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ATTACHMENT B

THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

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THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT (ESM)

I INTRODUCTION

The European Social Movement (ESM), also known as the Malmo Movement, is an international organization composed of various European rightist national movements whose avowed purpose is to defend European Culture and to establish a European "nation", a federal state in which all member nations have equal rights.

The movement is neo-fascist in orientation and its leadership, most of whom are former nazi-fascists, apparently hopes to appeal once more to youth for the establishment of a "new order" in Europe, this time under the guise of "All European Unity".

During the few short years of its existence the movement has made progress, but only slowly.

From the very beginning it has been handicapped by lack of a strong central organization, dissension within its national affiliates, as well as dissension on the political ideology to be pursued, some of its members favoring a moderate or "reformist" policy while others advocate racism and dictatorship.

To date the movement has had little or no impact on the European political scene. Whether it can solve its organizational and ideological problems and emerge as a strong political force remains to be seen.

The secretariat of the movement is believed to be presently located in Trieste and is under the over-all direction of Dr. Per ENGDAHL of Sweden, Secretary General of the movement.

II HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The European Social Movement appears to have had its inception at a meeting described as the First European National Youth Congress held in Rome 21-24 October 1950 under the sponsorship of the Fronte Universitario di Azione Nazionale (FUAN), a student and youth organization of the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI), an Italian fascist organization.

Attending the meeting were representatives from France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Sweden, most of whom were members of extreme rightist groups in their respective countries and all of whom professed to be anti-Communist.

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The stated purpose of the Congress was to attain a unification of the younger generation of Europe on an ideological and organizational basis.

The final political program adopted by the Congress was based on the proposals of the Swedish delegation, led by Per ENGBAHL, and consisted of the following ten points:

1. Human culture is the goal of historical development. The various roles played by the economic, social, political, military, spiritual, geographic, biological, and psychological forces are determined by those in control at a given time. We appear on behalf of the potentialities and responsibilities of mankind. The defense of western culture against the danger of Communism is the present task which lies before the nations of Europe.
2. The formation of a European Nation is the most important duty of our time. Within the framework of this Nation each country is to be assured of equality of rights and their national independence.
3. The territory of the Nation is to be an open market, with a common customs and monetary system. Wages and food prices are to be levelled by organizing credits of the Nation to be put at the disposal of such parts of the territory that are in need of technical rationalization.
4. The military forces will be under the command of the Nation. The contribution which each country makes to the common defense will be determined by its proportionate share in the total population. The principle of equality of rights for each country is to be carried out in the military sphere as well as in the economic and social spheres.
5. We proclaim the cooperation between the European National and other nations which are on the fringes of Western culture. The colonial peoples are to be eligible to join the Nation as states having equal rights, when they have attained an economic and cultural level established by law. The purpose is the equality of rights between white and colored peoples in working for the cultural and national freedom of all members of the Nation.
6. The equality of individuals before the law is to be guaranteed. No one is to be punished without legal proceedings. The right to freedom of opinion, speech, holding meetings and forming organizations are to be considered inviolable and limited only by the necessity of protection of society and the individual

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against criminal acts. The head of the government is to be elected by a vote of the people. The representatives of the people are to be elected by corporate electoral districts. Elections must be by free and secret ballots. The government does not have the right to suppress the propaganda of the opposition for the benefit of its own interests.

