Scripting Refugees: Historians and Narrations of Refugeedom in Czechoslovak History

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ABSTRACT

The article analyses the current state of historical research on twentieth-century refugees who fled to Czechoslovakia. By highlighting parallels in the narratives of different types of migration, it demonstrates how methodological nationalism influences historiographic writing about refugees. It argues that most of the published research can be attributed to one of two broadly conceived scripts, one of which focuses political refugees while the other addresses mass displacements due to war or ethnic cleansing. Whereas historians tend to depict those in the former category—especially the refugees from Russia and Ukraine and from Nazi Germany in the interwar period—with an individual focus on their biographies and agency, the latter group—in particular refugees during World War I and after the Munich Agreement—are treated in a more general manner that dwells on statistics and government-produced categories. Political refugees are portrayed as active participants in cultural and political struggles, while the masses of refugees tend to be viewed as passive recipients of aid. The study illustrates how the production of historical sources by elite members of refugee groups on the one hand, and nation-states on the other, influences the structure of historical narratives—both in terms of what is emphasized and what goes unsaid or unheard.

KEYWORDS: refugees, historiography, narration, Czechoslovakia

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This article is the result of a critical reading of historians' research on the topic of refugees arriving in Czechoslovakia from the time of World War I to the "Velvet Revolution" of 1989. It explores the literature on twentieth-century refugees, an academic field largely defined by and contained within the context of national history. This involves questioning whether the writing of the history of refugees conforms to, enriches, or disrupts the traditional conceptual frameworks of the country's national history. In contrast to the dominant tenor of scholarship, this article aims to take Czechoslovakia and the wider region seriously as a place of refuge where the meaning of refugeedom and the protection of persecuted individuals were negotiated. Refugees co-produced the places and spaces where they interacted with officials, aid workers and the society and were written into the categories and institutions of the nation-states.

Interwar Czechoslovakia enjoys a reputation as an exception to the pre–World War II political norm in East Central Europe in that it served as a refuge for persecuted individuals, at least temporarily. This reputation reflects its maintenance at the time of a democratic political system in an increasingly authoritarian and nationalist region. As I will demonstrate below, however, the praise for Masaryk's First Republic as a haven for refugees has not resulted in systematic research into the state's and civil society's responses. Examining the summaries of the history of the country confirms what has already been established for "Western" countries,[1] namely, a failure to integrate the history of refugees and migration into the master narratives of national histories. For instance, both *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české*—an ambitious post-communist project aimed at producing a modern, representative history of the country in 19 thick volumes published between 1998 and 2013—and the series of volumes *Slovensko v 20. storočí* pay only marginal attention to how refugees have affected the country's history.[2] Despite the significance of these volumes and the insights they have to offer, both series also demonstrate how difficult it is to re-write national history and transcend national narratives.

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1 See, for instance, TONY KUSHNER: Remembering Refugees: Then and Now, Manchester 2006; PHILIP MARFLEET: Refugees and History: Why We Must Address the Past, in: Refugee Survey Quarterly 26 (2007), 3, pp. 136–148; PETER GATRELL: Refugees—What's Wrong with History?, in: Journal of Refugee Studies 30 (2017), 2, pp. 170–189.

2 MICHAEL BOROVIČKA, JIŘÍ KAŠE, JAN P. KUČERA, PAVEL BĚLINA: Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české [The Great History of the Lands of the Czech Crown]. Vol. XII.b: 1890–1918, Praha—Litomyšl 2013, pp. 652–653; ANTONÍN KLIMEK (ed.): Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české. Vol. XIV: 1929–1938, Praha—Litomyšl 2002, pp. 270–271. For a critical assessment, see JAROSLAV KUČERA, VOLKER ZIMMERMANN: Zum tschechischen Forschungsstand über die NS-Besatzungsherrschaft in Böhmen und Mähren: Überlegungen anlässlich des Erscheinens eines Standardwerkes, in: Bohemia 49 (2009), 1, pp. 164–183; DUŠAN KOVÁČ (ed.): Prvá svetová vojna: 1914–1918 [World War I: 1914–1918], Bratislava 2008 (Slovensko v 20. Storočí, 2); BOHUMILA FERENČUHOVÁ, MILAN ZEMKO (eds.): V medzivojnovom Československu: 1918–1939 [In Interwar Czechoslovakia: 1918–1929], Bratislava 2012 (Slovensko v 20. Storočí, 3).

Moreover, research on refugees into Czechoslovakia remains fragmented into studies of individual groups and refugee movements, without any significant exploration of continuities, breaks, or transformations.[3] This failure to connect various refugee histories is related not only to the turbulent history of Czechoslovakia in the twentieth century, but also to a specific kind of thinking about forced migration and refugee policies. Rather than exploring what experiences and encounters with refugees truly meant for local society, those who fled to the country continue to be seen as no more than "others" with whom Czechoslovakia has had fleeting encounters.

In view of the growing interest in refugee studies and the increase in the number of relevant studies, especially since the year 2000, this article argues that refugees cannot be integrated into the history of Czechoslovakia by simply filling in the gaps. Writing them in requires relaxing the ethnonational framework of the historical master narratives and rethinking the representation of refugeedom. In contrast to the heretofore fragmented research, this article attempts to establish connections between seemingly disparate narratives by looking at the language, structure, and function of existing historiographic work—referred to here as "scripts." By choosing this unusual term, the article positions itself in connection to historical narratology, but also sets specific accents by paying particular attention to the production and structure of sources and the agency of refugees—or lack thereof—in the making of their stories and in controlling how and by whom these stories are told. It pays attention not only to ready-made non-chronological templates, or building blocks, but also the process of scripting in which the power over sources, refugee voices (or their absence), and the agency of historians are interlaced. Without any pretension of offering a complete, representative overview, the analysis here starts with World War I (and thus with the regions of Austria-Hungary that were integrated into Czechoslovakia in 1918) and finishes just before the regime change of 1989. This end point reflects the fact that almost no historical research on the development of Czechoslovak, or Czech and Slovak refugee and asylum policies in the 1990s exists. The article is structured around historians' approaches and the development of Czech and Slovak historiography rather than a chronology of refugeedom.

Migration, Nation, and Territory

The study of emigration and refugees *from* Czechoslovakia is a significantly more persistent and defining part of the national historiography than that of refugees *to* the country. It is thus helpful to begin with a brief examination of a particular historian's writing about emigration and consider how this thinking

[3] Even a recent volume produced by the commission of Czech–German and Slovak–German historians devoted to refugees reproduced the existing, disconnected research: Detlef Brandes, Edita Ivaničková et al. (eds.): Flüchtlinge und Asyl im Nachbarland: Die Tschechoslowakai und Deutschland 1933 bis 1989, Essen 2018.

about emigration, politics, and nationhood shaped his scholarship on refugees. Such selective reflection is intended to expose the underlying interpretative frameworks, narrative strategies, and attitudes toward migration.

In 1963, the historian Jan Křen published the first volume of his intended trilogy examining the history of the Czechoslovak exile in the West during World War II.[4] Although heavily shaped by the Marxist interpretation of history as class struggle, the volume was, for the time of its publication, a groundbreaking work. It rehabilitated the non-communist political exiles in the West as deserving of an important place in Czechoslovak history. His work was part of a broader shift in attitude among Czechoslovak historians. Křen served on the Committee for the History of the National Liberation Struggle (Výbor pro dějiny národně osvobozeneckého boje), a collective effort by scholars to produce the first comprehensive history of Czechoslovakia during the war. Due to the involvement of many of its members in the communist reformist politics of 1968, the committee's ambitious publication plan largely went unfulfilled. Most of the researchers found themselves ostracized by the so-called normalization that followed the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact armies in 1968 and lasted until the "Velvet Revolution" in 1989.[5] Křen made his living as a worker and reinvented himself as a historian of the Czech-German nationality conflict, helping to write a new history of the multiethnic society of the Bohemian lands.[6] In the 1990s, he became a driving force in the Czech-German conversation about the two countries' mutual history, with an impact that was felt well beyond the field.

Following earlier patterns, Křen established a terminological distinction which is rather difficult to translate into English. He argues that both *emigrace* (roughly, exile) and *vystěhovalectví* (roughly, emigration) are the "involuntary departure abroad of a part of a nation which does not find fulfillment in its homeland," but he does point to a notable difference between the two. Emigration from Czechoslovakia was a product of "elementary processes of capitalist economics," and emigrants left their homeland forever on a seemingly voluntary basis, driven by social and material pressure. "For decades," he writes, "with unstoppable regularity, a stream of valuable national forces flowed away, to foreign countries. The small nation endured this weakening of its organism

4 Only first two volumes were published: JAN KŘEN: Do emigrace: Buržoazní zahraniční odboj 1938–1939 [Into Emigration: The Bourgeois Resistance Abroad, 1938–1939], Praha 1963; JAN KŘEN: V emigraci: Západní zahraniční odboj, 1939–1940 [In Emigration: Western Resistance Abroad, 1939–1940], Praha 1969.

5 MILOSLAV MOULIS: Výbor pro dějiny národně osvobozeneckého boje [Committee for the History of the National Liberation Struggle], in: ZDENĚK POUSTA, PAVEL SEIFTER et al. (eds.): Occursus—Setkání—Begegnung: Sborník ku poctě 65. narozenin prof. dr. Jana Křena, Praha 1996, pp. 20–25; Odboj a revoluce 1938–1945: Nástin dějin čs. odboje [Resistance and Revolution 1938–1945: A Sketch of the History of Czechoslovak Resistance], Praha 1965.

