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Enclosure : Open Letter of the East-European Movement for a United Europe to Vyatcheslav MOLOTOV

1. In the afternoon of 18 February 1954, the first session of the Council of the East-European Movement for a United Europe took place in MUNICH at the Hotel Bayerischer Hof. The following 17 persons of the listed nationalities participated in the session:

Bulgarians	: Toscho DAMYANOV Michael MISCHAIKOV <u>Evgeniy SILIANOV</u>
Czechoslovakians	: Oswald KOSTRBA-SKALICKY Dr. Jaroslav PECHACEK
Estonians	: Ludwig JAKOBSEN Gerhard BUSCHMANN
Latvian	: <u>Pauls KOVALEVSKIS</u>
Lithuanians	: Dr. Petras KARVELIS Walter BANAITIS
Rumanians	: General Jon GHEORGHE Vasile C. DUMITRESCU
Hungarians	: General Gusztav HENNYEY Imre PONGRACZ Egon CINDRIC
Yugoslav	: Dr. Branko BEGOVIC
Pole	: <u>Ladislaus WELSKI</u>

Five additional members of the Council, namely the Latvians Adolfs SILDE and Robert KLIEPINSCH, the Lithuanian (Prof.) Karolis ZALKAUSKAS, the Yugoslav Prof. Othmar SPIRMAJER, and the Rumanian Constantin CONSTANTINESCU, either had themselves represented, or had previously declared, in writing, their solidarity with the Council. President Toscho DAMYANOV welcomed the assembled members of the Council, and opened the session. The following agenda was agreed upon:

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SECRET 6 vol 2
32-6-33-1813

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SECRET

- (1) Opening - President Toscho DAMYANOV
- (2) Platform of the East-European Movement - Secretary General Vasile C. DUMITRESCU
- (3) Impressions in BERLIN - Minister Dr. P. KARVELIS
Osvald KOSTRBA-SKALICKY
- (4) Comment of the Council on the BERLIN Conference
- (5) Experiences and Suggestions for Creation of an East-European Representation in STRASBOURG - Minister Dr. P. KARVELIS
- (6) Discussions
- (7) Miscellaneous.

2. In his speech, President DAMYANOV outlined the birth of the East-European Movement for a United Europe as the result of two-year preparations in cognizance of the historical European development which indicates political consolidation as the finishing touch to European civilization. European unity gives the guarantee for the future peaceful development of its mental and economic values. President DAMYANOV referred to Soviet Foreign Minister MOLOTOV's attempt in BERLIN to confront a Europe under Soviet leadership to a truly free Europe, and expressed the hope that those who are partially responsible for the present conditions in EUROPE be aware of this fact and make stronger efforts than ever before on behalf of the achievement of a European unity. In this connection, the speaker found appreciative words for the attitude of the three Western Foreign Ministers in BERLIN. He emphasized that it was now the duty of East-European representatives of the enslaved nations to speak a clear language. The East-Europeans stand for an integrated Europe and thus want to make their contribution to the common cause. "Coordination of our efforts to this effect is necessary. The echo that our organization found in circles of Western advocates of the European idea is very favorable. It depends on all of us to strengthen this prestige through our work, and to strive with all our strength, as indefatigable fighters, for the achievement of the European community".
3. From the speech of secretary general Vasile C. DUMITRESCU on the platform of the East-European Movement for a United Europe, it was inferred that the Movement is based on three principles:

SECRET

SECRET

- (1) The federalist principle;
- (2) That only free nations can be incorporated into a European federation;
- (3) The principle of European-wide integration.

The missions of the Movement consist of:

- a. Distribution of the European idea among the masses of East-European emigrés;
- b. Familiarization of the masses of East-European peoples behind the Iron Curtain with the idea of European Federalism by utilizing all means of propaganda.

As regards the working methods of the organization, the secretary general said that the following measures would be necessary:

- a. To attract the masses of East-Europeans in their own national languages and to create the prerequisites for their active participation in the achievement of the political, social and economic program;
- b. To win especially the youth for the European idea and to have them participate in the Movement's work on the largest possible scale;
- c. To create a platform providing for the possibility of attenuating, balancing and solving existing national and political differences among the East-Europeans.

