

Air

EGMA-14036

31. Jan. 1955

Chief, EE
ATTN: Chief, SE
Chief of Mission, Frankfurt

INFO: COM

Operational/CART/ []

Report on Rumanian-German Landsmannschaft
Organizations

REFERENCE: EGMA-13501, 14 December 1954

1. Forwarded herewith is [] "study" on Rumanian-German Landsmannschaft organizations referred to in Reference. As reported (see EGMA-14016, 27 January 1955) the Landsmannschaft of Banat Swabians has joined the Rumanian Coordination Center and [] believes this will force the Landsmannschaft of Transylvanian Saxons to also join the Coordination Center without further ado.

2. With reference to page 2 of Attachment E of Reference [] states that he has now determined from Peter CONSTANTINESCU that the name of the ex-captain of the Rumanian General Staff and MVD agent is Michael SAVATESCU (called "MICK"). He also states that TUBLERA is not the correct name for the Major mentioned here; the correct name is Ion TOBA.

3. MOB has the following traces which appear to be identical to TOBA and SAVATESCU; both are from the [] card file at MGB:

a. "TOBA, Major - Organized in Germany, towards the end of World War II, for SKOKENI, two paratroop companies. TOBA had been given this task by the German military authorities and had organized the companies with Rumanians whom he had recruited in internment camps in Germany. Most of the personnel were officers, NCOs and cadets who had been attending specialization courses in Germany before their internment. None of TOBA's units were parachuted into Romania, although one of the units organized by the Legionaires was. TOBA allegedly reported voluntarily to the (Communist) authorities in Romania, was tried, sentenced, and is now at Baden bei Wien, in Austria. It is also alleged that TOBA was seen in Vienna and that he probably works for the Soviets. (CAS. July 50, CAS. 2/1)."

b. "SAVATESCU, Muc (nickname) - Cavalry officer, brother of General Constantin SAVATESCU. Subject is a talented man and a good officer, has a French mother; speaks many foreign languages. Before World War II, Subject was a specialist on Bulgaria in the Rumanian General Staff. In 1935-36, acting on orders from the General Staff, Subject joined the Iron Guard for penetration purposes, participated in the Legionary Rebellion and was sentenced to between

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15 and 20 years in prison. After two months he was rehabilitated. Subject was seen in Vienna in 1949. He seems to be now working for the Russians. (CAS. July 50, v. CAS. 2/8)."

4. Traces are requested on TCBA and SANATSCU or SAVATSCU.

Enclosure:
As stated above

28 January 1955

Distributions:

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*A Attachment to EGMA
14036*

November 1954

The Rumanian-German Landsmannschaft Organizations

1. They are:
 - a. Landsmannschaft of Sathmar Swabians
Chairman: Stefan SCHMIED
Address: Lenbas, Kreis Kempten.
 - b. Community of German Resettlers from Bessarabia
Chairman: ?
Address: Stuttgart-W, Johannesstrasse 23.
 - c. Landsmannschaft of Dobrudsha Germans
Chairman: (?) KLEFF
Address: Stuttgart-W, Johannesstrasse 23.
 - d. Landsmannschaft of Banat Swabians
Chairman: Prof. Anton VALENTIN
Address: Sigmaringen, Bergstrasse 4.
 - e. Landsmannschaft of Bukovina Germans
Chairman: Dr. Rudolf WAGNER
Address: Munich, Himmelreichstrasse 3.
 - f. Landsmannschaft of Transylvanian Saxons
Chairman: Dr. Heinrich ZILLICH
Address: Munich, Himmelreichstrasse 3.
2. The special characteristic of the Rumanian Germans now in Germany is that they were actually not expelled from Rumania. The Germans from Bukovina and Bessarabia were resettled from these provinces to Germany in 1940. This resettlement was effected on the basis of a treaty between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union after Rumania was forced by ultimatum on 27 July 1940 to yield Bukovina and Bessarabia to the Soviet Union within four days. The Dobrudsha Germans were resettled to Germany the same year (1940) without compulsion on the basis of a treaty between Germany and Rumania. Part of the Transylvanian Saxons (those who lived in North-Transylvania) were resettled to Germany in 1940-1941 after Rumania was forced in late August 1940, through an Italian-German ultimatum, to yield North-Transylvania to Hungary. This resettlement was effected on the basis of a treaty between Germany and Hungary. The major portion of Transylvanian Saxons as well as the Banat Swabians who are now in Germany are outside Rumania for the following reasons:

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- a. They are former members of the Waffen-SS who did not return to Rumania after the war. (Membership in the Waffen-SS was voluntary.)
 - b. They are persons who escaped to Germany or Austria along with the German troops during the Soviet entrance into Rumania.
 - c. They are Rumanian-Germans who escaped to the West from Rumania after the war.
3. It can thus be seen that the designation of "expellees" applies to the Rumanian-Germans neither in legal respect nor in reality. They are Rumanian emigrants of German ethnic origin although this actually applies only to the Transylvanian Saxons, Sathmar Swabians and Banat Swabians. (The Bukovina- Bessarabia- and Dobrudsha Germans are neither expellees nor emigrants but resettlers; they can be classified expellees only insofar as they were actually expelled in 1945-1946 by the Soviets or Poles from East Germany where they had initially settled.) Consequently, when speaking of Rumanian-German Landsmannschaft organizations one should refer only to the Transylvanian Saxons, Sathmar Swabians and Banat Swabians since they are the Landsmannschaft organizations which today have corresponding German groups who are still in Rumania. More than 200,000 Saxons (including the Sathmar Swabians) are still living in Transylvania today, and more than 300,000 Swabians are living in the Banat.
 4. Although the Sathmar Swabians were a small separate group in Transylvania, they were always under the "guardianship" of the Transylvanian Saxons. The same relation exists today in regard to their respective Landsmannschaften, which constitute separate organizations only in name.
 5. The Landsmannschaft organizations of Bukovina- Bessarabia- and Dobrudsha-Germans do not represent any ethnic groups still in existence in these areas today. The Landsmannschaft organizations of Bessarabia- and Dobrudsha-Germans are not politically active. The Landsmannschaft of Bukovina-Germans however engages in lively political activity. On the one hand, it has found a platform in internal West German politics within the circle of the BHE - All-German Bloc. (Dr. Rudolf WAGNER is a close co-worker of Prof. Dr. Theodor OBERLAENDER and heads the BHE in Bavaria.) In addition, it engages in foreign-policy activity in connection with the problem of Eastern Europe's re-organization after the liberation. This activity is reflected in the holding of cultural meetings which reveal that the Bukovina-Germans still adhere to the line of the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy as it existed prior to 1918. It was Vienna's endeavor at that time (prior to 1918) to displace the original and almost exclusively Rumanian population of Bukovina through extensive settling of German families as well as immigration (from Galicia) and preferential treatment of Ukrainians. This conformed to the Austrian desire to have reliable German elements

on the Russian border, and to arouse Ukrainian national sentiment by giving preference to Austrian Ukrainians. They hoped thus to produce anti-Russian and thus centrifugal tendencies among the Ukrainians with a view to weakening the Russian empire. This Austrian policy in Bukovina was also supported by the Catholic church as it insured the advance of Catholicism into the domain of Orthodoxy. The Germans from Bukovina were Catholics and the Ukrainians who immigrated from Galicia belonged to the United Church. The present cultural meetings of the Landsmannschaft of Bukovina-Germans are always attended by the Ukrainians as prominent guests.