6 JAN KŘEN: Konfliktní společenství: Češi a Němci 1780–1918 [Community of Conflict: Czechs and Germans, 1780–1918], Praha 1990.

with difficulty." On the other hand, exile is, in Křen's usage, a political phenomenon: "The exile [emigrant] leaves the homeland out of disagreement with its political regime and is usually directly and imminently forced [to do so] by violence or the fear of it. For those going into exile, the departure from the homeland is only the means [to an end], and his goal is to return to the homeland."[7]

Křen's seminal history of Central Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, published in 2005 and spanning more than 1,000 pages, exhibits significant continuity in its treatment of migration and refugees. He analyzes central Europe through a tolerant, multiethnic lens (albeit still ascribing individuals and populations to various nations), but he does not depict it as a place of refuge. In a chapter elaborating on his research from the 1960s, he deems the migration from Central Europe to the West during World War II as a form of defense of the nations of the region of origin and an effort to re-establish the nation-states there.[8] Mass population transfers are the only other context in which he discusses refugees, in a dedicated exposé of the history of the state-driven population relocations and exchanges that served as a prehistory for the post–World War II expulsion of Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia.[9] Given Křen's involvement in the work of the Czech–German commission of historians which attempted to bridge the differences in historians' views of the expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia, this focus is hardly surprising.

Consistently in Křen's work, and in much of the rest of Czechoslovak historiography, migration both into and out of the Bohemian lands is regarded as an anomaly. It signals a loss of sovereignty by the nation and a fight for its re-establishment, or the displacement of people due to ethnic conflicts. Migration and refugees can, in the words of Pamela Ballinger, "destabilize and decenter"[10] the accepted understanding of national history. Křen's notion of migration reaffirms the connection between the nation-state and its territory. While it may appear surprising for one of the most innovative Czech historians, Křen in fact follows the established patterns of the Czech historiographic canon in that regard.

Starting in the nineteenth century, especially with the historian and politician František Palacký, migration played a surprisingly minor role in the national historiography. Aside from the original settlement of the Slavs and the legendary tribulations of Forefather (*Praotec*) Čech that led him to leave his home for Bohemia, Czech history, as told by nationalist historians, is bound inextricably to the Bohemian lands (*české země*), which are naturally delimited by the border mountains. This narrative thus firmly connected ethnicity to territory. It also framed foreigners as either invaders (as during the Hussite wars of the

7 KŘEN, Do emigrace, p. 15.

8 JAN KŘEN: Dvě století střední Evropy [Two Centuries of Central Europe], Praha 2005, pp. 469–475.

9 Ibid., pp. 531–534, 543–545.

10 PAMELA BALLINGER: The World Refugees Made: Decolonization and the Foundations of Postwar Italy, Ithaca—London 2020, p. 31.

fifteenth century) or German-speaking "settlers" who upset the homogenous Slavic character of the Bohemian lands. On the other hand, emigration is seen as an important part of the national experience, whether in the example of the exodus of religious dissenters in the seventeenth century (including the pedagogue Jan Amos Komenský [Comenius]) or in that of Thomas G. Masaryk's time in exile during World War I, during which he worked to carve a Czech (and ultimately Czechoslovak) state out of the Habsburg monarchy.

Building on this analysis of Křen's work to explain how these overarching perspectives on migration have guided researchers of refugee history, this article is structured according to two historiographic scripts of refugees: as activists fighting for national or political restoration on the one hand and as victims of war and ethnic conflict in the multiethnic regions of East Central Europe on the other hand.

Fighters for the Future

The rediscovery, in the 1960s, of the interwar Czechoslovak Republic as a tolerant democracy also triggered an initial scholarly interest in refugee history. Whereas Czech and Slovak historians had strictly adhered to the Stalinist parody of history for years, Bohumil Černý's 1967 study of emigration from Nazi Germany to Czechoslovakia[11] reconstructs the history of anti-fascist refugees. By doing so, it integrates Czechoslovakia's interwar democracy into communist historiography. Černý highlights the progressive character of the "First Republic" and appreciates the figure of Tomáš G. Masaryk, the first Czechoslovak president.

Published at a time of intellectual ferment in 1967, Černý's slim but significant volume was the first historical study of the reception of German anti-Nazi refugees in Czechoslovakia. Writing only one generation after the events, Černý combines archival research with information from eyewitnesses. His interlocutors and correspondents range from communist activists in Czechoslovakia to former refugees living in Western countries. They include personalities like Wilhelm Sternfeld (a German social democrat and an activist in cultural aid organizations), Golo Mann (the son of Thomas Mann, who received Czechoslovak citizenship after arriving as a refugee), and even Otto Strasser (the leader of a Nazi splinter group, the Schwarze Front).[12] Černý's narrative features politically active refugees who had engaged in various forms of writing, speaking, and working against Nazi Germany. Černý imagines Czechoslovakia not only as a "bridge" toward the restoration of an anti-fascist Germany, but also as a multiplicity of fronts: he details Nazi attempts to abduct refugees back to Germany, assassinations committed on Czechoslovak territory, and the

11 Bohumil Černý: Most k novému životu: Německá emigrace v ČSR v letech 1933–1939 [Bridge to a New Life: German Emigration in the Czechoslovak Republic, 1933–1939], Praha 1967.

12 Ibid., p. 8.

struggle of refugees and the Czechoslovak police to expose Nazi spies who infiltrated refugee groups.

Given when it was written, Černý's book shows unusual sensitivity toward Jewish refugees. Only a year later, he published a pioneering book about the Hilsner affair, an accusation of ritual murder in 1899/1900, in which Tomáš G. Masaryk intervened and which counts as one of the main manifestations of Czech antisemitism.[13] His book on refugees opens with the suicide of Stefan Lux, a Jewish refugee intellectual, who shot himself in 1936 at a session of the League of Nations in Geneva in protest against the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany. Černý describes Lux as a model for the ordinary political refugee, one who published anti-Nazi articles, appealed for help to politicians, and did not hesitate to sacrifice his own life for his cause.[14] Černý shows little sympathy, however, for other Jews who had fled Nazi persecution. According to him, affluent economic "emigrants" sought to stay in Czechoslovakia as briefly as possible. Once equipped with passports and visas, they headed to countries that offered them better chances for profit.[15] Whereas political refugees, according to Černý, saw Czechoslovakia as a bridge toward a reconstructed, de-Nazified Germany, and therefore a temporary political home, these "economic" Jewish refugees viewed it only as a way station to which they felt no attachment. Home-making and place-making in exile were clearly related to a political and national project as opposed to mere material security. And this implies, a home in exile is always a temporary one, limited by the imagining of the future home in the country of origin.

Refugees and more broadly migration are necessarily transnational subjects and the German *Exilforschung* (exile research) can be read in conjunction, and conversation, with Czechoslovak research conducted by Černý and others. On both sides of the divided Germany, the history of anti-Nazi exiles served to prepare for and validate the post–World War II political order.[16] Even before the institutionalization of West German exile studies, social democratic histories included these refugees as messengers who kept alive and transmitted the culture and politics of the democratic Weimer Republic—the "other Germany."[17] In the East, the exiled Germans were regarded as fighters for the postwar political and social revolution of the German Democratic Republic. Like Černý's narrative, both genealogies of the German future had their roots in the

13 Bohumil Černý: Vražda v Polné [The Murder in Polná], Praha 1968.

14 Černý, Most k novému životu, pp. 9–12.

15 Ibid., p. 13.

16 Florian Sheding: "The Splinter in Your Eye": Uncomfortable Legacies and German Exile Studies, in: Florian Sheding, Erik Levi (eds.): Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond, Lanham 2010, pp. 119–134.

17 Erich Matthias: Sozialdemokratie und Nation: Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der sozialdemokratischen Emigration in der Prager Zeit des Parteivorstandes 1933–1938, Stuttgart 1952.

belief in the particular position and strength of progressive intelligentsia in interwar Czechoslovakia.[18]

Documenting the transnational nature of anti-fascist networks created a basis for extensive cooperation between Czechoslovak and East German historians and literary scientists. The common struggle against Nazism was imagined as a foundation for friendship among the communist nations. Already by the end of the 1950s, the "joint struggle of the Czechoslovak and German peoples against fascism" and the cooperation of both communist parties was one of eight historical topics prioritized by the joint commission of historians of Czechoslovakia and the GDR.[19] While the reformist views of many Czechoslovak historians in the 1960s temporarily sidelined cooperation, in the "normalization" period international anti-fascism again became a thriving topic of research, especially in literary studies.

