

Nazi persecution – Britain's gift



A personal
reflection

DR RALPH KOHN FRS



Contents

Foreword	1
Nazi persecution – Britain’s gift: a personal reflection	2
Introduction	2
Personal experience	3
Beginnings of persecution	4
Birth of the Academic Assistance Council	6
Berlin cultural life 1933	10
The AAC positions itself cautiously	12
Funding	15
Heidelberg anniversary celebrations	15
The AAC at work	16
Kindertransport	20
Conclusion	20
Afterword	23
Acknowledgements	24
Dr Ralph Kohn	25

List of illustrations

Cover: Sigmund Freud (3rd right) with AV Hill (fourth right)
in Freud’s garden on the occasion of his signing
the Royal Society Charter Book, 23 June 1938.

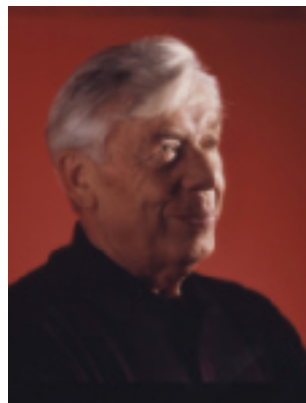
1	AV Hill	3
2	Albert Einstein, painted by Max Liebermann	3
3	Leo Szilard	6
4	William Beveridge	6
5	Ernest Rutherford	7
6	Eric Ashby	8
7	PMS Blackett, painted by William Evans	8
8	Ernst Chain at the piano accompanying Ralph Kohn	10
9	Public burning of “un-German” books on the Opernplatz, Berlin, 10 May 1933	11
10	Frederick Gowland Hopkins, painted by Meredith Frampton	14
11	Esther Simpson	17
12	Ernst Gombrich	17
13	Max Born	18
14	Max Perutz	18
15	Hans Krebs	21



Dr Ralph Kohn FMedSci FRAM FRS

Dr Ralph Kohn is a pharmacologist, entrepreneur and musician.

He was educated at Manchester University, where he was awarded a BSc, MSc and PhD and received the Wild Prize in Pharmacology. He won postdoctoral fellowships to the Istituto Superiore di Sanità in Rome, where he worked and published with two Nobel Laureates, and to the Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York. He subsequently joined the pharmaceutical industry in the Research and Development Division of the US company Smith Kline & French. After 7 years with the company, he was appointed MD of a Swiss biological company.



In 1969 Dr Kohn founded his own company, the first specifically Medical Services company in the UK, specializing in the clinical evaluation of new therapeutic substances. The company received the Queen's Award for Export Achievement for services to the pharmaceutical industry in 1990.

In 1991 Dr Kohn set up the Kohn Foundation, which has supported many scientific, medical and artistic projects.

Dr Kohn is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine and a Fellow of the Academy of Medical Sciences. He is an Honorary Fellow of the British Pharmacological Society and the Royal College of Physicians, and a member of Academia Europaea. He was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society in 2006, and he currently serves on its 350th Anniversary Campaign Board. The Kohn Foundation has supported several important initiatives at the Society, including its Science in Society Programme, the Royal Society Kohn Award for Excellence in Engaging the Public with Science, and the Climate Change Unit of the Royal Society Science Policy Centre.

Ralph Kohn is also a practising musician of professional standard. Having begun his musical studies in Amsterdam with the violin, he subsequently became interested in vocal music and studied and trained in Rome, New York and London. He has given numerous recitals and performances with orchestras in the UK and abroad, and has recorded the major cycles in the Lieder repertoire. He has so far recorded 16 CDs. He is a Fellow of the Royal Academy of Music.





Foreword

Lord Rees of Ludlow, President of the Royal Society

I warmly welcome the publication of Ralph Kohn's lecture on the persecution of scientists in Nazi Germany during the 1930s and the efforts made by many in the UK to assist them. It was originally delivered at the Royal Society on 3 December 2008, on the eve of a conference at our neighbour the British Academy celebrating the 75th anniversary of what is now known as the Council for Assisting Refugee Academics. Ralph's excellent lecture, enriched by his personal knowledge of many of the key figures, deserved to find a wider audience. I am delighted that this publication will allow it to do so.

The story of scientists in Nazi Germany reminds us first of all of the great wealth of talent that Germany had nurtured up to that time. Second, it speaks to the international character not only of science but also of learning more generally. The fact that scholars in other countries went out of their way to accommodate refugees, and the fact that the refugees, with greater or lesser difficulty, were able to fit into unfamiliar cultures, is testimony to the universality of science and learning. There are positives in the midst of a dark period in human history.

It was not straightforward. Ralph reminds us that neither the scientific community nor the political class in Britain were unanimous in their welcome for scholars fleeing

persecution in their home country. However, the practical welcome – from the likes of Lords Beveridge and Rutherford badgering their fellow Peers to junior staff donating a percentage of their income – was sufficient to support hundreds of scholars and their families who were to make a quite outstanding contribution to science and learning in Britain.

The impact of the refugee scholars on Britain has been well documented. What Ralph has done in this lecture is to focus on the pre-condition for that impact, which he describes as 'the unique humane and dedicated work of some extraordinary British subjects', whose determination, generosity and practical vision underpinned the rescue mission. It was an occasion when good people chose not to remain silent.

CARA remains active because, of course, the persecution of scholars living under dictatorships remains a live issue. Ralph reminds us of AV Hill's comment that 'tolerance and intellectual freedom ... demand continual watchfulness and effort'. CARA provides a means for scholars in free countries to undertake that continual watchfulness and effort, and it deserves our continuing warm support.



Nazi persecution – Britain’s gift: a personal reflection

Keynote lecture delivered at CARA’s 75th anniversary conference

Introduction

May I first of all express to CARA – the Council for Assisting Refugee Academics – my sincerest thanks for honouring me with an invitation to present the opening lecture of the two-day Conference entitled “In Defence of Learning – the Past and the Present” to be held at the British Academy.

My contribution is intended to review the early days of the Council, following the establishment of a Nazi government in Germany. It will highlight the period from 1933 to 1939 and the events set in motion by the expulsion from Nazi Germany of scientists and other academics.

When I was first asked to deliver an address as important as this, it seemed to me that my qualifications were rather limited. After all, I was not a refugee academic, nor am I a historian with expert knowledge of that period. However, on further reflection, I realised that to qualify as a refugee academic I would have to be at least 100 years old! And the unstinting support and encouragement I have received from CARA and its excellent Project Manager, Laura Wintour, also encouraged me to accept this challenge.

