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DISPATCH NO. MGM-A-2481

~~SECRET~~
CLASSIFICATION

TO : Chief, FTM
Attn:
FROM : COS, Karlsruhe

DATE: 24 March 1950

SUBJECT: GENERAL— Operational

SPECIFIC— PAPANCE Group

Attached is a report on the dissident Legion group which is led by Constantin PAPANCE. The report was prepared by pursuant to a request to the undersigned from

LAM
 3/24

Distribution:

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Rumanian + 2, 1st Legion, Romania, M.A.M. A-2481
 The "Mexican Group" of the Iron Guard, the so-called
 The Legionary Dissidence called the PAPANACE or the MEXICAN
 GROUP.
 FBAB-3 *Democracy Christian Party* *Date info. See below*
Iron Guard

1. Following the serious revolutionary disturbances of January 1941 in RUMANIA, known as the Rebellion of January 1941, which was initiated and directed by the "Executive Committee of the Legion", against the very government in which the Legionaries participated, the Legionary Movement (previously called the Iron Guard Movement) split into two main groups. One group included most of Horia SIMA's staff and Legionary leaders, as well as the shock elements of the Movement who had taken an active part in the Rebellion, and who fled to AUSTRIA and GERMANY with Hitlerite GERMANY's help. Father Vasile BOALBAN, former Secretary General of the Legion, at the time of the Rebellion, claims that the total number of refugees to AUSTRIA and GERMANY after the Rebellion did not exceed 1,000. At the time when Horia SIMA had launched the Legionary attack for overthrowing the regime, the Legionaries controlled 60% of the Ministries of General ANTONESCU's cabinet, including the Interior Ministry and the Directorate of General Security of the State (Directia Generala a Sigurantei Statului).

The other group included Legionaries most of whom had not participated in the Rebellion, who disavowed the act, who were not afraid to remain in RUMANIA but who suffered the punishment for the rebellion. Because of their membership in the Legion they filled the prisons and later manned "punishment battalions" (Batalioane de Pedepsa) on the Russian front.

2. Throughout the war, the whole group of Legionary refugees was interned in GERMAN concentration camps and was used by HITLER in blackmailing ANTONESCU so that the latter might fulfill HITLER's excessive demands on RUMANIA. Most of the Legionary leaders were interned in the BUCHENWALD camp. ANTONESCU's repeated requests for the repatriation of the Legionaries to RUMANIA were refused by HITLER, who assured ANTONESCU, at the time when each such request was made, that they had all been interned and that their activities had thus been completely paralyzed.

3. The hardships of camp life, as well as the convictions of some of the Legionary leaders that GERMANY could no longer win the war, gave rise to the first divergencies of opinions among the refugee Legionary leaders as far back as 1942. By the end of 1944, when GERMANY's loss of the war had become a reality, those divergencies had developed into a definite break. The initiators of that separatist action had been Constantin PAPANACE, Corneliu GEORGESCU and Mille LEFTER. GEORGESCU died in 1945 in GERMANY.

4 After RUMANIA's withdrawal from the war on 23 August 1944, SIMA's staff and the German authorities had tried in vain to persuade the PAPANACE Group to join again the SIMA Group. The PAPANACE Group remained adamant in its determination to stay out of the SIMA Group and refused to participate in the GERMAN sponsored "National Government" of Horia SIMA.

5 The reasons for disagreement and final split of the refugee Legionary Movement into two groups were, according to C. DRAGOMIR who is a fanatic MEXICAN, as follows:

a. PAPANACE considered that the principles of ~~the Legionary~~ doctrine which had been based on violence and terrorism, which SIMA had displayed during the last years, were no longer necessary and should be abandoned.

f. The MEXICANS considered necessary that the command of the refugee Legion be changed. In fact, they requested the ousting of Horia SIMA from that command.

g. The MEXICANS requested a rapprochement with the Western Powers and implicitly the "democratization" of the Legionary Movement.

h. Repeated talks which the author of this report had with C. DRACOMIR in 1949, revealed amply that:

k. The MEXICAN Group is profoundly hostile to the SIMA Group.

l. The MEXICAN Group does not seek a rapprochement with the Rumanian Democratic Political Parties in exile, such as the National Peasant, National Liberal and Independent Social Parties. The group wishes to remain as a distinctly separate political organization and is in search of a formula which may lend it, at least temporarily, a democratic cover.

m. The group is anti-monarchic and develops the same unfavorable current against King MICHAEL as the SIMA Group.

n. The group refuses to cooperate in any way with the present Rumanian National Committee.

o. The MEXICAN Movement, whose leading members live in ITALY, have infiltrated deeply into ~~the official~~ circles in ROYALTY from where they derive their means of existence, and have had an amount of success which should not be underestimated.

