

## PAN-EUROPA, THE BALKANS AND BULGARIA

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Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg tritt Europa in einem neuen mentalen Zustand. Die besiegten Intellektuellen von der beiden Seiten der Frontlinie suchen neue politische und gesellschaftliche Perspektive für die Menschheit. Eine solche Idee ist vom Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi vorgeschlagene Paneuropäische Bewegung zu gründen und zu entwickeln. Am ersten Paneuropäischen Kongress in Wien 1926 waren 2 Balkanländer vertreten – Bulgarien (Prof. Dr. Ivan Shishmanov) und Griechenland (Aussenminister Nikola Politis), welche auch in der Leitung des Kongress präsent waren. Am 13. 03. 1927 wurde in Sofia die Bulgarische Sektion der Paneuropäischen Bewegung gegründet. Bis 1930 entstanden auch Sektionen in Zagreb, Bukarest und Athen. Die Balkanländer beteiligten sich fortan sehr aktiv in der Popularisierung und Ausarbeitung der neuen politischen, ökonomischen und kulturellen Themen über ein gemeinsames und friedliches Europa. Deshalb ist es auch selbstverständlich, dass sie nach der Wende 1989 der Europäischen Union begrüßten und bestrebten.

**Schlussworten:** Paneuropa, Coudenhove-Kalergi, Erster Paneuropa-Kongress, Balkanländer, Frieden

Over the centuries the Balkan nations and their states have been placed and often they have placed themselves in complex geopolitical situations. Because of that they have experienced bitter historical destinies, unhappy national and international relationships, they have struggled with the “enemy from without”, but have not always been able to overcome the “enemy from within”.

Particularly for that reason hundreds of Balkan intellectuals, public figures and politicians have sought different ways towards togetherness, unity and cooperation. Both in the past and today the researchers have examined those ideas, the large-scale and in most cases benevolent designs of the Balkan Revival, of the efforts of political elites to shorten in terms of time and ideology the justified return of these people to the single European spiritual home. It has long been established that the Balkan peoples have been within an ace of the successful implementation of these ideas<sup>1</sup>. Yet, we also know that the hindrances to that have even been bigger. That was manifested quite explicitly during the wars of 1912–1918, when in the Balkan wars the idea of a Balkan unity was undermined and the Slavic idea suffered a complete fiasco.

<sup>1</sup> Weigel, H. Lukan, W., Peyfuss, M. Jeder Schuss ein Russ, jeder Stoß ein Franzos. Literarische und graphische Kriegspropaganda in Deutschland und Österreich 1914–1918. Wien, Brandstätter, 1983.

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During World War I strife and hatred displaced the noble messages of Balkan unity formulated in the period of National Revival to such an extent that the “national” shifted the universal both in terms of political behavior and cultural psychology. The only reassuring phenomenon in this “anti-Balkan cauldron” is its equivalence to the other European nations, where already in 1914 the German and Austrian propaganda had formulated the slogans “Each shot – a Russian, each stroke – a Frenchman” (Jeder Schuss – ein Russ, jeder Stoß – ein Franzos). Much had been written about that propaganda on both sides of the front line. From the perspective of the twenty-first century it has finally been overcome. The reasonable conclusion had been made that all nations were losers in the war and that victory had left a lasting mental imprint. Thus actually the issues of culture and war, which had been brought forward already in the 1980s<sup>2</sup> have found ardent followers and grounds for confirming “audacious” theses that were accepted with ambiguity at that time.

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If we distance ourselves from the “stiffness” of our historiography after World War II, the “vanguard” for those years studies cited above, which were defended first as dissertations and then published as monographs, have also had enough predecessors fighting for overcoming this intellectual gap particularly in the immediate aftermath of World War I. These were not only the left-wing socialists or the Bolsheviks (as they used to be called then), but also the traditional “Europeanists” who had regarded World War I as the First modern European failure.

Apart from the destructive potential it carried in itself, its consequences and the first unmatched by that time trauma of a world scale, the mentioned failure had faced the humanity with many new dilemmas. They were all associated with new unifying programs and proposals. The most important of them could be summarized in three main directions:

1. The proposal of the revolutionary forces to make a unified socialist platform whose main ideology was associated with the “proletarian internationalism” emphasising that “the proletariat has no country”.

2. Unknown by that time “compensatory” turning to one self, to the “national” in search for national unity, which however, gave rise to confrontation and xenophobia.

3. The proposal to establish United States of Europe (Pan-Europa), which united traditional politicians, public figures, scholars, writers, champions of the

<sup>2</sup> See: *Илчев, Ив. Родината ми парава или не! Родината ми – права или не! Външнополитическата пропаганда на балканските страни (1921-1923)*, Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“, С., 1995; *Конева, Р. Голямата среща на българския народ. Културата и предизвикателствата на войните 1912-1918*. Академично издателство „Марин Дринов“. С., 1995.

spiritual communication between peoples. They promoted the ideas of peace, pacifism and peacemaking as fundamental building blocks of a common European future.