This year marks the 75th Anniversary of the establishment of the Academic Assistance Council (the AAC) in 1933 in Britain, as a direct result of the dismissal and persecution of academics, for the most

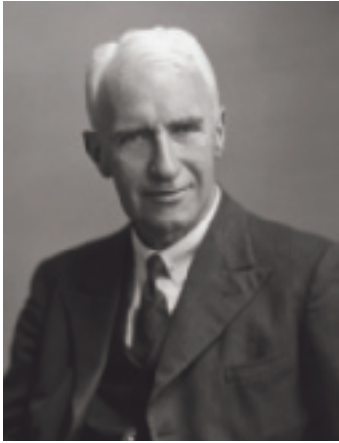
part Jewish, shortly after the Nazis assumed power in Germany in January of that year. The AAC was the forerunner of CARA, as it is now known.

It is, of course, a tragedy that such a Council had to be created in the first place to deal with the sad plight of so many individuals, who were affected by the inhuman and brutal nature of the newly established Nazi regime.

It is fitting that tonight’s lecture should be given at the Royal Society as, from the very beginning, many prominent Fellows of this Society played a leading role in the establishment and activities of the Academic Assistance Council and did so much to enable refugee scientists from Germany to be accepted in universities and other learned institutions upon arrival in this country.

The title of my presentation “Nazi persecution – Britain’s Gift” deliberately echoes a book which appeared some 9 years ago by Jean Medawar and David Pyke entitled “Hitler’s Gift – Scientists who Fled Nazi Germany”. The emphasis in the Medawar/Pyke publication was directed towards the outstanding contributions made by refugee academics and others to further Science, Medicine, the Arts and other topics in Britain. On the other hand, I should like to concentrate on the unique humane and dedicated work of some extraordinary British subjects, who found a haven of sanity for so many of





1 AV Hill



2 Albert Einstein, painted by Max Liebermann

these refugee academics, placed them in universities and academic institutions, and provided them with facilities and financial support wherever and whenever required.

Personal experience

I was born in Leipzig, and at the age of 5, not long after Hitler came to power, we left for Amsterdam. My parents were amongst those – a minority I should add – who did not believe Hitler to be a passing phenomenon, as sadly many others did in the early 1930s. Those, who had not left Germany by the late 1930s, practically all perished in the Holocaust. By the time the infamous Kristallnacht events occurred in November 1938, the writing was clearly on the wall for everyone to read, even for those who until then chose to believe they were merely living a nightmarish dream!

The Nazis brutally invaded the Netherlands in May 1940, and we were lucky to escape yet again, on the very last boat leaving Holland on 14 May. This escape was described by the distinguished historian and Churchill biographer, Sir Martin Gilbert, in

one of his books covering that period. We arrived in Liverpool a week later as penniless refugees. I was then 12 years old. Our good fortune was that we left “en famille”, parents and all siblings. This was a huge blessing.

I enjoyed a fairly normal schooling during World War II and university studies at Manchester University, but it meant having to learn two new languages on my way to England. As a result of my university studies in the biological sciences and subsequent work, I had the good fortune to meet many refugee academics, including some who had made outstanding careers in this country. I cannot claim to have been involved in world-shattering drug discoveries as a pharmacologist myself, but I can state without fear of contradiction that “I have stood on the shoulders of many refugee academic giants, in both the sciences and arts” – to paraphrase the famous expression of which Sir Isaac Newton availed himself when addressing Robert Hooke, both distinguished Fellows of the Royal Society.





Beginnings of persecution

It is difficult to imagine how Jews, who had lived for many generations in Germany and had contributed vastly to every aspect of German cultural life, felt when from one day to the next they were declared undesirable citizens and dismissed from their academic positions on account of their race.

This was a very special turning point in history. With hindsight we can now see that 1933 was the beginning of the inevitable onslaught that would lead to World War II and systematic genocide. And yet, at this time, six years before the war, most people would have dismissed any suggestion that lives were actually in danger. Not even a man of the greatest scientific imagination, such as the Nobel Laureate Professor AV Hill¹, who played a major role in the establishment of the AAC, could as yet foresee the full evil of the Nazis. I quote from a letter Hill wrote to Lord Beveridge in 1934:

It is not that these academics will perish as human beings, but that as scholars and scientists, they will be heard of no more, since they will have to take up something else in order to live.

As yet there is no fear on AV Hill's part for the life of the dismissed Jewish scientists. The only thing that seemed clear at the

time was that knowledge and learning were threatened by petty-minded and vindictive edicts of a racial nature, and that much important scientific work was in danger of being lost because dedicated people with fine minds were being denied the chance to work. That they were generously given that chance in this country should always be remembered as a glorious moment for decency and humanity. As we know only too well, those who had not left Germany before the outbreak of War in 1939 did in fact perish.

One experience that should have alerted AV Hill to the real nature of the Nazi regime was an exchange with Professor Johannes Stark. Stark was a well-known physicist and Nobel Laureate. He was also a strong supporter of the Nazi Party, and in fact was regarded the scientific "Gauleiter" of the regime. Soon after the establishment of the Nazi regime, he took AV to task in correspondence published in Nature for denouncing the Nazis for persecuting Jewish and "dissident" scientists. His contention was that there was "no factual basis for Hill's remarks", but the Nazi government had been "obliged to protect itself against disloyal persons". He even went so far as to write to Lord Rutherford asking him to stop Hill making "dangerous statements".

¹ AV Hill was one of the founders of biophysics together with Hermann Helmholtz. However, in the eyes of the distinguished physiologist Starling at University College London, AV was a mathematician and physicist and "did not know a word of physiology"! When Hill, who had been appointed to a professorship at UCL, arrived there from Manchester after his Nobel Prize had been announced, he was carried by the students shoulder high to his new department and on the way they stopped outside Starling's room shouting "we want Starling – we want Starling". Starling appeared – somewhat startled at the noise – and the students shouted "who said he didn't know any physiology?" Starling replied "I said he didn't. He doesn't know a damn word!" They all had a marvellously good-humoured time laughing and joking and this boisterous scene was actually photographed. Try to imagine this sort of scene in Nazi Germany!





Stark was under the impression that in Britain Rutherford had the same dictatorial authority that he himself enjoyed under the Nazi system. And, furthermore, he should have known that Rutherford was the first President of the AAC in 1933! Although this correspondence dealt with serious matters, AV dismissed it with some humour, remarking “laughter is the best detergent for nonsense”! But Hill perhaps did not realise that humour was no laughing matter for the likes of Stark.

The year that marks the 75th anniversary of the AAC is also the 75th anniversary of the so-called thousand-year Reich, when Adolf Hitler was elected Chancellor of Germany. On 30 January 1933 the election results were announced and a Nazi government was established. Within weeks new laws were promulgated concerning what was called the ‘Cleansing of the Civil Service.’ German Universities were structured in such a way that they were part of that civil service, and the new government had the right – unimaginable as far as British universities was concerned – to dismiss staff at will, to make direct appointments, and to limit university entrance to those who supported the party.

