

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	viii
<i>Foreword by Jon Snow</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>A Note on the Text</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
1 Academic Refugees	5
Why it matters	5
Threats to independence	8
Past, present and future	9
The outspoken and the silent	12
2 Then	13
Leo Szilard	13
‘Racial pollution’ and the search for saviours	15
The British response	17
The inter-war years and government dilemmas	20
Growing pressures: foreign arrivals, British reactions	22
The spectre of public opinion	26
A very British rescue mission	28
The flight from Nazism	31
Entering, adapting, achieving, giving	34
Max Perutz	41
Max Born	43
Hans Krebs	45
Sir Nikolaus Pevsner	47
Karl Popper	49
Klaus Fuchs	51
The Warburg Institute and Ernst Gombrich	53
Other institutions	56
The industrialists	57
The economists and Adolph Lowe	58
Victims of prejudice – the medical refugees	59
Ludwig Guttman	62
Britain as a clearing-house	63
National insecurities reflected in the AAC	66

The pain of exile	69
Ernst Chain	71
Intellectual bequests	73
More humble émigrés	76
The Kindertransport	79
Those who failed	86
Internment	88
Helping hands	94
The aftermath	97
3 Until	103
Eastern Europe	103
Hungary and Czechoslovakia	103
SPSL in transition	106
South America	107
The role of the World University Service	107
Luis Munoz, Chile	108
Lucia Munoz, Chile	112
Marta Zabaleta, Argentina and Chile	114
The influence of the Chileans on Britain	123
Southern Africa	125
Albie Sachs, South Africa	125
Mbulelo Mzamane, South Africa	130
Jack Mapanje, Malawi	134
West and north Africa	138
Gideon Kempunga, Ghana	138
Kuyok Abol Kuyok, Sudan	142
Abdissalam Issa-Salwe, Somalia	146
Towards the present	150
4 Now	153
‘The world has changed’	153
The spectre of elitism	155
Why academics flee	156
The Arab world	157
Muktar, Iraq	157
Sabreen, Iraq; the unintentional dissident	159
Layla Almariya, Libya	161
Latefa Guémar, Algeria	163
Africa	166
Joseph Ndalou, Cameroon	166
Matthew Douara, Cameroon	169

Laurent Mpinde, Republic of Congo	172
Immanuel Samere, Eritrea	173
Tirfe Etana, Ethiopia	177
Victor Abano, Sudan	180
The Caucasus, Iran, Central Asia and the Far East	183
Ruslan Isaev, Chechnya	183
Darius Zemani, Iran	187
Behzad Mehrzad, Tajikistan	190
Abdul Lalzad, Afghanistan	192
Hua Chan, China	194
The journey to safety	196
Escape routes	196
The encounter with Britain – snapshots	203
Refugees and the other Britain	215
Conclusion	226
<i>Notes</i>	229
<i>Bibliography</i>	234
<i>Appendices</i>	237
<i>Index</i>	251

Introduction

One of the most puzzling questions of recent times is why the asylum seeker and the refugee have become objects of widespread scorn and suspicion in Britain. It is not simply that the popular press has claimed that people have singled Britain out as a 'soft touch' or an 'easy ride'; there are clearly dynamic forces at work, which have transformed 'asylum seeker' (with its suggestions of persecution and exile) from an expression arousing not compassion, but abuse. It has also attracted the disparaging qualifier 'bogus', which delegitimizes in advance claims upon our scarce sympathy.

In cases where the authorities have refused asylum, another equally negative word has been coined, namely the 'failed' asylum-seeker, as though asylum were an arduous examination which people must pass. The aggregate of 'bogus' and 'failed' suggests that the opportunists and chancers of the earth are finding passage to Britain, to take advantage of our legendary kindness, tolerance and softness of heart. This, in turn, nourishes one of our most persistent myths – that we are too easy, that we 'bend over backwards' to accommodate the mistreated and abused, who are secretly laughing at our gullibility – 'taking the piss' in the popular expression.

Governments proclaim the rising numbers of 'deportations' a measure of success. This, too, has a long and ugly history. An elderly Jewish woman in north London said, 'Whenever I hear governments utter the word "deportation", it sends a shiver down my spine. For me it will always be associated with the "deportations to the East" of the Hitler regime, with all that implied. I wonder how many of these "successes" will be subject to arbitrary arrest, imprisonment and torture? They have become, in the word of the Hungarian Nobel literature laureate, Imre Kertesz, "fateless".'

British refugee organizations regularly publish denials of the myths surrounding refugees and asylum-seekers. The latter are not given priority over people on accommodation waiting lists, for they are usually housed in hard-to-let and rundown property. They do not take our jobs, are not offered mobile phones, televisions or cars and are unlikely to commit crimes. They do not come here because of rumours of our generosity – indeed they know nothing of the welfare system – and cannot work until they have waited more than a year for a decision

2 *The Refuge and the Fortress*

on their case. The income they receive is a mere 70 per cent of income support, hardly extravagant living.

