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THE BORDER OF THE BORDER

**guest-edited
by Manuel Broncano Rodríguez**

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THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH AS A PATRON OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARS

INTRODUCTION

The New School for Social Research in New York is not an art school in the traditional sense. Its real importance during the post-World War I years up to and beyond the Abstract Expressionist¹ period was as a haven for artists and intellectuals of all disciplines to gather and discuss controversial matters without fear of political censure.

During World War I, a small and outspoken group of professors working at Columbia University were censured by the school's president, Nicholas Murray Butler, for speaking out against US involvement in the war effort². These professors resigned from Columbia and decided to establish their own school, which they opened in 1919 in the lower Manhattan neighbourhood of Chelsea, and called it The New School for Social Research (or commonly known for short as "The New School"). The original faculty of The New School, as gathered by Craig Calhoun³, included Charles Beard, James Harvey Robinson, Wesley Clair Mitchell, John Dewey, and Alvin Johnson, the university's first president.

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1. The Abstract Expressionism is a post-World War II art movement in American painting, developed in New York in the 1940s. It was the first specifically American movement to achieve international influence and put New York at the centre of the western art world.

2. Nicholas Butler himself had been an opponent of US intervention in the war, but changed this position in 1917 when he established the Student Army Training Corps.

3. See Calhoun 194.

The University in Exile was established as the graduate division of The New School in 1933, founded as a sanctuary for academics escaping persecution in Europe during the initial stages of the Second World War. In the 1920s Alvin Johnson was appointed to co-edit the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. In order to compile this work, Johnson travelled frequently to Germany, Poland and other European countries to consult with colleagues. While abroad, Johnson became acutely aware of the growing threat of National Socialism in Germany, posed by the relatively new Nazi political party and the rising dictator Adolf Hitler.

The so-called University in Exile was an important node for émigré academics during the 1930s and 1940s. Established as a graduate school for the New School, it sponsored 183 academic émigrés and became a centre of European intellectual life in the United States at the time. Created in 1933, it served as a refuge for European intellectuals facing persecution by fascist regimes (Franco's in Spain or Nazi's in Germany). It was the brainchild of Alvin Johnson, the co-founder of the New School for Social Research in New York, and it made possible the immigration of many European scholars who would go on to enrich the American academic landscape and to deepen connections between Europe and the United States in numerous disciplines.

Between February 14 and 16, 1936, the First American Artists' Congress Against War and Fascism was held at The New School for Social Research. The first meeting of the Congress had taken place elsewhere the previous spring, but this 1936 gathering constituted the first official congregation of Congress members to sit in on lectures and discussion panels. Attendees at the 1936 Congress included Alexander Calder, Adolph Gottlieb, Isamu Noguchi, David Smith, James Johnson Sweeney, Ilya Bolotowsky and Yasuo Kuniyoshi. Among the 34 lecturers who spoke at the three-day event were artist Stuart Davis and critic/historian Meyer Schapiro. The prevalent themes centred around the opposition of Fascism in Europe, and the need to band together and promote the importance of free creative expression during times of war and hardship.

The New School for Social Research is rooted in a legacy of theoretically informed, historically grounded scholarship. Rigorous graduate programs are offered in the social sciences and humanities that go beyond mainstream thought. The New School's diverse community further enriches students' education. This university is home to world-renowned scholars, practitioners, and innovators who open minds and doors to civically engaged inquiry and opportunities.

The New School for Social Research provides an education grounded in history and informed by a legacy of critical thought and civic engagement. The school's dedication to academic freedom and intellectual inquiry reaches back to the university's founding in 1919 as a home for progressive thinkers and the creation of the University in Exile in 1933 for scholars who were persecuted in Nazi Europe (Lamberti). The interdisciplinary education offered by The New School for Social Research today explores and promotes global peace and justice as more than theoretical ideals.

The mission of The New School for Social Research derives from American progressive thinkers, the legacy of the University in Exile, and the critical theorists of Europe. It is grounded in the core social sciences leavened by philosophical and historical inquiry. In an intellectual setting where disciplinary boundaries are easily crossed, students learn to practice creative democracy—the concepts, techniques, and commitments that will be required if the world's people, with their multiple and conflicting interests, are to live together peacefully and justly.