The story of Professor Otto Kraymer provides an illustration of the prevailing mood. Kraymer was a distinguished pharmacologist, a subject somewhat dear to me! He was one of the very few young German scientists who stood up against the injustice of the Nazi regime and said so loud and clear. He was Aryan, and not even the Nazis could claim him to be otherwise (not even a “white Jew”). The prestigious Chair of Pharmacology at Dusseldorf University was vacant as the Jewish incumbent Professor Philipp Ellinger was dismissed in 1933, and the Chair was offered to Kraymer. Kraymer wrote back to the Prussian Minister for

Science, Art and National Education: “I will abstain from winning a position that corresponds to my inclinations and abilities, rather than make a decision contrary to my conviction or remaining inauspiciously silent. I feel the exclusion of Jewish scientists to be an injustice, the necessity of which I cannot understand, since it has been justified by reasons that lie outside the domain of Science.” He was immediately forbidden from entering any Government academic institution, using state libraries or scientific facilities. He left for the U.S. where he became a distinguished head of Pharmacology at Harvard. I did see him at meetings whilst doing my postdoctoral studies in New York, but am deeply saddened that I never knew him personally.

One of the most famous of all German scientists, Professor Max Planck, founder of the quantum theory, was non-Jewish. He attempted to reason with Hitler, that German learning and science were endangered by the dismissal of talented men and women on racial and political grounds.

Hitler’s infamous reply is worth quoting verbatim:

Our national policies will not be revoked or modified, even for scientists. If the dismissal of Jewish scientists means the annihilation of contemporary German science, we shall do without science for a few years.

Planck, who continued to teach the forbidden theories of Einstein, was accordingly branded what was termed a “white Jew” and tragically his son was hanged by the Nazis after his indictment for being part of the Stauffenberg Plot against Hitler in 1944. As for Einstein himself, he was the bogey man of Nazi ideology.





3 Leo Szilard



4 William Beveridge

The fanatical, notorious Nazi ideologist, Professor Philipp Lenard, himself a Nobel laureate, wrote a textbook on so-called “Aryan Physics” and denounced Einstein’s theory of relativity as “down and out”. As for any Jew, he proclaimed, “his complete unfitness for scientific research is obvious, although this is concealed by arithmetical juggling”.

Einstein had left Germany for America in December 1932. With such a famous figure denounced by this kind of officially approved individual, what hope was there for other Jewish scientists? Very soon after the summary dismissal of the first wave of academics the sheer injustice of their plight became the talk of the academic world.

Birth of the Academic Assistance Council

Sir William Beveridge, then Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, and later architect of Britain’s Welfare State, was in Vienna at the time of the first dismissals in March 1933. With him was his colleague from

the LSE, Professor Lionel Robbins, and the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises. This distinguished pair of British academics read in a newspaper, whilst sitting in a café, about the suspension of twelve important Jewish scientists from German universities. Beveridge realised that all this knowledge and experience had to be saved, and that the dignity of the German academics must be upheld for the benefit of the entire learned world.

Oscar Wilde once observed: “It is personalities not principles, which move the age” – and how much more true is that, when large personalities like Beveridge and Robbins and many others had in addition principles. They cut short their visit to Vienna and returned to London, but not before meeting a brilliant scientist who happened to be in Vienna at the time. We must remember that Austria was not yet under Nazi control – the Anschluss took place only in 1938 – and it sheltered refugees from Germany in its own right, including a remarkable Hungarian, the nuclear physicist Dr. Leo Szilard.





5 Ernest Rutherford

Szilard somehow always turned up at the right place and at the right time in the 1930s – a true man of destiny, it would appear. Many Hungarians had the reputation of being so extraordinarily talented and able (in whichever sphere they worked) that the joke went round “If you enter a revolving door in front of a Hungarian you would inevitably emerge behind him”. To reinforce this point, when a young Hungarian once introduced himself to Szilard as simply “I am a Hungarian” (the rest being understood), he received the uncompromising reply: “It is not enough to be a Hungarian – you also require talent”!

Szilard tried to persuade Beveridge to create a “University in Exile” for dismissed Academics. Beveridge, however, felt that this was not a practical proposition and suggested instead that those academics affected by the Nazi dismissals should be placed in existing Universities in the free world. It was Beveridge who proposed the formation of an Academic Assistance Council to achieve this important aim. As a result, Szilard moved to London in 1933

to support this new endeavour. By 1938 he had moved to America to deal with other urgent matters.

It was Szilard who persuaded Einstein to write the famous letter to the American President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939, which led to the establishment of the Manhattan Project and creation of the Atomic bomb. Given these rather forceful credentials it is little wonder that during his years in London Szilard was highly active at the office of the Academic Assistance Council – prodding, encouraging, and pressurising those he worked with, probably also driving them to despair – but all in a good cause. There is no doubt that Szilard was a key player in this story, but he had no real influence in Britain, and he rightly left it to Beveridge and his powerful British colleagues to handle the Establishment. That proved to be the right way forward.

Beveridge was a famous man in his field, but he went right to the very top when it came to finding someone to take on the Chairmanship of the Council that he





6 Eric Ashby



7 PMS Blackett, painted by William Evans

wished to bring into being. This was Lord Rutherford, by birth a New Zealander. He had been awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1908, he was the immediate past President of the Royal Society, and was Britain's most famous elder scientist. In political terms he was a Tory – but, as time went on, he had increasing sympathy with the warnings about Germany and its intentions that were coming ever more forcefully from the Churchillian side of the Conservative party.

Ernest Rutherford was sixty-two at the time and not in the best of health. His wife and doctor advised against his taking on any new task, but he realised the crucial importance of this work and he did so nevertheless. As head of the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge he had already moved on to the role of inspiration to a younger generation of scientists.

Beveridge selected a much younger and more energetic man to be Vice-President of the Council, Professor AV Hill. Archibald Hill was a Nobel Prize winner – he had

shared the 1922 award with the German Otto Meyerhoff. He was professor of physiology at Manchester University at the time and is regarded as one of the founders of biophysics. When the Academic Assistance Council was formed in 1933, he was professor of physiology at University College, London. Hill (or 'AV' as he was universally known) was particularly active during the war years in the defence of fellow scientists persecuted by the Nazi regime. He wrote movingly of the 'brotherhood of science and learning'. One of his co-workers was Sir Bernard Katz, another refugee academic, who was subsequently to receive the Nobel Prize.

In his politics, AV followed a 17th century tradition allowing the ancient universities to elect members to Parliament, and he became an "Independent Conservative" representing Cambridge University, with the emphasis on "Independent". In this capacity, he took on the case of interned refugees on the Isle of Man pleading for their early release. One of these became the distinguished pharmacologist, Professor





Heinz Otto Schild FRS at University College London. Schild concluded that the war situation could not be too serious after all (this was in 1940 when France had collapsed and Britain was fighting for survival) if Parliament made time available for the likes of himself to be debated! I knew Schild personally.