6. At a conference in 1949 between Dr. Rudolf WAGNER and Vasile DUMITRESCU, Dr. WAGNER turned down DUMITRESCU's invitation that the Landsmannschaft of Bukovina-Germans join the Rumanian emigration. This on the grounds that the Landsmannschaft did not want to commit themselves as it could not be predicted whether, after liberation, Bukovina will remain part of the Ukraine or will be re-incorporated into Rumania. Since this conference there have been virtually no contacts between the Landsmannschaft of Bukovina-Germans and the Rumanian emigration. In a single instance, this Landsmannschaft took part in a Rumanian affair when in 1951 the Work Community of Rumanian-German Landsmannschaft organizations was founded to prevent the Association of Germans from Rumania (VDR) from claiming to speak in the name of Germans from Rumania and thus to lessen the VDR's reputation with the League of Free Rumanians. General Nicolae RADESCU replied to a letter of the Work Community to state that the protest of the Work Community was objectless, as the target of their attack, viz. Herwart SCHEINER, had never spoken in the name of his organization in claiming to represent the Rumanian Germans. This Work Community has not been heard of ever since.
7. In 1953 the Landsmannschaft of Bukovina-Germans invited Grigore MANOILESCU, head of the Rumanian Institute in Munich (Iron Guard, SIMA-group), to speak at the cultural meeting in October in addition to the scheduled Ukrainian orator. MANOILESCU made a sharp speech against the Ukrainian claims to Bukovina, which led in turn to anti-Rumanian statements in the Ukrainian press and anti-Ukrainian retorts in the Rumanian press. The Ukrainians then founded an Association of Ukrainians from Bukovina in Munich under the chairmanship of the Ukrainian Socialist Ilko POPOVICH, in order to propagate a Ukrainian Bukovina. According to SCHEINER, as a result of this struggle relations between the Ukrainians and the Landsmannschaft of Bukovina-Germans have become still closer and have led de facto to a work community of anti-Rumanian character.
8. Although the VDR manager, Hanns LUDWAR, is a board member of the Landsmannschaft of Bukovina-Germans, relations of the Rumanian emigration with this Landsmannschaft are still very tense at present. The Landsmannschaft has continued to take a pronounced anti-Rumanian attitude. It must be expected that the Landsmannschaft may also influence the inland Germans, through the BHE and possibly other German circles, against the Rumanian emigration.

9. Of more importance to the Rumanian emigration, however, are the Landsmannschaft organizations of Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabians. First, their areas of settlement are still on Rumanian territory and, secondly, the majority of Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabians still live in the home country. Thus, these ethnic groups will have a voice also in a free Rumania and will contribute their share to the country's re-organization. Therefore, the attitudes of these two Landsmannschaft organizations pertaining to Rumanian questions are now important in exile, both in the influencing of both public opinion and political factors in Germany. From this results the significance of these Landsmannschaft organizations' attitude toward this or the other Rumanian group-in-exile.

Landsmannschaft of Banat Swabians:

10. The Banat Swabians are part of the so-called Danube Swabians, i.e. the Germans who settled at the three-country-corner (Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania). At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century the Hungarians conducted a policy of magyarization toward the Danube Swabians with the result that though the rustic basis of the Danube Swabians remained German the intelligentsia became Hungarian. (A continuation of this policy would probably have de-Germanized the peasantry within the course of time, as was the case with the Sathmar Swabians.) After the first world war the territory where the Danube Swabians had settled was distributed among Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania under consideration of national conditions. As a consequence, the formerly consolidated ethnic group was split. However, the parts which were incorporated into Yugoslavia and Rumania were able to recover and continue to develop their German character. The Banat Swabians were friendly toward the Rumanians and they display the same attitude in the emigration. Nevertheless, their Landsmannschaft has been very reserved toward Rumanian problems and groups-in-exile.
11. The Danube Swabians who were expelled from Hungary and Yugoslavia constitute the majority of their ethnic group in the West, and the Danube Swabians from the Rumanian Banat the minority. The former attempted to solve the Danube Swabians' chief problem, the restoration of the ethnic group's unity, by mapping out the plan to form an independent Danube Swabian state within the framework of a Danube federation. Until 1950 this concept was advocated especially in Danube Swabian circles in Austria and strongly propagated by the newspaper Neuland. It is evident though that the achievement of such a Danube Swabian state would necessitate the separation of areas from the Hungarian, Yugoslav and Rumanian territories, and, when Yugoslavia alienated herself from Moscow and the German Federal Republic established diplomatic relations with Belgrade, the unrealistic nature of this project became apparent. (As previously reported, the Catholic church also has reversed its attitude in the same way.)