In the more recent research the first two political and to a certain extent “socio-cultural” platforms are examined in detail. In Bulgarian historiography particularly this “traditional” platform of the mature Europeans has been left somewhat aside. They were the first to notice that the triumph and the triumphant celebration of the winners in the London “Ritz” hotel was also a sign of the broken destinies, sensuality and muses on both sides of the front line. So maybe it was not a coincidence that particularly in the British capital gathered the first anti-war activists in the field of artistic speech, founding in October 1921 the International Writers’ Association – the PEN Club, which to this day is a synonym of the united writers, essayists, novelists who had gained prestige in their home countries and were recognized outside the borders of these “homelands”. Because they had duly sent their general humanitarian messages with universal equivalent.

Again in the same year, 1921, was born the idea of United States of Europe that had acquired fame and had established itself as a pan-European movement. Its champions were tireless advocates of Pan-Europa. On February 15, 1922 the son of the Austrian diplomat Count Heinrich Coudenhove-Kalergi and the Japanese Mitsuko Aoyama, Richard Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi<sup>3</sup> published in the Berlin newspaper “Vossische Zeitung” the article “Pan-Europa – a proposal”<sup>4</sup>. The proposal quickly found followers and supporters among the leading circles of the intellectuals, poets, writers and philosophers of Europe: Paul Claudel, Paul Valéry, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Stefan Zweig, Gerhard Hauptmann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Arthur Schnitzler, Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein, Ortega y Gasset, Richard Strauss, etc. Conceived as a movement of the intellectuals, it was joined by the then young mayor of Cologne Konrad Adenauer and the Viennese student, later Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

It would hardly be inaccurate to say that the Pan-European idea was actually a new level and the next step in the traditional European values that have built the image of the Old Continent directed towards the sustainable and spiritually valuable over the centuries. Its author and ideological inspirer was the already mentioned Richard Nikolaus Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1972). Born and raised in a multicultural environment, from an early age he adopted the values of

<sup>3</sup> For more details, see: *Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, Anita: Botschafter Europas. Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi und die Paneuropa-Bewegung in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren.* Wien 2004, *Wyrwa, Ulrich: Richard Nikolaus Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1972) und die Paneuropa-Bewegung in den zwanziger Jahren.* In: *Historische Zeitschrift* 283, Heft 1/2006), S. 103-122; *Громова, А. Рихард Куденхов-Калерги и пан-европейское движение в 30-е годы XX века.* Москва, 2008, дис.

<sup>4</sup> A year later he published his program book “Pan-Europa”, which gave rise to a new political and cultural movement. He saw only two alternatives for postwar Europe – unification or a complete breakdown in which an artificial barrier would divide the Old Continent into a “Soviet colony” and an “American protectorate”.

“cosmopolitanism”. His father was a diplomat and spoke eighteen languages, he had set up a family with a wife coming from a famous family in the “land of the rising sun” and raised his eight children in a spirit of tolerance and kindness. The young Coudenhove did not follow the footsteps of his father, he refused to have anything to do with professional diplomacy and already as a high school student in the Terezianum and later as a university student devoted himself to moral and ethical topics engendered by the post-war realities. He studied philosophy and history, defended a thesis in psychology<sup>5</sup> in Vienna. In his later revelations<sup>6</sup> he candidly confessed that on his philosophical study “Hyperethik” he had worked for three years, and the book “Pan-Europa” had took him three weeks. So excited and fascinated was he by the idea of a common European home. He also argued that “the world of philosophy of all times had interested him much more than the political one”<sup>7</sup> and that without his philosophical views he would have never come to the idea of taking the lead of the fight for Europe. The rethinking of the (hyper) ethical values, which should be based on neo-aristocratic world concepts would save Europe from moral decline and the interaction between ethics and technology would eventually stop Europe’s economic decline<sup>8</sup>.

These reflections in the book “Die Technik” and the article “Pan-Europe – a proposal” had made an impression also on the Bulgarian scholar Ivan Shishmanov as early as 1922. A few years later that would be one of the reasons for him to embark on the establishment of the Bulgarian section and to take its lead. Later Shishmanov confessed to Kalergi that already in Freiburg he had acquainted himself with his views, had adopted them and had brought them to the knowledge of his students in the fall of 1923<sup>9</sup>. Actually he had done that already in his inaugural lecture to the course “The Slavic world”, thus becoming one of the first “missionaries” of the European idea in Germany and its dissemination in the academic circles<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, he associated it with the Slavic peoples and their cultures and fought against the prejudices in the Western society against them<sup>11</sup>.

Count Coudenhove-Kalergi showed amazing organizational skills and was able to spread the idea so that in a short time it became very famous among the cultural and political elite. This facilitated the establishment in 1923 of its own

<sup>5</sup> “Objectivity as Fundamental Principle of Morality” (“Die Objektivität als Grundprinzip des Morales”), Wien 1917.

<sup>6</sup> Coudenhove-Kalergi, Ein Leben für Europa. Meine Lebenserinnerungen, Köln, 1966.