Patrick Blackett – or PMS Blackett as he was known – was a prominent member of the scientific left and had a strong following among the younger members of the scientific community. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1933. Blackett stated that ‘Science in Germany was being deliberately used for war preparations, and for anti-working class activities. Scientific fact is being distorted to accord with Nazi teachings.’ In his earlier years Blackett had been strongly against the use of science for military purposes, but from 1935 onwards he worked with Henry Tizard and AV Hill on the Committee for Scientific Survey of Air Defence that gave birth to radar.

Patrick Blackett was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1948 for his investigation of cosmic rays. In 1965 he became President of the Royal Society and in 1969 a Labour peer, dedicated, as ever, to left-wing causes. I am also proud to say that Blackett was my professor of physics at Manchester University, but in spite of this I must confess that I did not cover myself with great glory in this subject. Professor Eric Ashby, later Lord Ashby, who became President of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (as the AAC was subsequently known), was my professor of botany at Manchester, which was a subject at which – I am pleased to say – I fared rather better. But I feel that without these links being part of my own story, I would have little right to address this distinguished audience on these important matters.

If Blackett was a man of the Left, it was Beveridge’s gift to be able to engage with the Right wing as well – including that colourful personality, Professor Frederick Lindemann, FRS, later Lord Cherwell (or “The Prof” as some called him with a certain amount of sarcasm). He had been head of the Clarendon Laboratory in Oxford since 1920. Unlike the vast majority of his fellow-scientists he was actively involved with politics and was anti-communist to a degree that made scientists like Blackett regard him as a wealthy capitalist reactionary. Churchill was a friend of Lindemann, to whom he turned for scientific advice. ‘The Prof’ was violently anti-Hitler, but he was also capable of anti-Semitic remarks and his biographers remain divided about his feelings towards Jews.

Being an independent and very wealthy man – inherited money I should add – but also with some funding from the AAC, Lindemann went around in Germany in his Rolls Royce clearing out whole departments of their best scientists, including such luminaries as K rti, Mendelssohn and Franz Simon – later Sir Francis Simon. As the historian David Zimmermann points out, Lindemann, though no great scientific luminary himself, “viewed Hitler’s foolishness as an opportunity to transform the Clarendon Laboratories in Oxford into a world centre for low temperature physics”. As far as we know, in doing this he did not appear to compete with the AAC’s activities. After Lindemann’s trip, the AAC established a grant programme which generated extensive correspondence with the academics it was designed to help. Much of this is now housed in the Bodleian Library and can be studied.

Despite his possibly ambivalent attitudes towards Jews, Lindemann was appalled by Hitler’s dismissal of Jewish scientists, and in





8 Ernst Chain at the piano accompanying Ralph Kohn

the words of Zimmermann “he was a rare example of a person who, in the face of great injustice, could put bigotry to rest”. Lindemann had excellent contacts with industry and he did not wait for the work of the newly established Council to get underway. He obtained a large grant from ICI for displaced chemists and physicists, of which some twenty Jewish scholars were the beneficiaries.

The date of the first official meeting of the Academic Assistance Council was 23 May 1933. The speed with which the enterprise had been arranged was largely thanks to Beveridge’s energy and the help of the Royal Society, who generously offered the newly-born Council valuable office space: two rooms in the attic of Burlington House, Piccadilly, where the Royal Society was then based.

Berlin cultural life 1933

Events in Germany, less than a fortnight earlier, had confirmed that the Academic Assistance Council had been formed none too soon. I refer to the notorious burning

of books in Berlin on 10 May 1933 – an event just as ominous in its own way as the dismissal of the scientists. It was presided over by Berlin’s Gauleiter, Joseph Goebbels. Like a Pagan High Priest he intoned the words ‘Ich übergebe den Flammen’ (I consign to the flames), and oversaw the destruction of so-called degenerate books title by title, in each case naming the author.

During the Third Reich period some 18,000 works that did not conform to Nazi ideology were burned. This was the same city of Berlin which, until Hitler came on the scene, was considered one of the great cultural and scientific cities of the world, if not the most prominent. That the book-burning took place in the Opernplatz – the Opera Square – of the capital city is a cruel irony for those of us who love music.

Berlin had previously hosted the orchestral and opera conductors Otto Klemperer, Bruno Walter, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Erich Kleiber and Leo Blech. The same high standard applied to the theatre





9 Public burning of “un-German” books on the Opernplatz, Berlin, 10 May 1933

headed by the renowned Director and Producer Max Reinhardt. In the visual arts, Max Liebermann, the leading German Impressionist and President of the Academy of Arts. Paul Klee lived and worked there although his art was soon to be denounced as ‘Entartete’ – Degenerate – by civilisation’s new Nazi masters, alongside hundreds of other members of the artistic avant-garde. Berthold Brecht and the composer Kurt Weill were particularly hated and had to flee immediately.

Scientists who had been active in Berlin included Einstein himself as well as Max Planck, Walter Nernst, Fritz Haber, Otto Hahn, Lise Meitner, Otto Warburg, and many others. Younger names like Hans Krebs and Ernst Chain would make their names later and elsewhere. Berlin was home to a galaxy of stars. Most of those above-mentioned were forced to emigrate.

The books burnt included works by Thomas Mann, Sigmund Freud, Karl Marx, Erich Maria Remarque, H. G Wells and many others. Among these were the works of

Jewish writers and poets of the past, once heroes of German culture who were now cast as retrospective villains.

Among these was Heinrich Heine, the German-Jewish poet, whose lyrics were set to music by composers such as Schubert and Schumann. His poems were the basis of hundreds of German songs, that precious world of *Lieder*, a very special love of mine that had always represented the most civilised face of German culture to the outside world. The Nazis were the kind of people who liked to talk of German cultural values and the protection of German art, at the same time as displaying shocking ignorance and a catastrophic lack of good taste. There was a school of Nazi painting, Nazi sculpture, even Nazi music, but nothing they touched has proven to be of any enduring artistic merit, coming as it does from the sterile soil of totalitarian bigotry. My mention of *Lieder* in connection with Heine is rather autobiographical: for me the art of *Lieder* has remained one of the greatest pleasures of my life and I have had the privilege of working with, in





my opinion, one of its greatest exponents in the world – Graham Johnson. Graham was born in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. In terms of totalitarianism in the present-day world, and as an example of the collapse of learning, need I say more?

At home I have many volumes of the composers Schubert, Schumann and Brahms, all edited by a famous scholar, Max Friedländer, who was probably the greatest Lieder scholar of his time and who was stripped by the Nazis of his academic titles and honours in Berlin before dying a broken man in 1934. Friedländer was a world authority on Dichterliebe, the great lyric song cycle to Heine's Jewish poems by the Aryan composer Robert Schumann. Heine's words, and indeed his name as a poet, had to disappear and the Nazis employed some terrible modern poet to put new words to the cycle.