12. The Landsmannschaft of Banat Swabians (i.e. the portion of the Danube Swabian ethnic group belonging to Rumania) has so far always kept out of Rumanian politics-in-exile, although as early as 1951 (fall) General Platon CHIRNOAGA (former Minister of War in the Iron Guardist government-in-exile in Vienna) attempted to win the Landsmannschaft for cooperation with the Iron Guard. Only in the single instance mentioned of the work community, has this Landsmannschaft dealt with Rumanian questions-in-exile. In August 1954, General Ion GHEORGHE attempted to utilize this Landsmannschaft (as well as those of the Bukovina-Germans and Transylvanian Saxons) for his ends by appealing to them to participate in the organization of the meeting he (the Association of Free Rumanians in Germany - VFRD) scheduled for 22 August 1954 (as a counter-action against the meeting of the Rumanian Coordinating Center). However, the Landsmannschaft of Banat Swabians (as the other Landsmannschaft organizations) did not send a representative to the suggested conference nor did it answer the VFRD letter. In consideration of the above, the letter of the chairman of this Landsmannschaft in answer to the Rumanian Coordination Center's invitation for the meeting on 22 August 1954 is of special significance. He wrote in substance: "On 3 August 1954 it was the 35th anniversary of the incorporation into the newly-created great-Rumanian state of a part of the Banat. We Banat Swabians have remained loyal to the Rumanian State and consider the Rumanian people righteous supporters of a just national formation of the Southeast European territory in the spirit of a new, supra-national European community order." This is an unequivocal declaration of loyalty toward Rumania, which has been done for the first time since 1945. (The fact that Prof. Anton VALENTIN thus expressed himself toward the Rumanian Coordination Center was interpreted in circles of the Coordination Center as a step toward future cooperation of the Landsmannschaft with the Coordination Center.)

Landsmannschaft of Transylvanian Saxons:

13. The Transylvanian Saxons have played a leading role among the Rumanian-Germans. It is not only the oldest and the numerically largest but also the only group which played a role in the history of the Rumanian people. First, it favorably influenced the Rumanians' cultural development; secondly, it was a politically and economically leading nation of Transylvania. The Saxons had special privileges on their area of settlement by grant of the Hungarian crown. Therefore the Saxons were able to reach a degree of economic, cultural and political development that no other group in Southeast Europe did and thus assumed the leading role among these groups. When after 1848 the period of Hungarian nationalism began, the Transylvanian Saxons, whom the Hungarians deprived of their special privileges, were also subjected to an arbitrary policy of magyarization. This fact resulted in an approach to the Rumanians of Transylvania on the part of the Saxons.

14. When after 1918 the Rumanians of Transylvania decided for incorporation into Rumania they were supported by the Saxons. However, life in the framework of the Rumanian State brought the Transylvanian Saxons various disappointments -not only did they not regain their special privileges, but an extensive ground reform in 1923 also curtailed the Saxon national property.
15. With the rise of National Socialism in Germany the group of Transylvanian Saxons was also given strong impulses, and the stronger Germany grew the more noticeable became anti-Rumanian and anti-Hungarian trends among the Saxons aimed at an independent Transylvania under Saxon leadership as a German protectorate. These hopes did not materialize and, upon German desire, Transylvania was distributed among Rumania and Hungary when both countries became Germany's allies. After the second world war the whole of Transylvania became Rumanian territory, and the Saxons suffered heavy damages. Complete expropriation, according to Communist principles, and deportations to the Soviet Union have debilitated and strongly reduced, numerically, this ethnic group. This explains desires expressed within the Landsmannschaft to resettle the Transylvanian Saxons in German Eastern areas which will be re-acquired after liberation. This is one basic reason for the Landsmannschaft's reserved attitude toward the Rumanian emigration. Another results from the fear of endangering fellow-countrymen in the homeland by anti-Communist actions in conjunction with the Rumanian emigration.
16. Thus as early as 1949 when General Ion GHEORGHE published the newspaper Patria and got into contact with the Rumanian German Herwart SCHEINER, the Landsmannschaft protested against this step. SCHEINER was called a traitor of the people and "Rumanian hireling" for working so closely with the Rumanian emigration. When in 1950 the VDR was founded, the Landsmannschaft decided that any Saxon joining the VDR would be expelled from the Landsmannschaft. When in 1951 the League of Free Rumanians was founded and the VDR joined it, the Work Community of Rumanian-German Landsmannschaft Organizations was formed at the instigation of the Landsmannschaft of Transylvanian Saxons in order to protest to RADESCU against SCHEINER who they said was not authorized to speak in the name of the Rumanian-Germans. When in 1951 General GHEORGHE, through SCHEINER, established contacts in Bonn, viz. the Press and Information Office (Carl ARIQ), the Foreign Office (Dr. KOSSMANN) and the Ministry for All-German Affairs (Ministerialrat von ZAHN), the Saxons attempted (through Dr. ZILLICH and especially Hans HARTL who has good contacts with Dr. KOSSMANN) to discredit SCHEINER by calling him an American agent. In 1952 Erhard PLESCH, now chairman of the Landsmannschaft in Bavaria and Landtag candidate of the BBE, conducted an action with the objective to separate General GHEORGHE from SCHEINER. PLESCH promised Andrei NICOLA that the Landsmannschaft would procure funds from Bonn for Patria provided that relations with SCHEINER were severed. Thereupon, NICOLA persuaded General GHEORGHE to get into contact with Dr. ZILLICH, without SCHEINER's knowledge, which the General did. When the Lands-