<sup>7</sup> “Mich hat die philosophische Welt zu allen Zeiten mehr interessiert, als die politische”.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> НА-БАН, ф. 11к, оп. 1, а.е. 236, л. 52. “Noch vor drei Jahren, als ich in Freiburg weilte (ich hielt damals als Gastprofessor Vorlesungen an der dortigen Universität) las ich mit Vergnügen Ihr geistesreiches und doch tiefes Werk “Das technische Zeitalter”.

<sup>10</sup> For more details, see: *Конева, Р. Иван Шишманов и Обединена Европа. Издателска къща „Гутенберг”, С., 2011.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* See also: *Конева, Р. Големият човешки замисъл „взаимност” в българската култура и „взаимното взаимност” в големия европейски замисъл на професор Иван Шишманов. – Балканиите и техните периферии. Балканистичен форум № 1, 2012, 51-69.*

central office in the Hofburg Palace in Vienna. There were also the headquarters of the Pan-European Union, which was institutionalized as a separate association on July 9, 1925. In 1924 Kalergi founded and headed the magazine "Paneuropa", which addressed a number of issues related to the new idea, presented the activity of the organization, united the like-minded people. In the selection of ideological partners and associates he persistently followed the views advocated in his book<sup>12</sup>: the opponents of united Europe were the nationalist-chauvinists, the communists, the militarists and the supporters of the customs tax.

The author of the program divided the political from the economic demands. In his view to the first group belonged: a binding agreement between all European states, including Britain; the signing of a pan-European military convention; the establishment of British-European Entente; pan-European security pact and security of internal borders, pan-European minority protection; pan-European "Monroe Doctrine"; regional subdivision of the United Nations; international disarmament.

The economic demands formulated by Kalergi were: gradual removal of intra-European borders; the establishment of pan-European customs union; intra-European free trade; integrated economy; planned involvement of the European economic colonies of West Africa to the European raw material sources; closer economic cooperation with the Soviet Union; joint construction of European waterways and other transportation links; adoption of a single European currency<sup>13</sup>.

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The Pan-European idea was essentially a platform – an older prototype of the European Union of today, born precisely from the negation of the First World War and its results. Although its founder was the mentioned 30-year-old man, I would describe the movement as a movement of the experienced – "Der Erfahrenen". Experienced, in the sense of politicians and intellectuals who had suffered the way of the "policy of confrontation". This could be easily observed already at the First Pan-European Congress held in Vienna in October, 3-6, 1926.

From the list of the leadership of the Congress it is obvious that with the idea of a future united Europe engage men with established political experience: Paul Destré, Vaclav Schuster, Paul Loebe, Karel Pusta, Edouard Herriot, Nicolas Politis, N. Klimas, Ignaz Seipel, Georg Lukacs and last but not least Coudenhove-Kalergi. All of them, but the German and the French representatives were indicated as politicians (diplomats, former ministers). They were all, however, in their golden adulthood maturity. Herriot and Politis were 54 years old, Loebe – 51, Lukacs – 41. The Bulgarian Ivan Shishmanov was 64 years old and also had solid political experience.

<sup>12</sup> Coudenhove-Kalergi, R. Paneuropa. Ein Vorschlag, Wien. 1922.

<sup>13</sup> Coudenhove-Kalergi, R. Das Pan-Europa-Programm. Wien 1924.

At that time were formulated the fundamental aims of the Movement:

1. The pan-European movement is a non-partisan mass movement for the unification of Europe.

2. It aims to unite all European states who wish that, into a common political and economic union based on equality and peace.

3. The international political program of the Pan-European movement is a Friendly interaction with the other continents in the framework of the League of Nations.

4. The Pan-European movement shall refrain from any interference in the internal political affairs of other states.

5. The Pan-European Union is divided into states; each state has its own independent committee which is self-funded, the Central Bureau of the Pan-European Union is located in Vienna.

6. The symbol of the Pan-European Union is a red cross on a golden sun.

I will not focus on the history of the Congress, much less on various exciting sides of its daily proceedings. I am only tempted to say that for the first time it sufficed for a delegate to show his card at the border with Austria in order to pass it without a visa. That was an achievement of these first European men<sup>14</sup>.

Later on this question was submitted for broader discussion among the states. In the Balkans the Bulgarians were the first to react to this proposal and as early as 1927 they expressed their positive attitude towards it. They also supported the idea to eliminate custom-tariffs and of free trade between the states.

According to the documents I am familiar with so far, (there is an ongoing project at the moment that will clarify many unknowns), from the very outset in the Balkan nations there were active supporters of the idea. Actually, at that time one could hardly speak of an overall and broadly adopted Pan-European idea.

An evidence of its gradual adoption are the first shared ideas about our common future. As early as 1925 Coudenhove-Kalergi turned to different prominent intellectuals and politicians in Europe with the following questions:

1. Do you consider the creation of United States of Europe necessary?;
2. Is that feasible?

To the first question the Greek Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mihalakopoulos replied he believed that would be the greatest happiness for the peoples of Europe and in that way wars would be made impossible and each country would be able to devote itself to a productive and constructive work.