It was Heinrich Heine who wrote the prophetic words: "Dort wo man Bücher verbrennt, verbrennt man auch am Ende Menschen"! Wherever they burn books they will also, in the end, burn human beings. Beveridge and the other supporters of the Academic Assistance Council surely made the same instinctive connection as Heine, without perhaps articulating it in so many words.

At least Heine, who died in 1856, was unable to suffer personally from the Nazi destruction of his books. For modern writers it was a different story. In his book "The World of Yesterday" the Austrian novelist Stefan Zweig, a later hate-figure for the Nazis when they took over Austria, sums it all up in a single devastating sentence:

I have witnessed the most terrible defeat of reason and the wildest triumph of brutality in the chronicle of the Ages.

Never has any generation experienced such moral repression from such a spiritual height as our generation has.

The Nazis' abysmal attitude towards cultural standards may be illustrated with an infamous saying attributed to Göring, but actually stolen by him from a play performed in Berlin in 1933: "When anyone speaks to me of culture (Kultur), I want to reach for my gun". In Göring's feverish mind the word "culture" was invariably associated with Jews!

Göring also stole the cynical statement "Wer Jude ist entscheide ich" – I decide who is a Jew – from Karl Lueger, a former Mayor of Vienna. This expression was very appropriate when Göring, as is well-known, personally allowed Otto Warburg, the distinguished Nobel Prize winning biochemist, to remain untouched throughout the War in his laboratories in Berlin - Dahlem, although he was of Jewish descent. The reason for this extraordinary exemption from dismissal was Göring's conviction that Otto Warburg was THE man to solve the cancer problems – a disease which terrified him.

The AAC positions itself cautiously

In 1933 of course the members of the AAC were careful not to say explicitly anything as inflammatory as Heine. Their aim was to build as broad a consensus as possible. Beveridge and Hill had at first wished to criticise the German government in their public statements, but their more cautious colleagues, including Rutherford, persuaded them that rhetoric and polemic should be avoided, anything that would have enabled the Council to be labelled by its enemies as a "Jewish pressure group".



Box A: Signatories to a letter to *The Times* in support of the AAC, 24 May 1933

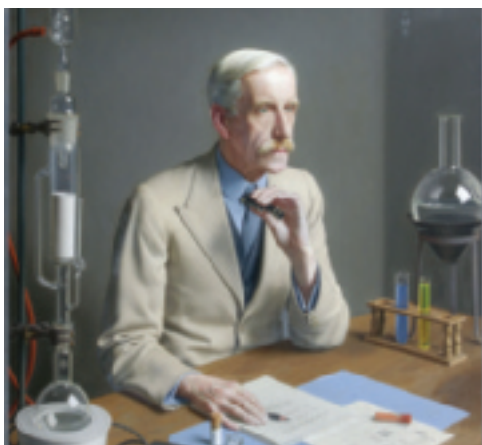
Lascelles Abercrombie	George F. Hill	Robert S. Rait
S. Alexander	W. S. Holdsworth	Lord Rayleigh
W. H. Beveridge	F. Gowland Hopkins	Charles Grant Robertson
W. H. Bragg	A. E. Housman	Robert Robinson
Lord Buckmaster	J. C. Irvine	Lord Rutherford
Lord Cecil	F. G. Kenyon	Michael E. Sadler
Lord Crawford and Balcarres	J. M. Keynes	C.S. Sherrington
Winifred C. Cullis	A. D. Lindsay	Arthur Schuster
H. A. L. Fisher	Lord Lytton	George Adam Smith
Margery Fry	J. W. Mackail	G. Elliot Smith
C. S. Gibson	Allen Mawer	J. C. Stamp
M. Greenwood	Gilbert Murray	J. J. Thomson
J. S. Haldane	Lord Eustace Percy	G. M. Trevelyan
A. V. Hill	W. J. Pope	

When Einstein came to London to address a large crowd at the Albert Hall in 3 October 1933 to raise funds for the Academic Assistance Council, enormous care was taken to avoid direct public criticism of the German Government. The reason for that was the danger that the Council might be placed on the list of proscribed organisations with which it would have been illegal for German citizens to correspond. This would have made their rescue work all but impossible. As a result of their caution, the AAC did avoid being proscribed, but the meeting at the Albert Hall created an atmosphere of anxiety because of rumours of a plot to assassinate Einstein. He left for the U.S. and the organisation's reputation was not damaged in any way. The AAC members were careful not to inflame the German authorities. In its original appeal in May 1933 the AAC stated: "Their action implied no unfriendly feelings to the people of any country". The AAC's non-political basis helped recruit support from all quarters.

The Royal Society felt that for political reasons the AAC Executive Committee should not have any Jewish members in order for it to function smoothly. The Academic Assistance Council was something typically British in its understatement, where work was undertaken with little fuss but in deadly earnest. It is perhaps for this reason that the truly extraordinary work that it accomplished has been underestimated to this day.

When collecting signatures for the initial letter in *The Times* they had neither avoided Jews nor actively sought them out. There was a lot of discussion about this at the time. It was taken as understood that the majority of those scholars to be helped were German Jews, but there were academics throughout Europe – in Fascist Spain, Portugal and Italy, for example, who were losing their jobs for political, if not racial, reasons.

Box A shows the list of 41 signatories to a letter sent to *The Times* and other leading



10 Frederick Gowland Hopkins, painted by Meredith Frampton

newspapers in support of the AAC in May 1933. Göring would presumably have wished to gun them all down, and not only because they were all exceptionally cultured people. I have already mentioned Beveridge, Rutherford and AV Hill. No fewer than seven present or future holders of the Order of Merit put their name to this document. Amongst these were:

- Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins OM, biochemist and winner of the Nobel Prize in Medicine in 1929 for his work on vitamins. President of the Royal Society between 1930 and 1935.
- Sir JJ Thompson OM, physicist and winner of the Nobel Prize in physics in 1906 for the discovery of the electron. President of the Royal Society between 1915 and 1920.
- Sir William Bragg CH, physicist and winner of the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1915 for his work on crystallography. President of the Royal Society between 1935 and 1940.

- Sir Robert Robinson OM, organic chemist and winner of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1947 for his work on plant dyestuffs and alkaloids. President of the Royal Society between 1945 and 1950.

There were several historians who were signatories to the letter: Herbert Fisher OM and GM Trevelyan OM – who was to become one of the most famous proponents of history recounted from the point of view of ordinary people. Other historians on the list were Sir Robert Rait, Charles Grant Robertson and the legal historian WS Holdsworth. FG Kenyon was Director of the British Museum, a famous Egyptologist, and Secretary as well as President of the British Academy.

Sir Samuel Alexander OM was an Australian born British philosopher who had a long association with my University – Manchester. He was the only person on the list who was Jewish, although the German-born physicist Arthur Schuster, also associated with Manchester University,





had been born to Jewish parents who had converted to Christianity – something that would, in Hitler's eyes, have made no difference at all to his racial status.