The New School for Social Research was founded in New York City in 1919 by a distinguished group of American intellectuals. Some of them were teaching at Columbia University during World War I. For instance, we can mention scholars such as Charles A. Beard (1874–1948), James H. Robinson (1863–1936), Wesley C. Mitchell (1874–1948) or John Dewey (1859–1952), among some others.

In conjunction with a circle of dissident intellectuals, among whom we should underline the editor Herbert Croly (1869–1930) or the economist Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929), they were dissatisfied with the state of social sciences and the academic freedom in the United States.

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With donations from well-wishers in liberal circles, the New School for Social Research opened for classes in the spring of 1919 in a set of rented row houses in the district of Chelsea (New York). In the opinion of Claus Dieter Krohn, the original founders envisaged an institution of higher learning simultaneously capable of serious and independent research which was, on the one hand, accessible to the intelligent lay public, but on the other also engaged in progressive social and political reform (Krohn 53).

However, when they took a public stand against the US entry into the war, they were censured by the Columbia's president. Bitter disagreement led to a sharp crisis that culminated in a jumble of resignations that nearly finished the school.

The outspoken professors resigned from Columbia University and joined with other progressive educators to create a new model of higher education for adults. In essence, a school where ordinary citizens could learn from and exchange ideas freely with scholars and artists representing a wide range of intellectual, aesthetic and political viewpoints.

The outbroken reins fell into the domain of Alvin S. Johnson (1874–1971), a former academic economist and editor of “The New Republic,” who set forward the school's focus on the “continued education of the educated” (Fantón 351), bringing in a host of leading lecturers from the social sciences, arts, and other related fields.

At a time when adult education was narrowly thought of as the teaching of basic education or technical skills, the advanced academic fare the New School for Social Research offered was a real novelty for the American public. And this was mainly due to Alvin Johnson's will to uphold the need to revitalize their roots into an academic research centre.

When, in 1933, the Nazi Party began its elimination of the German academia, Johnson helped form a rescue committee to place the expelled academics in American universities (Goldfarb 88). The fact that Johnson himself was familiar with many of the scholars turned out to be a decisive aspect when the response from the American institutions to Johnson's plea was rather cool.

Then, Alvin Johnson decided to have the New School for Social Research host the European scholars itself, something which seemed natural at the time. As a consequence, in 1943, the New

School for Social Research had been reorganized and undergraduate degree programs had been introduced so as to accommodate the tide of European scholars coming in.

After the war, there came an increasing academic specialization in the 1950s. This meant that fewer graduate faculty professors were willing to cross the lines from research to adult education. As a result, the New School for Social Research organized its own curriculum, offering lecture courses in psychology, philosophy, anthropology, contemporary politics, and literature and in the arts.

As the decade of the 1960s arrived, the faculty struggled to transform itself into a regular American graduate school without losing the distinctiveness of its acquired continental legacy. In the 1970s, it further established two music divisions to the already existing programs.

The New School for Social Research currently enrolls more than 1,000 students from all regions of the United States and more than 70 countries. It offers masters and doctoral programs in anthropology, economics, philosophy, political science, psychology, and sociology.

It also offers interdisciplinary master's programs in historical studies and liberal studies. The list of recent doctoral degree recipients and their dissertation titles hints at the range and depth of topics studied at The New School for Social Research.

Today, many decades removed from the world in which The New School for Social Research was founded, it remains true to the ideals that inspired Alvin Johnson and his colleagues to create an academic home that welcomed diversity of ideas and nationalities and beliefs, a "new school" willing to take intellectual and political risks.

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DATA ANALYSIS: THE ROLE OF THE NEW SCHOOL AS A PATRON OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARS

From the beginning, The New School for Social Research maintained close ties to Europe, as it was recorded by Dorothy Ross (365). Its founders had, in part, modelled the school after the Volkshochschulen for adults established in Germany. Then during the 1920s, Alvin Johnson, The New School's director, became co-editor of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. While working on this massive undertaking, Johnson collaborated regularly

with colleagues in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. It was they who made him aware of the danger the Nazi movement presented to democracy and the civilized world before many in the United States had grasped the seriousness of the situation.