In a country which had violently cleansed its territory of most German-speakers after liberation, documenting the history of German anti-fascist refugees also helped to legitimize the field of Czechoslovak-German studies. Starting in 1971, a research team at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences examined the activities of and literature by German exiles. In addition to academic publications, the team organized radio broadcasts, discussions with eyewitnesses, and an exhibition, "Tradice společného boje proti fašismu" (The Tradition of the Joint Struggle Against Fascism). Unearthing the transnational networks and biographies of communist intellectuals, the research group strove to establish Prague as a major center of anti-fascist emigration on par with Moscow and Paris. A little later, their efforts were joined by a similar working group in the GDR, which resulted in publications in both German and Czech.[20]

A similar framework of transnational political solidarity guided research on Austrian refugees who escaped to Czechoslovakia after street fights in Vienna and other Austrian cities in February 1934. Historians typically focused on the activities of the Foreign Office of Austrian Social Democrats (Auslandsbüro der österreichischen Sozialdemokraten, ALÖS) in Brno (Brünn). The resulting historiography highlights the languishing of former social democratic and communist party fighters in refugee camps with modest living conditions and mili-

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18 See, for instance, Květa Hyršlová: Česká inteligence a protifašistická fronta: K bojům a svazkům třicátých let [Czech Intelligensia and the Anti-Fascist Front: The Struggles and Unions of the 1930s], Praha 1985, pp. 21–24.

19 Edita Ivaničková: Zur Tätigkeit der Gemeinsamen Historikerkommission der Tschechoslowakei und der DDR 1955–1989, in: Christiane Brenner, K. Erik Franzen et al. (eds.): Geschichtsschreibung zu den böhmischen Ländern im 20. Jahrhundert: Wissenschaftstraditionen, Institutionen, Diskurse, München 2006, pp. 445–454, here pp. 448–449.

20 Jiří Veselý (ed.): Azyl v Československu 1933–1938 [Asylum in Czechoslovakia, 1933–1938], Praha 1983, pp. 7–11; Miroslav Beck: Exil und Asyl: Antifaschistische deutsche Literatur in der Tschechoslowakei, 1933–1938, Berlin 1981.

tary-style discipline.[21] Other studies examine the Austrian diplomatic pressure on Czechoslovakia to extradite the refugees[22] or the emigration of many of them to the Soviet Union.[23]

The German historians Peter Becher and Peter Heumos, editors of a volume (and exhibition) entitled "Drehscheibe Prag" (which originated from a conference held in 1988[24]), position their work within a shift in exile studies away from attempts to validate the political views and struggles of the émigrés toward a more flexible cultural and social history of emigration that includes their daily life. While still imagining Czechoslovakia as a "staging point" for the future, the name of the exhibition indicated the multi-perspectivity and openness of émigré life instead of ideology-based political trajectories. Becher and Heumos criticize the "separate treatment of political exile and (mostly) Jewish mass emigration" that characterized existing exile studies.[25] However, most of the contributions in the volume document the political and humanitarian activities and cultural production of well-known, elite refugees. Later studies published in the 1990s paid less attention to political topics and conflicts, turning toward identity instead of ideology. This shift corresponded well with the growing interest in the history of multiethnic societies, an approach which often led to an essentialization of the cohabitation of Czechs, Germans, and Jews in the Bohemian lands.

In a book project originally meant to focus on Jewish refugees, a particular gap in the research up to then, Kateřina Čapková and Michal Frankl developed a new perspective inspired by critical approaches to state refugee policies dur-

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21 HELMUT KONRAD: Die österreichische Emigration in der CSR von 1934 bis 1938, Österreicher im Exil 1934 bis 1945: Symposium Wien 1975, Wien 1977; HERBERT EXENBERGER: Das "Auslandsbüro österreichischer Sozialdemokraten (ALÖS)" in Brünn 1934–1938, in: Arbeiterbewegung und Arbeiterdichtung: Referate. Gehalten in Sindelfingen (Baden-Württemberg) am 5.–6. September 1985 im Rahmen des Symposiums "Mattersburger Gespräch," München 1987, pp. 26–47.

22 CHRISTOPH HÖSLINGER: Die "Brünner Emigration" als diplomatischer Konfliktstoff zwischen Wien und Prag, in: THOMAS WINKELBAUER (ed.): Kontakte und Konflikte: Böhmen, Mähren und Österreich. Aspekte eines Jahrtausends gemeinsamer Geschichte. Referate des Symposiums "Verbindendes und Trennendes an der Grenze III" vom 24. bis 27. Oktober 1992 in Zwettl, Horn—Waidhofen an d. Thaya 1993, pp. 413–428; MATTHIAS FRANZ LILL: Die Tschechoslowakei in der österreichischen Außenpolitik 1918–1938: Politische und wirtschaftliche Beziehungen, München 2006.

23 BARRY MCLOUGHLIN, HANS SCHAFRANEK, WALTER SZEVERA: Aufbruch—Hoffnung—Endstation: Österreicherinnen und Österreicher in der Sowjetunion, 1925–1945, Wien 1996; BARRY MCLOUGHLIN, HANS SCHAFRANEK (eds.): Österreicher im Exil: Sowjetunion 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation, Wien 1999.

24 PETER BECHER, PETER HEUMOS (eds.): Drehscheibe Prag: Zur deutschen Emigration in der Tschechoslowakei 1933–1939, München 1992; Drehscheibe Prag: Deutsche Emigranten 1933–1939 / Staging Point Prague: German Exiles 1933–1939. Eine Ausstellung des Adalbert-Stifter-Vereins, München, München 1989.

25 [PETER BECHER, PETER HEUMOS]: Einleitung, in: BECHER/HEUMOS, Drehscheibe Prag, pp. 9–14, here p. 12.

ing the Holocaust and the position and agency of non-elite refugees. The instability of refugees' situation in Czechoslovakia is reflected in the title of their book, *Unsichere Zuflucht*. In contrast to studies tracking the histories of political or national groups, the authors explore refugeedom from the perspective of the daily life of individuals and the difficult position of aid organizations. They describe the shift in state policy from limited tolerance to ethnic categorization and closure of the borders to Jewish refugees.[26] Weaving together the stories of the political refugees from Austria in 1934 and the Jews who fled across the same border in 1938, Wolfgang Schellenbacher examines the refugees' interaction with different actors in the borderlands of Czechoslovakia and Austria and their daily life in refugee camps, without idealizing them politically.[27]

Whereas research on German and Austrian refugees thrived from 1960 to 1990, interest in Russian and Ukrainian refugees to interwar Czechoslovakia only began to increase as a function of the post-communist transformation of Czech and Slovak historiography. Researchers began to express an urgent need to correct for the silence and bias of communist-era research. Throughout the 1990s, publications on refugees fleeing the civil war in Russia and the Soviet regime surpassed in their intensity and extent all other refugee research on Czechoslovakia combined. In a broader context, this coincided with the construction of the Czechoslovak and Czech asylum systems, which were integrated into the international refugee regime in the 1990s. In this period, and into the 2000s, many of the refugees accepted by the country originated in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere in the former communist bloc, including Romania, Bulgaria, Vietnam, and Afghanistan—all of which were former showplaces of Soviet or Russian imperial power.[28] Understanding the Soviet Union and Russia as refugee-producing countries was a timely academic endeavor in that period.

This research was part of a difficult coming-to-terms with the history of state socialism, which was guided not only by abstract anti-communism, but also by

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[26] KATEŘINA ČAPKOVÁ, MICHAL FRANKL: Nejisté útočiště: Československo a uprchlíci před nacismem 1933–1938 [Uncertain Refuge: Czechoslovakia and Refugees Fleeing Nazism 1933–1938], Praha—Litomyšl 2008; KATEŘINA ČAPKOVÁ, MICHAL FRANKL: Unsichere Zuflucht: Die Tschechoslowakei und ihre Flüchtlinge aus NS-Deutschland und Österreich, 1933–1938, Köln 2012.

[27] WOLFGANG SCHELLENBACHER: From Political Activism to Disillusionment, in: S:I.M.O.N. Shoah: Intervention. Methods. Documentation 5 (2018), 2, pp. 78–94; WOLFGANG SCHELLENBACHER: Fluchtwege und Schmuggelrouten österreichischer Flüchtlinge in die Tschechoslowakei 1934 bis 1939, in: GABRIELE ANDERL, SIMON USATY (eds.): Schleppen, Schleusen, Helfen: Flucht zwischen Rettung und Ausbeutung, Wien 2016, pp. 64–76; WOLFGANG SCHELLENBACHER: Sealed Borders, Trafficking and Deportation—Austrian Refugees in the Czechoslovak Border Region after the "Anschluss," in: Forum Historiae 13 (2019), 1, pp. 75–91.

[28] See the overview compiled by ALICE SZCZEPANIKOVÁ: Constructing a Refugee: The State, NGOs and Gendered Experiences of Asylum in the Czech Republic, PhD Diss., University of Warwick, 2008, p. 185.

the authors' own traumatic family histories. Anastasia Kopřivová, who helped to shape this emerging field, was nine when the Soviet secret service arrested her grandfather in Prague in May 1945 and took him to the Soviet Union. Sentenced to eight years in labor camps for alleged anti-Soviet activity, he died soon afterward—yet his family in Prague continued to live in uncertainty about his fate until after 1989. Kopřivová's grandfather and both her parents had been post–World War I refugees from Russia to Czechoslovakia. A pensioner after the fall of communism, Kopřivová devoted her energy to documenting the history of Russian refugees in Czechoslovakia, compiled an extensive biographic database, collected unique photographs, and published a number of empirically researched articles.[29] At the same time, she worked with the journalist and translator Vladimír Bystrov (also the son of Russian refugees to Czechoslovakia) who documented the fates of people abducted to the Soviet Union, among them Kopřivová's grandfather.[30]

The historian and specialist on Russia, Václav Veber, who like Křen spent the period of "normalization" banished to manual labor, played an important role in the effort to rehabilitate Russian and Ukrainian refugees as a research topic. After all, as he explained in the inaugural address to a newly established program on the history of Eastern Europe at Charles University in Prague, such research followed in a long tradition of Slavic studies that had become unpopular in the anti-Russian atmosphere of the 1990s.[31] Connecting to the rich intellectual heritage and the archives of interwar Russian refugees in Prague and appealing to anti-communism helped to legitimize the field of Slavic studies.

