

HEINRICH VON NEUMANN'S MISSION TO
THE EVIAN CONFERENCE: JULY 6-15, 1938

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the

History

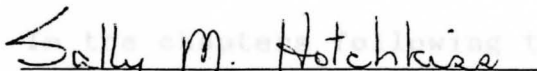
Program



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6-5-89

Date


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June 8, 1989

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YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

June, 1989

ABSTRACT

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The novelist Hans Habe claims his work Die Mission is a fictionalized form of Dr. Heinrich von Neumann's secret mission to the Evian Conference which was held in the French resort from July 6 - 15, 1938. According to Habe the world-famous surgeon was forced by the Viennese Gestapo to offer the Jews of Austria to those nations participating in the conference for \$250 per head, \$1,000 per family. The present thesis is an attempt to corroborate Habe's claim.

In the chapters following the Introduction, a summary of both the Evian Conference and the theme of Habe's work is presented. This is followed by documentation to support the similarities between the fictionalized version and the actual participants and their views. While no definite clues to the actual content of

the Nazi offer were evident, the reports in the newspapers viewed for the period strongly pointed to its authenticity. Support for such a proposition was sent to Habe's editors. Those historians doubting the plan could offer no definite documentation to back their claim. Habe's widow gave particularly convincing evidence in support of the diabolical plot.

While the author of this thesis is convinced that the plan outlined in Habe's work is indeed based on fact, the conclusion is not definitive. Attempts to contact diplomats present at the historical event have been fruitless. There is a strong possibility that the final answer to quell the doubts of those who still insist the work is pure fiction lies in the files of one of the participating nations at the Evian Conference.

The author further wishes to thank Dr. Saul Friedlander, to whom he is indebted for his advice and assistance in the early stages of this work.

The author also wishes to thank the staff of the University of Toronto, particularly the staff of the University of Toronto Archives, for their assistance in the early stages of this work.

To my advisors, Professors Saul Friedlander and Martin Bergman, for their advice, guidance, and support.

To my friends and family, particularly Glen and Kevin, and all friends who supported me during the years of research and writing.

My sincere gratitude to each and every one of them without whom my work would never have been accomplished.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several people who assisted me in my research deserve particular recognition. My deepest thanks:

To Hildegard Schnuttgen, Reference Librarian at Youngstown State University, for her invaluable efforts in locating numerous documents pertinent to my topic and particularly for personally researching some items in the Landesarchiv in Berlin.

To Paul Caluori, Manuscript and Research Technician at the Mugar Memorial Library, Boston University, for allowing access to Habe's papers.

To Licci Habe in Ascona, Switzerland for taking the time to speak to me about her husband and Die Mission. Mrs. Habe further allowed my advisor, Dr. Saul Friedman, to record her comments on film in her home.

To the History Department at Youngstown State University for purchasing special microfilm for my use.

To my advisors Professors Saul Friedman and Martin Berger for their time, guidance and critique.

To my husband and children, Salim, Glen and Kevin, and my friends who supported me during two years of research and writing.

My sincere gratitude to each and every one of them without whom my work would never have been accomplished.

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INTRODUCTION

The author of the present thesis was required to review Hans Habe's Die Mission as an assignment for a Holocaust seminar. The secret mission to offer Austria's Jews at \$250 per head, \$1,000 per family, at the Evian Conference seemed incredible. Habe listed the names of the official participants as well as the observers who sought to express their views on the problem of Jewish emigration from Nazi territory. He also cited newspapers which reported on the events and specifically pointed out those which hinted at the "mission." Was Habe telling the truth or merely using his literary skills to sound convincing? Were the Nazis capable of such a diabolical scheme and what was their motivation? Why did the Western democracies fail to consider the offer which in various similar forms resurfaced in other occupied territories when Jewish persecution reached its extreme form? The present thesis is an attempt to answer these questions.

Chapter I reveals how persecution of Jews led the United States to call the Evian Conference. The goal was to find a solution to the increase of refugees seeking

asylum in Europe and other countries. This chapter also describes what transpired in the meetings and outlines the reasons for failure.

In Chapter II a review of Habe's novel is given in order to draw parallels with Chapter I and subsequent Chapters III and IV which corroborate much of Habe's work.

Chapter V shows evidence of what the Nazis hoped to gain from such a mission. Newspaper reports demonstrate that they had no intention of letting the Jews leave in an orderly manner. The concluding chapter supports Habe's claim by exposing other instances of offers to trade people for money, goods or other human beings. Reputable sources who endorse Habe's contention are cited, including Licci Habe, his widow, who offers convincing testimony. The findings of this thesis, however, are not definitive due to the secret nature of the "mission."

Habe's work is of historical importance for several reasons. In its novel form, it allows a much larger audience to become acquainted with the Evian Conference, and more particularly with the plight of the Jews forced to flee their homelands, than had it been written in more scholarly form. It forces the reader to ponder the complicity of nations through inaction in the horrible deeds committed by other nations. The participants at Evian may have had their political and economic reasons for

hindering immigration, but this does not excuse them for "passively assisting" in the death of millions. The Nazis may never have had the intention of letting all the Jews go even had their been nations willing to take them in. But their offer as outlined in Die Mission should have been given more serious consideration. By not calling the Nazi bluff, the Western democracies taking part in the conference took one step further across the fine line separating good from evil and may well have crossed it.

Research on this topic was a long, slow process. Much time was spent poring through Habe's manuscript for clues not given in the book itself. His tiny handwriting revealed nothing but a rougher form of the final product. Efforts to trace diplomats present at the conference have been fruitless till now. Lord Winterton, Henri Berenger and Myron Taylor, the most important delegates, have long since died. It has also been impossible to reach the Colombian diplomats Yepes and Forero-Benavides. The three Colombian consulates and Embassy contacted have not responded to requests for documents pertaining to the secret mission which may be in their government's archives. The French records on the conference were destroyed with other valuable archives during World War II.

Contacts in Israel were also of no major assistance since most of the people who responded appeared too

preoccupied with their own research. Invitations to look at their archives in the future were, however, courteously extended. The American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee in New York, where Dr. Heinrich Neumann had been working for a time on Jewish immigration, was unable to provide any assistance on the matter due to a lack of documents.

Newspaper and magazine articles for the period of the conference were most helpful. Many strongly suggested the possibility of a secret mission. Habe, however, was mistaken in the dates for some of the newspapers. Some historians have used this oversight as "proof" that the story was invented. Complete scrutiny of the available newspapers tends to corroborate his claim. The Manchester Guardian and Daily Express (London) which, according to Habe, have the best references to the plan, were not available for review. Microfilm of Prager Presse revealed nothing on Professor Neumann and little of significance on the Evian Conference. Prager Tagblatt on the other hand proved to be the richest source but Gothic printing made the process of analysis tedious. Reading the Völkischer Beobachter in similar conditions was also a painstaking experience which was made even more difficult by the poor quality of microfilm.

For American policy on immigration and correspondence between the Secretary of State and his diplomats, the five volumes of Foreign Relations of the

United States 1938 were invaluable. Mendelsohn's Holocaust volume on Jewish emigration was useful in understanding Nazi designs concerning the Jews.

The author of this thesis feels that these and other sources consulted support the conclusion that Habe's "mission" is indeed authentic. The findings, however, are not definitive. Only when official documents are uncovered in government files or confirmation obtained from an actual participant at the conference will those who continue to doubt be fully satisfied.

CHAPTER I

THE EVIAN CONFERENCE: July 6 - 15, 1938.

In the French spa Evian-les-Bains near the Swiss border, representatives from thirty-two countries convened to find a mutually agreeable solution to the increasing influx of refugees seeking asylum from Nazi persecution in Germany and recently-annexed Austria. It was believed the meeting was called on the initiative of President Roosevelt. Officially the participants were to consider the refugee question in general. But everyone concerned was well aware that the majority of those in question were Jews no longer welcome in their homelands.

Since Hitler's advent to power in Germany, incidents against these unfortunates had risen yearly. The United States' diplomats in various towns throughout the Reich had repeatedly informed their Department of State of specific acts of violence against Jewish Germans. As early as March 28, 1933, the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, asked his Embassy in Berlin to keep him abreast of anti-Jewish manifestations. In a subsequent meeting with German Ambassador Dr. Hans Luther, Hull personally voiced protests from American Jews on behalf of their co-religionists in Germany.¹ Later, on August 11, 1933, Rudolph Leitner called on the Secretary of State to protest the U.S.

boycott of German goods. Hull bluntly informed the Reich's Attaché d'Affaires that this would be lifted only when Jewish persecution in Germany ceased.² Unfortunately the incidents increased and more reports flowed into the State Department.