Addressing the sceptics, the speaker concluded by quoting West German Chancellor Dr. Konrad ADENAUER regarding European integrations: "There are political necessities which are so cogent that they will prevail in the long run. My so-called optimism is nothing but the confidence in the strength of these necessities. The fluctuations of daily politics cannot produce an essential change."

4. As the next point on the agenda, His Excellency Dr. Petras KARVELIS spoke on his impressions as observer of the Lithuanian Supreme Liberation Council and of the Baltic Council at the BERLIN Conference. Minister KARVELIS analyzed the activity of the Soviet Foreign Minister. He explained that the conference was bound to fail since MOLOTOV was the same person who concluded the pact with RIBBENTROP, carried through the attack on FINLAND and the annexation of the Baltic States, and who influenced Soviet policy in TEHERAN, YALTA and POTSDAM. MOLOTOV can therefore not

SECRET

SECRET

be accepted as an honest peace-maker, and he can neither enforce a peace policy which is in contrast with his past foreign policy activity. To answer the accusations of the US Secretary of State, MOLOTOV availed himself of the grossest falsification of history. Minister KARVELIS suggested that a pertinent answer be given. As far as the Western Foreign Ministers are concerned, it was noticed that only Mr. DULLES mentioned the East-European nations, and then only the case of the Baltic States. Minister KARVELIS regretted the fact that the French and British did not once mention the enslaved peoples of the East. The European press and public opinion, especially in FRANCE and ENGLAND, displayed an identical attitude. In this respect Minister KARVELIS sees a mission of the East-European Movement for a United Europe in counteracting this indifference of public opinion in Western Europe regarding the fate of the Eastern peoples.

5. Oswald KOSTRBA-SKALICKY spoke on the same subject. He outlined the SOVIET UNION's efforts with the goal to prevent European integration and to enforce closer adherence of the satellites to the SOVIET UNION by operating with the "German danger". In the speaker's opinion, the Western delegations had come to BERLIN without any illusions about MOLOTOV's true intentions. Nevertheless, the British and the French looked any understanding for the East-European peoples. As far as the Soviets are concerned, they still maintain the theory of the West's systematic decay.
6. Walter BANAITIS, in charge of press matters in the executive committee of the East-European Movement, also outlined the same topic. He stated that in BERLIN for the first time the West responded to the Soviets' propaganda argumentations with the same method. As a result of this, no talks could develop since one cannot argue with slogans. MOLOTOV compromised himself for the first time since he was "driven into a corner", particularly with regards to the Austrian State treaty which MOLOTOV did not sign. The interesting points at the BERLIN conference were not the public talks, but the discussions behind closed doors, since, there, true political negotiations took place, especially in the CHINA-question and the disarmament problem. MOLOTOV's attempt to discuss the CHINA-question in public is proof that he intended to utilize the subject as a propaganda means toward the Chinese. This indicates that the SOVIET UNION is not as sure of its Chinese partner as it pretends to be. MOLOTOV's plan for EUROPE is interesting and dangerous. BANAITIS is quoted as having said: "Our Western federalists have made a tremendous mistake by limiting themselves to partial solutions and being afraid of the European-wide solution. Now, MOLOTOV has brought up the latter solution..." "But it is primarily the East-Europeans who are competent in this matter. We must detect and expose the weak points of the Soviet plan for EUROPE. For this purpose, the executive committee directed an open letter to MOLOTOV composed of the following five points-of-view:

SECRET

SECRET

- a. Whether MOLOTOV's thesis is European or Eurasian;
- b. The declaration must be reflective and must refer to truly big problems;
- c. The declaration must be worded in a neutral manner;
- d. No polemics will be used since no answer can be expected;
- e. It shall have equal effects on both sides (West and East).

After this explanation, secretary general DUMITRESCU read to the audience the open letter to MOLOTOV (see enclosure) which the Council released for publication.