Veber proclaims the need to return to honest archival research after long years of "politicized and biased [*cílené účelové*] history." Starting in 1992 as part of a transnational effort, including an international project directed by the historian Karl Schlögel,[32] Veber outlines an ambitious research program aimed at examining the origins and history of the Russian "emigration," its status in Czechoslovakia, and its daily life, as well as the connections between Prague

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29 ANASTAZIE KOPŘIVOVÁ: Střediska ruského emigrantského života v Praze (1921–1952) [Centres of Russian Emigrant Life in Prague (1921–1952)], Praha 2001; ANASTAZIE KOPŘIVOVÁ: Ruští emigranti ve Všenorech, Mokropsech a Černošicích (20. a 30. léta XX. století) [Russian Emigrants in Všenory, Mokropsy, and Černošice (1920s and 1930s)], Praha 2003.

30 VLADIMÍR BYSTROV: Únosy československých občanů do Sovětského Svazu v letech 1945–1955 [Abductions of Czechoslovak Citizens into the Soviet Union, 1945–1955], Praha 2003; MILUŠA BUBENÍKOVÁ: K svědectví některých českých archivů o A. L. Bémovi [Testimony from Some Czech Archives on A. L. Bém], in: VÁCLAV VEBER et al. (eds.): Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918–1945 [Russian and Ukrainian Emigration in the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918–1945], vol. 1, Praha 1993, pp. 68–75; Interview with Anastazie Kopřivová, in: Paměť národa, 2016-06-28, https://www.pametnaroda.cz/cs/koprivova-roz-vukolova-anastazie-1936 (2021-02-12).

31 VÁCLAV VEBER: Úvodem [Vorwort], in: VEBER, Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace, pp. 1–2.

32 KARL SCHLÖGEL (ed.): Der große Exodus: Die russische Emigration und ihre Zentren 1917 bis 1941, München 1994.

and other centers of Russian exile.[33] A similar research project, led by Ljubov Běloruss-Běloševská, was launched at the Slavic Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences.[34] Originally founded in 1927, the Slavic Institute supported the work of refugee scientists. In the 1990s it could even trace a connection with a short-lived research group created in 1969 to study the cultural heritage of Russian emigration in Czechoslovakia.[35] The research program could build on the rich collections of the Slavic Library in Prague (even though part of the archives of the Russian emigration was transferred to Moscow in 1945), and other local archives.

Notwithstanding scholars' declared interest in daily life and refugee status, this voluminous and largely empirical body of research focuses almost uniformly on the political organization of refugees and their academic, educational, and cultural activities. Historians have documented the numerous and constantly developing Russian and Ukrainian political parties in exile, their programs and conflicts, as well as their connections to Czechoslovak politicians such as Karel Kramář, the nationalist Russophile who was the country's first prime minister, and Tomáš G. Masaryk.[36] Many articles have been devoted to Russian and Ukrainian universities and other educational institutions supported by the Czechoslovak state, while others eulogized scientists, for instance the art historian Nikodim Kondakov and the institution (Seminarium Kondakovianum) founded after his death in 1925 which bore his name.[37]

Rather than critically engaging with the nation-state, most studies focus on Russian Aid Action (Ruská pomocná akce), which was sponsored and organized by the Czechoslovak government. Starting in 1921, the ministry of foreign affairs provided large sums to transfer Russian civil war refugees to Czechoslovakia, finance their educational institutions, support vocational training, and much more. The assistance program, however, was significantly scaled

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33 VEBER, vol. 1, pp. 1–2. Veber mentions only "Russian" emigration, but Ukrainian refugees were emigrating along with Russians from the start.

34 DANA HAŠKOVÁ: Meziválečná ruská emigrace a SLÚ [Interwar Russian Emigration and the Slavic Institute], Praha 2019, pp. 12–18.

35 LJUBOV BĚLOŠEVSKÁ: Slovanský ústav a ruská emigrace [The Slavic Institute and Russian Emigration], in: Slavia: časopis pro slovanskou filologii 68 (1999), 3–4, pp. 467–470.

36 VEBER, vol. 1; VÁCLAV VEBER et al: Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918–1945, vol. 2–3, Praha 1994–1995; ZDENĚK SLÁDEK, LJUBOV BĚLOŠEVSKÁ: Dokumenty k dějinám ruské a ukrajinské emigrace v Československé republice (1918–1939) [Documents on the History of Russian and Ukrainian Emigration in the Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1939)], Praha 1998; ELENA CHINYAEVA: Russians outside Russia: The Émigré Community in Czechoslovakia, 1918–1938, München 2001.

37 L. HAMILTON RHINELANDER: Exiled Russian Scholars in Prague: The Kondakov Seminar and Institute, in: Canadian Slavonic Papers 16 (1974), 3, pp. 331–352; JIŘÍ ROHÁČEK, JULIE JANČÁRKOVÁ: The Kondakov Institute—a Research Institution of the Russian Exiles in Prague and Its Heritage, in: DAVID KRAFT (ed.): Exil v Praze a v Československu 1918–1938 / Exile in Prague and Czechoslovakia 1918–1938, Praha 2005, pp. 39–44.

back in the late 1920s. Any critical approach to the responses and strategies of the Czechoslovak government—including its policies regarding admission, support, and citizenship for refugees—remains marginal in the scholarship. Elena Chinyaeva explored the tensions between the refugee community and the Czechoslovak state and society in her dissertation, completed at Oxford University in 1995, but she ultimately pays more attention to the traditional topics of the exiles' politics, culture, and science, despite the influence of the methodology of refugee studies in the 1990s.[38]

This absence reflects a general, self-declared disinterest among Russian and Ukrainian refugees in long-term integration in their countries of refuge, including Czechoslovakia. Exile in the host country was considered temporary and intended to assist in the ultimate restoration of their home country. "Russia Abroad," as it was often labeled, was a "non-geographic country" according to Chinyaieva: "Although the émigrés often crossed state borders in a search for better living conditions, they always remained within the same cultural frontiers."[39] Chinyaeva's differentiation between "outside" and "inside" views of Russian refugeedom also echoes an established historical terminological dichotomy: whereas the international community and governments framed the exiles as "refugees," the Russian "diaspora" described itself as "émigrés," "emigrants," or "exiles," a choice Chinyaeva herself follows.[40] Much of the research on Russian refugees is an exercise in uncovering and constructing connections across the diaspora. Where Chinyaeva draws on Anthony Smith's concept of the nation's "ethnic origins,"[41] others consider culture to be the glue holding together the spatially divided "Russia Abroad."[42]

Starting with the interwar period, the politics of the German and the Russian refugees were often seen to be in opposition, with "progressive" (German) and "reactionary" (Russian) political preferences pitted against each other. Yet striking structural parallels between both bodies of research can be identified. Czechoslovakia is described as a uniquely welcoming place of refuge, which not only provided for refugees' material needs but also stood out from other lands of asylum by allowing them full cultural, educational, and—for the most part—political freedom. Scholars have made strikingly similar statements about how each of these two refugee groups benefited from the liberal character

38 CHINYAEVA, Russians outside Russia; ELENA CHINYAEVA: Russian Émigrés: Czechoslovak Refugee Policy and the Development of the International Refugee Regime between the Two World Wars, in: Journal of Refugee Studies 8 (1995), 2, pp. 142–162; ELENA CHINYAEVA: Russian Émigrés and the Czechoslovak Society: Uneasy Relations, in: VEBER, vol. 1, pp. 46–64.

39 CHINYAEVA, Russians outside Russia, p. 25.

40 Ibid., p. 27.

41 Ibid., pp. 34–35.

42 MARTIN C. PUTNA: Rusko mimo Rusko: Dějiny a kultura ruské emigrace 1917–1991 [Russia outside of Russia: History and Culture of Russian Emigration, 1917–1991], vol. 1–2, Brno 1993–1994; MARC RAEFF: Russia Abroad: A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919–1939, Oxford 1990.

of Czechoslovak interwar democracy. For example, a booklet summarizing the long-term research of the Slavic Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences suggests: "The young Czechoslovak Republic provided refugees with conditions unparalleled in any other country."[43] According to Květa Hyršlová, Czechoslovakia was a real home, which enabled the cultural and political development of German "emigrants," many of whom only felt that they were in exile after they were forced to leave this country.[44] A similar sentiment is expressed in a recent volume accompanying a museum exhibition about Russian and Ukrainian refugees: "Some of these people would later leave Czechoslovakia, but they would never forget to mention on their CVs how much they owed the host country for the help it had given them."[45]

Such statements not only give expression to the stereotype of a grateful refugee, but also to a particular understanding of refugeedom. Similarly to how Křen portrays the Czechoslovak exile in the West, the historiographies of refugees to interwar Czechoslovakia tell a story that focuses on their political and national projects and depicts the protagonists as fighting for the restoration of their national homes. In both cases, this leads the authors to prefer the term "emigrants" over that of "refugees," a choice that coincides with the self-understanding of most of these forced migrants. The preference reflects programs and publications of these fugitives rather than the terminology of the incipient international refugee protections forged in international agreements under the auspices of both High Commissioners. Both historiographies also highlight and give voice to important personalities, members of the political elite, and bearers of national or class culture.