On May 15, 1936 a 17-page communiqué from the American consulate in Hamburg outlined to Mr. Hull numerous accounts of harassment.³ The Secretary of State was greatly disturbed by these increasing outbursts against Jews throughout the country and exchange of correspondence with his diplomats in Germany reached a peak. This was particularly evident in the period prior to the Evian Conference.⁴ Austria's annexation added to Hull's dilemma as the Nazis found themselves with more Jews to torment. A solution to the problem had to be found but the options were few. The Secretary of State's belief in non-intervention limited his strategy. The Jewish situation inside the Reich and its annexed territory was considered an internal affair⁵ and in view of this Hull could merely content himself with careful monitoring of the situation. No deviation from this policy was made on behalf of ousted Chancellor Schussnigg but Hull instead urged his Ambassador to show a personal interest in this matter.⁶ Later when he learned through secret channels of the mistreatment of this former Austrian Head of State, the Secretary of State again reluctantly informed Ambassador Wilson of the impossibility

of intervening on behalf of a non-U.S. citizen.⁷

On the other hand when American tourists were molested by overzealous Nazis, Hull did advise his Ambassador to make a direct protest. Hermann Goering, as Minister of the Interior and leader of the Gestapo, responded to the protest. He remarked that some of Austria's Jews had been hiding behind the American flag and it was often difficult to differentiate between real Americans and Jews from Austria posing as such. He assured the United States that precautions would be taken in the future.⁸ Apparently he did not immediately comply, for Ambassador Wilson heard from his consulates of similar attacks against American tourists on vacation in the newly annexed country. When a complaint was lodged with the Viennese Gestapo, the U.S. diplomat was informed that Goering had not yet issued any directives on the matter.⁹

Since subtle intervention seemed to lead to an impasse, Hull turned to other diplomatic means to thwart the persecution. It was due to pressure from him that the President summoned the Evian Conference. Hull in his

Memoirs notes:

With Hitler's persecution of the Jews extended to Austria as well, the flow of semidestitute Jewish refugees from German controlled territory was certain to increase. At the State Department we had supported the League of Nations' efforts to provide homes for

these refugees in the early years of the Nazi regime. Now we believed it necessary to go further and take stronger action lest the unsettled state of Europe be further disturbed by the wholesale wanderings of these helpless people from country to country.

With the President's approval, I therefore sent out invitations to a number of other governments to cooperate in setting up a special refugee committee.¹⁰

Numerous obstacles concerning the proposed participants in this committee would first have to be surmounted before the conference could proceed.

One drawback was the Italian government's declining to attend. Count Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law and Minister, expressed his country's regrets. The Italian minister was afraid Italy's presence would insult the uninvited Germans, with whom his country had strong ties, and felt it unwise to participate.¹¹ Others who were not invited to attend wished to be present. Hull's Ambassador in Rumania sent congratulations for his initiative from his counterpart in that country. The Rumanian Secretary of State asked if he could send a representative to express Rumania's desire to find a haven for Jews it wished to expel.¹² Hull refused to extend the expected invitation since he did not wish to complicate matters further.

Luxembourg, a small country bordering on Germany which had already been swamped with Jews fleeing Nazi terror, felt it too had a right to voice its opinion at the

conference.¹³ The U.S. chargé there forwarded the Duchy's request. Again the Secretary declined to concede and informed his envoy that invitations were being issued only to those countries which could offer possible havens.¹⁴ Yet another small country, Ireland, claimed that any policy that Britain adopted would have a direct effect on them since there were no official borders between the two. In this instance Hull felt compelled to comply and the invitation was extended. Had the Duchy been offered the same courtesy, perhaps its government would never have issued the decree in November 1938 banning the entry of any further Jewish refugees.¹⁵

In spite of these and other numerous setbacks, the Evian Conference convened on July 6, 1938. Myron Taylor, the U.S. Ambassador appointed to head the event, outlined its goals. He stressed the urgent need to find a solution to the problem of refugees of all races, creeds and economic conditions. He wished to procure shelter for them since they had been forced into migration. He felt the problem was so insurmountable that the most the conference could achieve was the establishment of a permanent international body to deal with the situation.¹⁶ He pointed out that political refugees from Germany particularly were in dire need of urgent assistance.¹⁷ Other countries voiced their own reservations and conditions.

Britain and France wished the scope of the

conference restricted to those fleeing Austria and Germany.¹⁸ They felt that the League of Nations was already involved with the organization of aid for other types of refugees.¹⁹ The Belgian emissary claimed that his country could accept no more fugitives, having reached the point of saturation. The Dutch representative conceded that the Netherlands would only tolerate more refugees in exceptional circumstances. France contended that the U.S. was the country most able to take in a much larger quota than it did at present.²⁰ Each delegate had differing, similar and at times overlapping misgivings. Economic recession, unemployment, fear of increased anti-Semitism and already exhausted immigration quotas were but a few of the excuses emanating from the majority of conferees.

With the chance of other countries taking in more refugees slim at best, Palestine was discussed as a possible haven. But any hopes in this area were quickly shattered. The British delegate, Lord Winterton, made it clear in his opening speech that his government refused even to discuss the issue,²¹ much to the dismay of the Jewish organizations observing the session. Britain felt that the 32,500 German Jews who had emigrated to Palestine between January 1933 and December 1937, were more than it could handle.²² The British delegate "magnanimously" proposed instead that a small number should settle in Kenya.²³ Hardly a likely solution if the representatives

there had the same attitude as the Rhodesian spokesman. In answer to a rumour that this British Colony would take in a mere 500 refugees, Sir Leopold Moore, its representative on the Legislative Council, thundered he would rather have 500 British non-Jews.²⁴

From the usually tolerant Scandinavian countries came no hope either for a suitable solution to the problem. Diplomats from Norway, Sweden and Denmark expressed their inability to accept a further influx of Jews. Switzerland too, declined to take in any more foreigners.²⁵ Neither the Dutch nor the Belgians felt in a position to offer their colonies for immigration purposes.²⁶ In the New World, Australia, a grossly underpopulated country, claimed it could not accept Jewish refugees for fear of creating a racial problem which did not yet exist.²⁷ Only Canada which had been forced to limit immigration since its depression in 1930, showed no trace of racism and was sympathetic in its concern for victims of oppression. Its representative Hume Wrong offered to reconsider its present immigration restrictions in order to offer a practicable solution to the problem.²⁸ In view of these complications, what then did the Conference hope to achieve and why had the delegates attended?

L'Europe Nouvelle felt that the majority of the participants had merely attended to please President Roosevelt. Helping the refugees was not a priority for

them.²⁹ The article nevertheless praised the United States' delegates for formulating the most important resolutions. It also commended the U.S. for trying to overcome the insurmountable difficulties created by some of the other countries.³⁰ In a letter sent after the close of the Conference, we learn from Taylor that several Latin American countries were particularly adept at causing such trouble and had nothing constructive to offer. They continuously proposed multiple objections to any plan placed on the agenda.³¹ It was suggested that several of these Latin Americans had been pressured by Germany into creating havoc. Many were dependent on German trade and did not wish to jeopardize their already faltering economies:

Germany is in a position to put pressure on the Latin American States because her trade and clearing arrangements have resulted in her wooing them with money, which they had already difficulty in getting. They, and specially the small states, are afraid Germany will contend that she can only transfer a limited amount of marks, therefore the more Jewish refugees are allowed to take with them the less Latin America can get on the clearing of debts.

The Latin Americans are also dubious about the basic principle that the governments that oblige people to emigrate are also obliged to let them take their possessions with them. Some feel this is undue

interference in internal affairs and might form a precedent that could be applied later against Latin American states.³²

Taylor's previously mentioned letter corroborates this accusation. He informed Hull that several representatives from Latin American countries had informed him of such pressure.³³ Mexico and the Dominican Republic appeared to be the only ones in that part of the world to offer unrestricted haven,³⁴ but after giving the latter's proposal some consideration, Hull concluded that it was merely a gesture.³⁵ Several other Latin American countries said they would be willing to offer homes to agricultural workers.³⁶ While Brazil feared that Jews might take advantage of this offer to come into the countries as such, only to migrate to the cities at the first opportunity.³⁷

Not all these Hispanic participants were insensitive. S. Adler-Rudel felt that M. J. M. Yepes of Colombia sympathized with the plight of the Jews. The Colombian professor blamed Germany for dumping the unfortunates on other countries and believed that unless the Nazis stopped this practice, there was little chance for a solution elsewhere. In his moving address he concluded:

So long as the central problem is not decided, we shall be doing merely ephemeral work, work that will last but a day and which will have to begin over and over again tomorrow. ...The worst thing is that the bad example of the old world may be copied in other continents, and the world will then become uninhabitable.³⁸

For the Jews of Germany and Austria the world had already become uninhabitable. But where could they go?

The conference had no concrete solution to offer them. It failed to find a successful answer because the countries which had taken this gigantic task upon themselves could not work together to achieve the desired outcome. Each was looking at its own short-term goals. The initiative at Evian was doomed to failure from the start due to the tremendous task it was to undertake in such a short time. The sessions were further complicated by propositions emanating from outside observers and organizations. One of these, the Neumann "mission" as outlined in Habe's novel, Die Mission, is worthy of closer analysis in order to verify its authenticity and expose its historical ramifications.

NOTES

¹Julius W. Pratt, Cordell Hull 1933-44, 2 vol. (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1964), 1:181

²Cordell Hull, Memoirs of Cordell Hull, 2 vol. (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1948), 1:240

³Erhardt to Hull, May 15, 1936. John Mendelsohn ed., The Holocaust, 18 vol., Jewish Emigration from 1933 to the Evian Conference of 1938. (New York: Garland Pub., 1982), 5:23-29

⁴U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States 1938, 5 vol., Pubn. 5775 (1955) (Hereafter cited as FRUS)

⁵Cordell Hull, "America's Contribution to World Peace," Vital Speeches of the Day 4 (April, 1938): 368

⁶Hull to Wilson, March 29, 1938, FRUS, 1:472

⁷Hull to Wilson, June 21, 1938, Ibid., 1:477

⁸Wilson to Hull, April 29, 1938, Ibid., 2:512-513

⁹Wiley to Hull, May 3, 1938, Ibid., 2:513-514;
Wilson to Hull, May 7, 1938, Ibid., 2:514

¹⁰Hull, Memoirs, 1:579

¹¹Philipps to Hull, March 24, 1938, FRUS, 1:741

¹²Gunther to Hull, April 13, 1938, Ibid., 1:742

¹³Waller to Hull, June 27, 1938, Ibid., 1:750

¹⁴Hull to Waller, June 28, 1938, Ibid., 1:751

¹⁵Waller to Hull, December 1, 1938, Ibid., 1:847-849

¹⁶"Evian Conference," Catholic World 147 (August 1938): 611

¹⁷S. Adler-Rudel, "Evian Conference on the Refugee Question," Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook 13 (Jerusalem: East and West Library Publications, 1968), pp. 242-243