In 1933, when Hitler came to power and began to purge Jews and politically hostile elements from German universities, Johnson responded. with the financial support of philanthropist Hiram Halle and the Rockefeller Foundation, he obtained funding to provide a haven in the United States for scholars whose careers (and lives) were threatened by the Nazis. All in all, it is estimated that between 1933 and 1945, the New School actively helped over 183 displaced European scholars and artists find their way to the United States (coser 197).

The New School gave refuge to a whole coterie of remarkably talented and employable European intellectuals exiled by European fascist governments. From the early 1920s to the mid-1950s, The New School had the foresight and courage to bring to the United States German, Italian, French and Spanish intellectuals whose lives were endangered because they were unwilling to submit to the demands of totalitarian states.

The first wave of European scholars came in the fall of 1933 and included the following: the economists Eduard Heimann (1889–1967), Gerhard Colm (1897–1968), Karl Brandt (1899–1975) and Arthur Feiler (1879–1942); the sociologists Hans Speier (1904–1990) and Albert Salomon (1891–1966); the jurists Hermann Kantorowicz (1877–1940), Arnold Brecht (1884–1977) and Erich Hula (1900–1987); the economists Hans Staundinger (1889–1980) and Fritz Lehmann (1904–1956); the political scientists Hans Simons (1893–1972) and Max Ascoli (1898–1978); and the philosophers Felix Kaufmann (1895–1949), Alfred Schütz (1899–1959), and Leo Strauss (1899–1973) (Fermi 254).

Beginning in 1934 and continuing throughout the 1940s, faculty appointments were selected from among émigré scholars. with the addition of these and other new appointments, the faculty was constituted into 5 departments: sociology, anthropology, economics, psychology, philosophy and political science.

In the years 1934–1939, the faculty's concerns and problems were theoretical and practical, scientific and political, Euro-

pean and American. Coming from a European intellectual milieu, the faculty focused on topics such as the following: fascism, democracy, freedom, public opinion, economic policy, mass psychology, and social-political psychology.

The New School and sponsored more than 180 individuals and their families, providing them with visas and jobs. Some of these refugees remained at The New School for many years and some moved on to other institutions in the United States, but the influx of new people and new ideas had a an impact on the US academy far beyond any particular university's or institute.

Alvin Johnson created faculty positions for nine distinguished scholars: five economists (Karl Brandt, Gerhard Colm, Arthur Feiler, Eduard Heimann, and Emil Lederer); two psychologists (Max Wertheimer and Erich von Hornbostel, who was also a leading musicologist); one social policy expert (Frieda Wunderlich); and one sociologist (Hans Speier). A year later, in 1934, the University in Exile received authorization from the Board of Regents of the State of New York to offer masters and doctoral degrees. The New School became a university, and the University in Exile became the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science.

Other leading figures of Europe's intelligentsia joined the Graduate Faculty, representing the breadth and depth of social sciences and philosophy and further enhancing the reputation of The New School for Social Research. Several members of the Graduate Faculty, including economist Gerhard Colm, political scientist Arnold Brecht, and sociologist Hans Speier, served as policy advisors for the Roosevelt administration during the Second World War.

As a group, they helped to transform the social sciences and philosophy in this country, presenting theoretical and methodological approaches to their fields that had been poorly represented in American universities. When, for example, Max Wertheimer came to the United States and joined the faculty at The New School, he challenged behaviourism, the dominant paradigm in American psychology, with his Gestalt, or cognitive, psychology (Adorno 348).

Cognitive psychology has become a major subfield in the discipline today. Similarly, the work of Hans Jonas was virtually ignored

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when the philosopher first came to the Graduate Faculty after the war, but it now frames many of the questions of scholars writing on bioethics and the environment. Hannah Arendt, who came to The New School after the war, had tremendous influence on theoretical and policy debates about revolution, totalitarianism, and democracy. Many other German scholars associated with the Graduate Faculty remain influential today, including philosophers as Alfred Schutz, Leo Strauss, and Aron Gurwitsch, and economist Adolph Lowe, who introduced his critical analysis of classical economic theories and developed his institutional approach to the study of economics.