Doubravka Olšáková rightly argues in her 2007 article about the unusual path of Marcel Aymonin, a French intellectual who sought asylum in communist Czechoslovakia: "Whereas so far historians have dealt [only] with the fates of Czechoslovak political emigrants in France and generally in the West, those who applied for political asylum in Czechoslovakia after 1948 deserve the same attention."[46] Olšáková points out not only the large numbers of refugees to the eastern side of the Iron Curtain, but also a certain complementarity between exile in the "West" and in the "East": Refugees confirmed the political

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43 HAŠKOVÁ, p. [2].

44 HYRŠLOVÁ, Česká inteligence a protifašistická fronta, p. 47; KVĚTA HYRŠLOVÁ: Die ČSR als Asylland: Historisch-politische Voraussetzungen, in: BECHER/HEUMOS, Drehscheibe Prag, pp. 31–40, here p. 32.

45 SERGEJ JAKOVLEVIČ GAGEN, DANA HAŠKOVÁ et al.: Zkušenost exilu: Katalog výstavy Osudy exulantů z území bývalého Ruského impéria v meziválečném Československu [The Experience of Exile: Catalog of the Exhibition on the Destinies of Exiles from the Territory of the Former Russian Empire in Interwar Czechoslovakia], Praha 2017, p. 38.

46 DOUBRAVKA OLŠÁKOVÁ: V krajině za zrcadlem: Političtí emigranti v poúnorovém Československu a případ Aymonin [In the Country behind the Mirror: Political Emigrants in Czechoslovakia after February 1948 and the Aymonin Case], in: Soudobé dějiny 14 (2007), 4, pp. 719–743, here p. 720.

identity of each side in the Cold War.[47] Historians were slow to unpack the complex and ideologically charged subject of refugees fleeing into Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European countries under communist rule. They faced similar dilemmas and often followed similar historiographical scripts as those writing about refugees in interwar Czechoslovakia. Historians focused on exceptional stories of Western intellectuals who sought asylum there[48] or studies of particular refugee groups that combined ethnic and political identity. For instance, one article details the trajectories and mechanisms of control of Italian communist refugees as well as giving an account of their collective life and difficult accommodation in the country.[49] The communist refugee policy, undefined beyond general declarations of asylum for freedom fighters, still remains hard to distill.

A dissertation by Ondřej Vojtěchovský about Yugoslav refugees in Czechoslovakia after the Stalin-Tito split of 1948 is one of the most extensive and best researched studies of refugees in the communist bloc. Although he acknowledges the need for research to address the communist policy of asylum, Vojtěchovský devotes the bulk of his book to the fates and political identities of elite refugees. Even though Stalinist Czechoslovakia clearly was a different place for refugees than it was during the interwar period of nationalist democracy, the Yugoslav students and communist activists who found "asylum" in Czechoslovakia were similar to the interwar refugees in terms of their profiles and self-image. Some were aware of Czechoslovakia's prehistory, and Lenka Reinerová, who worked and socialized with prominent German leftist refugees in Prague, was a direct link to the interwar period. During her wartime exile in Mexico, she married Teodor Balk, a prominent Yugoslav communist journalist and writer whom she had met in Prague while he was living in exile for the first time in the 1930s. After 1948 they found themselves back in Prague as leaders of the anti-Titoist emigrant community. Vojtěchovský's research also shows how difficult it can be to discuss the contemporary history of the refugee experience. While he was able to interview some former refugees to Czechoslovakia and their children, others were reluctant to share their pasts as Moscow-loyal communist activists. Among them was Reinerová, who became a symbol of

47 Ibid.

48 PETR VIDOMUS: "Američan—a musí emigrovat do Československa!" Škvoreckého jazzman Herbert Ward optikou zpráv FBI ["American—and He Has to Emigrate to Czechoslovakia!" Škvorecký's Jazzman Herbert Ward through FBI Reports], in: Soudobé dějiny 24 (2017), 1–2, pp. 164–206; JIŘÍ BAŠTA: Propagandistické využití kausy amerického emigranta profesora G. S. Wheelera [Propagandist Usage of the Case of the American Professor G. S. Wheeler], in: Securitas Imperii 7 (2001), pp. 224–251; HELENA DURNOVÁ, DOUBRAVKA OLŠÁKOVÁ: Academic Asylum Seekers in Communist Czechoslovakia, in: MARCO STELLA, SOŇA ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ et al. (eds.): Scholars in Exile and Dictatorships of the 20th Century, Prague 2011, pp. 90–103.

49 PHILIP COOKE: Red Spring: Italian Political Emigration to Czechoslovakia, in: The Journal of Modern History 84 (2012), 4, pp. 861–896.

Prague's German-Jewish culture in the 1990s and whose memoirs of her imprisonment during the Slánský trial were widely read.[50]

Collecting the testimony of those who were evacuated as children during the Greek Civil War at the end of the 1940s was likewise difficult, due to their communist upbringing and negative public discourse surrounding the Greek debt crisis. Nevertheless, an oral history project at Charles University in Prague has succeeded in recording about 60 interviews with child refugees still living in the Czech Republic.[51] The Greek children and the adults who followed them soon became the largest group of refugees in postwar Czechoslovakia with long-term impacts and visibility in Czech society. (In contrast, North Korean children evacuated to Czechoslovakia during the Korean War for reasons of ideological solidarity were returned to Korea without regard for their own preference.) Recent research has challenged the opposing Cold War perspectives according to which the children were deemed to have been either saved or abducted depending on the observer's ideology. The research still emphasizes the Greek refugees' collective identity and their loyalty to Greece, their preservation of their culture and language, and eventually the dilemma of choosing Czech(oslovak) citizenship or being repatriated (which became possible starting in the 1980s). It was important to both the refugees and their historians to distinguish ethnically Slavic Macedonians from the rest of the Greeks in Czechoslovakia.[52] The researchers' questions and narrative strategies followed the general script of political refugees struggling to maintain connections with their homeland and eventually to return to it, although they also explored the trauma of the uprooted children and their adaptation to life in socialist Czechoslovakia.

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50 ONDŘEJ VOJTĚCHOVSKÝ: Z Prahy proti Titovi! Jugoslávská prosovětská emigrace v Československu [From Prague against Tito! Pro-Soviet Yugoslav Emigration to Czechoslovakia], Praha 2012.

51 Sixty Years After: Memory of Greek Civil War Refugees in Czechoslovakia, 1949–2009, https://www.memoryofnations.eu/en/sixty-years-after-memory-greek-civil-war-refugees-czechoslovakia-1949-2009 (2021-06-20).

52 ANTULA BOTU, MILAN KONEČNÝ: Řečtí uprchlíci: Kronika řeckého lidu v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku 1948–1989 [Greek Refugees: The Chronicle of the Greek People in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, 1948–1989], Praha 2005; PAVEL HRADEČNÝ: Řecká komunita v Československu: Její vznik a počáteční vývoj (1948–1954) [The Greek Community in Czechoslovakia: Its Origins and Initial Development (1948–1954)], Praha 2000; KATEŘINA KRÁLOVÁ, KONSTANTINOS TSIVOS: Vyschly nám slzy: Řečtí uprchlíci v Československu [Our Tears Dried Up: Greek Refugees in Czechoslovakia], Praha 2012; KATEŘINA KRÁLOVÁ, KARIN HOFMEISTEROVÁ: The Voices of Greek Child Refugees in Czechoslovakia, in: Journal of Modern Greek Studies 38 (2020), 1, pp. 131–158.

Unsettled Populations

When, in 1984, Heumos published an article about refugees from the parts of Czechoslovakia that had been occupied by Nazi Germany, Hungary, and Poland as a result of the Munich Agreement and the First Vienna Award in 1938, he had no substantial published study to rely on other than a statistical overview (discussed below) that Jaroslav Šíma had compiled in 1945.[53] Even 15 years after Heumos's article, the Czech historian Jan Gebhart could cite almost no other publications,[54] and it was not until 2013 that Jan Benda published the first monograph dedicated to the subject.[55] This surprising silence speaks volumes about how refugees are used and integrated into national histories.

The well-known story of post-Munich refugees seemingly had the potential to become a key episode in Czechoslovakia's national history. In total, an estimated 370,000 refugees crossed into the interior of the diminished Czechoslovakia from areas annexed by Germany and Poland.[56] Photographs of the columns of refugees, pushing carts loaded with what was left of their property, entered public consciousness as the most familiar visual representations of refugeedom in Czech history, circulated in the media, and have since been reproduced in textbooks. The vast majority of the refugees were ethnic Czechs or Slovaks for whom the state accepted responsibility. The Munich Agreement played a crucial role in the narrative of national history as a betrayal of democratic Czechoslovakia and the beginning of Czech suffering, thus connecting the history of the intensifying nationalist conflict between Germans and Czechs in the Bohemian lands and the Nazi expansion and occupation.