¹⁸"Help for Refugees," Newsweek 12 July 25, 1938, p. 17

¹⁹Ibid., p. 17; "Refugees," Time, 32 July 18, 1938, p. 16

²⁰"Evian Conference on Political Refugees," Social Science Review (September 1938): 518

²¹Times (London), August 15, 1938, p. 14

²²"Hull's Appeal for Victims of Nazi Persecution," China Weekly Review 84 April 2, 1938, pp. 117-118

²³"Five-Year-Hope," Time 32 August 15, 1938, p. 14; "Offnung Kenyas für Flüchtlinge," Prager Tagblatt, July 16, 1938, p. 2; "Keiner will sie haben," Völkischer Beobachter, July 13, 1938, p. 1

²⁴Social Science Review (September 1938): 516

²⁵"Refugee Problem," Newsweek 12 July 18, 1938, p.13:; Völkischer Beobachter, July 8, 1938, p. 1

²⁶Ibid., p.1

²⁷Ibid., p. 1; "Help for Refugees," Newsweek 12 July 18, 1938, p. 38

²⁸"Taylor Made Head at Refugee Parley," New York Times, July 8, 1938, p. 7

²⁹"D'Evian à Londres," L'Europe Nouvelle (Paris) 21 July 23, 1938, p. 777

³⁰Ibid., p. 777

³¹Taylor to Hull, July 20, 1938, Mendelsohn, 5:260

³²"Reich Power Felt at Refugee Parley," New York Times, July 14, 1938, p. 15

³³Taylor to Hull, July 20, 1938, Mendelsohn, 5:255

13 ³⁴ "Refugee Problem," Newsweek 12 July 18, 1938, p.

³⁵ Hull to Johnson, August 24, 1938, FRUS., 1:773

777 ³⁶ L'Europe Nouvelle (Paris) 21, July 23, 1938, p.

³⁷ "Keiner will sie haben," Völkischer Beobachter,
July 13, 1938, p. 1

³⁸ Adler-Rudel, p. 249

Ernst Haas, as General Correspondent for the Czech
German language newspaper Prager Tagblatt, was present at
the Evian Conference.¹ With his fellow journalists he
discussed the proceedings and was privy to the minutes of
various meetings. Haas also interviewed many of the
conference. One day-over he was particularly excited to talk
with Dr. Heinrich von Heuda, the famous lawyer and
from Vienna, who had treated the journalist as a boy and
had remained a family friend for years.² According to
Haas, this eminent Jewish specialist had been sent by the
Austrian Government as a representative of the Viennese
Österreichischer Judenrat. He proposed a plan which would
allow the Jews of Austria to emigrate in order to escape
persecution and potential extermination.³ This plan is the
basis of Haas's novel Der Flüchtling, and its hero, Dr.
Heinrich von Heuda, is portrayed in the fictional character
Dr. Heinrich von Heuda.

In the opening section, the author describes Heuda's
life prior to the "Anschluss." From a prominent, respected

CHAPTER II

DIE MISSION

Hans Habe, as Geneva Correspondent for the Czech German language newspaper Prager Tagblatt, was present at the Evian Conference.¹ With his fellow journalists he discussed the proceedings and was privy to the minutes of various meetings. Habe also interviewed many of the conferees. One observer he was particularly elated to talk with was Dr. Heinrich von Neumann, the famous laryngologist from Vienna, who had treated the journalist as a boy and had remained a family friend for years.² According to Habe, this eminent Jewish specialist had been sent by the Austrian Gestapo as a representative of the Viennese Jüdische Kultusgemeinde, to propose a plan which would allow the Jews of Austria to emigrate in order to escape persecution and potential extermination.³ This plan is the theme of Habe's novel Die Mission, and its hero, Dr. Heinrich Neumann, is portrayed in the fictional character Dr. Heinrich von Benda.

In the opening section, the author describes Benda's life prior to the "mission." From a prominent, respected

position, the Professor -who had never purported to be a practicing Jew- finds himself suddenly thrust into the same category as other Jews from all walks of life and treated as second-class citizens in the eyes of the Nazis who have taken over Austria. Habe describes how the surgeon's world begins to crumble around him as he experiences the humiliation of being locked up and forced to witness the beating of fellow prisoners for no apparent reason. Then as he observes the cruel death of one his cellmates, he suddenly realizes that the only "crime" he and the others incarcerated with him are guilty of is having been born Jews.

Benda is released due to the intervention of the Duke of Windsor, one of his more prominent patients. The professor is allowed to return home, but is further driven from his pedestal when he is stripped of the right to practice his profession. At home with nothing much to do, he ponders on his shortcomings. The famous surgeon had devoted his life to medicine at the cost of personal ties and time with his family, and now he had been deprived of this he finds it difficult to adjust to an ordinary life.

To add to the professor's anguish, he discovers that his daughter has vanished with her children. He cannot help but worry that they too have been rounded up and imprisoned like others caught in the Nazi web. He is summoned to the Reichsstatthalter's home presumably to

treat the man for a kidney ailment. The physician is quick to realize that the patient is in fine health and the real reason the Nazi had called him was to outline a proposal he expected Benda to submit to the Evian Conference. The professor was to attend as an observer representing the Jüdische Kultusgemeinde and offer the Jews of Austria to the participating countries for \$250 per head, \$1,000 per family. The professor is astonished not only by the proposition itself but also by the fact that he, a non-practicing Jew, should be the one chosen to represent the Jewish community. After much discussion the surgeon agrees to consider the demand but before giving a final decision he insists on the release of his two ex-cellmates. He further requests exit visas for his wife and child but the Reichsstatthalter would not comply in this instance. The family was to remain in Austria to make sure that the professor would return after completing his assignment. When Benda's wife learns of this, she insists that he make the most of the situation to seek freedom. Benda, however, is not convinced that his Christian wife has nothing to fear and besides he wished to use the opportunity to make up for his shortcomings as a Jew. He also feels compelled to return to assure the safety of his newly-released friends.

Heinrich is forced into the unfamiliar world of diplomacy and has to learn the ropes through trial and

error. He immediately confronts the conferees on his arrival at Evian and is thrust into the arena of international politics as the Free World's Nations decide the fate of the Jews. Each participant tries to shove the responsibility of finding a sanctuary for the refugees fleeing Naziism onto the other. Every government through its representatives offers a valid reason why it could not accept a further influx of refugees. How in view of this atmosphere could Benda possibly hope to convince the conferees to take the Gestapo offer seriously?

While the politicians play their political games, Benda desperately seeks a way to gain sympathizers for his cause. In his endeavours to succeed with his "mission" he is confronted with a multitude of obstacles. His co-religionists attending the conference as observers mistrust him because his trip was financed and permitted by the Gestapo. For the Gestapo he is merely a pawn in the battle of wits between those participating in the conference and the Nazi policy makers in the Reich. The conferees themselves have mixed emotions about the professor. Those privy to the details of the "mission" feel the proposal to offer Jews for emigration in exchange for currency is sheer blackmail. Many believe the funds will be used to support the Nazi war machine and are of course strongly opposed. Others point out the illegality of trading in human beings as defined by the League of Nations. Some sympathize with

the professor, but most are unwilling to believe that the extermination of the Reich's Jews could be a possible consequence in the event of the plot's failure. Added to these tribulations, Benda also has personal problems to contend with. The reunion with his son is not what he had hoped for. The young man still harbours resentment against his father's second marriage and during their brief reunion he does not even ask for news of his infant step-brother. The professor is disappointed also to learn that Elizabeth, his missing daughter, had not contacted her brother. Like his step-mother, however, Felix feels his father should take his chance and remain outside of Austria. He is convinced that the Gestapo never expected the physician to succeed. Even the U.S. delegate believes that Benda should not return whatever the outcome. Offers from the United States and other universities reach him when news of his presence at the French spa is publicized. The professor is nevertheless determined not to accept any of the offers if he himself can achieve nothing on behalf of his Jewish brethren. Even the risk of an impending heart-attack does not dissuade him from keeping his word to the Gestapo.

In the midst of what seems hopelessness, Benda finally receives news of his daughter's escape. He learns from a courier that he and his wife have hidden the woman and her family near the Austrian Swiss border. The professor is forced to trust the man and procures funds to

finance the escape into Switzerland from Selma Selig, the sympathetic representative of a Swiss Jewish refugee organization who is in Evian to observe the proceedings. The plan is successful and the professor is able to visit his daughter and family in nearby Switzerland. The girl's mental condition disturbs him and he forgets about his own health problems to arrange treatment for her. In a telephone conversation from the Selig apartment, Mrs. Benda again tries to convince her husband that he no longer has an excuse to come home. He should be happy that his daughter and family are safe and remain with them on the outside. Benda is not convinced and returns to Evian to try even harder to succeed in his task.

The U.S. delegate has bad news for the professor. He and the others feel it is out of the question to meet Nazi demands but are willing to work on a compromise. But Heinrich informs the Ambassador of a further hitch in demands. In a recent meeting with the Gestapo representative sent to watch over him, Benda learns that 40,000 Jews from Vienna will be sent to concentration camps if the money for them is not received by the beginning of August. As the professor anxiously awaits a positive outcome, the committee appointed to deal with the "mission" goes back and forth among the other members of the conference looking for support. Finally Benda is forced to concede that the participating countries all have their

reasons for turning down the proposal. He is even unable to rally support from observers present. The Jewish organizations, the Vatican and particularly the young Rabbi from New York, Samuel Milestone, are adamant in their rejection of the plan. The Vatican representative in particular feels the Gestapo have merely introduced the plot to discredit the outside world. The disheartened professor begins to suspect the Nazis had indeed used him because of his reputation and credibility. With this in mind he is more determined than ever to return to Austria.

