

RE: AVAILABLE COPY

SECRET

The Situation of the Former Iron Guard Abroad

The actual situation of the former Iron Guard can be understood only by the perspective of the external events and the present internal affairs which have bothered it since January 1941.

Immediately after the rebellions, approximately 550 legionnaires escaped to Germany. Here they received from the beginning a relatively severe regime: forced residence at Rostock and required work in the factories, the wages which took care of their subsistence.

The situation at Rostock - In this town and under this regime they were kept from the spring of 1941 until the year 1943.

At Rostock, the old troubles came to surface again. The hostility among the different-rival groups, complicated by personal dislikes and of the responsibilities brought about by the attempt of governing, began to bother the cadres of the former guard and to deepen the gaps. Helping this situation was also the German authorities, who planned to make from the cadre a docile instrument, determined to ease the political pressure and hold over the Rumanian government. Under this double action the following factions were formed.

1. The faction conducted by the former Minister Papanace, contained all the Macedonian elements. This group was terroristic, now reconcilable, radical and violent. Papanace threw the blame of poor governing upon the moderate and indecisive methods of the chief.

2. The second group was led by Ilie Garneata, Dumitrescu Borsa, Ciorgaru, etc., is composed of elements belonging to the first cadre and the group following Corneliu Codreanu. After Codreanu's death this group lost much of its influence and was looked upon with envy and regret when it was deposed of its right leadership. This group blamed the downfall of the guard, exclusively on Horia Sima and his leaders who departed from the "testament of the Captain" and his practical plan didn't show enough trust in Germany.

3. The third group was composed of the majority of those refugees, who were hostile to the other two groups and fought to remain outside their rule. They were composed of the more moderate elements and considered the downfall of the Guard was due to the excess of the extremist groups, which Horia Sima could not control. The success of Horia Sima in face of this group is due first to a great measure to the fact that he represents the principle of legality and continuity combined with the lack of a more prominent personality. Also the fact that his adversaries from one

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

-2-

point or another, represented less convenient or more disastrous solutions. Slowly and probably due in great part to the attack of his adversaries, the majority gathered around Horia Sima. The joining of moderate elements ^{was due to} and ~~with the~~ permission of Iasinchi, Stoicanescu and Emil Bulbuc who had an important role in bringing this situation about.

The Escape of Horia Sima: The rivalry and fight of the groups and persons was maintained in a state of dormant hostility. The escape of Horia Sima from the concentration camp and going into Italy opened up the conflict among the groups as well as the German authorities. Due to the escape of Horia Sima the attitude of the German authorities became harsh. All the former legionnaires were placed in concentration camps, about 450 persons in Buchenwald; the remainder in Dachau and Sachsenhausen undergoing the usual treatment of those interned. In the midst of the movement two distinct factions were formed. The first two groups mentioned above merged. Their immediate objective was to replace Horia Sima and have the majority accept their leadership. Their argument was that their situation would be different if Germany would have had trust in the Iron Guard, or Germany did not have trust in the Iron Guard because it didn't have trust in Horia Sima. The German authorities made pressure in the same sense and ~~un~~crushed out this activity with all its strength.

The struggle took brutal forms, degenerating into violence and fights among the groups, the leaders of the concentration camp were punished, ^{them} threats, cutting off food and heavy prison terms. The majority, however, remained faithful to the established line. The way in which the battle was carried out, brought about the strengthening of the solidarity between the "Simisti" and the consolidation of Horia Sima's position, around whom was centered the whole battle, as well as the widening of the break of the Papanace-Garneata group.

The Government from Vienna: After 23 August 1944 the German authorities, seeing that the Papanace-Garneata group did not have a following, still addressed itself to the Horia Sima group. The representatives of this group did not accept the belief that since they have formed the government they have committed an act of instigating in face of the constitutional ~~fact~~ of the country. They maintained that the necessities of the moment called for this gesture and in its realization looked to conform with the interests of Rumania. Taking, however, risks ^{with} ~~with~~ direct contact with the most representative Rumanian personalities, ^{was} ~~precisely~~ in a

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECRET

sense of understanding. They also maintained that they possessed all the archives which were broadcast over the Legionnaire Radio and in spite of the German pressure, radio station "Dunare" never once attacked the King or Julin Maniu.

The Rumanian Army and its Role: General Flinon Chibucoga never was actually in charge of the Rumanian Army, except then when the German authorities were not able to get the trust of the Army. The Germans proposed to form an army which would fight along side the Allies and against the Russians, no matter how strange this sounds, it isn't excluded that the Germans believed it immediately possible. The Army recruited about 12,000 Rumanians consisting of workers, refugees, students and NU legionnaires. However, the importance of the Army is in the fact that due to its constitution, many Rumanian lives were saved, which otherwise would have died of hunger, cold and dissentry, in concentration camps where German treatment would not spare them. This fact is confirmed by many Rumanians ^{who returned} coming from Germany and who ^{were} legionnaires.