The Refugee Council says that 1,000 medically qualified refugees are recorded on the British Medical Association database. Retraining a refugee doctor is about one-twentieth of the cost of training a British doctor from scratch. Many refugees have academic qualifications. There are more than 1,500 refugee teachers in England. It is estimated that 30,000 jobs have been created in one city, Leicester, since Ugandan Asian refugees arrived in 1972.

This suggests that refugees represent a particular stratum of people: they are often educated, socially committed, economically active and politically involved in their country of origin. Indeed, this is often why they suffer, singled out by dictatorial or ideologically-driven regimes as 'threats' to stability and order. Such people's fate is this book's concern, its primary focus being the contribution over the past 75 years of academic refugees to the social, intellectual, economic and cultural life of Britain. This is the work of CARA (the Council for Assisting Refugee Academics), whose origins go back to 1933 when it was founded as the Academic Assistance Council to assist Jewish academics dismissed by the Nazis from German universities. The organization was originally seen as a temporary arrangement. That the need it sought to meet persists three generations later suggests that Hitler's Germany was no isolated aberration, while CARA'S work, both past and present, has encountered considerable resistance, official and popular.

A particular contemporary problem, although not entirely new, is the result of the degradation of the very idea of refugee or asylum seeker. A reluctance to admit persecuted people into this country was also evident earlier in our history, notably during the Tsarist pogroms at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and in the rise of Nazism in the 1930s. Indeed, that unhappy period provides an important insight into the psychology of indifference. At a time of great stress and distress, governments of the free world – itself a smaller realm than than now, bounded by the grim ideological boundaries of Nazism and Communism – sought places far from sight to locate Europe's unwanted. In the 1930s and well into the Second World War, Britain and the United States undertook a doomed search among what Bernard Wasserstein called 'the waste places of the world' for suitable destinations for Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. These included Angola, Madagascar, Mauritius (a few actually wound up there), the Dominican Republic (an agrarian settlement financed by the USA was started, but fizzled out for want of support), Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya and Mindanao in the Philippines, all outside the territories of Britain, its white dominions or the USA.

Britain, at that time of extreme urgency, extended a modest and selective help to a minority of Jews. Those admitted were absorbed effortlessly; their special talents and abilities acknowledged, they and their families recognized for their unique contribution. But a majority of European Jewry were destined to take

the most malignant journey undertaken by the persecuted of the earth across the unpoliced frontier between life and death. Before this, they were banished to another moral universe from that of the majority, built from the calloused feelings and exhausted sympathies, the flint in the heart and iron in the spirit of other human beings.

Nazi Germany targeted a distinctive population with ferocious energy and industrial efficiency. Today, refugees come from far and wide, the great majority from countries torn by conflict, civil strife, war or ethnic cleansing – Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Somalia, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sri Lanka. These people are, in their way, refugees of globalization. Where will such asylum-seekers beg refuge?

This, perhaps, offers a clue to why antagonisms remain, notwithstanding the efforts of agencies, charities and voluntary bodies. Despite their fact-sheets with myth-busting arguments and truths about refugees, the opposing view – we are being exploited, refugees steal our labour and come as ‘benefit-shoppers’ or ‘health-tourists’ – will not go away. At its most benign, the argument that there is simply ‘no room in this overcrowded island’ is usually offered as the last word.

Integrating (to a varying extent) virtually every country’s economy into a global system has had profound repercussions. It isn’t just a question of the great movements of humanity from rural to urban areas, involuntary migrations away from traditional patterns of living and loss of livelihood through development projects; it is also about reactions to this process, the search for identity in a return to traditional religious, ethnic or linguistic groups, and the defensive shelter these may offer people disoriented by globalization. A whole world has been set in movement, certainly not initiated by the victimized and persecuted. Yet these become scapegoats, doubly blamed for events beyond their control.

The reluctance of countries whose people have seen an access of modest privilege to open their doors to those who have suffered (partly to further the good fortune of people in the ‘developed’ world) helps explain a general hostility to, and rejection of, refugees. The rich Western countries, in any case, absorb only a small fraction of them; Britain takes less than one in 2,000. The vast majority shelter in neighbouring countries, often in miserable conditions. Over a million Iraqis are in Syria, and half a million in Jordan. Burmese refugees spill over into Thailand. People fleeing the Sudanese militias are trapped in the wastes of Chad. Civilians caught up in the wars of the Democratic Republic of Congo look for a refuge in Rwanda and Uganda, while those fleeing the catastrophe of Zimbabwe enter South Africa. Poor countries, not rich ones, bear the burden of assisting refugees. But it makes no difference. People’s ability to believe what they want to believe has long been known; the triumph of unreason has its own function, as many of those whose stories figure in this book testify.

The formulation of a more joyful, liberating narrative than the narrow fables of a sullen exclusion is the only way to fight myths presented as self-evident truths.

4 *The Refuge and the Fortress*

The story is not about exploiters and opportunists, but rather the immeasurable riches, diversity and practical contribution which refugees have made to this country. While there is no guarantee that such a humane story will gain ground against its more malignant competitor, that is scarcely an excuse for remaining silent. CARA exemplifies this story of our better selves.