The final chapter depicts Benda's last hours in freedom. He decides to defy the Nazis a little by remaining a day longer than they had granted him. He uses the time to accept an invitation to attend a concert with his daughter. He also decides to "smuggle" back a dress he had saved for from his allowance. He and wife would enjoy talking about this "illegal" adventure on his return. He is ecstatic about defying the Nazis with these two incidents and also with having his daughter and family in freedom. On the train back he is nevertheless a bit worried. As the locomotive zig-zags in and out before finally leaving Switzerland behind he almost regrets not having seized his chance. The harshness of the Nazi world is now even more evident having had a taste of the outside for a while. He experiences terror as he fears the discovery of the dress. He realizes that any excuse

suffices to merit the mistreatment of Jews. The excitement is too much for the man and he succumbs to a heart attack while the Reich's puppets are inspecting his papers. Lying dead he is the victim of their scorn as they go through his things and find "the Jew has smuggled in a dress."⁴

Habe's aim in this work is to expose the plight of the Jews. By failing to reach a solution to the refugee problem, Habe feels the nations convening in Evian added their complicity. The hero's suffering, torment and humiliation are also those of the millions of nameless Jews in Europe at the time. Their personification in the figure of the professor adds more of an impact on the reader than if the author had written about the trials and tribulations of a nameless mass. It is of historical importance by bringing the attention of the subject to a much greater audience. The similarities between the description of what happened during the conference and the events outlined in Chapter I are striking. But is the "mission," as Habe claims, authentic? By comparing the work with actual documents concerning the Evian Conference, researching newspapers of the time for clues and producing reputable sources to back Habe's intimation, this paper hopes to prove the theme of Die Mission is indeed plausible.

NOTES

¹Hans Habe, Ich stelle mich, (Munich: F. A. Herbig Verbuchhandlung, 1986, rept. 1956), p. 275

²Hans Habe, Erfahrungen, (Olten: Walter-Verlag, 1973), p. 73

³Ibid., pp. 28-29; Ich stelle mich, p. 306

⁴Licci Habe claims her husband knew Neumann returned to Vienna but felt this ending gave a more dramatic touch. Everyone would, she felt, remember the closing words.

Telephone interview between Annette El-Hayek and Licci Habe, April 25, 1988; interview between Saul S. Friedman and Licci Habe, Habe home, Ascona, Switzerland. (Hereafter referred to as Habe interviews with dates.)

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF HEINRICH VON NEUMANN WITH HIS FICTIONAL COUNTERPART HEINRICH VON BENDA

Heinrich von Neumann, whom Habe portrays as Heinrich von Benda, was certainly present at the Evian Conference. Several of the newspapers consulted for this period, particularly Prager Tagblatt which mentions him in five articles, cite the prominent ear specialist as an observer.¹ Clarence K. Streit, the New York Times correspondent, mentions that the professor arrived by air on July 6, 1938 accompanied by the head of the Viennese Jewish Community, Dr. Josef Lowenherz and Berthold Storfer.² Here there are two disparities with Habe's novel.

The first concerns the Jüdische Kultusgemeinde's leader. In Habe's work, Armin Silverstein, Löwenherz's fictional counterpart, does not accompany the physician on his quest. Instead he is forced to remain in Austria as one of the hostages threatened with reprisals should Benda seize his opportunity to escape.³ Herr Lowenherz himself was definitely not held hostage since he accompanied the professor to Evian. The families of both men, however, as well as those of other Jewish representatives from Austria

and Germany were not permitted to leave in order to guarantee the men would indeed return after fulfilling their obligations at Evian. S. Adler-Rudel notes concerning the delegates from the Reich territories:

They knew that their relatives and all the Jews on German territory were being held as hostages until their return and would have to bear the consequences of any incautious utterance at Evian likely to displease the Nazis⁴

The second point which is manifestly different from what actually transpired concerns the mode of transportation. The hero in Habe's work travels by rail to the French resort. Perhaps the author deemed it more credible to have the Gestapo send "their man" to Evian by the cheapest and most common method possible. The author of Die Mission describes the train journey as a harrowing experience.

First the passengers are subjected to the scrutiny of overzealous Austrian Nazi customs officials who endeavour to uncover possible illegal emigrants or make the last contact with Austria as unpleasant as possible for those lucky enough to have obtained valid exit visas. Moreover as the train reaches neutral Switzerland, the passengers are forced to endure further scrutiny from Swiss officials. These sadistic Swiss civil servants were just as vicious as their Austrian and German counterparts. They bluntly inspected documents to ensure that no unwelcome

refugees could linger in their midst. Benda witnesses the anguish of a fellow passenger, one of the few Jews fortunate enough to obtain his papers, as he is subjected to mistreatment and scorn at checkpoints leaving Austria and entering Switzerland.

As far as Heinrich Neumann's journey was concerned, this portrayal was obviously fiction, but it was surely fact concerning the routine procedures that the majority of travellers on this route, particularly Jews fleeing persecution, were forced to endure at the time. Even as late as 1975, a train trip from France to Germany could cause anguish among the most innocent of European vacationers as they were faced with inspection from intimidating, contemporary heirs of these Austrian and Swiss government employees.⁵ To avoid any similar undue complications, the Gestapo, being well aware of the dangers of rail travel through various checkpoints, would of course have opted for the simplest but most expensive method of travel for their "missionaries."

Why would the Nazis choose a man like Neumann for their secret mission? Who was this Viennese celebrity? And what resemblance did he bear to Habe's hero besides his presence at Evian?

Like Benda, Neumann was imprisoned shortly after the Anschluss when Germany annexed neighboring Austria on the pretext that the population had requested this.

According to a newspaper article, he had been accused with other wealthy Jews of contributing to an advertising fund which was to finance Chancellor Schuschnigg's intended plebiscite. Apparently Neumann and those arraigned with him had been forced to comply with the request for monetary support by Guido Zernatto, former secretary of the Fatherland Front which had by then been banned.⁶ The article further confirms the professor had treated the Duke of Windsor several times while the latter was still King of England. In fact Neumann continued to serve as the Duke's ear specialist after the former sovereign's abdication. In the brief interval between this historic event and his marriage to Wallis Simpson, Neumann's illustrious patient moved to SchloB Enzesfeld in Austria to be near his physician.⁷ In a letter to his fiancée from his new residence, the Duke informs her: "I'm just going to Vienna with the boys for a Dianabad and a blow from old Neumann..."⁸ It is most unlikely, however, as was purported to be the case for Habe's hero, that the Duke of Windsor had pulled some strings to obtain the release of his favorite physician. On March 22, 1938 the Duke had been turned down on a similar appeal he had made to Hitler on behalf of his friend Baron Louis Rothschild⁹ and it is most probable he would wish to avoid a similar embarrassing situation. Licci Habe also contends her husband invented this part of the story.¹⁰

Besides being the Duke of Windsor's consultant for an ear ailment, Neumann, like his fictional counterpart, had treated other foreign dignitaries and members of European royalty. Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia, Maria Christina the dowager Queen of Spain, Alfonso XIII of Spain, George II of Greece and Carol I of Rumania, were but a few of the professor's illustrious clientele.¹¹ Other personal and professional achievements, (Benda's, however, in the field of nephrology) link the two men.

1873 is the year of birth noted for both, but Habe chose a much simpler background for his character. He also made Benda's birthplace an ordinary apartment in Austria.¹² Neumann, on the other hand, was born in Hethars, Hungary. His family was affluent and was able to move to Vienna in order to allow the boy to pursue his education and career. In the Austrian capital he became known internationally as a pioneer in otology. He discovered the method for opening the labyrinth of the inner ear. This technique was adopted world wide and saved millions from deafness and even possible death due to inflammation.¹³ As a reward for this innovation at the time and in recognition of his numerous publications in his field, Neumann earned immediate success at the University of Vienna. He was made professor at an early age and by 1932, was the only physician in the country to head two clinics.¹⁴

The careers of Neuman and Benda are strikingly similar but there is quite a difference as far as religion is concerned. Habe portrays Benda as an indifferent Jew who suddenly wishes to cling to his heritage in the wake of deprivation and persecution.¹⁵ The guilt and torment Benda expresses may well be Habe's own. The Author's great-grandfather changed his Jewish name, Friedländer, to Bekesi to further his career. Habe's parents were married in the traditional Jewish manner but converted to Christianity shortly afterwards to make life easier for any children they might have. Habe was therefore raised in the Protestant religion. Habe claims his father chose Calvinism to ease the transition from a minority religion to a minority Christian religion in Catholic Austria.¹⁶ Habe's first conflict arose when he was asked to leave a student organization because of his roots.¹⁷ From this moment on the young man never felt completely part of either religion. He sympathized with the plight of the Jews during the Holocaust and perhaps felt partially responsible for the death of his first wife who died in a concentration camp.¹⁸ Habe does not go into the circumstances of her deportation but he probably felt she would still be alive if they had not divorced. Because of this personal conflict Habe became an ardent campaigner in the Jewish cause and was deeply moved by Judaism after a visit to Israel.¹⁹ He was nonetheless buried in a

Christian cemetery.²⁰

Neumann, on the other hand, is reported to have been an extremely devout Jew who lit candles every Friday, kept Kosher and attended the Schiffschul, an orthodox Jewish Synagogue in Vienna, on a regular basis. He is also said to have been devout in his prayer habits, making the traditional ceremony a daily practice.²¹