The flight from the border regions is, however, interwoven with the difficult history and disputes around the expulsion of almost 3,000,000 ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia after World War II. Until the 1990s, the study of the *odsun* (or transfer, as the expulsion of Germans has typically been called in

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53 As his second source, he used documents from the British Foreign Office. PETER HEUMOS: Flüchtlingslager, Hilfsorganisationen, Juden im Niemandsland: Zur Flüchtlings- und Emigrationproblematik in der Tschechoslowakei im Herbst 1938, in: Bohemia 25 (1984), 2, pp. 245–275; Heumos has also prepared a book-length study about emigration from Czechoslovakia: PETER HEUMOS: Die Emigration aus der Tschechoslowakei nach Westeuropa und dem Nahen Osten 1938–1945: Politisch-soziale Struktur, Organisation und Asylbedingungen der tschechischen, jüdischen, deutschen und slowakischen Flüchtlinge während des Nationalsozialismus; Darstellung und Dokumentation, München 1989.

54 JAN GEBHART: Migrace českého obyvatelstva v letech 1938–1939 [Migration of Czech Population, 1938–1939], in: DETLEF BRANDES, EDITA IVANIČKOVÁ et al. (eds.): Vynútený rozchod: Vyhnanie a vysídlenie z Československa 1938–1947 v porovnaní s Poľskom, Maďarskom a Juhosláviou, Bratislava 1999, pp. 11–20.

55 JAN BENDA: Útěky a vyhánění z pohraničí českých zemí 1938–1939 [Escapes and Expulsions from the Border Areas of the Bohemian Lands, 1938–1939], Praha 2013.

56 BENDA, pp. 128–136. This estimate is a sum of all displaced people without regard to their formal status.

Czech) was, in the words of Tomáš Staněk's groundbreaking publication from 1991, "tabooized."[57] Research on the post-Munich refugees was mired in mutual Czech-German recriminations about victimhood, guilt, and just punishment. The Czechoslovak refugees were mainly useful for documenting German atrocities and strengthening the case for the expulsion of the Germans after the war. A volume published in 1996 contains a collection of short recollections of Czechs on their expulsion from the border lands in 1938 with heartbreaking accounts of violence and flight, prioritizing German atrocities. Many of the included witnesses or their parents were members of Czech nationalist organizations or employees of the Czechoslovak state before the war.[58] This helps to explain why its second edition includes an emotional polemic against a reader who suggested in a letter that the perspectives of German expellees should be collected, and compared, as well.[59] Furthermore, the fates and tribulations of these "national" refugees did not match the paradigmatic image of co-ethnic refugees contributing to nation-building through their suffering and struggle. Rather, the post-Munich refugees are seen as a sad evidence for the destruction of the Czechoslovak nation-state and only one more step on the way to German occupation of the entirety of the Bohemian lands in March 1939.

The existing historiography mostly focuses on the state and its welfare activities and exhibits a distinct preference for demographic and statistical questions. It draws on and replicates the categorization of refugees devised and applied by the Czechoslovak government, which became increasingly authoritarian, nationalist, and antisemitic during the Second Republic (1938–1939). The research trend was set by Jaroslav Šíma as early as 1945 in a still widely cited book, *Československí přestěhovalci v letech 1938–1945*. Šíma was a sociologist and official at the Institute for Refugee Welfare (Ústav pro péči o uprchlíci) established after the Munich Agreement.[60] The government created this institution in November 1938 in response to the large number of Czech refugees fleeing the border areas. Its welfare activities were not evenhanded and reflected the ethnic hierarchies of the Second Republic: while helping Czechs to resettle and integrate, it encouraged Jews and Germans to emigrate. As summed up by Tara Zahra, the institute "seamlessly blended a humanitarian mission with the pursuit of a nationally homogeneous state."[61]

Šíma, who began working on his book during the occupation, portrays the Institute for Refugee Welfare as a professional agency and evaluates sociolog-

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57 Tomáš Staněk: Odsun Němců z Československa 1945–1947 [The Transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia, 1945–1947], Praha 1991, p. 8.

58 Miroslav Klen, Karel Zelený (eds.): Vyhnání Čechů z pohraničí 1938: Vzpomínky [The Expulsion of Czechs from the Borderlands 1938: Memories], Praha 1996.

59 Vyhnání Čechů z pohraničí v roce 1938, 2nd ed., Praha 2018, pp. 6–7.

60 On Šíma, see Zdeněk R. Nešpor: Šíma Jaroslav, in: Sociologická encyklopedie, https://encyklopedie.soc.cas.cz/w/%C5%A0%C3%ADma_Jaroslav (2021-02-12).

61 Tara Zahra: The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World, New York 2016, p. 173.

ical data about the post-Munich migrants (*přestěhovalci*) to analyze their demographic, social, and national composition and how well they were integrated.[62] Although Šíma admits that there was pressure on Jews and Germans to emigrate, his sociological perspective make it easy for him to skip difficult topics, such as the forcible return of some Germans who were in danger and the endorsement of antisemitic policies. In view of the institute's involvement in enforcing Nazi policies, it perhaps appeared safer to Šíma to escape into the sphere of numbers. His work illustrates how the state's involvement in refugee welfare, based on an identification with "national" refugees, contributes to the production of sources and subsequently shapes historical research. Relying on this data perpetuates the state's classifications and may lead to the justification of the differential treatment of refugees based on ethnicity and formal immigration status.

In fact, much of the subsequent historiography has retained a preoccupation with numbers and social characteristics, which replicates Šíma's statistics-based approach and uses figures and documentation produced by the increasingly nationalist and exclusionary nation-state.[63] With his aforementioned book, *Útěky a vyhánění z pohraničí českých zemí 1938–1939*, and other journal articles, Jan Benda has significantly expanded our knowledge of the topic but the government's discriminatory, ethnocentric hierarchies were not central to his work even though he includes new sources on Jewish and German refugees and discusses unsettling topics like the closure of the border to Jews and the forced return of German anti-Nazi refugees.[64] The latter has been a contentious issue in the Czech-German debate. Benda also replicates the state categorization of refugees. The status of state employees, who were distinct from recognized refugees and beyond the purview of the Institute for Refugee Welfare, plays an important role in his thorough effort to count those on the move. State employees, such as railway workers, would be better labeled as a "migrating population." Regardless of whether such differentiation has any merits, it is clear that the categories established by the nation-state still influence the choice of subject matter and the debate on refugees in the historiography to this day. This is clear as well in the work of Jakub Hablovič, which is also strongly dependent on Šíma. Hablovič analyzes legal aspects of refugeedom, with a particular focus on the "complex solution" to the question of refugees which "also

62 JAROSLAV ŠÍMA: Československí přestěhovalci v letech 1938–1945: Příspěvek k sociologii migrace a theorie sociální péče [Czechoslovak Migrants, 1938–1945: A Contribution to the Sociology of Migration and Theory of Welfare], Praha 1945.

63 HEUMOS, Flüchtlingslager; GEBHART; MARTIN HETÉNYI: Náčrt problematiky utečencov z Maďarska v okrese Nitra 1938–1945 [A Sketch of the Topic of Refugees from Hungary in District Nitra, 1938–1945], in: MICHAL ŠMIGEĽ, PETER MIČKO (eds.): Slovenská republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov, vol. 4, Banská Bystrica 2005, pp. 429–442.

64 BENDA.

significantly affected the legal order of the period" and highlights the state policy of compensation.[65]

A similar approach to refugees who escaped into the interior of the Habsburg monarchy during World War I can be identified in the historiography. For a long time, these refugees were as unwelcome in Czechoslovak historiography as they were in the Czechoslovak state itself during the key period of its construction after 1918. At the end of the war and with the declaration of independence, former fellow citizens of the Habsburg monarchy who still were on Czechoslovak territory suddenly became foreigners who were to be removed as quickly as possible. The reaction to them was a response to their supposed loyalty toward and support from a monarchy from which the new state wished to emancipate itself. These refugees thus became symbols of the despised, ruined multiethnic state.[66] In accordance with these historical attitudes, the extant scholarship generally treats World War I as a period of transition to a post-imperial order in which refugees who were not ethnically Czech or Slovak played only a marginal role.

The difficulty of integrating the refugee history of Austria-Hungary into Czechoslovakia's national history can be illustrated by the contrast between a short chapter in Pieter Judson's *The Habsburg Empire*[67] and recent overviews of Czech and Slovak history during the "Great War" that pay much attention to the home front but devote only one single paragraph to refugees. Judson's work, however, includes an extensive discussion of the state's management of refugees based on ethnicity and class, its attempt to use "barrack camps to control morale and hygiene, while instilling normative behaviors for work, leisure and morality,"[68] the refugees' difficult living conditions, and their relations with local population. This discussion, it should be noted, is necessarily based only on anecdotal evidence with respect to the Bohemian lands, despite their significance as a place of resettlement for refugees. In contrast, Ivan Šedivý's examination of Czech history during World War I focuses exclusively on official statistics and notes the public's antipathy toward "poor, often semi-literate" Jewish refugees,[69] and Elena Jakešová outlines how refugees posed a burden to

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65 JAKUB HABLOVIČ: Právní úprava uprchlictví v ČSR do roku 1939 [Legal Treatment of Refugeedom in the Czechoslovak Republic until 1939], MA thesis, Západočeská univerzita v Plzni, Fakulta právnická, 2014, p. 3; see also JAKUB HABLOVIČ: The Refugee Problem in 1938 and Its Solution, in: VILÉM KNOLL (ed.): Plundered, but by Whom? Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and Occupied Europe in the Light of the Nazi-Art Looting, Prague 2015, pp. 36–42.