Women scholars and academics included the physiologist Winifred Cullis, and the prison reformer Margery Fry. That there were so few women is an indication of the times, and that all sorts of enlightened social developments we now take for granted, were still only at an embryonic stage. Theology was represented by the Scottish scholar George Adam Smith. The Classics provided a scholarly backbone of a different kind: the famous scholar and translator Gilbert Murray and the equally distinguished classicist Alfred Edward Housman who was also a world-famous poet.

At the name of AE Housman the ears of all musicians prick up because of his connection with Ralph Vaughan Williams, and any number of other English composers. Housman was the author of the famous collection of poems entitled *A Shropshire Lad*. The song cycle to these words was by George Butterworth, a composer killed in the First World War. This cycle is well-known to all baritones – including myself.

I have left the most topical name on the list until last – at least the most topical in terms of the financial turmoil we face today. This was the distinguished economist John Maynard Keynes, who was working on his magnum opus entitled *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* published in 1936. He sympathised with Beveridge's plan to help the German academics without, however, devising a way to fund it.

Funding


Money was always a problem. By the beginning of August 1933 the AAC had raised £10,000, mostly from British academics and from the Central Jewish Fund. Einstein's commitment post the Albert Hall meeting generated great enthusiasm and a special fund was set up at the LSE, where the staff donated between 1-3% of their annual salary to persecuted German colleagues. In 1936 Lord Rutherford sent out a request for funds, which brought in additional funding.

For those refugee scholars who could not immediately be placed in a new environment, the help that could be given was initially limited to £250 a year for a married scholar, and £180 for an unmarried man or woman. These grants were also remitted to professionals within Germany, who were unable to emigrate and who were out of work, as a result of the introduction of the racial laws.

Heidelberg anniversary celebrations

The continued need for AAC to position itself with some care in respect of international politics was highlighted in 1936, when Germany's oldest university, Heidelberg, founded in 1386, was celebrating its 550th anniversary. As one could imagine, the Nazis wished to make international propaganda out of this occasion. It coincided with the 1936 Olympic Games held in Berlin. Heidelberg invited universities from other countries to join the celebrations and thus hoped to legitimise their repugnant acts of discrimination.





This led to a vigorous debate in the columns of *the Times*, initiated by a letter from the Bishop of Durham in which he strongly opposed the acceptance of the Heidelberg invitation, having regard to the manner in which they and other German universities were persecuting scholars on racial grounds. He was strongly supported by, amongst many others, Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins.

An opposing view was held by other establishment figures, such as Sir Josiah Stamp (who like Hopkins had been a signatory of the 1933 letter that launched the AAC) and Sir Ian Hamilton, the latter claiming that it was all the fault of the Versailles Treaty which accounted for the rise of Hitler, and urged the British universities to go and see for themselves before they severed ties with German universities.

Beveridge strongly supported the Bishop of Durham in this raging debate and said there was no need to go to Germany to see how the universities were acting, when so many of their Jewish academic colleagues had been driven into exile, as anyone with his eyes open could readily see.

It was, of course, clear that the Heidelberg celebrations were not an academic but a political affair, which was confirmed with speeches by the Rector and Goebbels. Beveridge's view was fully endorsed by AV Hill, Gowland Hopkins and Frederic Kenyon, and few people had any doubts as to the correctness of the line taken. At these celebrations the flags of 32 countries were hoisted, whose universities and colleges had sent delegations. However, the Union Jack was absent. Every one of the British universities had stayed away to their great

credit, inspired by these great highly-principled men I have mentioned.

There was, of course, as one might expect, a lack of universal support in this country for the admission of refugees or providing financial aid. While attempting to raise funds for the AAC, Lord Rutherford received the following letter from a fellow member of the House of Lords:

Dear Lord Rutherford

I received a communication from you enclosing an appeal signed by various leading men (who ought to have known better) appealing to augment the £28,000 already spent on finding jobs for exiles.

I could have contemplated with equanimity, the spending of £28,000 to keep them out, but I conceive it an act of treachery to spend a penny to bring them in, to deprive our countrymen of posts in an over-crowded profession.

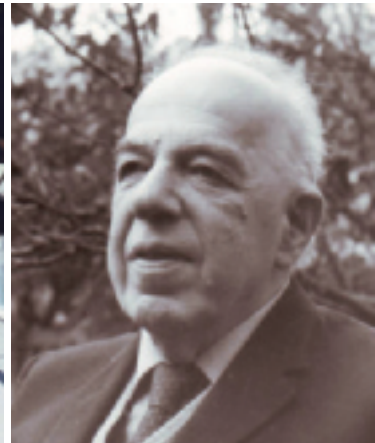
... To support this appeal for international iconoclasts in the name of science is debasing the peerage!

The AAC at work

By the summer of 1933 the work of the Council was in full swing. Rutherford now wrote to the vice-chancellors of all the British universities: 'We shall be glad to hear from you if your University is in a position to find openings for any of those recommended men and women.' He also asked for funds. Most of the vice-chancellors responded positively if cautiously. They were prepared to make facilities available, but were less certain about the granting of funds. One university blamed the economic malaise, others refused without giving any reasons.



11 Esther Simpson



12 Ernst Gombrich

The general secretary of AAC was Walter (later Sir Walter) Adams, a lecturer in history at the LSE, but the heart and soul of the organisation was his executive assistant, Esther Simpson, affectionately known as Tess.

Tess Simpson was at the centre of the Academic Assistance Council and of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) as the Council was renamed in 1936. Under her watchful and sympathetic eye this specialist employment exchange for displaced academics had over 2,000 members registered on its books and grew into a powerfully international force for good, making contacts with similar organisations all over the free world.

The memoirs of Tess Simpson entitled *Refugee Scholars* are a wonderful source of information about the period. She had worked in Breslau and Vienna and was fluent in German. She was Jewish by birth, although she never said so, perhaps for some of the political reasons I have already

mentioned. Music was very important to her. She was a fine violinist and chamber music player, a fact that further endears her to me. The idea of this great work being combined with a love of music seems to me the most natural thing in the world. Through her interests in the arts she made friends with a range of refugees who were not scientists: such as the distinguished art historian Ernst Gombrich (whom I knew quite well), the great Schubert scholar Otto Erich Deutsch, the violinist Max Rostal, the members of the Amadeus String Quartet, the architectural historian Nicolaus Pevsner, and the philosopher Karl Popper.

Until very recently, I had not known that there was a member of my own family who lived in Berlin, the city of my mother's birth, who was in touch with the Academic Assistance Council and asking for help. He was Professor Selmar Ascheim, a well-known gynaecologist and a relative of my mother's who at one time considered emigration to Britain. Ascheim was Director of Reproductive Physiology at the





13 Max Born



14 Max Perutz

Charité in Berlin, one of the best-known hospitals in Europe before Hitler. Ascheim described the first qualitative pregnancy test, known as the Ascheim-Zondek test, published in 1927. I have seen some of this correspondence, which is now housed in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The AAC provided him with funds until he emigrated to Paris in 1935 on being offered the Directorship of a national research institution, for which one had to be a French citizen. He was, I understand, naturalised immediately upon arrival in Paris.