Index

Compiled by Douglas Matthews

Page numbers in *italic* indicate illustrations

- Abano, Victor, 180–3, 221–2
Abdullah Ahmed, Yusuf, 147
Academic Assistance Council (AAC) *see*
 Council for Assisting Refugee
 Academics
academics
 defined, 5–6
 persecuted for opposition, 7, 9, 12
 reasons for flight, 156–7
 and individualism, 226
Academics for Chile, 107, 123
Achebe, Chinua, 135
Adamo, Frank, 164
Adorno, Theodor, 71
Adowa, battle of (1896), 177
Afghanistan, 3, 192–4
Africa
 literature, 135
 authoritarian regimes, 138
 establishment of states in, 142
 independence movement, 143, 146, 155
 Anglo-French rivalry in, 167
Ahidjo, Ahmadou, 167, 169
Ahmadu Bello University, Nigeria, 132
Akker, John, 209, 218
Alexandersson, Justizierad (of Sweden), 25
Algeria, 163–6
Aliens Act, 1905 (Britain), 19–20
Aliens Order, 1920 (Britain), 20
Aliens Restriction Act, 1914 (Britain), 20
Allende, Salvador, 108–9, 112, 123–4
Almariya, Layla, 161–3, 197–8, 203, 217
Altschul, Annie, 61–2
 Wounded Healers, 62
Amadeus Quartet, 83
Amnesty International, 109–11, 197, 216
Angell, Alan, 107, 123
Angola, 2
anti-Semitism
 in Poland, 9, 21, 73
 in Britain, 21, 25–6, 28, 69
 see also Jews
Arandora Star (ship), 89, 92–3
Arendt, Hannah, 59
Argentina
 dictatorship, 6
 conditions, 114–15, 119
 expulsions and liquidations, 114,
 117–18
 torture in, 117
Arndt, Hans, 94
Association of Jewish Refugees, 93
asylum seekers
 as objects of suspicion, 1–3
 and refugees, 199–200, 202
 reception and treatment in Britain,
 202–16
 see also refugees
atomic bomb, development of, 14, 51–2,
 63–5, 74
atomic energy, Szilard's work on, 14–15
Auschwitz, 105
Australia, refugees sent to, 83, 93
Austria
 annexed (1938), 23, 69
 exodus of Jews from, 32, 69

Ba'ath Party (Iraq), 159–60
Baldwin, Stanley (*later* 1st Earl), 21
Bamber, Helen, 110
Banda, Hastings, 126, 134–7
Bangladesh, 8, 104
Bangura, Al, 227
Bantu Education Act, 1953 (South Africa),
 130
Barclays Bank, 67
Barre, Siad, 146–9
Baruch, Lothar, 56
Bashir, Omar al-, 143, 181
Beethoven, Ludwig van, 15
Belsen, 86
Ben Bella, Ahmed, 163
Benedict, Ruth, 59

- Benn, Tony, 110
- Berkenau, Dr, 90
- Bernal, John Desmond, 16, 35, 41
- Bethe, Hans, 52, 64
- Beveridge, William, 1st Baron, 13–14, 28, 60, 66–7, 98
A Defence of Free Learning, 28, 94, 96
- Billingham, Rupert Everett, 85
- Biya, Paul, 8, 167, 169, 171, 213
- Blackburn, Maria, 93
- Bland, Sir Neville, 77
- Blaschko, Hermann K.E., 33, 73
- Bohr, Niels, 49, 64
- Bondi, Hermann, 93
- Bonham Carter family, 70
- Bonham Carter, Lady Violet, 32
- Born, Georgina, 76
- Born, Gustav, 16, 33, 38, 44, 65, 71, 75–6
Max Born – A Celebration, 43
- Born, Hedwig, 36, 75
- Born, Max, 13, 33–4, 37, 43–5, 51, 65, 75–6, 97, 99
- Born, Sebastian, 76
- Botswana, 130–1
- Boumédiène, Houari, 163
- Bouteflika, Abdelaziz, 163
- Boyd, Sir Robert, 154
- Bragg, Sir William, 28
- Brent, Leslie, 56, 82–5
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 172
- Brink, Charles (Karl Oskar), 90
- Britain
 ambiguous attitudes to immigrants, 1–2, 21–3, 25–7, 63, 68
 admits Jewish refugees, 2, 17–19, 22, 27, 30–1, 150
 and Aliens Act (1905), 19–20
 immigration controls, 20–1
 anti-Semitism in, 21, 25–6, 28, 69
 and onward migration, 23–4, 60, 63, 65, 81
 colonialism and supremacist views, 25
 arrival and experience of Jewish refugees in, 34–40, 77
 invasion fears, 40–1
 naturalization, 40
 impact of refugees on, 74–5, 223
 internment of ‘enemy aliens’ in World War II, 89–94
 refugees settle in, 96–7
 non-UK student fees, 133
 racism, 141
 cultural and ethnic diversity, 150
 policy on unwelcome immigrants, 158–9
 asylum seekers’ reception and treatment in, 202–16
- British National Party, 207
- British Refugee Council *see* Refugee Council
- Broda, Engelbert, 16–17, 95–7
- Broda, Paul, 95–6
- Bunce Court, Kent, 56–7, 83
- Burma, 3, 8
- Callaghan, James (*later* Baron), 132
- Cambridge, German Jewish scholars in, 35–6, 38, 41, 44, 46
- Cameroon, 7–8, 166–72, 196–7, 201, 204, 213
- Cámpora Demaestre, Hector José, 117
- Camus, Albert, 156
- Canada, refugees transferred to, 83, 92
- Caribbeans *see* West Indians
- Carnegie Foundation, 67
- Centre for Migration Policy Research, 219
- Chad, 3, 181
- Chain, Sir Ernst Boris, 33, 60, 71–2, 101
- Chamberlain, Neville, 25, 32
- Chechnya, 183–7
- children
 German refugees, 79–85, 102
 and reunion with parents, 81
- Chile
 dictatorship, 6–7, 108
 scholars helped, 107–8
 coup (1973), 108–9, 112, 114, 117, 119
 refugees in Britain, 111–12, 118–19, 124
 expulsions, 114
 Marta Zabaleta in, 116–17
 British support for, 123–5
- China, 6, 194–6
- Chipembere, Henry, 137
- Christian Aid, 107
- Churchill, Sir Winston, 38, 55, 64
- Cold War, 9, 104
- Collins, John, Canon of St Paul’s, 127
- Colnbrook Detention Centre, 209
- colonialism, African opposition to, 134, 146