<sup>14</sup> *Ludwig, E.* Das neue Vaterland Paneuropa. Berlin, 29 Sept. 1926 – NFP, 02.10.1926. „Wer in diesen Tagen nach Österreich fährt, um am Kongress teilzunehmen, braucht kein Visum; er zeigt nur seine *L e g i t i m a t i o n s P a n e u r o p ä e r* vor: dann wird er durchgelassen. In dieser kleinen Artigkeit liegt ein Symbol, zum erst mal in unserer Geschichte wird einer, der sich Europäer nennt dafür belohnt. Macht nichts, dass er zehn Schilling zahlt um dabei zu sein, die alten Staaten fördern weit höhere Steuern. ... so wird es wohl in einem Jahrzehnt auch sein, wenn unsere Sohne staunend von den Pässen erzählen lassen werden, ohne denen 25 Visa die 25 Staaten Europa nicht besuchen konnten.

His response to the second question was that the implementation of that idea did not seem to him impossible although he considered its nearest perspective unrealistic, as the national selfishness was an insurmountable obstacle. And he continued: Despite the difficulties, the spiritual elite of Europe should patiently and persistently work for the accomplishment of this gigantic and noble design<sup>15</sup>.

Dr. Rudolf Pannwitz of Korčula, Dalmatia responded that he found the idea necessary and that it was the only way to overcome conflicts between states, and in his view the creation of such a union was possible. For Europe that was necessary, he pointed out, despite the fact that some states willingly or unwillingly would become its members. It was necessary to show wisdom and to work in that direction<sup>16</sup>.

The then Bulgarian Prime Minister Alexander Tsankov in his turn answered in the following way: “Due to the great war the creation of United States of Europe seems hardly possible. Europe must work for many years to reestablish the normal friendly relations between the states...”

The very idea was difficult to achieve not only because of the long-term perspective, but mostly because of the different positions of the small and big nations in Europe.

Yet, he still added: “It can not be said that the United States of Europe are indispensable, however it might nevertheless be argued that their formation – if possible – would be very desirable”<sup>17</sup>.

In the same issue of 1925 it was pointed that pan-European committees were already established in Germany, Austria, the Czechoslovak Republic, Hungary. It was also reported that there was an ongoing procedure for the establishment of such sections in France, Poland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, Bulgaria.

After the first Pan-European Congress the central office in Vienna continued to send different questionnaires to the Union Member States. One of the questions was related to the issuing of a common European passport.

The first positive response was given by the Bulgarian royal government. It read:

“ ... The Bulgarian government agrees in principle with your proposal for a common European passport, provided that the proposal will be adopted also by the other states, particularly by the neighboring strates of Bulgaria, for which particular details should be specified at a special conference organized on that occasion”

<sup>15</sup> *Paneuropa-Zeitschrift*, 2 Jg, Heft 1/3, 1925, S. 50–53. For the sake of comparison I will only cite the prophetic answers of the then mayor of Cologne and future first Chancellor of West Germany Konrad Adenauer, who was convinced of the need for United States of Europe, but he was also convinced that at that moment (1925 – note of the author, R.K.) it was impossible: „1. Ich halte die Schaffung des vereinigten Staaten von Europa für notwendig. 2. Ich halte das Zustandekommen wohl für möglich, nur im gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkte nicht”.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 56–57.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 76–77.

(signed by the secretary of the legation N. Zhelev and on the left stands the signature with initials L.S.

The same year in the directory of the Pan-European Movement was for the first time included one Balkan country – Bulgaria and as an address of the Bulgarian section was indicated 11, Shipka street, which was actually the home address of Professor Ivan Shishmanov. In the following year joined the section of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, whose primary office was Zagreb (Margaretska 4) and chairman Pavle Berkeš<sup>18</sup>. In the course of that year the newly established section was very active and invited the Prime Minister of Poland and chairman of the Polish pan-European section Aleksandar Lednitski in Zagreb to deliver a lecture on the topic “The national idea and its development”, in which he traced the development of the national idea into pan-European.

Despite these predispositions, in the following year, 1929, one of the analyzes of the activity of the pan-European sections reported that “the Yugoslav press was limited only to most general comments from Paris (referring to the initiative of Brian) or put the Macedonian problem as a basic precondition for the creation of United States of Europe. Thus, „*Obzor*” wrote that “France wanted to be a hegemon in Pan-Europa and Germany would be the puppeteer behind the scenes”. “*Privredni pregled*” saw Pan-Europa only in the light of the Macedonian question; until it was not resolved, the Balkans would remain a flash point of conflict in Europe; it was high time for the European heads of state to address the current issues, instead of wasting their time with ideologies; yet, the proposal of Brian, continued the newspaper, could bring to results if the idea of the League of Nations, in which only the big states had their say and for the small ones was left nothing did not collapse.