The family situation of the fictional character and his real counterpart also differs slightly. Habe concedes that this was intentional. Neumann, like Benda, was married to a Christian who was much younger than he.²² He had one son and two daughters²³ but they were all young at the time of the Evian Conference.²⁴ The incident where Benda's daughter disappears with her small children and is later able to flee to safety was surely added for dramatic effect. It made the professor's predicament more tense. The father-son conflict described in detail in Die Mission was also fictitious as far as the Neumann family was concerned. The arguments between Felix and his father are similar to the recurrent father-son conflicts in other works by Habe. Indeed the author himself had a tense relationship with his own father.²⁵ At the time of the conference, Mr. Bekessy paid a visit to his son on his way to his journalistic assignment in Switzerland. Habe's father was living and working in Hungary at the time and had been asked by the Hungarian government to get some

information on the conference from Hans. Habe was upset with this request and felt his father was using him. He refused to comply and the men parted, as often had been the case, on a sour note.²⁶

Another difference between the story and fact concerns work laws and Jews. Neumann appears to have been exempted from the work bans or restrictions imposed on other Jews at the time. Unlike his fictional counterpart, who was stripped of the right to practice his profession shortly after his arrest, Neumann appears to have kept at least one of his positions, head of the University of Vienna's Ear, Nose and Throat clinic, for at least several months after the close of the Evian Conference. In a letter to Taylor probably written on the day of his return, the physician thanks the U.S. Ambassador, on Letterhead paper listing him as chief of the clinic, for having received him and requesting a further meeting.²⁷ A telegram sent by Neumann to Taylor in London several months later also lists the clinic as Neumann's address.²⁸

Since the "mission" was doomed to failure, everyone was anxious that Benda should remain outside Austria. He is said to have received several offers from universities and hospitals in several countries.²⁹ Of course a distinguished scholar such as Professor Neumann would naturally have no difficulty finding a country willing to exploit his talents. In fact the physician had been

invited to the United States several times. In 1910 he performed innovative surgery on an outpatient basis on a woman in Philadelphia and was highly commended by the patient and colleagues in the United States. Two years later he criticized U.S. medicine while attending the Otolological Congress in Boston.³⁰ At least two offers reached Professor Neumann while he was in Evian. One came from the Montefiore Hospital in New York, and another from Beth Israel Hospital in Boston.³¹ As the conference drew to its close and it became evident that the physician's return to Austria was imminent, he also received invitations from the United States and British Governments who had been impressed with his record.³² Neumann, like Benda, decided in spite of this to return home. Professor Neumann did not suffer the same fate as the hero in Habe's novel. Habe himself mentions this in his first book of memoirs, he writes:

Es war eine bedeutsame und erfolgreiche (sic) Konferenz, deren nobelste und unvergeßlichste Erscheinung der Wiener Professor Dr. Heinrich von Neumann war, der größte Laryngologe der Welt, ein Jude, den die Gestapo nach Evian entsandt hatte, mit der einzigartigen Mission, die österreichischen Juden gegen Dollars zu "verkaufen"- eine zwiespältigtragische Mission, der sich der greise Professor mit unglaublichem Mut entledigte and nach deren Erfüllung er selbst in den Wiener Kerker zurückkehrte.³³

Neumann did not remain in Austria for the remainder of his life. From October 1938 he worked with the American ORT Federation. The organization had been permitted by the

Gestapo to operate a school near Vienna to train Jews for agricultural and other trades. In the spring of 1939, he received special permission from the Nazis to come to the United States to work on the refugee problem with the American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee. He did not return by the November 1, 1939 deadline given by the Nazis and died in freedom in New York of a gastric ailment contracted while vacationing at Lake Placid.³⁴

³⁴"U.S. Spares Lessons at Placid," New York Times, July 7, 1938, p. 8.

Hans Jabe, Die Missionen des Reichs, F. v. Herbig Verlagbuchhandlung, 1907 repr. Vienna: Kurt Schick Verlag, 1965, p. 128.

Adler-Rudel, p. 257.

³⁵During my stay in France from 1970-76, I had the opportunity of travelling on this route on several occasions up until 1975. Swiss and Austrian railway, customs and immigration officials were noted for harassment of travellers and this was certainly evident from my personal experience. German hotel servants on the other hand were much more "civil."

³⁶"Austrian Shake-Up Proposed by Nazis," New York Times, March 15, 1938, p. 4.

³⁷"Reumann Dies, Noted Artist," ibid., November 7, 1937, p. 28.

³⁸Edward to Wallis, ibid. Edward and Wallis, March 3, 1937, in Michael Alton, ed., Wallis and Edward: Letters 1931-37 (New York: Cowart Books, 1986), p. 258.

³⁹"Wallis Appeal for Victims of Nazi Persecution," China Daily News 44 April 2, 1938, p. 117.

NOTES

¹ "La Conference intergouvernementale d'Evian," Le Matin (Paris) July 13, 1938, p. 2; "Refugee Problem," Newsweek, July 18, 1938, p. 14; "U.S. Spurs Nations at Refugee Parley," New York Times, July 7, 1938, p. 8; "Taylor Made Head at Refugee Parley," Ibid., July 8, 1938, p. 7; "Die Drei-Welt-Demokraten bereit zur Flüchtlings-Hilfe," Prager Tagblatt, July 7, 1938, p. 1; "Professor Neumann in Evian," Ibid., July 8, 1938, p.1; "Trotzdem Versuch eines Einvernehmens," Ibid., July 9, 1938, p. 2; "Professor Neumanns Mission," Ibid., July 12, 1938, p. 4; "Appell an alle Staaten," Ibid., July 13, 1938, p. 2

² "U.S. Spurs Nations at Parley," New York Times, July 7, 1938, p. 8

³ Hans Habe, Die Mission, (Munich: F. A. Herbig Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1987 rep. Vienna: Kurt Desch Verlag, 1965), p. 125

⁴ Adler-Rudel, p. 257

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⁷ "Neumann Dies, Noted Aurist," Ibid., November 7, 1939, p. 28

⁸ Edward to Wallis, Schloß Enzesfeld, March 3, 1937, in Michael Bloch, ed., Wallis and Edward: Letters 1931-37 (New York: Summit Books, 1986), p. 316

⁹ "Hull's Appeal for Victims of Nazi Persecution," China Weekly Review 84 April 2, 1938, p. 117

- ¹⁰Habe interview May 22, 1988
- ¹¹Hugo DeLaehne, "Surgeon of Sovereigns," American Hebrew, March 19, 1937, pp. 1012, 1016
- ¹²Die Mission, p. 26
- ¹³DeLaehne, p. 1012
- ¹⁴Ibid., p. 1016
- ¹⁵Die Mission, p. 12
- ¹⁶Ich stelle mich, p. 27
- ¹⁷Ibid., p. 173
- ¹⁸Ibid., p. 174
- ¹⁹Ibid., p. 174
- ²⁰Habe Interview May 22, 1988
- ²¹DeLaehne, p. 1016
- ²²Habe interview April 25, 1988
- ²³Ibid; New York Times, November 7, 1939, p. 28
- ²⁴Habe interview April 25, 1988
- ²⁵Habe interview May 22, 1988
- ²⁶Ich stelle mich, p. 306
- ²⁷Neumann to Taylor, July 13, 1938, Myron Taylor Papers, Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York
- ²⁸Neumann to Taylor, January 1, 1939, Ibid
- ²⁹Die Mission, p. 45
- ³⁰New York Times, November 7, 1939, p. 28
- ³¹Ibid., July 8, 1938, p. 7

³² "Englisch-französisch-amerikanische Einigung in Evian," Prager Tagblatt, July 13, 1938, p. 2

³³ Ich stelle mich, pp. 305-306. Translation:

It was a significant and successful (sic) Conference whose most noble and unforgetful participant was Dr. Heinrich von Neumann, the greatest laryngologist in the world, a Jew whom the Gestapo has sent to Evian, with the unique mission, to sell Austrian Jews for dollars - a controversial mission- which the old Professor discharged with unbelievable courage. After fulfilling this obligation he went back to his Viennese jail.*

*Actually not a real jail but for the Jews, Vienna was like one at the time

³⁴ New York Times, November 7, 1939, p. 28

In the fictional account of the story, Benda was summoned by the Reichsstatthalter of Vienna and informed he was to represent the Jews in proposing the diabolical plot outlined in Chapter II. He was not to make it public that the proposition emanated from the Gestapo. The Reichsstatthalter at this particular time, although not mentioned by name in the novel, was none other than Arthur Seyss-Inquart who would later become Governor General of Holland and be executed for his war crimes after being tried in Nuremberg. In copies of a television screenplay on The Mission by Jochen Beta, a dialogue between the Nazi official and Benda for the Reichsstatthalter's part started "It's through."

However, it is questionable that the Reichsstatthalter actually initiated and transmitted the

CHAPTER IV

THE MISSION AND ITS FAILURE:

FACT OR FICTION?

Now that the striking similarities between Habe's hero and Professor Neumann have been established, as well as the fact that the professor indeed attended the Evian Conference, it would be appropriate to consider the reason for Neumann's presence there.