- Comité Internationale pour le Placement des Intellectuels Réfugiés, Geneva, 46
- Communism
 refugees from, 2
 and Nazism, 50
 and persecution, 104
 and collapse of Berlin Wall, 135
- Congo, Democratic Republic of
 refugees from, 3
 conditions in, 7, 172–3
 escape from, 201–2
- Council of Aliens, 89
- Council for Assisting Refugee Academics (CARA; *earlier AAC/SPSL*)
 role, 2, 30–1, 226–8
 achievements, 21, 24
 encourages onward migration, 24
 founded (as Academic Assistance Council), 28–30
 awards grants to younger scholars, 37
 honours awarded to associates, 38
 politicizes British scientific community, 66–7
 requests universities to accommodate displaced scholars, 66
 funding, 67–9, 154
 popular appeal, 67–8
 influence on academic freedom, 68
 supporters, 94
 in Cold War, 106
 premises, 124
 pays individual tuition fees and expenses, 145, 148, 216, 218, 220–1, 223
 changing name and activities, 154–5, 227
 finds legal support for asylum seekers, 209
 helps with accommodation for refugees, 216
- Council for European Migration, 109
- Council for a Liveable World, 14
- Courtauld, Samuel, 53
- Crawley, Heaven, 219
- Crick, Francis, 41
- Cromwell, Thomas, 39
- Croydon *see* Lunar House
- Cuban missile crisis (1962), 14
- Curtis, Richard, 40
- Czechoslovakia
 exodus of Jews from, 32–3
 refugees after 1968 ‘Prague Spring’, 104
- Daily Mail*, 28
- Damascus, Syria, 152
- Darfur, Sudan, 181
- Dawson (of Penn), Bertrand Edward, Viscount, 59
- de Klerk, F.W., 132
- Deng Xiaoping, 194
- Dimbleby, Jonathan, 177
- Dinka people (Sudan), 143
- Disraeli, Benjamin: *Sybil*, 21
- DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid), 42
- doctors
 as refugees, 2
see also medical academics
- domestic servants, 61, 77–9
- Dominican Republic, 2
- Douara, Matthew, 169, 201, 204, 212–13, 216
- Dovercourt Camp, near Harwich, 56, 80, 83
- Dubcek, Alexander, 105
- Dubois, W.E., 138
- Dudayev, Dzhokhar, 185
- Dunera* (ship), 83, 93
- East Germany, revolt (1953), 104
- Eastern Europe
 Jews in Britain (1880s–1890s), 20
 persecution in, 104
- economists, refugees from Germany, 58
- Ehrenburg, Eva, 32, 36, 69, 75
Sehnsucht – mein geliebtes Kind, 36
- Ehrenburg, Victor, 32, 36, 39, 69, 75
- Eichmann, Adolf, 116
- Einstein, Albert, 13–14, 29–30, 33, 43–5, 49, 71, 98
- elitism, in education, 155–6
- Elton, Ben, 40, 69
- Elton, Sir Geoffrey, 39–40
- Elton, Lewis, 32, 40, 76
- Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, 14
- Eritrea, 2, 173–7, 199–20
- Essinger, Anna, 56, 83
- Estrick* (ship), 94
- Etana, Tirfe, 177–80, 222