The New School also promoted French scholarship in the American intellectual community by giving a home in the early 1940s to the École Libre des Hautes Études. with an official charter from de Gaulle's Free French government-in-exile, the école libre attracted refugee scholars including the philosopher Jacques Maritain, anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, linguist Roman Jakobson, and political thinker Henri Bonnet, the father of the European Economic Community. After the war, this institution returned to Paris, where it evolved into the École des Hautes Études *en Sciences Sociales*, which, to this day, maintains close ties to The New School for Social Research. In recent years, several distinguished members of this French institution have come to teach at The New School (Loyer 94).

Below we can find a list of European scholars who were aided by The New School for Social Research between the years of greatest upheaval in Europe (1933–1944), sorted out by the countries of origin:

Country	Number of scholars
Austria	22
Belgium	5
Czech Republic	7
France	21
Germany	74
Hungary	7
Italy	12

Country	Number of scholars
Poland	10
Russia	16
Spain	4
Switzerland	3

Source: List of European Scholars Helped by the New School for Social Research (1933–1945)

These 182 European scholars can be grouped, at the same time, accordingly to the following disciplines of knowledge:

Discipline of knowledge	Number of scholars
Languages and Literature	12
Political science	12
Medicine	20
Sociology	14
Arts & Music	26
Law	15
Philosophy	12
Psychology	11
Economics	28
General Studies	16
Education	8
History	8

Source: List of European Scholars Helped by the New School for Social Research (1933–1945)

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We should always bear in mind that these scholars' work in America continued the investigations which were already well begun in Europe. And for sure, their ideas changed in the context of their experiences in the American Diaspora. It was this mix of life experiences that provided the source of the school's creativity, a creativity which was fostered by the social and intellectual marginality these scholars were put into (Said 356).

In 1940 the British Surrealist artist Stanley William Hayter, who had previously founded the Atelier 17 studio in Paris, came to The New School and held several painting and printmaking workshops. One of Hayter's most famous techniques was using what he called a "drip can."

Not long after Hayter's arrival as a lecturer at The New School, Gordon Onslow Ford, another British artist who had trained and studied with André Breton and the French Surrealists in Paris,

also joined the faculty. Ford was best known for his “poured canvases,” a technique wherein he poured paint onto a canvas placed flat on the floor.

Between January and March of 1941, Ford delivered a series of lectures on Surrealism at The New School. In attendance were Motherwell, Baziotès, Tanguy, Jimmy Ernst, and many others. It was rumoured, although never confirmed, that Pollock, Rothko and Gorky attended the lectures as well. The flier for the Onslow Ford’s lectures read:

Surrealist Painting: an adventure into Human Consciousness... Far more than other modern artists, the Surrealists have ventured in tapping the unconscious psychic world. The aim of these lectures is to follow their work as a psychological barometer registering the desire and impulses of the community (Rutkoff and Scott 277).

To accompany each lecture, a sequenced series of small exhibitions were held in an adjacent studio space. The first exhibition was devoted to Giorgio De Chirico; the second featured works by Max Ernst and Joan Miró; the third exhibition was by Margritte and Tanguy; the fourth and final exhibition showcased contemporary Surrealist works by Wolfgang Paalen, Jimmy Ernst, Esteban Frances, Roberto Matta and Gordon Onslow Ford himself.

Beginning in 1936, Meyer Schapiro started delivering regular lectures at The New School for Social Research. Unlike the Surrealists Hayter and Ford, Schapiro catered his lectures more to Hegelian philosophy, emphasizing style and form over matters concerning the human conscious and unconscious.

Throughout Schapiro’s tenure at The New School, emerging artists and critics such as Helen Frankenthaler, Fairfield Porter, Joan Mitchell and Thomas B. Hess attended his sessions. Schapiro also gained acclaim in the late 1930s for calling attention to European modernists like Picasso, Braque and Miró, who had up until that point remained relatively unknown to New York artists who would make up the Abstract Expressionist movement.

Following the collapse of fascism in Europe and the Allied victory in World War II, the University in Exile was renamed the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science. (In 2005 the name

was changed once again to The New School for Social Research, in honor of the academic institution's original name in 1919.)

In 1940, shortly before the war's end, New School President Alvin Johnson invited German theatre director Erwin Piscator to come and open a theatre workshop at the New School. Simply called the Dramatic Workshop, from 1940 to 1949, the school Piscator operated was a first-rate theatre school, and it educated such students as Marlon Brando, Harry Belafonte or Tennessee Williams.