In the regular review “*Paneuropäisches Kalendaricum*” on the pages of the magazine could be observed the growing interest among Balkan countries with regards to Pan-Europa. From this “*kalendarikum*” we also learn that at an official banquet on October 23, 1923, the Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyapchev had warmly welcomed “the Project Pan-Europa, whose implementation should encourage the greater mutual trust in the relations among the Balkan countries”<sup>19</sup>.

No matter how many examples are being brought, the conclusion will be only one. All Balkan states had shown interest in the pan-European idea and most of them had harboured reservations stemming from the bitter Balkan neighborhood.

The Romanian newspaper “*Adevărul*” argued that in Europe at that time (in 1929) there were two main lines fighting against each other – bolshevism and

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Jahrgang, Heft 3. 1928 „Hochwohlgeboren Herrn Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi, President der Paneuropäischen Union, Wien 1, Hofburg. Über Ersuchen des Kgl. Ministeriums des Äussern beehrt sich die Königlich Bulgarische Gesandtschaft Ihnen Nachstehendes Höflichst mitzuteilen: Die bulgarische Regierung stimmt Ihrem Vorschlage betreffs Einführung eines Europapasses im Prinzip zu, unter der Voraussetzung, dass der Vorschlag auch von anderen Staaten, insbesondere von Nachbarstaaten Bulgariens gebilligt wird, wobei Einzelheiten auf einer Konferenz zu erörtern wären. Mit dem Ausdrucke besonderer Hochachtung zeichnet der Gesandtschaftssekretär N. Geleff m.p.”

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 1929, Heft, S. 28.



capitalism. They could also be united through common international activity and a sense of solidarity with which all Europeans should be imbued. In 1856 we saw the unification of Italy, in 1871 – that of Germany, in 1879 for the first time it was spoken of Balkan unity, when will the European unity finally be implemented, asked the Romanian newspaper impatiently.

These evidences are associated also with the intensification of the pan-European movement in Southeast Europe. In 1930 the Greek section of Pan-Europa was founded. The Greek President Alexandros Zaimis, the Prime Minister Elefterios Venizelos and the Foreign Minister Andreas Mihalakopulos were admitted in the Honour Committee of the Pan-European movement .

In the same year was established the Romanian section with the honorary presidency of the Rector of the University of Bucharest and member of parliament Prof. Nicolae Iorga, as president was elected Prof. K. Stoianovici<sup>20</sup>.

Also in the same year, on May 1, France came up with a proposal to establish a European State Union. This initiative was supported by many governments which sent their notes and statements of agreement with it. Among them were Romania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Albania. Their content will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming monograph. I shall just mention that there was a rare unity in the views of the Balkan countries for a common European future.

Except for adopting meaningful decisions, this Congress is significant also for the fact it set the date May 17<sup>th</sup> as the day of Pan-Europa.

During the first day of the Basel Congress held in 1932 read greetings from Bulgaria Prof. Boris P. Petkov, from Romania – former Minister Mihail Manoilescu (head of the European Agrarian Commission), from Turkey – Nedim Veyzel, from Yugoslavia – Minister Momčilo Ninčić (president of the European Peace Organization), from Greece – Megalos Kalogiannis.

From the aforesaid it is clear that the Balkan states and their political elites were involved in the pan-European movement and occupied a worthy place in it, although they did that with varying intensity.

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The Bulgarian inspirer of Pan-Europa was Professor Ivan Shishmanov, who as early as 1922 in Freiburg read the mentioned article of Count Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi “Pan-Europa – a proposal,” introduced it to his students there

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, JahrgangVI, 1930, S. 58 In the Romanian committee were included also: Vice-Presidents – prof. Dimitrie Gusti and former minister Lahovary; on the part of the government in the committee were included the Minister of Foreign Affairs G. Mironescu, the Minister of Finance V. Madgearu, the Minister of Justice G. Iunian. Members of the Committee were also: the Chief of Protocol I. Stircea, Princess Alexandrina Cantacuzino, Helen Seulescu, Calypso Botez, the former Minister C. Argetoianu, J.G. Duca, N.D. Germani, Dr. N. Lupu, G. Trancu Jași, University Secretary G. Gafencu, the Professors Antonescu, Radulescu-Motru, Lascar Antoniu, G. Tașca and the editor of “*Adevărul*” B. Branistanu. The following year the deceased President ex-minister Seulescu was replaced by the former Vice-President, the former minister plenipotentiary as President, Princess Alexandrina Cantacuzino together with the University professor Gusti were elected as Vice-Presidents – *Ibid.*, 1930.

and then took an active part in the pan-European movement, in the leadership of the First Congress in 1926 and in the spring of 1927 founded its section in Bulgaria.