66 MICHAL FRANKL, MILOSLAV SZABÓ: Budování státu bez antisemitismu? Násilí, diskurz loajality a vznik Československa [State Building without Antisemitism? Violence, the Discourse of Loyalty, and the Creation of Czechoslovakia], Praha 2015.

67 PIETER M. JUDSON: The Habsburg Empire: A New History, Cambridge, MA—London 2016, pp. 408–415.

68 Ibid., p. 410.

69 IVAN ŠEDIVÝ: Češi, české země a velká válka, 1914–1918 [The Czechs, the Bohemian Lands, and the Great War, 1914–1918], Praha 2001, pp. 264–265.

communities in Slovakia, even though they were "concentrated in special camps and provided with an opportunity to work."[70]

In the growing research on refugees in Austria-Hungary, especially in an unpublished dissertation by Walter Mentzel[71] and a more recent volume by Peter Gatrell and Liubov Zhvanko,[72] the Bohemian lands still seem to be lagging behind in interest and poorly integrated into the overall story of refugeedom in the dual monarchy. Nevertheless, two interconnected trends are driving a growing interest: the discovery of refugee histories within local archives and a focus on group-based narratives that situate these wartime experience in the longer national historical trajectory. Several current research projects are examining refugee camps as well as refugees in other communities, although the results of this research have not yet been published.[73]

In the Bohemian lands, local histories of wartime refugees are mostly based on the paper trail that survives in the archives: aside from the movement of the post-Munich refugees, no other refugee moment has resulted in a more extensive body of state-produced documents than World War I. Using this documentation, historians and local activists accentuate different aspects of this refugee history. The memory of Italian refugees has been enhanced by rediscovered

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70 Elena Jakešová: Sociálne pomery a zmeny v sociálnej štruktúre [Social Conditions and Changes in the Social Structure, in: Kováč, pp. 161–169, here p. 164.

71 Walter Mentzel: Kriegsflüchtlinge in Cisleithanien im Ersten Weltkrieg, PhD Diss., University of Vienna, 1997, see also Walter Mentzel: Kriegserfahrungen von Flüchtlingen aus dem Nordosten der Monarchie während des Ersten Weltkrieges, in: Bernhard Bachinger, Wolfram Dornik (eds.): Jenseits des Schützengrabens: Der Erste Weltkrieg im Osten: Erfahrung—Wahrnehmung—Kontext, Innsbruck et al. 2013, pp. 359–390.

72 Peter Gatrell, Liubov Zhvanko (eds.): Europe on the Move: Refugees in the Era of the Great War, Manchester 2017, especially the essays: Martina Hermann: "Cities of barracks": Refugees in the Austrian Part of the Habsburg Empire during the First World War, pp. 129–155, and: Rebecca Klein-Pejšová: Between Refugees and the State: Hungarian Jewry and the Wartime Jewish Refugee Crisis in Austria-Hungary, pp. 156–176; see also Rebekah Klein-Pejšová: Beyond the "Infamous Concentration Camps of the Old Monarchy": Jewish Refugee Policy from Wartime Austria-Hungary to Interwar Czechoslovakia, in: Austrian History Yearbook 45 (2014), pp. 150–166; Kamil Ruszała: Galicyjscy uchodźcy w Austro-Węgrzech w trakcie pierwszej wojny światowej [Galician Refugees in Austria-Hungary during World War I], in: Prace Komisji Historii Wojen i Wojskowości 11 (2018), pp. 107–121.

73 Alena Jindrová: Nucené přesídlení obyvatel z rakouského Přímoří a baráková kolonie v Německém Brodě [The Forced Relocation of the Population from the Austrian Littoral and the Barack Colony in Deutschbrod], in: Jaroslav Láník, Tomáš Kyka (eds.): Léta do pole okovaná 1914–1918, vol. 2, Praha 2017, pp. 230–239; See, for instance, Bohuslav Rejzl: Váleční uprchlíci a vysídlenci v lounském politickém okrese v letech 1914–1918 [War Refugees and Resettled People in the Political District Louny 1914–1918], in: Poohří 6 (2019), pp. 161–186; Bohuslav Rejzl: Zaměstnávání uprchlíků v Čechách v době první světové války [Employment of Refugees in Bohemia during World War I], in: Jitka Balcarová, Eduard Kubů et al. (eds.): Venkov, rolník a válka v českých zemích a na Slovensku v moderní době, Praha 2017, pp. 261–274.

connections, such as those between the Val di Ledro in the Trentino region of northern Italy (part of Austria-Hungary until 1918) and communities in the Kladno district of Bohemia, where evacuated Italian-speakers were housed.[74] The discovery of a common past linked by migration also serves, in this case, to strengthen regional cooperation within the European Union. In contrast to the mostly empirical studies, Claire Morelon's doctoral dissertation remains perhaps the most extensive attempt to write refugees into the wartime history of the Bohemian lands. Morelon explores the solidarities and tensions within the physical space and the social community of Prague, including topics such as fear that refugees would bring epidemics with them and antisemitic reactions to the arrival of Jewish refugees.[75]

The group-based approach, which differentiates between refugees by ethnicity and religion, persists in most of the historiography as well as public history. This has as much to do with the way the state managed refugees during the war as with the methodological nationalism in later research. To illustrate, a recent overview describes the good relations of the local Bohemian population with Polish and Ukrainian refugees ("notwithstanding certain civilizational and psychological differences"[76]) and with Italians (a solidarity which prevailed mainly due to the influence of Catholic priests). On the other hand, the "trafficking, begging, denunciations, and permanent lamentation" of Jewish refugees from Galicia and Bukovina "revived traditional antisemitic sentiments," and the state averted adverse consequences only by returning many Jewish refugees to their home communities at the end of 1915. Probably to weaken the blunt reproduction of wartime stereotypes, the authors note that the behavior attributed to the Jews was common "to a certain degree" for other inhabitants.[77] In yet another example of the inclusion of the refugee experience through the national lineage, Bohdan Zilynskyj unearthes the long presence of Ukrainians on the territory of the current Czech Republic.[78]

Over the past two decades, however, Jewish refugees have attracted by far the most attention from historians. The interest is also in part a function of their large numbers: in 1915, at the peak of the numbers of refugees from Galicia and Bukowina, Jewish refugees in the Bohemian lands were highly visible and

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74 Dario Colombo: Boemia: L'esodo della Val di Ledro: 1915–1919, Tione di Trento 2008; Památce vysídlenců z údolí Ledro [In Memory of the Displaced Persons from the Ledro Valley], Doksy 2009; similar: Iva Bojdová, Eva Šebková: Italští uprchlíci v 1. světové válce [Italian Refugees in World War I], Blansko 2012.

75 Claire Morelon: Street Fronts: War, State Legitimacy and Urban Space, Prague 1914–1920, PhD Diss., University of Birmingham, 2014, pp. 121–133; Claire Morelon: L'arrivée des réfugiés de Galicie en Bohême pendant la Première Guerre mondiale: Rencontre problématique et limites du patriotisme autrichien, in: Histoire@Politique 28 (2016), pp. 1–14.

76 Borovička/Kaše/Kučera/Bělina, p. 653.

77 Ibid.

78 Bohdan Zilynskyj: Ukrajinci v českých zemích v letech 1945–1948 [Ukrainians in the Bohemian Lands, 1945–1948], Praha 2000.

often compared to the peacetime inhabitants of Jewish religion. More significantly, the research agenda reflects the rediscovery of records of the Jewish past in this multiethnic region. For a long time, however, refugeedom was given little place in studies of Jewish history in the Bohemian lands, as if it would undermine the Jewish community's connection to the country and identify them with the—allegedly—foreign, uncivilized, and criminal "Eastern Jews" and the failed Habsburg monarchy. In fact, even the three volumes of studies and documentation published in the United States under the title *Jews of Czechoslovakia* in the late 1960s and 1970s devote almost no attention to the large group of Jewish refugees.[79] A first, partial study of the Jewish refugees was only published in 1989.[80] The fates of the refugees were easier to integrate into Austro-Hungarian or Viennese Jewish history, for which immigration constitutes a foundational story, than into the Czech and Slovak national frameworks.[81] Rebekah Klein-Pejšová contributed to the understanding of the state policies and Jewish aid toward refugees during World War I, especially on the territory of Slovakia. Her conclusions regarding the better treatment by the new Czechoslovak state, however, testify to the lack of substantial research about how these refugees were written into new nation-states.[82]

In historiography, the arrival of "Eastern" Jews was often examined for its effects on Jewish institutions and aid as well as on communal politics. Furthermore, the alleged cultural and visual difference of these Jewish refugees triggered discussions about Jewish identity and assimilation, key aspects of the project of the integration of Jews in modern societies. For the Bohemian lands, these questions are typically approached through the struggles of the Jewish communal aid committee in Prague (the papers of which have partially survived) and the deep divisions which the presence of "Eastern Jews" brought to light among the more culturally and economically integrated local Jews.[83] Given the paucity of ego-documents created by the refugees (or, perhaps, the lack of effort to search for them), the studies tell us more about the local Jews and their identities than about the refugees they assisted. In fact, the presence

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79 CHAIM YAHIL: Social Work in the Historic Lands, in: The Jews of Czechoslovakia: Historical Studies and Surveys, vol. 2, Philadelphia 1971, pp. 393–400, here pp. 394–395.