manschaft considered their objective of breaking relations between GHEORGHE and SCHEINER as won, Dr. ZILLICH then told General GHEORGHE that the Landsmannschaft could not engage in active anti-Communist politics and could not tie itself to any group in view of the disintegration of the Rumanian emigration. That this was simply a ready excuse is evidenced by the fact that in his speech in Dinkelsbuehl, at the Whitsuntide meeting of the Landsmannschaft (1952), ZILLICH said, referring to General PRHALA's agreement with the Sudeten Germans, that he had not heard yet a Rumanian General acknowledges the Transylvanian Saxons' right to the homeland and restitution and, with the expression of "not states but peoples make the Occident" he indirectly professed Otto von HABSBURG's propaganda thesis, and the separation of Transylvania from Rumania. Thereupon GHEORGHE attacked the Landsmannschaft in Patria in an exceptionally sharp manner which made him unpopular in Bonn.

17. When in March 1954 the Rumanian Club, Munich, was founded, Vasile DUMITRESCU happened to meet PLESCH. PLESCH showed interest in the events within the VFRD and asked DUMITRESCU (when learning about the split) whether he would like to talk to Hans HARTL. DUMITRESCU agreed. HARTL was very friendly at the meeting and wanted to know whether the Club was known in Bonn. He implied that Bonn (no specifications) would like to speak with a Rumanian group. DUMITRESCU stated that the Club was not a suitable organization but could possibly become such within a short time and then contacts with Bonn could be established.
18. On 8 July 1954 when the Rumanian Coordination Center was founded, the Work Community of Rumanian-German Landsmannschaft Organizations was also invited to join the Center. The invitation remained unanswered since this Work Community in reality does not exist any more.
19. After the meeting on 22 August 1954 the individual Landsmannschaft organizations were subsequently invited to participate in the work of the Coordination Center. A second talk between DUMITRESCU and HARTL took place on 20 October 1954 (at DUMITRESCU's request) concerning the invitation to the Transylvanian Saxons to join the Coordination Center. HARTL stated that as far as the Coordination Center is concerned, SCHEINER is the only obstacle to the Landsmannschaft's joining the Center since SCHEINER would be acknowledged through the Landsmannschaft's membership. However, though the Landsmannschaft would not yet join the Center officially, they would send two representatives to the sessions as observers. A relaxation shall lead to actual cooperation in the course of time. On 3 November 1954 the Landsmannschaft officially answered the Coordination Center's letter. The wording ran as follows:
"Dear Sirs: At our last federal board session we have taken notice of and dealt with your letter of 29 September 1954. Our Landsmannschaft's joining of your Coordination Center is connected with difficulties

for a number of reasons. We are gladly willing to expound these reasons to you in detail. For this purpose two of our gentlemen, if you so desire, will participate in one of your meetings and discuss the situation with you. If you are interested in such a discussion in your circle please inform us of the time and place of your next meeting. Thanking you for your offer of cooperation, We are, Respectfully, Hans HARTL."

20. At the same meeting on 20 October 1954 HARTL also told DUMITRESCU the following:
- a. The Landsmannschaft has no contacts whatsoever with the Rumanian People's Republic. Intervention has merely been made through German circles (not specified) to unite separated families.
 - b. The Landsmannschaft has no contacts with Hungarian or Habsburg circles. These circles had unsuccessfully attempted to win the Landsmannschaft for their interests.
 - c. The Landsmannschaft is not opposed to Rumania and does not reject cooperation with the Rumanian exile. But the Landsmannschaft would like to have the right, also in the future, to cultivate contacts with all groups.
21. In conclusion it need only be repeated that should one of the Rumanian emigre groups succeed in gaining an agreement with either the Landsmannschaft of Transylvanian Saxons or the Banat Swabians or both their position will be immeasurably improved: (a) because of the size and coherence of these two organizations (b) their influence in Bonn and with the German people.