- Ethiopia, 2, 146–7, 173, 177–80, 222
- Europe
 nation-states, 22–3
 post-war reconstruction, 103–4
- faith (religious), as cause of persecution, 8
- Falklands War (1982), 110
- Fatima, Queen of Libya, 162
- Fawcett Society, 129
- Fermi, Enrico, 14, 63, 73
- 'final solution', 12, 24, 86
- Fink, Michelle, 78
- Fink, Peggy, 78, 86
- First, Ruth, 126
- Fiszman, Samuel, 72–3
- Fleming, Sir Alexander, 33
- Florey, Sir Howard, 33
- Forschheimer, Dr, 90
- Forster, E.M., 96
- Fraenkel, Ernst, 71
- France
 rivalry with Britain in Africa, 167
 interest in Cameroon, 169–70
- Franck, James, 74
- Frankl, G.J., 105–6
- Frankl, Tom, 105
- Fraser, Liz, 106, 124
- Freud, Sigmund, 36
- Frisch, Otto
 on father's beliefs, 16
 parents escape Germany, 24–5, 69
 leaves Germany, 34
 meets Peierls, 64
 commitment to physics, 69
- Fuchs, Klaus, 23, 51–3, 92, 101
- Gaddafi, Colonel Muammar, 8
 Green Book, 139, 161–3
- Garvey, Marcus, 138
- General Medical Council, 59
- Germany
 role of Jews in, 15–16
 post-First World War, 17
 exodus of Jews from, 23–5, 32
 number of immigrants from (1933–38), 24
 university teaching staff dismissed, 30
 refugees' attachment to, 36
 refugee scholars return to, 44
 post-war economic recovery, 104
 see also East Germany; Nazism
- Ghana, 138–42
- Gibson, J.J., 55
- globalization
 effect on population movement, 3, 103, 153, 215
 and academic freedom, 226–7
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 15, 17
- Gombrich, Ernst, 16, 31, 35, 38, 48, 54–6, 70, 75, 101
- Gombrich, Ilse (*née* Heller), 54, 70
- Gombrich, Richard, 16, 31, 38, 54, 70
- Gordimer, Nadine, 126
- Graziani, General Rodolfo, 177
- Greece, victimizes scholars, 104
- Greene, William, 21
- Grenville, Anthony, 93
- Gropius, Walter, 48
- Gruenhut, Max, 90
- Guatemala, 116
- Guémar, Latefa, 163–6, 206–7, 219
- Guémar, Soleiman Adel, 164–5
 'Illusions' (poem), 165–6
- Guevara, Che, 116–17
- Guttman, Ludwig, 62–3, 101
- Habbakuk project, 42
- Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, 173, 177–8
- Hamilton, Victoria, 119
- Harmondsworth Detention Centre, 152
- Hart, Judith, 117, 125
- Hayek, Friedrich, 51
- Healey, Denis, Baron, 110
- Heisenberg, Werner, 13, 45
- Hekmatyar, Gulbuddin, 194
- Hill, A.V. (Archibald Vivian), 23, 28, 61, 89
- Hill, Margaret, 61
- Himmler, Heinrich, 32
- Hiroshima, 65–6, 76
- Hitler, Adolf, 6–7, 9, 15–16, 28, 31–2, 40, 47, 83, 86, 157
 death, 54–5, 96
- HIV/AIDS, in Africa, 168
- Hlubi (Soweto policeman), 131
- Hoare, Sir Samuel (*later* Viscount Templewood), 18, 22
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 37, 77
- Hoch, Paul K., 73–4
- Hoffman, Eva, 70, 72, 103
- Holmes, Frederic L., 45

- Hopkins, Sir Frederick Gowland, 33, 38–9, 41, 71
- Hu Yaobang, 195
- Hua Chan, 195–6, 205–6
- Hume, Cardinal Basil, 11
- Hungary
 rising (1956), 9, 96, 104
 refugees from, 104
- ideologies, and persecution, 7–9
- Idris, King of Libya, 162
- Imperial Chemical Industries, 67
- India, scientists and technicians from, 5
- Indonesia, dictatorship, 6
- industrialists, refugees from Germany, 57
- Institute of Molecular Biology, Cambridge, 41
- Institute of World Affairs, New York, 59
- International Committee of the Red Cross, 194, 200–1
- International Migration Committee, 112
- Into the Arms of Strangers* (film), 80
- Iran, 3, 160, 187–9
- Iraq, 3, 157–61, 215
- Isaev, Ruslan, 183–7, 210, 219–20
- Israel
 academies boycotted, 11
 policy on Palestinians, 26
- Issa-Salwe, Abdissalam, 146–50
- Italy
 German Jews flee to, 34
 invades Ethiopia, 177
- Jacob, François, 15
- Jacobson, Dan, 126
- Jacobsthal, Paul, 90–1
 Early Celtic Art, 90
- James, C.L.R., 138
- janjaweed (Sudan), 181
- Japan
 atom bombed, 1, 76
 effect of atom bomb on, 65
 invests in Cameroon, 170
- Jellinek, Professor, 90
- Jewish Central Fund, 83
- Jewish Refugees' Committee, 31, 105
- Jews
 refugees in Britain, 1, 17–19, 22, 27, 30–1, 34–40, 150
 persecuted by Nazis, 2–3, 6–8, 12, 15, 24, 27, 50, 155
 Tsarist pogroms against, 2, 19
 cultural sense, 15–16
 winners of Nobel prizes, 15, 38
 sense of identity and religion, 16–17
 conspiracy theories against, 21
 exodus from Germany, 24–5, 32, 102
 medical practitioners, 60
 death rates in Germany and Austria, 86
 return to Germany, 96–7
 South African, 126
 demonized by Iranian Islamists, 188
 see also anti-Semitism
- Jones, Duncan, 50
- Jordan, Iraqis in, 3
- Joynson-Hicks, Sir William (*later* 1st Viscount Brentford), 21
- Kapuscinski, Ryszard, 177
- Kariyannes, Professor, 217–18
- Karzai, Hamid, 193
- Katz, Bernhard, 60
- Kaunda, Kenneth, 13
- Kempunga, Gideon, 138–42
- Kendrew, John, 42
- Kenya, as home for refugees, 2
- Kenyatta, Jomo, 134
- Kenyon, Sir Frederick, 28
- Kertesz, Imre, 1
- Keynes, John Maynard, Baron, 28, 61
- Khomeini, Ayatollah, 188
- Kindertransport, 18, 24, 56, 61, 76, 79–85
- Kinshasa, 7
- Kirchner, Christine, 115
- Kohn, Ralph, 46, 71–2
- Kolakowski, Leszek: *The Death of Utopia Reconsidered*, 12
- Kosterlitz, Dr, 90
- Krassnoff, Captain Miguel, 109
- Krebs, Sir Hans, 16, 33, 36, 38–9, 45–7, 60, 88, 99
 autobiography, 69, 71
- Krebs, John Richard, Baron, 36, 38, 45–6, 69
- Kristallnacht (Germany, 1938), 23, 62
- Kuyok, Kuyok Abol, 142–6
- Lakatos, Imre (born Lipschitz, then Molnar), 104–5