In 1994 the New School partnered with the highly renowned Actors' Studio, and established its first Master of Fine Arts program in the theatrical arts. Also beginning that year was the popular television program *Inside the Actors' Studio* on the Bravo network. This New School-Actors' Studio partnership was dissolved in 2005 due to contractual issues, at which point the New School established its own theatrical college, The New School for Drama, whose teachers were well aware of the power of art:

In a Fascist form of government some one person, usually with a silly face, a Hitler or a Mussolini, becomes the model which every subject must imitate and salute... Anyone who laughs at those stupid mugs, or incites other people to laugh at them, is a traitor. I think that is the reason why dictatorships fear artists. They fear them because they fear free criticism.... The time has come for the people who love life and culture to form a united front against them, to be ready to protect, and guard, and if necessary, fight for the human heritage which we, as artists, embody. (Mumford)

Mumford's sentiments seem to reverberate also in Ford's words:

Tonight I have given you a brief glimpse of the works of the young painters who were members of the Surrealist group in Paris at the outbreak of the war. Perhaps it is not by chance that all of us except Brauner and Dominguez have managed to find our way to these shores... I think I can speak for all my friends when I say that we are completely confident in our work and slowly but surely with the collaboration of the young Americans we hope to make a vital contribution to the transformation of the world. (Ford)⁴

Following Hitler's ascent to power in 1933, many prominent Jewish and left-leaning academics were dismissed from their

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4. Gordon Onslow Ford, concluding remarks from his lecture, March 5, 1941. See Ford.

university positions. By some calculations, over 39% of all university teachers in Germany lost their positions, with this figure considerably higher among economists and social scientists (Krohn 1993, 12). Organizations including the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars in the United States, the Academic Assistance Council in Great Britain, and the Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland in Switzerland were founded to help scholars affected by this purge find academic positions at foreign universities.

Though the United States was not the only or, in the early stages, the most common destination for displaced scholars—many took positions in Great Britain, Turkey or Palestine—an increasing number crossed the Atlantic as the political climate worsened in Europe and with the outbreak of the war.

One of the most highly concentrated groups of émigré scholars in the United States was at the newly-founded University in Exile. Efforts to bring European scholars to the New School were spearheaded by its director, Alvin Johnson. The son of a Danish immigrant, Johnson was familiar with the academic landscape in Europe and in contact with some of its most prominent figures through his work in the 1920s on the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, a multi-volume collection that he coedited with his former teacher, Columbia economist Edwin R.A. Seligman. Among the many German authors to contribute articles to the *Encyclopaedia* were economist Emil Lederer and sociologist Hans Speier—two individuals who would later collaborate with Johnson to bring European scholars to the United States.

Having observed the 1933 purge of German universities, Johnson seized the opportunity to strengthen the New School, a small progressive institution founded in 1919, as well as to protest both the injustice of the Nazi regime's actions and the slowness of the American government and universities to respond. He proposed the establishment of the University in Exile as a graduate program with a focus on the social sciences. Its creation would serve the purposes of introducing American students to some of Europe's preeminent social scientists and of providing those scholars an academic home in the United States (Gemelli 108).

Johnson's plan explicitly aimed at a transatlantic transfer of people and ideas. By the time he began contacting European scholars and extending offers in June 1933, some had already accepted invitations to teach in Britain or elsewhere. Nonetheless, with Lederer managing hiring from his temporary home in London and Speier delivering invitations personally within Germany, the New School was able to assemble a faculty in time for the fall 1933 semester. Johnson, who was committed to a broadly defined New Deal agenda, had sought out scholars whose work, he hoped, would provide new and realistic strategies for dealing with the problems facing depression-era America.

As a result, the original group of twelve scholars—eleven German and one Italian—included six economists: Karl Brandt, Gerhard Colm, Arthur Feiler, Eduard Heimann, Frieda Wunderlich, and Emil Lederer who would become the program's dean. The remaining faculty members came from related disciplines.

