gottfried Frey, the president of the Reich Tuberculosis Commission (*Reichs-Tuberkulose-Ausschuss*) and head of department (*Ministerialdirektor*) at the Reich Ministry of the Interior, who had become a member of the executive committee of the Union at the Warsaw Conference, was elected president of the International Union against Tuberculosis for the time after the conference in Berlin.[53] Thus, for a short time, representatives of Nazi Germany profiting from the general wish to reintegrate German scientists into international cooperation won more international renown than scientists during the Weimar Republic. However, the Tuberculosis Conference in Berlin as well as the German presidency were cancelled. The beginning of World War II with the German assault on Poland was the ruin of the collaboration.

[53] General Assembly of the International Union against Tuberculosis [9 September 1937], Bulletin de l'Union Internationale contre la Tuberculose, vol. XIV, no. 4, Octobre 1937, p. 604-607; REINBOTHE, Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache, p. 241-243. Frey, member of the NSDAP, had headed the German medical administration in the occupied territory of Poland during World War I.