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American Consulate General,
Munich, Germany,
June 3, 1954.

Dear Walter:

This is a peripheral matter regarding the German
Ostpolitik.

There is enclosed, in triplicate, a memorandum of
conversation which I had with Professor Gerhard von Wende,
Chief of the Federal Bureau of Foreign Refugees, on
May 25.

Sincerely,

Joseph T. Kendrick, Jr.

cc: Davis E. Boester, Esquire, HICOG:PA:EA, Nehlen

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., Esquire,
Officer in Charge, USSR Section,
Office of Eastern European Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

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Munich, Munich
May 26, 1954

SUBJECT: Peripheral: Memorandum of Conversation with Professor
Gerhard von Heide, Chief of the Federal Bureau of
Foreign Refugees, May 25, 1954.

I had luncheon on May 25 with Professor and Mrs. Gerhard von Heide, who were in Munich for a short visit. The conversation was confined to the following three topics.

A. Soviet Activity Directed Against the Emigration

Professor von Heide said that the defection of Joseph KURTI, the capture of OKRYWOVICH in the Ukraine and of some 20 Mandrites in Poland, sets out a pattern of renewed Soviet determination to wipe out any form of resistance. He sees in this activity a prelude to a hotter cold war. The Soviets are trying to create the impression that emigres are either unreliable or their organs are penetrated, in order to discourage the West from working with them. For the emigre audience, the Soviets wish to implant the idea of the uselessness of any form of opposition. The Soviets hope to discredit the emigres in the eyes of their own people by portraying the emigre as corrupt and criminal types serving only the organs of Western intelligence.

Professor von Heide said that the Soviet notions are having some success in demoralizing the Ukrainian camp, which is exactly what the Soviets wish to do. He said that it would be a mistake if England and the United States now withdraw their support from Ukrainian underground organs. Even a token support is necessary to keep up morale. The Ukrainian emigres must not be led to believe they are deserted. He mentioned he had just finished talking with a member of the Gehlen organization, who was very pessimistic, saying, "There is no point in talking about further activities along these lines-- it's all over now."

Professor von Heide was, of course, making a veiled plea for support of the Bandera organization. He did emphasize, however, that regardless of whether or not the Bandera group is supported politically or operationally and regardless of whether aid goes to ZP-UEVR, the

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Rada or to Bandera, assistance should be continued to sustain morale. There are many Ukrainians ready, willing and able to carry out these missions even though this is an extremely dangerous time now that the entire apparatus seems to be compromised.

B. The Socialist Danger

Professor von Mende expressed at some length his views on the ZPUHVR. He granted that the members of ZPUHVR are sincere in renouncing the use of terror, slave labor and similar objectionable features of the Soviet regime. However, they have no complaint about the basic economic system and hold that it should be preserved in any future Ukrainian state. He maintained that the entire socialist camp (Kaistrenko's "Forward" Group, the Ukrainian Socialist Party, Bahryany's URDP and the ZPUHVR) are so close in their thinking to the Communists they are potentially the Communist fifth column in the West. Disillusioned in the West, the ZPUHVR members will be among the first to re-embrace the Communist cause, reasoning that after all their basic principles are to be found in that system. In Dr. von Mende's opinion only the Banderites, who are both nationalists and who reject the socialist system, can weather such a psychological storm which the emigration in the future must face.

I asked if the ZPUHVR might not be able to make a contribution in a different form. He had acknowledged the almost fanatic attempt of the ZPUHVR to determine the nature of and to reflect the demands and psychology of the people within the Ukraine today. Should we not then study the Ukrainian people through the medium of the ZPUHVR, seeking to ascertain those weaknesses and areas of disaffection so that our own efforts might capitalize on these soft spots. Von Mende agreed that the ZPUHVR could make a contribution in this sense but emphasized again that the organization should be handled cautiously.

C. The Pfleiderer Proposal

In response to my question about what he thought of Dr. Pfleiderer's proposal for the Federal Republic to establish diplomatic relations with Moscow, Dr. von Mende said that Pfleiderer is acting from personal motives and, as in the past, is simply trying to catch the headlines. He has long had aspirations of being recognized as the leading German expert on the Soviet Union and to be the first German Ambassador to Moscow. He has also eyed Brautigam's job as head of the Ostabteilung in order to work from there on up to the top policy making position on Eastern questions. Before the war Pfleiderer served in the German Foreign Office and was stationed in the Soviet Union. During the war he was ^{returned} to the Ukraine. (I understood von Mende to say that while Pfleiderer was in the Ukraine he was on loan from the Foreign Office but it was not made clear to which agency he was attached.)

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Dr. von Mende doubted if there were any merit in Pflaiderer's proposal because the Soviets would not permit reunification without a price too heavy to pay. As for those supporting Pflaiderer, there appears to be a group of Germans who wish to devise a German policy which is nationalistic and which could play a balance between East and West. He was very critical of such a line, saying that Germany is too weak for its own foreign policy. In order to achieve any objective, such as reunification, the Federal Republic must align itself with EDC and work from strength.

I asked Professor von Mende what might be the difference in views between Klaus Wehnert and Pflaiderer. The answer was "no appreciable difference". He noted that Wehnert is presently in Geneva as correspondent for Christ und Welt and volunteered that Wehnert would return with news of all kinds of "deals" he has worked out with the Soviet delegation for the return of German POW's, etc. Von Mende mentioned that Wehnert also has aspirations of being the first German Ambassador to Moscow.

Joseph T. Kendrick, Jr.

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