7. The social and economic activity is to be regulated by the organizations of the corporate society. The equal rights of capital and labor is to be realized all along the line, and the employers will be freed from their unilateral dependence on capital. The rights of workers and officials in management, in corporations, and in all phases of economic life are to be protected by legislation. Production is to be protected against dependence upon the government's administration.
8. Science is to be free and unhampered by preconceived ideas. The purpose of education is to be free and strong men. Cooperation between home, school, and the youth movement, is to bridge the social contrasts. The opportunities for education are not to be dependent upon the income of the parents, but are to be determined by the capabilities of the students.
9. We hope for cooperation with all social, economic, and cultural forces of the Occident, and we strive for reconciliation between the idealists of both sides in the last World War in order to be able to carry out the defense against Communism and work for European unification and occidental culture.
10. We consider the rebirth of Christianity as the inevitable foundation for an occidental revival. Without the revival of faith there is no secure basis for culture and cooperation among men. The material standard is dependent upon the moral standard. Social and economic progress is not possible without moral progress. The European revival must at the same time be a spiritual revival of mankind, society, and the state. Working together is our social principle, our national principle, our international principle, and the most vital principle of the reform of Europe.

The final decision of the Congress with respect to organizational matters was to lay the ground work for the future establishment of the following three bodies:

1. Europe Committee: To consist of two representatives from each nation elected by their respective national organizations. Policy making body of the organization. To meet from time to time under a rotating chairmanship.

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2. National Coordinating Committees: To be established in each member nation and to be the executive organ of the national organization. Appoints the two representatives to the Europe Committee and keeps in constant touch with the permanent Secretariat.
3. Permanent Secretariat: Consists of a representative from each nation, and a Secretary General appointed by the Europe Committee. Permanent seat to be in Rome. It is the coordinating executive body between sessions of the Europe Committee.

The final act of the Congress was the decision to hold a Second European National Youth Congress in Malmo, Sweden in March 1951.

No information has been received which ^{would} indicate that the Europe Committee or National Coordinating Committees as contemplated by the Congress ever actually came into being, although a secretariat of some sort is known to exist. The presumption is, therefore, that organizational matters still remain largely in the formative stage. At the present time an Executive Committee, also known as the Study Commission, composed of one representative from each national affiliate, carries on the work of the congresses and coordinates the work of the national affiliates.

The second congress referred to above did not actually take place until 12-15 May 1951, and was attended by representatives from Sweden, Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Trieste, Denmark, and Norway. Host for the congress was the neo-fascist organization of Per ENGDAHL, the Swedish Reform Movement (Nysvenska Rorelsen).

This congress was characterized as being a continuation on a larger scale of the 1950 Rome Congress. Its task was to continue the work of the first congress for a national gathering of European youth in the struggle for a united and independent Europe, as well as to seek to create a uniting of the national forces on the basis of the ten point program accepted in Rome for a common European ideology.

Apparently the congress was not completely successful in the latter respect. Opposition began to appear between the moderate or "reformist" elements as exemplified by Per ENGDAHL, who advocated the ten points of Rome, and the extremists who favored some form of racism, dictatorship, and aristocracy.

While the congress appears to have tentatively adopted the Rome program, unanimity was lacking and the way was left open, for further future discussion.

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Among the accomplishments of the Congress was the decision to form a common European organization named the European Social Movement. A four man Executive Committee, or Study Commission, composed of the following individuals was elected:

Per ENGDAHL - Sweden

Karl Heinz PRIESTER - Germany

Maurice BARDECHE - France

Augusto de MARSANICH - Italy

This committee was given the immediate task of carrying on the work of the congress and coordinating the work of the national forces. The secretariat of the movement was transferred to Trieste under the overall direction of Per ENGDAHL, and the Center of European Studies, a Trieste affiliate of the MSI, was assigned the task of creating a European press service.

A third congress of the movement was scheduled to take place in Paris in January 1953, but due to the bitter dissension existing between two leaders of the French affiliate, Rene BINET and Maurice BARDECHE, both of the Comite National Francais, it was decided by the Executive Committee to postpone the congress until later in 1953.

A congress did take place in Paris, however, on 3-5 January 1953. This congress which was called the Third Congress of National Organizations was convoked by Rene BINET, despite the protests of the Executive Committee of the ESM, which claimed exclusive rights to hold such a congress. The "congress" was attended by about thirty persons, most of whom were French. It soon became apparent to the delegates present that BINET had organized the congress for the purpose of capturing control of the ESM and they resisted his efforts to form a new organization under his control.