80 JIŘÍ KUDĚLA: Die Emigration galizischer und osteuropäischer Juden nach Böhmen und Prag zwischen 1914–1916/17, in: Studia Rosenthaliana (1989), 23 (2), pp. 119–134; JIŘÍ KUDĚLA: Galician and East European Refugees in the Historic Lands: 1914–1916, in: Review of the Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews 4 (1991), pp. 15–32.

81 DAVID RECHTER: The Jews of Vienna and the First World War, London—Portland, Oregon 2001; MARSHA L. ROZENBLIT: Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria during World War I, Oxford—New York 2001.

82 REBEKAH KLEIN-PEJŠOVÁ: Beyond the "Infamous Concentration Camps of the Old Monarchy": Jewish Refugee Policy from Wartime Austria-Hungary to Interwar Czechoslovakia, in: Austrian History Yearbook 45 (2014), pp. 150–166.

83 KUDĚLA, Die Emigration; KUDĚLA, Galician and East European Refugees; MARTIN WELLING: "Vom Haß so eng umkreist": Der Erste Weltkrieg aus der Sicht der Prager Juden, Frankfurt am Main 2003, pp. 107–172; ROZENBLIT, pp. 65–81.

of these refugees sparked soul-searching among the established Jewish community about its relationship to Jewishness.[84] The silence about Galician Jewish refugees to the Bohemian lands is a prime example of how a combination of class (most of the refugees were extremely poor) and cultural differences can result in a lack of historical records and omission from the historiography. From a different perspective, this gap is reflected in a dissertation by Klára Habartová, who conducted meticulous research covering most of the archives in Bohemia. Focusing on refugee management and welfare, mostly as reflected in state-produced sources, her work is methodologically similar to Benda's on post-Munich refugees. Even though she does include incidents of prejudice, conflict, and antisemitism, her mostly empirical studies largely reproduce the state's perspectives and its categorization of refugees, and focus on providing a statistical and demographic representation of the Jewish refugees in Bohemia.[85]

Recently, Slovak historians have discovered what Michal Šmigeľ and Peter Mičko describe as the "largest humanitarian action for refugees" in Slovakia, which was in turn part of the "largest refugee action" during World War II in Europe.[86] In 1944, almost 20,000 Ukrainians, but also Poles and Russians, fled to Slovakia together with the retreating German army in fear of advancing Soviet troops. The reception of these refugees was administered by a dedicated refugee department of the Slovak State's Ministry of Defense with the assistance of civil authorities in the interior. Soon, the refugees' situation was complicated by the Slovak National Uprising, which trapped many refugees in areas dominated by the insurgents, who included Soviet partisans. Finally, as the Red Army advanced, they were evacuated further west, mostly to Austria and Germany. While these historians recognize that some refugees cooperated with the German occupation forces or even fought on the side of Nazi Germany's army, their emphasis is clearly on the refugees' anti-communism and the fear of Soviet persecution.

This narrative illustrates the difficulty of coming to terms with the wartime independent Slovak State. Rather than discussing its complicity with Nazi Germany, the authors chose to document its generous asylum policies toward innocent victims of Soviet terror. They represent those policies as a continuation of the history of the interwar refugee emigration from the Ukraine to

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84 MICHAL FRANKL: Exhibiting Refugeedom: Orient in Bohemia? Jewish Refugees during the First World War, in: Judaica Bohemiae 50 (2015), 1, pp. 117–129.

85 KLÁRA HABARTOVÁ: Židovští uprchlíci z Haliče a Bukoviny v Čechách během první světové války [Jewish Refugees from Galicia and Bukovina in Bohemia during World War I], Pardubice 2012; KLÁRA HABARTOVÁ: Jewish Refugees from Galicia and Bukovina in East Bohemia during World War I in Light of the Documents of the State Administration, in: Judaica Bohemiae 43 (2007), pp. 139–166.

86 MICHAL ŠMIGEĽ, PETER MIČKO: Evakuácia ve znamení úteku: Utečenci z Ukrajiny a Poľska na Slovensku [Evacuation as Flight: Refugees from Ukraine and Poland in Slovakia], Banská Bystrica 2006, pp. 6, 8.

Czechoslovakia and therefore as a form of political asylum. Without any critical analysis, the authors reproduce the self-image and propaganda of the wartime Slovak State, which declared its intention to "provide asylum to Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian refugees."[87] They base their claim of similarity and continuity with Czechoslovakia's policies, however, on the causes of the migration (fear of Soviet terror) rather than the context, form, and practice of ensuring the welfare of refugees in Czechoslovakia and the Slovak State. Again, the mostly empirical studies replicated the discourse of the Slovak sources and focused on numbers, management of refugees, and socioeconomic structures.

Finally, the interest of historians in refugee flows resulting from ethnic cleansing and wartime displacement can be located chronologically. It first increased after the end of the ideological competition between East and West and in the context of a historians' growing interest the multiethnic past of East Central Europe. This trend was also inspired by the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the ethnic conflicts in that region that produced many new refugees, some of whom fled to the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Conclusion

Looking over the relatively large, yet uneven and disconnected, body of research on refugees who fled to twentieth-century Czechoslovakia (or, during World War I, to the Bohemian lands within Austria-Hungary), historians have employed two broadly conceived scripts to structure their narratives. They portray refugees either as fighters for the future of their homeland or a mass of displaced people. The two scripts have much in common. A shared set of questions, thematic accents, methodologies, and narrative approaches, as well as filters encoded in the sources, guide historians in making sense of refugee migration in a region plagued by contested ethnic identities, nationality conflicts, and ethnic cleansing. Both scripts have their foundations in what migration studies has described as "methodological nationalism,"[88] that is, in thinking in national categories and considering nations and nation-states as self-evident, natural units of analysis. Both scripts attribute meaning to refugees within the respective national histories rather than within the history of the host country or transnationally. Both demonstrate how the documentation produced in the course of state action and by state bureaucracy, as well as national and political aid organizations, has guided, structured, and limited historical research over the long term. The divergent emphases on the history of either elites or the masses notwithstanding, both scripts offer only limited space to the voices of common, non-elite refugees and recognition of their own agency.

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87 Ibid., p. 32.

88 ANDREAS WIMMER, NINA GLICK SCHILLER: Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology, in: International Migration Review 37 (2003), 3, pp. 576–610.

The difference between both approaches becomes clear when one considers the individuality and agency of refugees. Whereas "political" refugees can be individualized and attention devoted to their biographies, identities and cultural production, the subjects of mass population displacements are categorized, enumerated, and sociologically interpreted by most of the historians discussed above. Accordingly, the activities of welfare agencies, and the refugee's social integration (or onward migration), seemed more important as objects of study in cases of mass displacement than in the case of "political" refugees. The choice between the application of biographical methods on the one hand, and statistics and sociological approaches on the other, is also reinforced by the discourse in the sources produced by the government, refugee organizations, and the refugees themselves. Especially in cases when historians themselves identify with the particular groups, they easily fall into the trap of accepting the historical categorization of refugees at face value, instead of deconstructing and contextualizing their situations.

This difference in scripting has resulted in a terminological paradox in which refugees fleeing persecution for seemingly political reasons are labeled "emigrants"—a term that indicates a degree of personal agency—while those who are fleeing war, ethnic violence, or border shifts are labeled "refugees"—a term with much less room for agency. Accordingly, "political refugees" or "emigrants" are seen as active participants in the cultural and political struggles of their age. Thinking about refugees' personal agency therefore only seemed relevant in the context of an intentional national and/or political project. The masses of refugees, on the other hand, tend to be described as a multitude of passive objects of aid. The difference also seems to have implications for the relationship between feelings of solidarity and distance to countries of origin: Based on the fragmented historiography examined here, describing refugees as "political" tends to build solidarity which bridges larger spatial and cultural distances between home and host countries. On the other hand, victims of population displacement are only viewed as refugees when they come from the vicinity of the host country.

This article provides a basis for reassessing the impact and the limits of the study of refugeedom in the current polarized world. The absence of a historical perspective in social science research on migration and refugees, and of a social science perspective in historiography, has been recently pointed out.[89] The dominant scripts in the historiography of refugeedom described above help to explain why almost no connection between the two disciplines is made. A few contributions from the field of legal history or migration demography and geography[90] aside, the history of refugees to Czechoslovakia remains unaffected by the increasingly interdisciplinary approaches in refugee and migration stu-

89 J. Olaf Kleist: The History of Refugee Protection: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges, in: Journal of Refugee Studies 30 (2017), 2, pp. 161–169.

90 Dušan Drbohlav (ed.): Migrace a (i)migranti v Česku: Kdo jsme, odkud přicházíme, kam jdeme? [Migration and (Im)migrants in Czechia: Who Are We, Where Do We Come From, Where Do We Go?], Praha 2010.

dies and only negligible attempts have been made to engage in diachronic and synchronic analysis or transnational and international comparisons. This disconnect between history and other disciplines notwithstanding, historians' narratives are having an impact on how Czech and Slovak societies are processing, categorizing, judging—and deploring—current refugees. While a detailed description is beyond the scope of this analysis of the state of research, it does appear that the difficult political trajectory of Czechoslovakia and its history of ethnic conflict and population displacements influence the categorization and construction of solidarity with present-day refugees. Understanding the historical "scripting" of refugeedom can perhaps help us understand the current tensions and problems caused by categorizing people on the move as "real" or "fake," "political" or "economic," "deserving" or "dangerous," or even as "refugees" or "migrants" in the first place.

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