p. The MEXICAN Movement has no contact with RUMANIA where it has no following whatsoever. This explains the fact that most of the members of that movement left GERMANY and AUSTRIA after GERMANY's surrender. They also feared the eventual reprisals of the Occupying Powers and the activities of the SIMA Group which had a much larger membership and was better organized. The MEXICANS did not seek to establish contact with RUMANIA with the assistance of the services of the Western Powers, as was done by the SIMA Group.

q. In the Summer of 1949 the MEXICAN Group had from 60 to 80 members, whereas the members of the SIMA Group were estimated between 700 and 800.

r. The geographic distribution of the MEXICANS seems to be as follows:

a. In GERMANY and AUSTRIA, none. This was confirmed by Father BARLEA, VATICAN representative in GERMANY, in January 1950.

b. In FRANCE, a small group of very active men.

c. In SPAIN, a small nucleus which was very active until the Spring of 1949 when SIMA succeeded to consolidate his position there by sending to BUCHAREST some elements of the first order: Axente CRISUL, alias MARIN, who presently directs the "Romania Libera" (Free Rumania) broadcasting programs in BARCELONA and Vasile IASINSCHI, former Minister of Press and Propaganda in RUMANIA in 1940.

d. In ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, VENEZUELA and GUATEMALA are located most of the members of the MEXICAN Group.

e. In ITALY reside the staff members of the MEXICAN Group.

In 1946 the MEXICAN Group started publishing the "Dacia" in ARGENTINA. ~~Due to~~ lack of funds the paper was not published regularly. The group publishes at present the "TARA" in ROME and uses the columns of the "ROMANIA" which is published at BUENOS AIRES in ARGENTINA.

Names named from in the list

Following are the leading personalities of the MEXICAN Group:

PAPANACE, Constantin
LEFTER, Mille
CUTUMIA, Stavri
ROSU, Ilie *Alexander*
GREGORIAN, ~~Paul~~, all residing in ROME, Italy.

COMANIGIU, Horatiu
CHENDI, Stefan
ZAPARTAN, Father Emu
CAPROS, Father Emu
ILIU, Ion
DRAGOMIR, Ion (known as "Lt. Dragomir"), all residing in PARIS, France.

COTRUS, Ion
ION ~~de la~~ OLT (alias, real name unknown), residing in MADRID, Spain.

GARNEATA, Ilie
TRIFA, Victor
CHEREA, Radu
MANZATTI, Nelu
DAN, Father Emu
DUMITRESCU-BORSA, Father Emu
PANTELECIUC, Emu, a lawyer
SVETCOVI, Alexandru
SEPERIAN, Dumitru
IONESCU, Engineer Virgil
ARETIANU, Ion
PETRESCU, Dr. Emu
IONESCU, Stan, a lawyer
COSMA, Marina Liviu
CODREANU, Mihail
PETRESCU, Dr. Sebastian
SAFTA, Prof. Emu
LIPGANU, Petre
IOVIN, Vasile, all residing in BUENOS AIRES, Argentina.

HOBODNICEANU, ~~Paul~~, residing in RIO de JANEIRO, Brazil.

Lately, just as the SIMA Group, the MEXICAN Group has made efforts to come out in the open and is seeking to obtain political recognition both from the Rumanian emigration leaders and from the Western ~~press~~.

as per 2/4

In December 1949, the MEXICAN Group published in the "TARA" the formation of a new political party called the "Christian Democratic Party". The editor of TARA is GREGORIAN and the paper is published in ROME. The way in which the Group has announced the new title seems strange. The Group claims that "on the basis of a mandate it has received from the country" (Rumania), and "according to a program which was established in Rumania, the Christian Democratic Party continues its activities abroad". So far as it is known, however, such a party never existed in Rumania.

1947
C. In connection with the Christian Democratic Party it must be pointed out that:

A. During the Summer of 1947, General RADESCU had in mind to form a "Christian Democratic Party" and revealed his plans, though somewhat vaguely, to close friends. *Nicolae*

B. During the Autumn of the same year, "La Roumanie Independente", which was published by Costel Constantinescu, startled the Rumanian refugees in FRANCE by revealing the formation of such a party and disclosing its program. As it was generally known that RADESCU had had several meetings with Costel CONSTANTINESCU in May and October 1947, RADESCU was immediately linked, by the Rumanian refugee circles, with the formation of the new political party. Being faced with that situation, RADESCU hurriedly denied the paternity of the new political formula, although he continued to finance the publication of "La Roumanie Independente" for the next several months. Costel CONSTANTINESCU, however, disclosed to some Rumanian refugees in PARIS *in January 1948* that he "had not launched the new political formula of his own initiative" (January 1948).