The Break in the Cadre: It is evident that the combined pressure, of external events and the internal situation has brought about a sensible change in the midst of the former Iron Guard. On one side the Cadres were purged due to the actions of events. On the other side ^{the} confronted ideology ^{and} which was to a great extent weakened ^{by} the events suffered a substantial modification *due to the events.*

"Mexicanii": A break among the majority of the Sixista group and the Papanace-Garneata was definitely carried out. The Macedonian elements, "ex-Codrenisti" as well as those who followed them in the battles at Buchenwald, formed the group called "Mexicanii" which today lacks a majority. Their total strength is about 70 and for the most part are found in Germany and Italy; others returned to Rumania and have become Communists. Among the "Mexicanii" are the following: Papanace, Dodu, Cutsmina, Iafter, Garneata, Dumitrescu Borsa, Clorogaru, Horodniceanu. The group isn't united and is divided in many sub-groups: Macedonians, Codrenisti Tracomani, etc.

When the Macedonians in the U.S.A. sent to those Rumanian Iron Guardists in Germany a sum of dollars, they refused to divide it among their comrades in their group. The Tracomani faction consists of 10-12 persons and are conducted by the engineer Mihaescu and the poet Tulescu. They are in Brazil where they have edited several numbers of the newspaper Dacia. This work annoys the majority who believe

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

that they should not show any manifestation through any publication.

"Simistii": The majority about 350-400 belong to the Simistii group. They are found scattered in different centers in Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Belgium. They maintain ^{and} discipline^s spirit of solidarity. Almost all of them are factory workers or laborers. In France, for example, all those who earn over 6000 francs monthly send their surplus to a central fund. From this fund are aided those who do not earn enough or those who are sick.

From an ideological point of view their actual position seems to be returning back to the years of 1933-37. They believe in the spiritual realization of a new human type, obtained through exaltation - which seems rather ostentatious - the idea of sacrifice, honor, discipline, manifests their ~~desire~~ to have escaped from the violence of the Machedonians, which is strange to the Rumanian temperament. The religious element maintains the same great importance. In the political field it seems there was realized a significant evolution. The totalitarian ideology seems to have disappeared. The desire to guarantee to all liberty from which all will benefit, seems certainly won. It seems that not only education has contributed to this but also experience. It has been shown that the totalitarian idea is convenient as long as you gather the benefits; it is repulsive when you have to support oppression, as well as the idea that evolution of contemporary history cannot be separated from the form of democratic expression.

They declare that they wish to be in the future Rumanian society, as sincere partners of a democratic system, which will be run in a decent way by all the partners. Their representatives declare they desire free elections, and the placing of a mandate after four years, as well as firm and complete respect for the constitution of 1933. They point out ^{the} most certain ^{grounds} of these new orientations, besides their sincere desire, is the fact that they know that in the society which will be formed after the defeat of Communism, dictatorship will be a national and international impossibility. From an international viewpoint I see the necessity of Europe organizing and cooperating into a continental federation, the support of universalism from which international life cannot withdraw.

Certainly a detailed analysis can only be obtained after ^{receiving} more ample and attentive information, which would be able to give the necessary precision to this vague and general sketch.

SECRET

SECRET

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECRET

Perspectives and Conclusions: Without discussing the mistakes of the past it is certain that today these people are animated with the unconditional desire to fight. The difficult trial which awaits us, irrespective of what the belief of each one of us is, these people will give their share of sacrifice and will not hesitate to pay with their blood. Besides, whatever their intimate desire is to redeem themselves, they present themselves today not as solicitors of material commodities ^{and} as candidates of ministerial seats. In the war in which the clandestine preliminaries have already started, they desire to play the most obscure role but the most dangerous, as candidates of death. This is the first element which must be taken into consideration.

SECRET

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECRET

Their experience in clandestine fighting and the technical underground activities is a second element. The destruction of the historical parties can give to the political situation in the country another picture. As long as the opposition had an official statute, the elements of the former Iron Guard were the holding of the historical parties, which they uphold in the background. The positions can be overthrown only then when the entire Rumanian opposition will work clandestinely. This work can change the dates of the problems not only for tomorrow but also for the day after tomorrow.

Finally, and this is the third element - informations which have come from many serious sources shows that the interest of several different American sources on the continent in regard to former Iron Guard members has increased progressively in the last months. The parallel interest which these same organizations (American) show to the different groups of the right, can show the existence of a general feeling of using all these elements. Their use seems due to an interest which today is in a predominant mood a military order. It corresponds with the eventuality of war and the most probable supposition - that after the occupation of Europe by the U.S.S.R., there would begin a clandestine and guerrilla war conducted by the Maquis.

For Rumania, however, this problem presents, besides the military aspect, an undeniable political character. Certainly, looking to the past gives ^{Rumanian} much political background. However, to govern means to foresee and to keep in mind the realities. Today these elements have no other ambition except that of taking upon themselves the greatest risks of the battle. They only desire to be covered by several major points and be placed in the cadre of a team in which the risks are on their side. That is why it is indicated that from now on the responsible committee of Rumanian action should decide on the following problems:

1. The problem should be taken into consideration.
2. The problem should be given a definite solution - positive or negative.
3. In a positive case the objective must be established, either more or less limited to these points.

N.B. The author of this report does not belong to any legionary group but has friendly relations with some of the doctrinarians of the Iron Guard movement. The present report has only an informative character.