In the fictional account of the story, Benda was summoned by the Reichsstatthalter of Vienna and informed he was to represent the Jews in proposing the diabolical plot outlined in Chapter II. He was not to make it public that the proposition emanated from the Gestapo. The Reichsstatthalter at this particular time, although not mentioned by name in the novel, was none other than Artur Seyss-Inquart who would later become Governor General of Holland and be executed for his war crimes after being tried in Nuremberg. In copies of a television screenplay on The Mission by Jochen Huth, a dialogue between the Nazi official and Benda has the Reichsstatthalter's part marked "S-I" throughout.¹

However, it is questionable that the Reichsstatthalter himself initiated and transmitted the

"ransom" plans to Neumann. Artur Seyss-Inquart was one of the few defendants at the Nuremberg trials to stimulate respect and sympathy from his lawyers and fellow accused.² In the transcripts of his trial he made no claim of having offered the safety of Austrian Jews in exchange for money, a claim that if true, might have added more weight to his defense. Any offer to free the persecuted, was better than none. He claimed, however, to have attempted unsuccessfully to resign at several periods in his career and to have assisted several Jews in leaving Austria. One who managed to reach Austria sent an affidavit in defense of his Austrian "saviour":

After my departure from Austria I heard of other cases in which Dr. Seyss gave similar help to Jews and that in May 1938 when persecution of Jews became particularly severe, he protested to Gauleiter Bürckel.³

Another deposition revealed that Burckel had made an official protest when Seyss-Inquart tried to stop the deportations of Jews from Austria.⁴ In his own article on Neumann's presence at Evian, Habe mentions Burckel as the initiator of the "mission":

Wie bekannt wird, sind Professor Heinrich Neumann und der Präsident der Wiener jdr. Kultusgemeinde Dr. Löwenherz in einer offiziellen Mission nach Evian gekommen. Sie waren zu Gauleiter Bürckel beschieden worden und wurden von ihm gefragt, ob sie bereit waren zu sorgen, daß der "Abtransport" der österreichischen Juden schleunigst erfolge....⁵

In typewritten notes made by Habe before the book was in its final draft, the author also had the Gauleiter as the discloser of the "plot."⁶ Handwritten ones of what probably was an initial draft, however, specify the Reichsstatthalter.⁷ In all likelihood Habe opted for the more important personality to add drama to the affair.

He certainly was well acquainted with Seyss-Inquart. In 1931 Habe had written an article disclosing the news of the new members of the Austrian government. He received information from Dr. Ignaz Seipel, Chancellor of Austria from 1922-24 and 1926-29, that the latter had been asked by Dr. William Mirkaus to form a new government. Seipel gave Habe the list of proposed cabinet members. In the middle of the night before Habe's article appeared in the press, the German government with the help of the Austrian Nazi Party managed to "persuade" Seipel and his cabinet to step down. Instead they appointed Dr. Johannes Schober, the Chief of Police, to take over the position. Schober's cabinet appointees were naturally men more sympathetic to the Nazi cause.⁸ The conspirators were unaware that a news release had been given and when Habe's article appeared, to save themselves embarrassment, they accused the journalist of having fabricated the story. The case went to court some time later with Seyss-Inquart representing the prosecution. Dr. Seipel was critically ill at the time and could not appear in court.⁹ The brave man sent an

affidavit backing up Habe's communiqué and the journalist won the case.¹⁰ Schober was obliged to withdraw and Dr. Karl Burescht given the position. Habe realized at this point that the Anshluß was imminent.¹¹ Habe bore the prosecutor no grudge and even seemed to admire the man. Mrs. Habe contends Seyss-Inquart indeed sent Neumann on the task,¹² but the facts tend to back up Habe's original contention that Burckel was the one responsible for this.¹³

No specific mention is made in any of the articles on Neumann's presence at the conference regarding the actual plot to exchange Jews for money. As Habe states in his novel, the Nazis would of course have wanted this kept secret. They were not invited to the conference and like the wicked fairy in Sleeping Beauty would obviously delight in sabotaging the proceedings. What better way of doing so than to offer their cynical "exchange."

The Nazis were concerned about the outcome of the conference and sent a representative to keep them abreast of what transpired:

...Wie hier berichtet wird, hat die deutsche Regierung einen geheimen Beobachter zur Flüchtlingskonferenz entsandt. Das Reich hat in verschiedenen Ländern durch seine Diplomaten den Konferenzvertretern mitgeteilt, daß ein solcher Beobachter in Evian sein werde und ersucht, ihn gegebenenfalls mit Informationen zu versehen.¹⁴

The Reich had no intentions of letting these victims of persecution go in an orderly manner. Nazi officials had

continuously hindered the emigration process from the onset of Hitler's advent to power. In various towns necessary documents which were required by consulates and embassies in order to meet visa requirements for prospective immigrants were deliberately held back. The property and money of Jews were confiscated to boost Germany's floundering economy. Immediately preceding the Evian Conference, several dispatches informed U.S. Secretary of State Hull of Germany's non-cooperation with Jewish emigration.¹⁵ When similar problems had surfaced in the past, Hull asked his consuls in Germany to waive the police certificate which the Gestapo was deliberately withholding.¹⁶ Unfortunately most of the immigration officers appeared to have ignored the order and not nearly enough Jews were able to escape.

By offering the Jews to the participating Nations at Evian, the Nazis could hope to benefit in some way no matter what the outcome would be. If their offer were accepted, it would mean an increase in badly needed revenues. On the other hand, even were it to fail, they would still be in a position to rob the Jews to the maximum before sending them to their ultimate fate. By not accepting the proposition, the nations participating in the Evian Conference were also confirming Nazi beliefs that no one wanted the Jews. These nations, therefore, would no longer be in a position to criticize Jewish persecution

within the Reich and its territories.

Germany was suffering from high inflation and an economic offer was most certainly behind Neumann's trip to Evian. In choosing the three representatives from Vienna to deliver the incredible proposition, the Germans were sure to be taken seriously. Who could possibly disbelieve Dr. Heinrich von Neumann, a man of such renown and credibility? Who better to stress the urgency of the Jewish plight inside Austria than the Judische Kultusgemeinde's leader, Dr. Josef Löwenherz? And why else would banker Berthold Storfer have been a part of the group were it not to handle the financial exchange? Prager Tagblatt mentions the latter:

Wie sehr Bürckel an dem Erfolg dieser Mission legt, gehts daraus hervor, daß er den beiden Herren gestattet, als Experten den jüdischen Bankier Storfer mitzunehmen.¹⁷

Habe also contends a further condition was stipulated by The Nazis when they realized that little progress was being made. The money for 40,000 Ostmark Jews, i.e., approximately one third of those who were to leave the country within a year,¹⁸ was to be sent by the beginning of August or else 40,000 Jews would be rounded up at random and sent to concentration camps.¹⁹ Only two newspapers reviewed for that period mention anything about these 40,000. One quote seems rather vague:

...Since Germany has sent to the Conference in an

indirect but none the less authentic way, a declaration with specific demands for the reception by other countries of 40,000 more refugees before the Autumn, it cannot be said that the atmosphere for a strong forward policy by the Conference is at all propitious.²⁰

While the other hints of a proposal which made Neumann extremely nervous:

Dr. Heinrich Neumann, noted Viennese Physician, who brought an informal request to have 40,000 Austrian Jews evacuated by August 1, faced difficulties in getting the proposal attended to...

...Dr. Neumann said that his position was "very, very difficult since I must go back with a definite number to be evacuated, not promises of investigation by commission, committees or offices."²¹

From the sources consulted there is no evidence that the plot outlined in Habe's work is pure fiction. On the contrary there appears to be sufficient hint of such a scheme. Of course like the Evian Conference itself, the only possible outcome would be failure. In the letter the U.S. Secretary of State drafted to Ambassador Kennedy in the United Kingdom concerning the the Evian Conference, he pointed out that financing for emigration from Austria and Germany could not be paid by the United States Government.²²

In view of this there was no way Ambassador Taylor could assist Neumann in his endeavour to succeed on behalf

of his co-religionists in Austria. Indeed U.S. immigration policy decreed that funding for immigration could not be supplied from government funds.²³

Furthermore, during the Spanish Civil War, Hull refused to release government money for the evacuation of United States citizens who had voluntarily become involved in the war. In a telegram to U.S. Charge Wilson, he made it clear the U.S. appropriations were not to be considered for the repatriation of volunteers.²⁴ As was the ruling on any proposals concerning Jewish and other refugees, the funding for repatriation of U.S. citizens was to be provided solely through donations from private organizations. In both instances the Secretary of State felt it was not appropriate for the U.S. to get involved in the internal affairs of another country.²⁵ In spite of subsequent request for U.S. aid for evacuees from Spain, the Secretary of State enforced the same policy.²⁶ No exceptions were to be made either in the case of wounded U.S. citizens²⁷ and if funds from private organizations were delayed for whatever reason, the consulates in Barcelona and Marseille were not authorized to offer assistance.²⁸

When foreign politics directly affected the United States Government, Hull was more frank in his criticism. He condemned Germany strongly for refusing to pay its U.S. war debt.²⁹ When Ambassador Dieckhoff called on Hull to

complain of U.S. criticism of the Nazi regime, the Secretary of State informed the latter that the criticism was well deserved. He reiterated concern over Germany's refusal to pay annexed Austria's debts and also expressed indignation over the confiscation of property owned by American Jews in Austria and Germany.³⁰ Economic issues were vitally important to Hull. He felt the Nazi government was using the distress of German refugees to alter bilateral trade influences for its own economic success at the expense of others³¹ and refused to let the foreign government get the upper hand. Is it any wonder then that the United States would be against sending money to Germany to allow Jewish immigrants to leave?³²

and the
 have been to Evian on an official mission. They were
 accompanied by Gauleiter Borchel and asked by him, if they
 would be prepared to travel to Evian and see to it there
 that the evacuation of Austria's Jews be immediately
 forthcoming.

Habe Papers, Landesarchiv, Berlin

Habe Papers, Boston

Yiddishkayt, pp. 217-218

Dr. Tolpeck died before Habe could thank him.
 Ibid., p. 218

1935

1935

1935 Interview, May 22, 1988

1935 Prozac, Yiddishkayt, July 12, 1938, p. 4

NOTES

¹Habe Papers, Mugar Memorial Library, Boston University

²Alber Speer, Spandau: The Secret Diaries, trans. by Richard and Clara Winston, (New York: MacMillan Pub., 1976), p. 7

³Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, 44 vol., (New York: AMS Press, 1971, repr. of 1848 ed.), 15:634

⁴Ibid., 16:101

⁵"Professor Neumanns Mission," Prager Tagblatt, July 12, 1938, p. 4. Translation:

As is known, Professor Heinrich Neumann and the President of the Viennese Jewish Community Dr. Löwenherz have come to Evian on an official mission. They were summoned by Gauleiter Burckel and asked by him, if they would be prepared to travel to Evian and see to it there that the evacuation of Austria's Jews be immediately forthcoming.