After his return in Bulgaria, following the First Pan-European Congress held in Vienna, in the second half of October 1926 Shishmanov wrote a detailed account of what he had seen and accomplished. He carried out Coudenhove's request to establish such a movement in Bulgaria in the shortest possible time. In February 1927 the scholar sent a letter to a number of important Bulgarian public and political figures, inviting them to join the movement: "In this month (February – note of the author, R.K.) in Sofia is established the Bulgarian section of the Pan-European Union, which already has similar sections in Germany, Belgium, Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Lithuania and Latvia. The Union's objective is to spread through the living word and press the ideas for rapprochement and cooperation between all European nations on political, cultural and economic grounds, so that in the near or more distant future, in smaller or in larger stages the dream of so many bright and great minds, starting from Dante and Henry IV to come true... " – the scholar started his letter and continued: Pan-Europa created within the League of Nations is no longer a utopia, which is best evidenced by the statement of the Prime Minister Herriot in the French Chamber on January 29, 1925: "My biggest wish is to see one day the United States of Europe. If I use my powers with such courage in the League of Nations, it is only because I see in this great institution the first sketch of the United States of Europe"<sup>21</sup>. He further made a brief retrospective of the development of the movement and supported his view of the establishment of a Bulgarian section. For this first gesture of Herriot had been followed by a sympathetic response by Stresemann. Without giving special emphasis to his secret hope in this way also other nations hostile to each other to join hands, Shishmanov brings us to this conclusion, listing not only the states that have supported the desire for peace and understanding, but also the personalities that have headed this "missionary work" and adds to the already known list of political men and public figures and intellectuals of the magnitude of Albert Einstein, Gerhard Hauptmann and others.

"Convinced that you are being fully aware of the highly beneficial opportunity that is given to Bulgaria to state at the new European forum its legitimate claims and grievances / the second Pan-European Congress is convened this year in Brussels and will deal particularly with economic issues/, we ask you, the scholar continued, to give us moral support by joining us and becoming a member of the Bulgarian section of the Pan-European Union"<sup>22</sup>." The letter was written on the drafted for that purpose special form with the logo of the Union, the location – 11, Shipka str. (Ivan Shishmanov's home), signed personally by the Chairman Prof. Ivan Shishmanov and the Secretary Dr. Ivan Baynov. A list of the

<sup>21</sup> Конева, Р. Първите „мъже-европейци“. Към историята на Паневропейското движение в България Част I, Балканистичен форум, С., 2010, 1-2, 82-104.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

addressees who were asked to confirm their participation in writing was also made. Most of the names were of well-known and established public figures, politicians and cultural figures. As recorded in the notes of Shishmanov, the required written confirmation was sent by the following people<sup>23</sup>: Mishev, Nikolaev, Kyorchev, Stattev, Danailov, Yanulev, K. Popov, Dzhidrov, Iv. St. Geshev, Baynov, St. Tsankov, P. Staynov, Drenkov, D. Kazasov, Staliyski, Minchevich, Stanchev, Karadzhulev, A. Zlatarev, Girginov, Dr. Stoyanov, Dr. Kirov, Arnaoudov, Tanchev, Vlaykov, Stavrov, Fichev, Fadenheht, Mishaykov, Moshanov, I. Georgov, Balamezov, Tenev, Gr. Vassilev, P. Stoyanov, P. Peshev. In a separate list Shishmanov divided the participants in the three sections – for the minorities, for economic development, for culture (as it was originally formulated “mental union”)<sup>24</sup>.

The number of the participants who had sent their confirmation is found in a letter of Shishmanov to Coudenhove-Kalegri from March 1, 1927, in which he reported that the supporters were thirty by then – all from the field of politics, economy, science and art, but he hoped their number would grow<sup>25</sup>.

The Constituent Assembly was scheduled for “March 13, 1927, Sunday at 10 o’clock “in the morning” in the building of the Archaeological Institute on 127, Rakovsky St., opposite to the Free University”<sup>26</sup>. In 1927 the day March 13<sup>th</sup> was no longer in accordance with the Gregorian calendar of 1913 and was not charged with the national-patriotic intensity and emotion that had prompted the professor to cancel his lectures after the news of the fall of the Edirne fortress<sup>27</sup>. But the associative symbolics here is rather related the evolution of Shishmanov’s “NO to hatred,” the idea of peace he advocated and the “Statute of the Bulgarian Section of the Pan-European Union” that was made by him and adopted in that early Sunday morning. It consisted of nine articles, which regulated the general rules of the organization and activity of the organization. Art. 2 stated the aim of the Bulgarian Section – “to spread among the Bulgarian people the ideas of the Pan-European Union for rapprochement and cooperation among all European nations on political, economic and cultural grounds”.

For this purpose, the headquarters of the Bulgarian section organized groups of sympathizers and associations, published brochures, held conferences, convened meetings in the country, while outside its borders it acted by memorandums and personal propaganda, using both the international congresses of the Union and its official organ “Paneuropa”<sup>28</sup>.