D. During the Spring of 1949 conversations were started in ROME, and during the Summer of the same year a "proces-verbal" for the formation of the "Christian Democratic Party" was signed in ROME by: Horatiu COMANICIU, Ilie GARNEATA, Mille LEFTER, Constantin PAPANAGE, Prof. HERESCU, and Mircea ELLADE (both closely connected with General RADESCU's activities), *Paul Danil* VASILIU-CLUJ, General PAUL PETRESCU and others. A copy of that "proces-verbal" is in possession of COMANICIU in PARIS. *omit*

been D. "The Democratic Union of Free Rumanians" (Uniunea Democrată a Romanilor Liberi) which was formed by RADESCU in December 1948, was not successful. Following conversations in PARIS, in October 1949, between RADESCU, VASILIU-CLUJ, General PAUL PETRESCU and especially Horatiu COMANICIU, who was very perseverant in his desire to form the "Christian Democratic Party", COMANICIU withdrew from the National Peasant Party and its Executive Committee of that Party, where he had been accepted in January 1948. COMANICIU claimed to have very close connections with the leaders of the HUNGARIAN Group, such as PAPANAGE, LEFTER, HORODNICEANU and GARNEATA, who had allegedly assured him of their support for the formation of the new political party, and to have assembled approximately 60 requests for membership in the "Christian Democratic Party". *Garneata*

1. Following the ~~serious disturbances~~ of January 1941 in Rumania, ~~known as the~~ Iron Guard Rebellion, which ~~was~~ ^{was} initiated and directed by the "Executive Committee of the Legion", against the very government in which the Legionnaires participated, the Iron Guard movement split into two main groups. One group included most of Horia Sima's staff and Legionary leaders, as well as the shock elements of the movement who had taken an active part in the rebellion, and who fled to Austria and Germany. Father Vasile Boldeanu, former Secretary General of the Legion at the time of the rebellion, claims that the total number of refugees to Austria and Germany after the rebellion did not exceed 1,000. At the time when Horia Sima launched the Iron Guard attack, the Legionnaires controlled 60 percent of the ministries of General Antonescu's cabinet, including the Ministry of Interior and the Siguranta. The other group included Legionnaires most of whom had not participated in the rebellion, who disavowed the act, who were not afraid to remain in Rumania, but who ~~suffered the punishment~~ ^{were} ~~for~~ ^{ad} the rebellion. Because of their membership in the Legion they filled the prisons and later named "punishment battalions" on the Russian front.

2. Throughout the war, the ~~group of~~ Legionnaire refugees ^{were} ~~was~~ interned in German concentration camps and ~~was~~ used by Hitler in blackmailing Antonescu. Most of the Legionnaire leaders were interned in the Buchenwald camp. Antonescu's repeated requests for their repatriation to Rumania were refused by Hitler, ^{Hitler} ~~who~~ assured Antonescu, at the time when each such request was made, that they had all been interned and that their activities had thus been completely paralyzed.

3. The hardships of camp life, as well as the convictions of some of the Legionnaire leaders that Germany could no longer win the war, gave rise to the first divergencies of opinions among these refugee leaders as far back as 1942. By the end of 1944, when Germany's loss of the war had become a reality, those divergencies had developed into a definite break. The initiators of that separatist action had been Constantin Papanace, Corneliu Georgescu and Mille Lefter. Georgescu died in 1945 in Germany.

4. After Rumania's withdrawal from the war on 23 August 1944, SIMA's staff and the German authorities tried ~~in~~ in vain to persuade the Papanace ~~group~~ ^{to} ~~to~~ join again the Sima Group. The Papanace Group ~~remained adamant in its determination to stay out~~ ^{refused to join} of the Sima Group and ~~refused~~ ^{refused} to participate in the German sponsored "National Government" of Horia Sima.

5. The reasons for disagreement and final split of the refugee Legionnaire movement into two groups were, according to C. Dragomir who is a fanatic "Mexican", as follows:

- a. Papanace considered that the principles of doctrine based on violence and terrorism which Sima had displayed during the last years, were no longer necessary and should be abandoned.

- b. The "Mexicans" considered ^{it} necessary that the command of the refugee Legion be changed. In fact, they requested the ousting of Horia Sima from that command.
- c. The "Mexicans" requested a rapprochement with the Western Powers and implicitly the "democratization" of the Legionary movement.