The plan ended in failure, and BINET and the so called "third congress" were denounced in strong terms by Per ENGDAHL at the next meeting of the Executive Committee held the following month at Innsbruck, Austria.

No information is presently available as to when and where the next congress of the ESM will take place.

Since the second congress in Malmo, the Executive Committee has met on an average of about once every six months. Its activities appear to have been largely confined to organizational and ideological matters, but progress in both fields appears to have been slow.

Apparently the ideological program of the movement has not as yet been

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firmly established. Early in 1953, ENGDAHL made a trip throughout Europe carrying with him a thirty-two page document which is the first draft of a manifesto to be submitted to the representatives of the national affiliates for discussion and approval before publication. This document consists of sixteen two-page chapters outlining in terse terms his idealistic creed on all aspects of human life such as racial doctrines, society, the people, the state, economics, constitutional law, etc. In this document ENGDAHL draws the conclusion that the corporative state is the best remedy for capitalism and communism. Finally, he would like to see a new European "empire" based on these principles extend all the way from Dublin to Vladivostok.

ENGDAHL presented this manifesto to a meeting of the Executive Committee at Innsbruck, Austria held on 28 February and 1 March 1953, but no information is available as to whether the manifesto was acceptable in the form submitted, or will require further discussion and revision before any degree of unanimity can be reached.

III NATIONAL AFFILIATES OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The following national organizations or groups have affiliated with the ESM.

Austria:

Austrian Social Movement (OeSB). Founded in Vienna in October 1952.
Secretary General: Wilhelm LANDIG of Vienna
First Chairman: Hans LORENZ

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Denmark:

Danish Reform Movement (Danmarks Reform Bevægelse). Founded in June 1949 by Konrad MEYER-JENSEN and Arthur KIELSEN.
Headquarters at Gothersgade 154, Copenhagen (1951)
Publication: Reform (1951)
Leader: Konrad MEYER-JENSEN It is not clear from available information whether this movement is a member of the ESM, or is a subordinate section of the Swedish Reform Movement, which does belong to the ESM.

Finland:

Finnish National Youth. Joined ESM in mid-1953.
Leader: Kari SILLANPAA
Deputy: Paul BORG

France:

Comite National Francais. Represents an assortment of national groups in France.
Chairman: Henri de BONIFACIO
ESM representative: Maurice BARDECHE

BELGIUM:

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German Social Movement (Deutsche Soziale Bewegung)
Leader: Karl Heinz PRIESTER of Wiesbaden.

Italy:

The situation in Italy is somewhat obscure. The Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) appears to have been one of the original affiliates of the ESM, but apparently dropped out later as a result of internal dissension over whether the Party should align itself with an international fascist organization. Collaboration with the ESM continued, however. Recent information indicates that the MSI is now preparing to rejoin the ESM. MSI representative in the ESM: Fabio LONCIARI of Trieste.

The Netherlands: The Werkgemeenschap Europa (Work Community Europa).

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Affiliated in September 1951.

Leader: Paul van TIENEN

Acting head: Andre M. KRUIT

Publication: DE DIALOOG (1953)

Spain:

The Movimiento Popular Europeo.

Leader: Patricio GONZALES de CANALES.

(It is not known whether this group has as yet officially affiliated itself with the ESM)

Sweden:

Swedish Reform Movement (Nysvenska Rorelsen).

Leader: Dr. Per ENGBAHL, Malmo

Deputy: B. O. LJUNBERG, Malmo

Publication: Vagen Framat (1952).

Switzerland:

Swiss People's Party (Volkspartei der Schweiz).

Joined movement in June 1952.

Leader: Erwin VOLLENWEIDER of Winterthur.

Advisor on foreign affairs: Gaston A. AMAUDRUZ, of Lausanne.