The statute further presented the relationship between the head office and the different groups, determined which individuals and corporations (unions, associations, trade unions, groups) could participate, the ways of acquiring funds,

<sup>23</sup> The names are written in the way Shishmanov himself has written them in his notes.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> РГВА, Ф. 554, оп.1, а.е. 13, л. 442.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Иван Шишманов. Дневник. Цит съч, с. 149.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

management, union life, etc. The Union was managed by a board of trustees which included: a chairperson, two vice-presidents, secretary, treasurer and four members councilors, elected annually by the general assembly on the date of the founding of the section.

In article 5 we read that “The head office of the section is divided into three committees: a) on politics and minorities b) on economic issues and c) on mental cooperation. Each committee shall elect from its circles a Chairman and a Secretary for a period of one year.

Ivan Shishmanov hardly waited the day after the inaugural meeting to write to his friend, inspirer and adherent from Vienna and to tell him the “good news” that “yesterday was established the Bulgarian section of Pan-Europa.” He also reported the names of the members of the leadership. In a detailed letter which I shall publish additionally Coudenhove-Kalergi thanked him and “blessed” in his turn the newcomer Bulgaria to the great European idea<sup>29</sup>. As early as March 18<sup>th</sup> from the Secretariat in Vienna sent out letters to all sections and urged them to greet the Bulgarian Section and its President. Its address was also indicated – 11, Shipka str<sup>30</sup>.

The data known so far gives good ground to assume that that this movement has had a serious repercussion among the Bulgarian public and indeed its establishment could be deservedly considered as a manifestation of political and cultural prowess. At the second meeting as Vice-President was elected Ekaterina Karavelova – the well-known activist in Bulgarian social and political life. She started to work hard in the feminist section, which the head office established and was very active in the 1930s .

The establishment of the Bulgarian section was noted in the journal of Coudenhove – Kalergi (according to the information provided by Shishmanov himself in the above cited letter to Kalegri). After it had mentioned the previous year that Professor Shishmanov, the Bulgarian Minister of Education, has undertaken the initiative to establish in Bulgaria section of the Pan-European Union<sup>31</sup>, this time it presented to the reader the very fact. Along with the name of the President were listed his closest aides: Vice-President Geshov, the chairwoman of the Bulgarian Women’s League for Peace and Freedom Mrs. Karavelova; Secretary – Ivan Baynov – President of the Academic Association to the Union of Nations. It was also underlined that the establishment of the Bulgarian section was welcomed by the Prime Minister Lyapchev and by *all* (the italic is mine – R. K.) Pan-European unions<sup>32</sup>. In the “Members Council” were included “Dimitar Mishev

<sup>29</sup> ПГВА, Ф. 554, оп.1, а.е. 13, л. 437.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, л. 339.

<sup>31</sup> *PanEuropa*, 2. Jahrgang, Doppelheft 11/12, S. 35.

<sup>32</sup> Paneuropäische Union Bulgarien – Ebenda, 3. Jahrgang, Heft 4, S. 28.: „Die Konstituierung der Bulgarischen Sektion der Paneuropäischen Union fand am 13. März 1927 statt... Die Paneuropäische Union Bulgarien wurde zu Ihrer Gründung vom bulgarischen Ministerpräsidenten Liaptschev und von allen paneuropäischen Unionen beglückwünscht“.

(Vice-President of the Bulgarian Association for Human Rights), Kiril Popov (Director of Statistics), Dr. N. Nikolaev (editor-in-chief of the newspaper *La Bulgarie*) and the member of parliament D. Kyorchev<sup>33</sup>.

A month later (April 1927) was established the first Bulgarian Student Union for Pan-Europa. That was again due to the great champion of the European idea Ivan Shishmanov. In another letter to his friend Kalergi he recounted about the formation of the student section, which had taken place in the largest University hall. His lecture had captivated the young people and they quickly prepared the Statute and the different documents. There were many applications for the establishment of youth sections from the country. "I could speak of a great progress of our movement in Bulgaria," wrote the scholar<sup>34</sup>.

The activity of the Bulgarian section upon its establishment will be discussed in detail in a separate publication. I will only mention that it continued after the closing of the pan-European section in Vienna in 1933. Bulgarian branch offices of the Pan-European association of economists were created. Bulgarians participated also in the conference on the international transport of the Danube countries, as well as in conferences held on the initiative of the Customs Union, even on the eve of World War II.

In this case I consider important the following major observations that represent more fully its creator Professor Ivan Shishmanov: the Bulgarian Pan-European section was established almost simultaneously with the listed sections of other countries such as Germany, France, Lithuania, Poland, Greece, Hungary, etc. Coudenhove-Kalergi told Shishmanov that during the second half of 1927 the Pan-European movement was also gaining momentum in Yugoslavia. "I will soon inform you on the results there in more detail," we read in one of his letters<sup>35</sup>.

