

Workshop: Presentation Abstracts

February 17th (Fri.) 9:30-11:45 a.m. (CET) / 5:30-7:45 p.m. (JST)

1. Rethinking the “Czechoslovak State”- The Aspects of Czech and Slovak Dissidents’ Discussions in the “Czechoslovak” Public Sphere-

Hitom Sato (Ph.D. Student, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

In Czechoslovakia, after the non-fulfillment of the "Prague Spring" reforms in 1968, a normalization regime was adopted in order to restore the social structures before the reform. During the normalization regime, dissidents criticized the regime and published their writings in samizdat or exile publications. For example, the Czech dissidents' debates were built on a tradition based on Czech history that had existed since the 19th century. However, the major Slovak dissident movements were the underground church and the environmental movement, and therefore the Slovak dissidents did not share the same historiographical contexts from the 19th century as the Czech dissidents. If we assume their discussions shaped “the public sphere”, then the nature of the public spheres of Slovak and Czech dissidents were quite different. It is even possible to state, for geographical and historical reasons, there has been little connection between Czech and Slovak dissidents' historical debates.

Nonetheless, there were a few common themes of debate between the two sides, and one of the themes was the debate over the Czechoslovak state and the relationship between Czechs and Slovaks. These discussions were more prevalent among Slovak dissidents, but it was also present, albeit rarely, among Czech dissidents. This presentation attempts to highlight the multi-national public sphere through an overview of the debate on the Czechoslovak state in the Czech and Slovak samizdat and exile publications such as *Dialogy*, *Svědectví*, and *Zpravodaj*.

Jan Tesař, a Czech-born dissident, was an active speaker and was arrested several times before fleeing the country in 1980. He continued to write actively, using exile magazines such as *Dialogy* and *Právo lidu*. His interests lay in the solidarity between the Czechs and Slovaks. He used the history of the First Republic to call for solidarity between the two nations, although at the same time he criticized "Czechoslovakism," which claimed that the Czech and Slovak nations were one and the same. A Slovak dissident, Ján Mlynárik, who like Tesař had been active in underground publications and defected to West Germany in 1981. Like Tesař, Mlynárik also criticized "Czechoslovakism" but strongly advocated the coexistence of the two nations by claiming the return to the First Republic. He published many works in magazines such as exile magazines *Svědectví*, *Zpravodaj*.

Their arguments seem to be close, but what was the background of their claims? By focusing on Mlynárik's and Tesař's discussions, I will argue the commonalities and differences between Czech and Slovak dissidents on the Czechoslovak state and the coexistence of the two nations there, as well as the envisioned future Czechoslovak state, and then clarify the expected meaning of the existence of the Czechoslovak state in their discussions.

2. Dealing with the Past of the Homeland from Abroad: *Nova Hrvatska* (New Croatia)’s Reaction to the Extradition of Andrija Artuković in 1986

Mayuko Uno (Ph.D. Student at the University of Tokyo)

This paper aims to reveal how the émigré circles around the magazine *Nova Hrvatska* (New Croatia) reacted to the extradition of Andrija Artuković in February 1986. The magazine, established in 1959 by a young émigré Jakša Kušan, was known as having pursued an independent Croatian state with a liberal democratic regime. Based in London, it mainly circulated among the Croatian diaspora communities in Western Europe, North America, and Australia. *Nova Hrvatska* distanced itself from émigré circles which maintained their affinity for Ustaša, a Croatian radical nationalist and pro-fascist group that ruled an Axis puppet state during WWII, and other militant nationalist circles.

Artuković was a former Ustaša high-ranking official during WWII. He entered the US with a fake identity in 1948. His eligibility to stay in the US was fiercely fought in the court for eight years until the first

request for extradition by the Yugoslav government was turned down in 1959. However, he was eventually extradited to Yugoslavia following another request in 1984, as the US took a tougher stance on the former Nazi criminals and collaborators. While his extradition led to a public debate about the crimes committed during WWII in Yugoslavia, the Croatian diaspora communities were angered by the decision and protested against the US government.

Despite acknowledging the importance of facing the problematic past, *Nova Hrvatska* vehemently opposed the extradition. Kušan, the editor-in-chief, claimed that Artuković's trial in Yugoslavia would invoke compassion on the sick old extraditee and thus might unintentionally weaken the criticism of Ustaša among Croats in the homeland. By analyzing the editorials, reports concerning protests by the diaspora communities, and other articles related to the crimes committed during WWII and its aftermath, the author argues that the journal did not frame the extradition as an act of dealing with the past but as a political move that Serbs would utilize to emphasize their victimhood. This perception was extended to an antisemitic criticism that both Serbs and Jews were using their victimhood and attributing their own faults to others when the World Jewish Congress accused an Austrian presidential candidate Kurt Waldheim of allegedly having got involved in war crimes while serving in the Wehrmacht during WWII.

3. Conceptualizing the Sole Foundation of the Public Spheres: An Intellectual History of 'Biosphere,' from Vladimir Vernadskii's Biogeochemical Ideas to Cybernetics. ca.1920-1948.

Kenji HASEGAWA (Ph.D. Student, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

Throughout the 20th century, scientific ideas have become entities that widely resonate in the Public Spheres, Particularly, some scientific concepts regarding space and place have Influenced public life and policymaking. Among these, the 'Biosphere' is now one of the most important resources through which the global environment is classified, delineated, explained, experienced, and managed. In the presentation, I will focus on the scientific ideas of Russian geochemist Vladimir Vernadskii and American zoologist Evelyn Hutchinson, both considered founders of global ecology.

In the early 20th century, Vladimir Vernadskii created a brand-new field of science called biogeochemistry. He then reintroduced and defined the 'Biosphere' as a dynamic-equilibrium system consisting of living matter and its inert environment. Vernadskii was fully conscious that the reinterpretation of scientific ideas of space and place could be a catalyst for revolutionizing the existing worldview. He showed that not only the bio-physical aspects of the human-beings, but even human thoughts and culture are totally dependent on the evolutionary history of the natural environment, and that the natural environment itself is also fundamentally remade and irreversibly evolved by human-beings. Now, the "human geological force" is converting the whole Earth to the 'Noosphere.'

Vernadskii's planetary vision became accepted in non-socialist countries as well. Some of his works were first translated into French, German and Japanese, etc., but only into English at the end of the 20th century. In the 1930s, however, Evelyn Hutchinson, a regular participant of the Macy conferences (1946-1953) and one of the fathers of cybernetics, introduced Vernadskii's biogeochemistry and 'Biosphere' to American traditions of ecology with the help of Russian emigré scholars at Yale. This unexpected intellectual encounter transformed the future of global ecology. After World War II, Hutchinson created a powerful discourse on the 'Biosphere' based both on the cybernetics of circular causal systems and Vernadskii's biogeochemistry.

In the presentation, I will discuss the conceptual history of 'Biosphere,' the sole foundation of the Public Spheres, and argue that the scientific concept has been historically shaped in the Public Spheres itself in which human thoughts and ideas are represented, contested, and negotiated across languages, nations, and various knowledge domains.