Exile groups:

a. A Hungarian group under former General Arpad HENNYI affiliated with the ESM in mid-1952.
Name of group not known.

b. The Croatian emigre movement of Ante PAVELICH in Spain. Of negligible size and importance.
Leader: Dr. Fray Branko MARIC.
Affiliated with ESM in September 1951. Present status unknown.

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- c. The Rumanian branch of the Iron Guard in Spain.
Leader: Vasilei IASSINKI
Affiliated with ESM in September 1951. Present status unknown.

IV EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The Executive Committee of the European Social Movement, more recently referred to as the Extended Study Commission, is believed to consist of the following individuals at the present time:

- a. Sweden: Dr. Per ENGDAHL, Secretary General of the movement.
- b. France: Professor Maurice BARDECHE
- c. Italy: Fabio LONCIARI
- d. Germany: Karl Heinz PRIESTER
- e. Denmark: Konrad MEYER-JENSEN
- f. The Netherlands: Paul van TIENEN (Presently under arrest. Andre M. KRUIT in his absence).
- g. Austria: Wilhelm LANDIG
- h. Hungary: Arpad HENNY

V BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

a. Per ENGDAHL

Resides in Malmo. Attended Upsala University and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He has been identified with nazi-fascist activities since 1929. Published a book in 1951 entitled Vasterlandets Fornvelse (Regeneration of the West) in which he outlines his political philosophy.

He is Secretary General of the ESM and chairman of the neo-fascist Swedish Reform Movement (Nysvenska Rorelsen). He travels frequently throughout Europe in behalf of the ESM, and is one of the most active figures within the movement. He represents the "reformist" viewpoint within the ESM.

b. Maurice BARDECHE

Professor. Born 1 October 1908 in France. Resides at 13 rue du Bouloi, Paris (1951). In 1951 it was reported that he was a business

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partner of Josef SCHOOF of Madrid. He is the brother-in-law of Robert (?) BRASILLACH, a young writer and collaborationist during the war. After the liberation he was arrested and executed. According to Source, BARDECHE was devoted to his brother-in-law and after his death turned his activities to the rehabilitation and justification of his brother-in-law's name and activities.

He is the ESM representative of the Comite National Francais.

c. Fabio LONCIARI

Born at Trieste 29 December 1930. Student at Trieste University. Became active member of the MSI youth group, being elected to a position of leadership in November 1951. In 1952 he became a member of the Organizational Section of the MSI directorate, and was later elected to the secretariat of the Trieste Federation.

He is the permanent representative of the MSI in the directorate of the ESM, and an advisor on international matters to the MSI youth organization.

d. Karl Heinz PRIESTER

Born 20 March 1912 at Frankfurt on Main. Member of the Nazi party during the 1930's and served in the German army during the war. Has been active in rightist political circles for a number of years. Former chairman of the National Democratic Reichs Party (NDRP), but broke with this group in the latter part of 1950. He is presently the leader of the German Section of the European Social Movement, the "Deutsche Soziale Bewegung" (DSB).

e. Konrad MEYER-JENSEN

Wartime volunteer in the Waffen SS. One of the founders of the Danish Reform Movement, and present leader. Resides in Copenhagen.

f. Paul van TIENEN

Leader of the Dutch section of the ESM. Presently under arrest for political activity.

Andre M. KRUIT

Acting head of the Dutch section of the ESM. No further information presently available.

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g. Wilhelm LANDIG

Born 20 December 1909 in Vienna. Joined the Sicherheitsdienst Leitabschnitt Wien in 1940 and was later assigned to the staff of the Reichsfuehrer SS. From 1942 to 1944 he served in the German Army in Yugoslavia. After the war he spent two years at Wolfsberg as a prisoner of war of the British. In 1947 he opened a graphic arts shop in Vienna. At the present time he is leader of the Austrian Social Movement (OeSB)

h. Arpad HENNY

Former general in the Hungarian army and former head of fascist "crossed arrows" movement. Now residing at Lauterbach-Brixen in Thale, Tyrol, Austria.

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