Among them we can include the following scholars: Hermann Kantorowicz (law); Hans Speier, Albert Salomon, and Erich von Hornbostel (sociology); Max Wertheimer (psychology); and the sole Italian, Max Ascoli (political science) who joined the program in the winter of 1933. Upon opening, the University in Exile was renamed the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science and, though it began with only 92 students in the fall semester of 1933, by 1940 this number had risen to 520 and the Graduate Faculty had gained the right to award master's and doctoral degrees.

From the beginning, the University in Exile was on uncertain financial footing and dependent on donations and grants for its continued existence and growth. Johnson initially struggled to collect the \$120,000 needed to begin the project, asking around within academic circles for donations.

It was only after the "New York Times" ran an article about the proposed University in Exile that Hiram Halle, a businessman in the oil industry, offered to provide the necessary funding. Following the establishment of the Graduate Faculty, Johnson was able to secure grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Emergency Committee and other organizations to pay salaries, create additional teaching positions and fund projects. Though the size

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and frequency of these grants varied, the program continued to grow.

Among the émigré scholars added to the faculty roster were the German political scientists Arnold Brecht and Hans Simons; economic psychologist George Katona, Alfred Kähler and later Adolph Lowe; Italian historian Gaetano Salvemini; Hans Staudinger, a German Social Democrat, economist and second dean of the Graduate Faculty; and Erich Hula, an Austrian political scientist.

CONCLUSIONS

The New School for Social Research was conceived as a safe haven for artists, professors and intellectuals to freely exchange radical ideas on politics and aesthetics, and it has continued to operate in that tradition to this day. While many of the great Surrealist and abstract artists of the era trained at formal art schools like the Art Students League, they ventured to The New School to learn about the very theories and philosophies that are most commonly associated with Abstract Expressionism, i.e. Freudian psychoanalytic theory and the human consciousness, Existentialism, and Marxist aesthetics.

The New School was not the place where artists like Motherwell and Baziotes perfected their craft, but it was where they honed their minds in the philosophies and formal theories that informed their art. The man who was largely responsible for establishing New York University's (NYU) Institute of Fine Arts was often heard to remark: "Hitler is my best friend; he shakes the tree and I collect the apples" (Johnson 95).

The 1930s and 40s brought to the United States an unprecedented harvest of refugee scholars, far eclipsing the earlier immigration of German refugees who fled to America after the failed revolution of 1848 and exerting a proportionately greater influence on American intellectual life.

The impact of these scholars from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other countries was twofold: They instilled a high degree of professionalism in many fields and, more important, they helped deprovincialize the American mind.

The outbreak of World War II not only meant the arrival of a new and more intellectually diverse wave of displaced scholars from

across Europe, it also signalled a shift in the Graduate Faculty's place within American politics. While historians have at times dismissed the New School as a closed-off European ivory tower, or a "gilded ghetto" (Coser 1984), recent scholarship has emphasized the impact of the émigrés on contemporary American thought.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal was influenced by the Kiel School of economic thought on structural growth economics, which combined traditional progressive era ideas and Keynesian economics to leave a significant mark on American economic policy.

With the United States' entry into the war, many of the Graduate Faculty's European scholars—including Arnold Brecht, Hans Speier, and Gerhard Colm—were also called on as consultants by the US government. The Office of Strategic Services in particular recognized the émigré intellectuals at the New School as experts on the political and social conditions in Europe, and benefited greatly from the research done by scholars like Gaetano Salvemini on the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy.

In the post-war years, the Graduate Faculty gradually became less distinctly European and was eventually integrated more closely into the rest of the New School. The university as a whole focused less on exerting influence on US public policy and turned its attention more strongly to teaching.

It did, however, continue to employ prominent émigré intellectuals, including the political theorist Hannah Arendt, who taught at there from 1967 until her death 1975. Others, like Thomas Mann and Paul Tillich taught guest lectures or were involved in seminars at the New School.

While many émigré scholars stayed in the United States following the end of World War II, some returned to Europe to visit, if not to stay. Many refused to return to their old institutions because of the schools' failure to remove former Nazis from teaching positions or because the émigrés now considered the United States, not Germany or Europe, home. Nonetheless, the visits made by University-in-Exile scholars to Europe allowed for a cross-fertilization of European and American ideas and ongoing transatlantic intellectual exchange.

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