By 1937 it was clear to the SPSL that their work should be expanded to include other European countries and the U.S. The brilliant young biochemist Louis Rapkine from France took the lead and a meeting was arranged with Lord Beveridge acting as host in Oxford on 14-15 November 1937. Delegates represented France, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, the Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland (first based in Zurich, but after 1935 located in London), the Council of German Jewry, the

Royal Society, and the National Academy of Sciences of the U.S. It was agreed to set up an international body under the chairmanship of the Danish Nobel Laureate Niels Bohr to broaden the work of the SPSL. Sadly events moved too fast and by September 1939 war had broken out. With the collapse of France in June 1940 the International Committee's work similarly came to an end.

Nevertheless Louis Rapkine, with the encouragement of Tess Simpson, saved the lives of hundreds of French scientists by arranging for them to be spirited away by American submarines. Rapkine was one of Tess Simpson's special heroes, as was the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein. And her many other heroes naturally included the great scientists that had been relocated and saved thanks to the efforts of the Academic Assistance Council and later the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning.

Two other organisations were also active in the cause of refugee academics. One was the Notgemeinschaft Deutscher



Wissenschaftlicher im Ausland, based first in Zurich and, after 1935, alongside the AAC in London. Its greatest success came in placing around 50 German academics at the new University of Istanbul. The other was the American Emergency Committee for Displaced Scholars, based in New York, which had found positions for 161 European academic refugees by 1938.

Statistics from the early years of those assisted by the AAC show that 18 were awarded Nobel Prizes, 14 received Knighthoods and well over 100 became Fellows of the Royal Society or the British Academy. This evening only a few of them can be mentioned in passing; as I explained this lecture is mainly devoted to the British facilitators, rather than the German beneficiaries – but how proud these British scholars must have been to survey the fruit of their labours. We must not forget that the majority of the emigrants were at that time young and fairly unknown people. Those who later made significant contributions were able to do so because Britain generously gave them the opportunities that Nazi Germany had denied them. They included:

- MAX BORN, a physics professor at Göttingen who was invited to Cambridge by Patrick Blackett. He later became professor of physics at Edinburgh when he received the Nobel Prize. His son, Gustav, is a dear friend and fellow pharmacologist of great distinction. I am very pleased to see him here this evening.
- The physiologist WILHELM FELDBERG from Hamburg, pioneer in the field of neurotransmission, whom I knew well when he worked at the MRC unit in Mill Hill.
- HERMANN BLASCHKO from Berlin, another distinguished neurophysiologist who worked in Oxford.
- Sir BERNARD KATZ, Nobel Laureate, born in Leipzig, protégé of AV Hill working in the same discipline of biophysics. He was Biological Secretary of the Royal Society between 1968 and 1976.
- Sir LUDWIG GUTTMANN from Breslau – world-famous for his scientific and clinical work on paraplegia and father of the Para-Olympic games. He set up his outstanding centre in Stoke-Mandeville. At one stage in my life I was active in conducting clinical trials with a new drug at their Rheumatological Centre.
- MAX PERUTZ from Vienna, who, after a long and distinguished career, including indispensable help to the war effort that led to his naturalisation on Lord Mountbatten's orders during the war, described the structure and functions of haemoglobin that led to the Nobel Prize in 1962. Max was a very rare man, scientist extraordinary, and of profound culture – what a pleasure always to speak with him. His daughter, Vivien, is a dear friend and she not only listens to my recordings, but always gives me valuable advice, which is always profound.
- The biochemist ERNST BORIS CHAIN from Berlin, one of the three men awarded the Nobel Prize for the discovery of Penicillin in 1945. As many of you may know, Penicillin's powerful antibacterial properties were first described by Alexander Fleming in 1929 from the mould *Penicillium Notatum* and isolated and purified by Ernst Chain and Howard Florey in 1939 into the pure compound that has saved millions of lives. I had



the great good fortune to spend three years working as a post doctoral fellow with Ernst Chain. He was also a fine pianist and accompanist for singers and we have given numerous concerts and charity performances – a great and unique man.

In mentioning so many distinguished names of people I knew and some I worked with, the wheel has come full circle. A debt to Britain and the British is what they and I also have in common, and it is a bond of honour and gratitude.

Kindertransport

In keeping with the theme of “Britain’s Gift”, and in parallel with the work of the AAC for established scholars, the Kindertransport scheme offered a lifeline to children. Many of you will be familiar with this scheme, whereby the British government agreed after the Kristallnacht events to admit 10,000 Jewish children from Nazi Germany who were absorbed by kind and generous British families or placed in hostels. I shall illustrate its workings by reference to the great acts of kindness and humanity shown by two distinguished British families – both with strong links to the Royal Society.

Recently, during the course of lunch, Sir David Attenborough, who needs no introduction, told me a remarkable story from 1939. His father came home one day and told the three Attenborough boys that they would shortly be joined by two young ladies from Berlin and that these would be their new sisters. The girls stayed with the Attenborough family until well after the war and remained closely in touch thereafter. These girls came to Britain under the Kindertransport scheme.

And then there is the story of the Sainsbury family. They set up a special home in Putney in 1939 to house Kindertransport children, and I spoke to one of these Sainsbury beneficiaries only a few days ago. He is Sir Günther Treitel, Emeritus Professor of English law at Oxford where he held the Vinerian chair, and is a world authority on contract law. Günther Treitel was ten years old when he arrived from Berlin and was put up at this hostel and wonderfully looked after. It was Sir Robert Sainsbury, the father of Lord Sainsbury of Turville, who created the centre. When Sir Robert died, Sir Günther Treitel was one of the speakers at the celebration of the life of Sir Robert.

Both Sir David Attenborough and Lord Sainsbury are dear friends, and Fellows of the Royal Society. I have the honour of serving on a committee of the Royal Society chaired by Lord Sainsbury on which both the President of the Royal Society, Lord Rees, and Sir David are active. Good deeds in life are indeed recognised also by future generations. Similarly, those in the AAC who put their trust in the talents and hard work of the refugee academics were vindicated and richly rewarded in terms of manifold achievements in science and learning.

Conclusion

Of course, we have only touched on the very beginnings of the outstanding organisation now known as CARA. In confining ourselves to the years before 1938, we have not reached the annexation of Austria, much less the war itself and the numerous problems that arose with the internment of all German nationals. “Collar the lot” was Churchill’s directive. The AAC, Tess Simpson, and many other scientific personalities were able to take





15 Hans Krebs

many of these people out of internment and place them in employment. After the war there was ever continuing work with academics from many other countries who found themselves unable to make their living because of political pressure. It was an endless struggle and the work is far from over. What has been done by CARA and its antecedents since its modest beginnings is beyond praise.