7. Thereupon, Minister KARVELIS again took the stand. He stated that the BERLIN Conference was the first time that MOLOTOV did not have to check with MOSCOW, in other words, he was able to make decisions himself. Relevant became the Bolsheviks' tendency to act as front-rank fighters for the national idea and the national interests toward the Eastern peoples. By pointing to non-existent German "militarism" they also attempt to conceal the actually existing Soviet militarism. The Minister said that one would have to occupy oneself more closely with MOLOTOV's person to elaborate an analysis of his work. Minister KARVELIS closed his address with the statement that the West still does not dare to tell the truth to this war criminal's face.
8. General Jon GHEORGHE spoke on point five of the Austrian State treaty. In this point the Soviets insist on discrimination against refugees who have fought against Bolshevism. Although the treaty had not been signed, the Western foreign ministers accepted it in principle. The speaker requested whether or not the Council could take steps in this matter. Evgenij SILLIANOV spoke in this connection, and suggested that such a protest be made in the form of a diplomatic document. In this document, it should also be mentioned that MOLOTOV spoke in the name of the satellites without being authorized to do so and without meeting protests on the part of the Western Ministers, who made no mention of the satellite countries, except for the Baltic countries. President DAMYANOV suggested that a commission be appointed, with General GHEORGHE as the chairman and Minister KARVELIS and Evgenij SILLIANOV as members, to elaborate this document. Secretary general DUMITRESCU called for appointment of a Hungarian member also. Minister KARVELIS renounced his appointment since he does not live in MUNICH, and suggested Walter BANAITIS as his replacement. The Council designated the following persons as members of the commission:

SECRET

SECRET

General CHEROCHE (chairman), SILIANOV, BANAITIS, and Consul General CINDRIC. SILIANOV called attention to the fact that the document would have to be composed in a manner that insures a constructive and not only critical and negative effect. Michael MISCHAIKOV asked the question as to how far international agreements regarding the refugees are still of value. He suggested that the occasion be used to discuss the question in the subsequent press conference. At the suggestion of DUMITRESCU, Evgenij SILIANOV was requested to broach this question at the press conference.

9. Secretary general DUMITRESCU brought out the point that with this session an emigré conference beyond national lines had been achieved. He stressed that one had desisted from holding a lecture with subsequent discussions, but in exchange for that, three missions had so far been crystallized.
 - a. To elaborate an answer to Soviet falsification of history;
 - b. To take steps to win public opinion in the West on behalf of the Eastern countries;
 - c. To penetrate the Iron Curtain and to fight the Soviet conception of the European idea.

DUMITRESCU emphasized that it was now the duty of the executive committee to start working on these missions and to report on the results at the next session of the Council. At the suggestion of Minister KARVELIS, the executive committee was requested to send a telegram of thanks to US Secretary of State DULLES in the face of the fact that Mr. DULLES defended the Baltic States in BERLIN.

10. As to point five of the agenda, Minister KARVELIS moved for placing on the agenda of the next council session the problem of a coordinating center to be created in EUROPE for the purpose of joint appearance of all representations of the satellite states. The suggestion was adopted. Minister KARVELIS considers it the mission of the East-European Movement for a United Europe to appeal to STRASBOURG so that the vacant seats of the Eastern countries not represented in the European Council will be occupied by the Movement's representatives. Minister KARVELIS said literally: "EUROPE cannot arise without us, and we want to cooperate". The Minister made the STRASBOURG office of the Lithuanian observer available to the East-European Movement. General HENNYEY emphasized the importance of this problem, and suggested that contact be established with secretary general SCHNEIDER in STRASBOURG.

SECRET

SECRET

11. DUMITRESCU stressed that the East-European Movement is not a roof-organization and, by no means, a competitive "enterprise" for organizations already in existence. This should not be so misinterpreted by the other national emigré organizations working in the European Movement. Since the council members present chiefly hold leading functions in these organizations and also in the national representations, DUMITRESCU appealed to these members to support the activities of the East-European Movement for a United Europe within the scope of their organizations and national committees. Minister KARVELIS defined that, in his opinion, the mission of the organization is to form a committee for East-European questions comprising all Eastern states which were free prior to the war, as well as to cooperate with STRASBOURG and BRUSSELS.
12. The council session was followed by a press conference which lasted about 2 hours. Present were representatives of UP, AP, DPA, various German newspapers, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and the Bayerischer Rundfunk broadcasting station. The VOA and RFE made use, in up to three days of broadcasting, of the existence of the East-European Movement for a United Europe as such, of the session of the council, and of the letter to MOLOTOV in their broadcasts to Eastern Europe in all East-European languages.

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