6. ^{The repeated talks} Reported talks which the author of this report had with C. Dragomir in 1949, revealed ~~simply~~ ^{the following:} that:

- a. The "Mexican" group is profoundly hostile to the Sima Group.
- b. The "Mexican" group does not seek a rapprochement with the Rumanian democratic political parties in exile, such as the National Peasant, National Liberal and Independent Social Parties. The group wishes to remain as a distinctly separate political organization and is in search of a formula which may ~~lead~~ ^{gain} it, at least temporarily, a democratic cover.
- c. The group is anti-monarchic and develops the same unfavorable current against King Mihai as the Sima Group.
- d. The group refuses to cooperate in any way with the present Rumanian National Committee.
- e. The "Mexican" movement, whose leading members live in Italy, have infiltrated deeply into Roman Catholic circles in Rome, from which they derive their means of existence, ~~and~~ ^{they} have had an amount of success which should not be underestimated.
- f. The "Mexican" movement has no contact with Rumania, where it has no following whatsoever. This explains the fact that most of the members of that movement left Germany and Austria after Germany's surrender. They also feared the eventual reprisals of the occupying powers and the activities of the Sima group, which had a much larger membership and was better organized. The "Mexicans" did not seek to establish contact with Rumania with the assistance of the Western Powers, as was done by the Sima group.
- g. In the summer of 1949 the "Mexican" group had from 60 to 80 members, whereas the membership of the Sima group was estimated at between 700 and 800.
7. The geographic distribution of the "Mexicans" seems to be as follows:
- a. None in Germany and Austria, which fact was confirmed by Father Barlea, Vatican representative in Germany in January 1950.
- b. In France, a small group of very active men.
- c. In Spain, ^{there is} a small nucleus which was very active until the spring of 1949 when Sima succeeded in consolidating his position there by sending to Barcelona some elements of the first order: Axente Crisul, alias Marin, who presently directs the "Romania Libera" broadcasting programs in Barcelona and Vasile Iasinschi, former Minister of Press and Propaganda in Rumania in 1940.
- d. In Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and Guatemala are located most of the members of the "Mexican" group.
- e. ~~XX~~ The staff of the "Mexicans" resides in Italy.

8. In 1948 the "Mexicans" ~~was~~ started publishing Dacia in Argentina, but because of lack of funds the paper was not published regularly. The group publishes at present the Tara in Rome and uses the columns of the Romania which is published at Buenos Aires. Following are the leading personalities of the "Mexican" group:

See report

9. Lately, just as the Sima group, the "Mexicans" ~~group~~ made efforts to come out in the open and ~~is seeking to obtain~~ ^{seek} political recognition both from the leaders of the Rumanian emigration and from the Western Powers.
10. ~~In connection with the~~ ^{refers to} Christian Democratic Party ~~it should be pointed out that:~~ ^{the following should be pointed out:}
- a. During the summer of 1947, General Nicolas Radescu had in mind to form a Christian Democratic Party and revealed his plans, though somewhat vaguely, to close friends.
- b. During the autumn of 1947, La Roumanie Independente, which was published by Costel Constantinescu, startled the Rumanian refugees in France by revealing the formation of such a party and disclosing its program. As it was generally known that Radescu had had several meetings with Costel Constantinescu in May and October 1947, Radescu was immediately linked, by Rumanian refugee circles, with the formation of the new political party. Being faced with that situation, Radescu hurriedly denied the paternity of the new political formula, although he continued to finance the publication of La Roumanie Independente for the next several months. Costel Constantinescu, however, ^{in January 1948,} disclosed to some Rumanian refugees in Paris that he "had not launched the new political formula of his own initiative".
- c. During the spring of 1949 conversations were started in Rome, and during the summer of the same year a "proces-verbal" for the formation of the Christian Democratic Party was signed in Rome by: Horatiu Comaniciu, Elie Garneata, Mille Lefter, Constantin Papanace, Professor Herescu and Mircea Eliade (both closely connected with General Radescu's activities, Emil Vasiliu-Cluj, General Dumitru Petrescu and others.
- d. "The Democratic Union of Free Rumanians" (Uniunea Democrata a Romanilor Liberi) which was formed by Radescu in December 1948, had not been successful. Following conversations in Paris, in October 1949, between Radescu, Emil Vasiliu-Cluj, General Dumitru Petrescu and especially Horatiu Comaniciu, who was very persevering in his desire to form a "Christian Democratic Party", Comaniciu withdrew from the National Peasant Party and by implication from the Executive Committee of that Party, to which he had been admitted in January 1948. Comaniciu claimed to have very close connections with the leaders of the "Mexican" group, such as Papanace, Lefter, Horodniceanu and Garneata, who had allegedly assured him of their support for the creation of the new political party, and to have assembled approximately sixty requests for membership in the "Christian Democratic Party".