I will close with the words of the biochemist, Sir Hans Krebs from Hildesheim, a pupil of Otto Warburg in Berlin, who won the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1953. I had the great privilege of knowing Hans Krebs and I should perhaps mention that his first appointment in Sheffield was lecturer in pharmacology. His son is Principal of Jesus College Oxford: John, now Lord Krebs, is a dear friend.

Quoting Karl Zuckmayer, himself a refugee from Nazi Germany, Hans Krebs said "Home is not where a man is born, but where he wants to die, where he wants

to carry out his life, and bring it to a close as is ordained. It is where he has put his roots down into the earth, which he has broken by his own toil". Whilst working in Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins' laboratory, Krebs said that he became fully aware and acquainted with the meaning of the words: "the British way of life".

Another distinguished refugee from Hungary, Arthur Koestler, described the culture of the British as follows:

A civilisation which admired character instead of brains, stoicism instead of temperament, nonchalance instead of diligence, the tongue-tied manner instead of the art of eloquence.

According to Koestler it is the European with his brains and temperament, his hard work and his eloquence who seems the easier person to admire – not the hearty, inexpressive emotionally relatively cold British stereotype.





But we, who know and love Britain, understand and appreciate another side to the story. Once again Hans Krebs summed up for us all what it had been like to live in Britain and to have become part of the family of British scientists. Here he defines the British way of life as he experienced it in Hopkins' laboratory in Cambridge, and these wise and perceptive words have reverberated round the world:

The laboratory included people of many different dispositions, connections and abilities. I saw them argue without quarrelling, quarrel without suspecting, suspect without abusing, criticise without vilifying or ridiculing, and praise without flattering.

Ladies and Gentleman, the object of tonight's lecture has been to praise the

British, not to flatter them, and above all to show our admiration and indebtedness to CARA for what they have done for so many at a critical time of their lives. Sadly, their work must go on in this imperfect world of ours. It is up to us to make sure that this essential organisation can continue its rich tradition of helping those unfortunates who do not enjoy the freedom and liberty which many in our country take for granted. What AV Hill wrote, at the time that the AAC was first established 75 years ago, from the two small attic rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House, remains forever true:

Tolerance and intellectual freedom cannot be established once and for all in human society, but demand continual watchfulness and effort.





Afterword

Sir John Ashworth, CARA President

Dr Ralph Kohn launched our 75th anniversary conference with an enlightening and inspiring lecture. It was not only a wonderful and deeply moving tribute to the unique humane and dedicated work of some extraordinary British subjects, interwoven with fascinating personal connections from Ralph's own life, but a remarkable opportunity to bring many different people together: some who knew of CARA in the early days; some who had directly benefitted from the work of the organisation; and some who didn't know of our existence until receiving the lecture invitation.

It was extremely uplifting to be reminded of how well even the worst of situations can sometimes turn out for some individuals. Sadly, at CARA we have to struggle today with the same issues that dogged the lives of our predecessors that Ralph talked so wonderfully about: never enough money; public indifference if not hostility; impossible deadlines; bureaucratic obfuscation and delay – the list is endless. It seems that nothing changes.

But of course things do change and the two day conference, 'In Defence of Learning: The Past and the Present', that followed Ralph's lecture provided an inspiring reminder of that. Our University Network, a powerful collaboration dedicated to the promotion and defence of academic freedom through practical support for persecuted and refugee academics, reaches an ever increasing number of universities (we will shortly be publishing a Handbook of "best practice" to help universities cope with the particular

problems that refugees present); our UK grant Programme continues to help refugee academics rebuild their lives and careers through personal support, advice, academic fellowships and grants for further qualifications; and through our developing Middle East programme, CARA is helping to sustain Iraq's academic capital to ensure it can play its vital role in the reconstruction of Iraq and the Iraqi Higher Education sector.

All this is not to deny, though, that I am angered and deeply saddened by the fact that there is such a high demand for our work. In the last 75 years there has been an ever increasing need for the kind of support that we were founded to provide. Political; racial; religious and other forms of intolerance have spread throughout the world and generated an unending stream of academic refugees – it always seems to be the academics and intellectuals who bear the first and worst brunt of these passions – despite the overwhelming evidence of the costs, both personal and social, to a country of losing their intellectual elite.

Birthdays are meant to be happy celebrations and ours had its joyful moments but my greatest wish, and our greatest 75th birthday present, would be for CARA to gather enough support to enable it to continue the work it was established to do, by the great people Ralph has mentioned, and help ALL those in need of CARA's financial, practical and moral support today and in the coming years.

Please, before you put this aside, do make a donation on our website. It could make such a difference.



Acknowledgements

Professor John Akker, CARA Executive Secretary

The numerous requests for a publication are a clear indication as to the impact Dr Ralph Kohn's lecture had on the audience fortunate to have a seat in the Royal Society's Wellcome Lecture Hall on 3 December 2008.

CARA is immensely thankful to Dr Ralph Kohn for the time and effort he put into this lecture, and to Mr Dov and Mrs Rachel Gottesman and the Royal Society, particularly Dr Peter Collins, for making this publication possible.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor David Zimmerman whose research and publications have provided a substantial source of information for this text. Grateful thanks are also due to Jeremy Seabrook and Laura Wintour for their detailed research and support.

Our thanks to the following for their kind permission to reproduce the illustrations within the text: Godfrey Argent Studios (AV Hill); Prof Gustav Born (Max Born); CARA (Simpson); Cavendish Laboratory, University of Cambridge (Rutherford); Leonie Gombrich (Ernst Gombrich); Nicholas Humphrey (Freud); Ralph Kohn (Chain/Kohn, Kohn); LSE Archives (Beveridge); Manchester University (Ashby); Medical Research Council (Perutz); Royal Society (Blackett, Einstein, Hopkins); United States Holocaust Museum (book burning); University of Sheffield (Krebs); Egon Weiss Collection (Szilard).



**The Council for Assisting Refugee
Academics (CARA)**

London South Bank University
Technopark
90 London Road
SE1 6LN
T: 0207 021 0880
E: info.cara@lsbu.ac.uk
W: www.academic-refugees.org

Founded in 1660, the Royal Society is the independent scientific academy of the UK, dedicated to promoting excellence in science.

As we prepare for our 350th anniversary in 2010, we are working to achieve five strategic priorities:

- **Invest** in future scientific leaders and in innovation
- **Influence** policymaking with the best scientific advice
- **Invigorate** science and mathematics education
- **Increase** access to the best science internationally
- **Inspire** an interest in the joy, wonder and excitement of scientific discovery



ISBN: 978-0-85403-755-1
Issued: May 2009 RS1513

Founded in 1660, the Royal Society is the independent scientific academy of the UK, dedicated to promoting excellence in science

Registered Charity No 207043

© The Royal Society and CARA, 2009