- Lalzac family, 151
 Lalzac, Abdul, 192–4, 200, 207–8, 217–18
Lancet, The (journal), 227
 Lanouette, William, 15
 League of Nations, 29
 Leicester, 2
 Lenard, Philipp, 15
 Levi-Strauss, Claude, 59
 Libya, 8, 161–3, 197–8, 214, 216
 Limann, Hilla, 139
 Lindemann, Frederick (Viscount Cherwell), 64, 67
 Lipmann, Leo, 94
 Lissouba, Pascal, 172–3
 Locker-Lampson, Commander Oliver Stillingwood, 29
 Loebel, Herbert, 57
 Loewi, Otto, 64
 London: German refugees' experience of, 36–7
 London, Louise, 22, 27, 78, 86
 London School of Economics, 30
 Lonsdale, Anne, 27, 36, 86
 Lowe, Adolphe, 58–9
Economics and Sociology, 58
The Price of Liberty, 58
 Luchini, Professor, 116
 Ludendorff, Erich von, 87
 Lunar House, Croydon, 203–4, 208, 210
Lusitania (ship), 20
 Lwow, André Michel, 15
 Lysenko, Trofim Denisovich, 9
 Lytton, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 2nd Earl of, 28
- Macias, Enrico, 164
 Madagascar, 2
 Malawi, 126, 134–7
 Man, Isle of, 89, 91–4
 Mandela, Nelson, 130, 132
A Short Walk to Freedom, 10
 Mao Zedong, 161, 195
 Mapanje, Jack, 126, 134–8
 'The New Platform Dances' (poem), 136–7
 Maputo, Mozambique, 6
 Marks, Shula, 128, 154–5
 Marx, Karl, 20
 Marxism, 146
 Massamba-Débat, Alphonse, 172
- Massoud, Ahmad Shah, 194, 200
 Mauritius, 2
 Mboya, Tom, 134
 Medawar, Jean and Richard Pyke: *Hitler's Gift*, 38, 63–4
 Medawar, Sir Peter, 82, 84–5
 medical academics
 German refugees, 59–62
 CARA assistance for, 154
 Medical Foundation for the Victims of Torture, 110, 204, 217
 Medical Practitioners Union, 60
 Mehrzad, Behzad, 190–2, 211–12, 220–1
 Meinhart, Dr, 90
 Meitner, Lise, 64
 Menelik II, Emperor of Ethiopia, 177
 Mengistu Haile Marlam, Colonel, 146–7, 173, 177, 179–80
 Mesfin Woldemariam, 178–9
 Meyer, Hans, 83
 Meyerhof, Otto Fritz, 61
 Mhango, Mkwapatira, 137
 Mickiewicz, Adam, 72
 Migrant Refugees Medical Forum, 216
 Mindanao (Philippines), as home for refugees, 2
 Molecular Biology Research Unit, 42
 Monod, Jacques Lucien, 15
 Morris, William, 48
 Mossadegh, Mohammad, 187
 Mpinde, Laurent, 173, 201, 208–9
 Mukhtar (Iraqi psychiatrist), 157–9, 215
 Mumford, Lewis, 59
 Munich agreement (1938), 32
 Munoz, Lucia, 112–14
 Munoz, Luis, 7, 108–12
 Murray, Gilbert, 28
 Mussolini, Benito, 34, 177
 Mzamane, Mbulelo, 126, 130–3
Children of Soweto, 131–2
- Nagy, Imre, 104
 Najibullah, Mohammad, 194
 National Asylum Support Service, 204
 National Socialism (Germany) *see* Nazism
 Navarrete, Muriel Dockendorff, 120
 Nazism (National Socialism)
 persecutes Jews, 2–3, 6, 8, 15, 27, 50, 155
 universities under, 12