⁶Habe Papers, Landesarchiv, Berlin

⁷Habe Papers, Boston

⁸Ich stelle mich, pp. 213-214

⁹Dr. Seipel died before Habe could thank him, Ibid., p. 216

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Habe interview, May 22, 1988

¹³Prager Tagblatt, July 12, 1938, p. 4

¹⁴"Prof. Neumann in Evian," Prager Tagblatt, July 8, 1938, p. 2

¹⁵Gilbert to Hull, June 26, 1938, FRUS, 5:130; Gilbert to Hull, March 2, 1938, Ibid., 5:133-134

¹⁶Friedman, p. 52

¹⁷"Professor Neumanns Mission," Prager Tagblatt, July 12, 1938, p. 4 Translation:

Just how much Bürckel is stressing for the success of the mission can be seen by the fact that he recommended that both men take along the Jewish banker Storfer as an expert.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 4

¹⁹Die Mission, p. 144

²⁰"British View Criticized," Times (London), July 8, 1938, p. 16

²¹"Taylor Made Head of Refugee Parley," New York Times, July 8, 1938, p. 7

²²Hull to Kennedy, March 23, 1938, FRUS, 1:740-741

²³Taylor to Hull appendix, June 29, 1938, Mendelsohn, 5:232

²⁴Hull to Wilson, April 9, 1938, FRUS, 1:281

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Hull to Thursten, April 1, 1938, Ibid., 1:277-280

²⁷Hull to Bullitt, May 27, 1938, Ibid., 1:288-289

²⁸Hull to Bullitt, July 1, 1938, Ibid., 1:307

²⁹Pratt, 1:183

³⁰Hull, Memoirs, 1:583-585

³¹Hull to Bullitt, August 27, 1938, FRUS, 1:774

³²Die Mission

CHAPTER V

NAZI VIEWS ON THE CONFERENCE AND INTERFERENCE WITH EMIGRATION

According to Habe's novel, the Vatican observer to the Evian Conference tried to console Benda when it appeared likely his "mission" would fail. The Monsignor confided his personal belief that the Nazis had no misgivings whatsoever about the impending outcome. Indeed, he felt, they even willed the stalemate regarding the solution to the immigration problem discussed at the conference. Whether the actual Vatican observer felt this way or not is uncertain, but it was certainly Habe's own opinion.¹ From what the Nazis were printing in their press or communicating via other documents, this appears to be an astute assessment.

As the conference was underway, the Nazi newspaper Völkischer Beobachter published an article expressing concern at the number of Jews in the world. These, it estimated, made up 17 million of the world's population. In reality the article implied a much larger population since the figures quoted concerned only practicing Jews. It was further pointed out that the United States was home to only 5 million, whereas Europe, with 8 million, had

almost twice that number. Most of the European Jews, it was stressed, lived in the East European area between Leningrad, Riga, Vienna and Rostow. Capital cities and large cities had a bigger concentration of Jews than other smaller ones. Greater New York in particular had a population of 2.3 million Jews giving it the densest population of Jews in the world.² The article at first appears to have neither rhyme nor reason. However, from another article the following day it becomes clear that the intention was to cause increased animosity against Jews within the Reich.

In his editorial, Alfred Rosenberg wonders if those nations meeting in Evian would really be willing to take in 6-8 million more Jews. He hints that the United States initiated the conference for fear of being swamped with this element. He cynically excuses this sentiment stressing that it would be quite normal to feel this way. After, all one only had to consider New York, the most heavily populated Jewish city in the world where one in three of its inhabitants was Hebrew, to comprehend what it would be like to have too many Jews living in a particular area.³

Another report hints at Nazi scepticism on the conference. Quoting the semi-offical organ of the Foreign Office in Germany, the New York Times notes:

Since in many foreign countries it was recently regarded as wholly incomprehensible why Germany did not

wish to preserve in its population an element like the Jews because of their accomplishments, it appears astounding that these countries seem in no way particularly anxious to make use of this element themselves now that the opportunity offers.

On the contrary, scarcely one of the countries whose representatives spoke at Evian asserted that immigration -that is, fellow-citizenship- with the present German Jews was particularly wished.⁴

The Germans themselves certainly no longer wished to count among its citizens people of Jewish religion or origin. In yet another seemingly innocent article which covered the third day of a Conference uniting participants of the Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands this fact is established. The article points out that those gathered felt the "Jewish Question" was one of the most urgent and historical questions put to scientific research and debate. According to Dr. Erich Botzenhart, the main speaker that day, Jews had abused their emancipation and equal rights as citizens in the past. He accused them of having used their financial power in the 19th century to fund the liberal movement which led to the revolution of 1848.⁵ In other words the speaker attempted to prove the Jews could not be assimilated wherever they settled. This point is stressed further in another of Alfred Rosenberg's commentaries on the Evian Conference.

This time there is no innuendo and Rosenberg blatantly makes his accusation, citing the unrest in Palestine as proof of the Jews' inability to become

assimilated. He also warned that Germany was determined not to repeat the mistake of the last century (the 1848 revolution?) which occurred because of the tolerance or weakness of former generations. Germany, he states, was also prepared to take steps to prevent similar developments from occurring wherever in the world this might arise, and particularly in Poland and Hungary.⁶

Whereas Germany did everything in its power to hinder any positive outcome at Evian, the participants themselves failed in their intended goals. From an economic as well as moral point of view, they refused to accept the offer communicated by Heinrich Neumann. They could, as Habe suggested, have agreed to call the Nazi bluff and open publicly their doors to anyone wishing to leave the Reich. Heinrich Neuman seemed to believe the Nazis might be willing to make concessions to speed up the exodus of Jews from Germany. However, German determination not to cooperate and the fear of economic recession on the part of the representatives at the conference, limited the options.

Even the delegates to the permanent refugee committee convened in London felt it would be easier to find havens if the refugees were permitted to take out a part of their assets. At this point the prospective countries of immigration were willing to discuss the issue with the Nazis. The latter, however, had no intentions of

making concessions.⁷

Shortly after the Conference at Evian ended, and the Intergovernmental Committee set up in London, new decrees forbade fleeing Jews from taking out even personal or household goods from the Reich unless a 100 percent levy were paid. For most this was impossible but so too was the prospect of ever selling the goods in question. German law forbade Aryans from buying Jewish property from people anxious to leave the country. The Reich of course ended up being the beneficiary.⁸

Few of the prospective immigration countries were willing to take in refugees who were completely destitute. The Intergovernmental Committee tried several times to force Germany to stop such practices in order to facilitate immigration requirements imposed by countries of immigration. Their efforts, however, remained fruitless.⁹ Once again an impasse was reached.

It is clear that the Nazis at this point were unwilling to let the Jews go in any circumstances. Their offer to sell their newly acquired Austrian constituency of these "Untermenschen" would have been a sure way of hindering any possible progress at the Conference of Evian. There is no evidence to conclude that such an offer was, as some have claimed, purely fictitious.

Habe was obviously haunted by the affair for years.¹⁰ In his first autobiography he makes reference to

Neumann twice, including a reference to the mission to Evian. In his last autobiography, he also refers to both. He ironically notes that the price of Jews has gone up since the Evian Conference:

Am 14 August 1972 hat der sowjetische Ministerrat beschlossen für jüdische Intellektuelle, die nach Israel auswandern wollen, für Wissenschaftler, Gelehrte, Professoren ein "kopfgeld" von 16,000 bis 80,000 Mark zu fördern, das Vierfache bis Zehnfache der "taxe" für nichtjüdischer Auswanderer über sechzehn Jahre.¹¹

He then goes on to compare this to Die Mission and ends the diatribe with:

Jetzt ist der Preis höher, 4,000 bis 20,000 Dollar pro Stück. Man soll nicht sagen, daß der Wert des Menschenlebens nicht gestiegen ist. Sonst hat sich nichts geändert. Nicht für die Juden.¹²

Habe probably did not realize how true this statement would remain. Today the Soviet Union is allowing Jews to leave without the "Kopfgeld" but the United States, which had claimed to be willing to take any Jews the Soviets would permit to emigrate, has once again closed its doors to the majority of them. Israel would welcome them all, but Soviet propaganda over the years has left many Jews with a desire to go anywhere else but there!

NOTES

¹Die Mission, pp. 276-280

²"17 Millionen Juden in der Welt, Neuyork die Judenreichste Stadt aller Zeit," Völkischer Beobachter, July 7, 1938, p. 2

³Ibid.

⁴"Germans Belittle Results," New York Times, July 13, 1938, p. 12

⁵"Judentum, Politik und Kultur," Völkischer Beobachter, July 7, 1938, p. 5

⁶"Wohin mit den Juden?" Ibid., July 8, 1938, p. 1

⁷"Refugees," Time 32 July 18, 1938, p. 16

⁸"Five-Year-Hope," Ibid., August 15, 1938, p. 14

⁹Newsweek 12, July 7, 1938, p. 17

¹⁰Die Mission, p. 365; Interviews with Licci Habe, April 25, 1988, and May 22, 1988

¹¹Erfahrungen, p. 28

¹²Ibid.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Trading in human beings for money, goods or even other human beings, although forbidden in principle by the United Nations, still continues in our time. It is not uncommon to find advertisements in newspapers, magazines or on College Campus boards requesting that pregnant women and girls contemplating abortion, contact, either directly or through the intermediary of a legal representative, families willing to pay for the right to adopt their unwanted children. The demand for children by couples unable to have their own families far exceeds the supply and this has resulted in a lucrative and often unorthodox baby trade. In Latin America children and infants have been kidnapped from their parents by baby merchants who in turn sell their "merchandise" to new parents in the United States and Europe.