It is also possible to assume that in his meetings with Coudenhove-Kalergi Shishmanov had personally spoken of the need this movement to become more active and expand in Southeast Europe and also to the north of it. Not only the above cited letter gives grounds for that. Kalergi "reported" to Shishmanov and regarding the questions raised at one of the meetings of the General Council was discussed Shishmanov's proposal to create a separate section on the issue of ethnic minorities at the forthcoming congress. He had succeeded with that and only waited for its initiator Shishmanov to fill it with content. The Bulgarian scholar on his part insisted "that issue to be one of the most important in their program". And until the minority issues are not being resolved, there would be no lasting peace in Europe. He referred to the Macedonian question, which "if not resolved, the Balkans would collapse," sadly stated the Bulgarian pan-European<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> ПГБА, Ф. 554, оп.1, а.е. 13, л. 435.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, л. 432.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, л. 412.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*: „Der nächste Paneuropa Kongress darf nicht völkischen Minderheiten außer Acht lassen zu wollen. Sie muss eine der wichtigsten Punkte in unserem Programm sein. Denn solnsge die Minoritäten

The presented theses and the undoubted support of Kalergi would not have been possible without Ivan Shishmanov's idea of unity and togetherness, the acquired humanistic principles and the consistently followed European (in the sense of ethical-civilizational) messages that have been formulated by a galaxy of minds over the centuries and have become a credo of these young "Europeans" of whom he made an integral part himself. The scholar-politician and messenger had managed to persuade the Bulgarian elite back then in the meaning of Pan-Europa, through his activity to convince the other Pan-Europeans in the meaning of their work and the need to trust the others, and mostly to inspire courage in his followers, who were to continue his work after his untimely loss. The German section of the Pan-European Union in Berlin sent a telegram to Ivan Shishmanov in which it congratulated the "younger sister" in the fight for the unification of Europe<sup>37</sup>. In the telegram it was also underlined that the two countries have gone together along the path of suffering and hence their advocacy for peace in Europe was even more justified. To such catharsis only worthy men could reach. That is why the idea and struggle for united Europe after World War I was a process of a large scale, which Ivan Shishmanov undoubtedly had as an organizer, and also all the Bulgarian politicians, intellectuals and public figures who had joined as followers and supporters of the European idea.

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Pan-Europa, the Balkans and Bulgaria are just an institutional subordination of the bigger to the smaller community. If we are to "dismember" further, we shall get to the topic of motherland, kin, family and enter the deep recesses of the theory of institutions, which seeks to explain the laws of social structure. And whatever interpretations and schemes are to be brought, one can not avoid the main motive, which also interests historians of culture, anthropologists, social scientists, namely: the human empathy towards our common home (in the narrow and in the broad sense), caring for it and the will of the strong men to assert it. Because "many are called, but few are chosen." As during the period of National Revival only "a few" were chosen to lead the Bulgarians and the other Balkan peoples towards freedom and unity, in the same way after World War I only a few were those who laid the foundations of a future united world. The Pan-Europeans were among them. For them, the terms "family", "motherland" and "patriotism" really came from one and the same root. Not only in linguistic terms. Resting on their institutional affiliation – family, state, regional, continental and other kind of community, they were also the

nicht befriedigt sind, würde es einen dauernden Frieden in Europa nicht geben. So muß unter anderem die mazedonische Frage eine befriedigende Lösung finden, sonst geht der ganze Balkan aus der Fugen“.

<sup>37</sup> The telegram of March 22, 1927 was received at Shishmanov's home address – 11, Shipka str.: Die Paneuropäische Union Deutschlands sendet ihrer jungen Schwester in Sofia herzliche Glückwünsche. Mögen die beiden Völker, die in schwerster Zeit zusammenlieten zu Vorkämpfern für die Einigung Europas waren". – *Ibid.*

guardians of values that had withstood the storms, believers in the reciprocity of mutual understanding and mutual assistance at all institutional and mental levels.

That is why the Balkan nations have reason to be proud that they have brought forth some of the first “European men”. Even though then had not been able to overcome the selfish and dividing forces, the destructive nationalistic drive that had captivated the “called,” the layered and sometimes violently infused hatred, they had walked in stages and always at a new level the will of togetherness.

They also realized that the future of the “young” depended on the experienced and the mature, the wise and the “chosen”. Each generation has a need of background and support. The first “European men” from the Balkans also knew that. But due to historical immaturity, other national or personal complexes, or – even more immature – the self-annihilating stubbornness had destined many generations to behavioral solitude or had deprived them of the basic and natural human needs of dedicated, even sacrificing maternal and paternal protection. And in our case – also of Motherland and Fatherland. As Coudenhove-Kalergi himself had foretold it would take decades until most of the people realize the need of a European community of nations. Because from time immemorial each “chosen” has known that togetherness is stronger than disunity.

In this sense the Bulgarian professor Ivan Shishmanov is the Bulgarian European institutionalist, but also prophet. Despite the parable saying that “no one is a prophet in his own country”. Even though to a certain extent that is so – Ivan Shishmanov is a prophet on a European scale. Even more encouraging is the fact that in the 1920s, when the Balkan nations were also strongly disunited, he was not alone. There were also other “Balkan prophets” who have sown the seed not only of Balkan, but of European unity too.