- rise of, 17, 23
 Left's inadequate opposition to, 50
 book-burning, 53
 suppresses professional qualifications,
 60–1
 Beveridge attacks, 67
 Ndalou, Joseph, 166–9, 196–7, 210–12,
 220
 Neto, Agustino, 135
 Newton-John, Olivia, 76
 Nguembi, Mariam, 172
 Nigeria, 132
 Nimeiri, Gaafar Mohamed El-, 181
 Nkrumah, Kwame, 138
 Nobel prizes, 15, 38, 42, 43, 45–6, 60, 64
 North Korea, repression in, 8
 Nuremberg laws (1935), 23
 nurses and nursing, 61–2
 Nyerere, Julius, 134

 O'Brien, Ania, 73
 Oesterreicher, Paul, 78
 Okigbo, Christopher, 135
 Overseas Development Ministry, 107
 Owen, David, Baron, 110, 117
 Oxford University, wartime 'enemy aliens'
 interned, 90
 Oz, Amos, 15

 Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza *see* Shah of Iran
 Pakistan
 dictatorship, 6; persecutes intellectuals,
 8; relations with Afghanistan, 193–4;
 as escape route from Afghanistan,
 200
 Palestine
 Jewish admissions to, 24, 81
 British forces attacked in, 26
 Palestinians, Israeli policy on, 26
 Paneth, Fritz, 74
 Pankhurst, Sylvia, 129
 Papen, Franz von, 31
 Paterson, Alexander, 92–3
 Peierls, Rudolph, 51–2, 63–4, 75
 Pelz, Peter, 78–5139
 Pelz, Revd Werner, 79
 I Am Adolf Hitler, 79
 people-smugglers, 196, 198–204, 208
 Perón, Eva, 115, 198
 Perón, Juan Domingo, 115–16

 Perutz, Max, 35, 38, 43–5, 51, 69, 74–5,
 92, 99
 Perutz, Vivien, 36, 38
 Pevsner, Sir Nikolaus, 16, 47–8, 96, 100
 Buildings of England series, 48
 Pioneers of Modern Design, 48
 Phillips, Alan, 124
 Pinochet, General Augusto, 7, 107–8, 117,
 123
 Pioneer Corps (British Army), 83, 93
 Poland
 anti-Semitism in, 9, 21, 73
 post-war refugees from, 104
 Polanyi, Michael, 74
 Pollack, Benny, 124
 Popper, Karl, 45, 49–51, 55, 100
 Logik der Forschung, 49
 Population Registration Act, 1950 (South
 Africa), 125
 'Prague Spring' (Czechoslovakia 1968), 9,
 104–5
 Prisoner of Conscience charity, 216
Protocols of the Elders of Zion (document), 21
 Public Services Interpreting Service, 205
 Pugwash movement, 44
 Pyke, Richard *see* Medawar, Jean and
 Richard Pyke

 Quakers, 21, 56, 79, 94–5
 quantum mechanics, 43–4

 race
 and persecution, 10
 belief in hierarchy of, 26
 South African classification of, 125–6
 in Britain, 141
 Rahmanov Nabiev, President of Tajikistan,
 190
 Rathbone, Eleanor, 23
 Rawlings, Jerry, 138–40
 Reagan, Ronald, 15
 Redgrave, Vanessa, 110
 Rees, Laurence, 12
 Refugee Action, 223
 Refugee Council (British)
 on number of medically qualified
 refugees, 2
 Lucia Munoz works for, 113
 Kuyok works for, 145
 and asylum seekers, 203