Prostitution too is a form of human trade. Young women and men are "sold" to satisfy the pleasures of a vast market. The pimps and madams providing this service profit enormously from this this commerce of human flesh. In less "civilized" corners of the world, white females kidnapped in various European cities fetch a high price for their

white slave traders. In former colonies the French Foreign Legion has stumbled upon and freed many young women sold to harems after being abducted in similar circumstances.

Governments, too, are known to trade in human commodities. Since the onset of the Cold War numerous exchanges of spies or innocent people accused of spying have taken place between Eastern and Western Block countries. France has admitted to trading goods, money and even arms in order to secure the release of several of its citizens held hostage in Lebanon, Africa and North Africa.

During World War II individual Jews were able to purchase freedom for themselves and some members of their families. Dr. Gerhard Riegner, chief of the Geneva office of the World Jewish Congress, after many fruitless attempts, managed to convince the United States and Great Britain that the Jews were being exterminated, and two plans for rescue ensued. The first involved 5,000 children from Poland who were to be given homes in Britain. The plan fell through when the Germans demanded in exchange the release of prisoners of war they wished returned to the Fatherland.¹ The other plan emanated from the Rumanian dictator Antonescu who proposed to release 60,000 Jews in exchange for money. At first the State Department was reluctant to cooperate, but under pressure from various groups, Jewish organizations were granted licenses to facilitate the transfer of money to the Nazis' credit in

blocked Swiss bank accounts.²

Ralph Martin in his biography Golda cites another similar proposal. Ben Gurion, he contends, tried to persuade the Roosevelt Administration to "accept a Nazi Gestapo offer of refugees for money, 'blood for goods.'" Unfortunately Mr. Martin could not remember more specific details on this.⁴ The Leo Baeck Institute in Jerusalem, however, received confirmation from the Ben Gurion archives "that a proposal from Ben-Gurion sounds very possible, since he was involved in the Brand-Kastner affair in Hungary."⁵ This proposition, well known to historians, involves Adolf Eichman and his offer to free Hungary's Jews in exchange for trucks. Lucy Dawidowicz feels that Habe, influenced by the publicity on this during the Eichmann trials, invented the entire plot outlined in The Mission.⁶ Other historians, however, appear to support Habe's thesis.

Saul Friedman makes reference to the plot in his work on the United States attitude to Jewish refugees.⁷ Another Holocaust historian, Nora Levin, also felt that the affair was authentic.⁸ Professor Levin maintains that although the work is framed partially on fiction its principal portion corresponds to documented fact.⁹

Dr. William Perl author of The Four Front War, a personalized account of how he and others managed, through ingenious ruses, to get illegals into Palestine, testifies to Nazi willingness to cooperate in his efforts. Dr. Perl

feels greater accomplishments could have resulted had there been more cooperation from transit countries as well as from the United States and Great Britain.¹⁰ When asked his opinion on the plot to "sell" Austria's Jews, Dr. Perl said he had never heard of such an offer:

One may consider that quite unlikely if one recalls that at the time the Germans were still eager to get rid of Jews as fast as possible.¹¹

However he did not completely rule out the possibility:

But I do not think, that it is impossible that such suggestion was brought along. Policy regarding Jewish emigration was in very much of a flux at that time.¹²

Another great writer on his World War II experiences, William L. Shirer, was also unfamiliar with the plot. He attended the conference briefly but left when he felt that nothing would be accomplished there.¹³ He does not remember having met with either Habe or Neumann and maintains "It was evident from the beginning that the Western Democracies were not going to do anything to help the Jews."¹⁴

Habe had no possible benefit to derive from claiming a fictional work was based on fact. He was a successful author at the time he wrote Die Mission and indeed continued to write other best-sellers. He had a reputation for wishing to disclose the truth at all costs. He fought

for years to clear his father's label of blackmailer. While editor of a Hungarian financial newspaper, Imré Bekessy had been accused of blackmailing several economists.¹⁵ After an anonymous tip in another quest for truth, Habe risked his life to retrace Hitler's roots. He was the reporter who exposed the Führer's Schicklgruber origins.¹⁶

When Habe's Mission was in the process of being published in its English version, it provoked comment from several reputable sources who had been given the galleys to view. Harry Golden, editor of the Carolina Israelite¹⁷ Arnold Foster of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith,¹⁸ and Otto Prem (Preminger) a personal friend of Habe's, wrote to the publisher praising Habe's efforts.¹⁹ A.L. Sachar, then President of Brandeis University, complimented the work but expressed his disappointment that the author had not treated his thesis from a purely historical point of view.²⁰ In a letter to a Miss Scottman, world famous author Erich Maria Remarque wrote the following review of The Mission:

A very moving novel, nearly unbelievable but documented and based on facts, full of the most pressing human and inhuman problems of our time, quietly and fascinatingly told in its subtle changes and nuances of relativity between right and wrong, horror, pity, terror and ondolence. all (sic) The desperate and admirable fight of a noble heart against cruelty and indifference. A truly great story and an important book.²¹

In addition to personal letters of praise, Habe also received at least two prestigious awards for The Mission. In preparation for the 50 year anniversary of the Evian Conference, Die Mission was published in its second German edition. The cover shows a picture of the Hotel Royal and inside there is mention of the film produced by Erika Szántó.²³ Die Mission had been banned in Hungary for years but since the Soviet Union did not participate in the conference, the Hungarian Government gave permission for the international co-production which was filmed in the original locations.²⁴

Mrs. Habe also maintains the theme of Die Mission is authentic. She accompanied her husband as he double-checked the facts as he had remembered them.²⁵ She confirmed Habe's contention that he carried the story around for years like a burden. He was forced to put off writing the work while he was in the French army. He served time as a prisoner of war and later escaped to join the United States army.²⁶ Mrs. Habe feels the work written in the form chosen by Habe gives it a more dramatic effect. The offer to sell the Jews was a secret one and for that reason it is not well-known to historians. Habe heard it from Professor Neumann who had called him from his balcony at the Hotel Splendide. The Professor had no one else to confide in at the time. He had taken Habe's tonsils out as a boy and was like a father figure to the reporter. He

eventually let Habe know the reason for his presence in Evian.²⁷

Habe checked all of his works thoroughly. He retraced the events through research and meeting with people from the time. He spoke with the lady from the Jewish Organization mentioned in the work ("Selma Selig").²⁸ In an article in Prager Tagblatt Frau Marie Schmolte, the leader of the Comité National, is referred to as an observer and it is quite possible she was the model for the Selig character. Habe knew that the Professor returned to Vienna before dying in New York.²⁹ Mrs. Neumann stayed in the United States and opened a shop on Madison Avenue where Licci Balla met with her³⁰ long before becoming Habe's sixth and last wife.

Habe's work is important to history. The failure of the Evian Conference, although bad enough, can be attributed to political reasons which exempt the Western democracies from too much guilt in the face of the resulting Holocaust. The fact that the Germans deliberately hindered attempts at emigration lessens the blame somewhat. The offer to actually "sell" Jewish freedom to those participating in Evian however shows beyond a doubt the culpability of the participants. As horrible though it may be to buy what Emile Capouya termed "distressed merchandise"³¹ the Western World did indeed as Habe claims add their complicity to the disaster caused at

the hands of the Nazis and their accomplices. The moral pretexts they gave apparently did not come into consideration when they later did deal in similar "trade."

Unfortunately many of those privy to the secret have died but there must surely be more documentation to support what the author of this thesis feels is strong evidence to corroborate Habe's claim? Somewhere in the files of one of the participating governments lies the definitive answer to dispel the doubt of those who still insist the plot was fiction.

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¹Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of European Jews (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985), p. 318

²Ibid., p. 318; David S. Wyman, The Abandonment of the Jews (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), p. 180

³Ralph G. Martin, Golda: The Romantic Years (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons Macmillan pubn., 1988), p. 249

⁴Martin to El-Hayek, April 26, 1989

⁵Mayer to El-Hayek, May 22, 1989

⁶Lucy C. Dawidowicz, The War Against the Jews: 1933-45 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), p. 190

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¹²Ibid.

¹³William L. Shirer, Berlin Diary (New York: Book of the Month Club, 1987, rep.), p. 20

¹⁴Shirer to El-Hayek, May 1, 1989

¹⁵Ich stelle mich, pp. 100-106

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 219-222; Besides this several newspaper clippings in the Habe Papers, Boston mention this:

Saarbruckner Allgemeine Zeitung, February 18, 1961; San Luis Obispo, June 23, 1942; Pasa Robles Press, June 25, 1942; The Macon News, July 7, 1942; Birmingham Alabama News, September 17, 1942, etc.

¹⁷ Golden to Geoghegan, April 16, 1966, Habe Papers, Boston

¹⁸ Foster to Geoghegan, April 13, 1966, Ibid.

¹⁹ Prem to Geoghegan, March 4, 1966, Ibid.

²⁰ Sachar to Geoghegan, April 12, 1966, Ibid.

²¹ Remarque to Scottman, April 2, 1966, Ibid.

²² Clemens to Habe, November 22, 1966, Ibid.

²³ Hans Habe, Die Mission

²⁴ Habe interview, May 22, 1988

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., interview April 25, 1988

²⁸ "1 Million Flüchtlinge", Prager Tagblatt, July 5, 1938, p. 4

²⁹ Ibid., Ich stelle mich, pp. 305-306

³⁰ Interviews with Habe, May 22, 1988 and April 25, 1988

³¹ Emile Capouya on The Mission in Commonweal (September 23, 1966), p. 618

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