- Refugee Council of Wales, 220
 Refugee Legal Centre, 209, 217
 Refugee Study Centre, 221
 refugees
 as objects of suspicion, 1–3
 and challenge to authority, 7
 emotional reaction to exile, 69–73
 intellectual bequests, 73–4
 unqualified, 76–9
 illegal, 87–8
 effect on host country, 103, 223
 sense of guilt, 123
 escape routes, 196–200
 reception and treatment in Britain, 202–16
 see also asylum seekers
 Robbins, Lionel, Baron, 28
 Rockefeller Foundation, 67
 Romano, Giulio, 56
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 14, 64
 Rosenberg, Ethel and Julius, 52
 Royal Society, attitude to refugee scientists, 66–7
 Royden, Maude, 29
 Russia
 Tsarist pogroms, 2, 19–20, 87–8
 totalitarianism ends, 10
 Bolshevik Revolution (1917), 20
 see also Soviet Union
 Rutherford, Ernest, Baron, 4, 23, 28, 68, 98
 Rwanda, as refuge, 3
 Rydal School, 32
- Sabreen (Iraqi dentistry teacher), 159–61, 214–16
 Sachs, Albie, 6, 10, 114, 126–9, 151
 Jail Diary, 126
 Sexism and the Law, 129
 Sachs, Johnnie, 114
 Saddam Hussein, 157–60
 Salazar, Antonio de Oliveira, 62
 Salford, 219–20
 Samere, Immanuel, 173–7, 199–200, 207, 222–3
 Sarkozy, Nikolas, 172
 Sassou-Nguesso, Denis, 172–3
 Saxl, Fritz, 53–4
 scholar, defined, 5
 Scholars at Risk (USA), 226
 Schrödinger, Erwin, 13, 43–4, 78
 science, debt to refugees, 73–4
 Segal, Lore, 77, 80–1
 Other People's Houses, 80
 Senghor, Leopold, 134–5
 Shah of Iran (Mohammad Reza Pahlavi), 187–8
 Shia militias, 157
 Shumba, Mupa, 135
 Siberia, deportations of Caucasians to, 183–4
 Simon, Sir Francis, 64
 Simpson, Esther, 64, 89, 94–7, 98, 106, 124, 153
 Singer, Charles, 66
 Sisulu, Walter, 130
 Slim, General William (*later* Viscount), 65
 Slovo, Joe, 126
 Snowman, Daniel, 38, 54
 The Hitler Emigres, 74, 150
 Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) *see* Council for Assisting Refugee Academics
 Somalia, 3, 146–50
 South Africa
 repression in, 6–7
 classification by race, 7, 10, 125–6
 apartheid, 10, 107, 125–6, 129, 132
 refugees from, 104, 126–7
 Truth Commission, 128
 conditions, 130–1
 literature, 135
 South African Students' Relief Council, 131
 South America
 repression of scientists and intellectuals in, 8–9
 nationalism in, 107
 Soviet Union
 refugees from, 6
 persecutes bourgeoisie, 8
 resistance to among intellectuals, 9
 rivalry with USA, 12, 104
 Fuchs gives A-bomb secrets to, 52
 values scientists, 104
 supports Ethiopia, 146, 148
 occupation of Chechnya, 183–5
 Soweto, 131
 Soyinka, Wole, 135
 Sri Lanka, 3
 Stalin, Josef, on Kulaks, 7

- 'Star Wars' project, 15
 Starkey, David, 39
 Steel, David (*later* Baron), 127
 Stent, Ronald
 A Bespattered Page, 93
 Collar the Lot, 93
 Stern, Bruno and Frieda, 24
 Stern, Courtney, 24
 Stevens, Austin, 57
 Stoke Mandeville Hospital, 62–3
 Straw, Jack, 218
 Sudan, 3, 142–6, 180–3, 199
 suffragettes, 129
 Sulzbacher, Max, 93
 Sumani, Ama, 227
Sun (newspaper), 27
 Suzman, Helen, 126
 Swansea, University of, 219–20
 Swaziland, 130
 Sweden, 24–5
 Syria, Iraqis in, 3
 Szilard, Leo, 13–15, 28, 59, 64, 71, 99
- Tajikistan, 190–2
 Taliban, in Afghanistan, 194, 200
 Tandler, Julius, 60
 Tarski, Alfred, 51
 teachers, refugees as, 2
 Teller, Edward, 15, 64
 Thailand, Burmese refugees in, 3
 Thank You Britain Fund, 39
 Thatcher, Margaret, Baroness, 23, 40
 theocratic states, 8
 Theresienstadt, 71
 Thomas, Dylan, 219
 Tiananmen Square, Beijing,
 demonstration (1989), 195
 Timpunza, Enoch, 136
 Tomaschek, Rudolph, 15
 totalitarianism, 10–12
 traitors and spies, 52
 Truman, Harry S., 14
 Tutu, Archbishop Desmond, 131, 133
- Uganda, as refuge, 3, 182
 United States of America
 rivalry with Soviet Union, 12
 research on atomic bomb, 14
 immigrant refugee scientists in, 23
 onward migration of refugees from
 Britain, 23–4, 60, 63, 65, 81
 and development of atomic bomb,
 64–5
 undocumented immigrants, 103
 and regime in Chile, 107
 opposes South African apartheid, 132
 supports Barre in Somalia, 147–8
 and Scholars at Risk, 226
 universities, expansion, 155
- Veblen, Thorsten, 59
- Wannsee Conference (1942), 12
 Warburg, Aby, 53–4
 Warburg Institute, 53–6
 Warsaw Pact, 105
 Wasserstein, Bernard, 2, 17
 Watson, James, 41
 Weindling, Paul, 59–61, 79
 Weissenberg, Karl, 27, 36, 86
 Weissenberg, Lena, 27
 West Indians (Caribbeans), immigrants in
 Britain, 19
 Westhuizen, Henry van der, 128
 White, Landeg, 135, 138
 Wiener, George, 56
 Wiener Library, 56
 Wigner, Eugene, 73
 Wilson, Harold (*later* Baron), 125
 Wolff, Sulammith: *Children Under Stress*,
 111
 women
 refugees as domestic servants and
 nurses, 61, 77–9
 support refugee men, 70
 World University Service, 106–8, 111, 113,
 119, 124–5, 131
 World War I
 'enemy aliens' interned, 20
 nation states consolidated after, 22
 World War II
 'enemy aliens' interned, 89–94
- Yudkin, Michael, 46, 88
- Zabaleta, Marta, 114–23
 Zemani, Darius, 188–9, 199, 206, 221
 Zimmerman, David, 66, 68