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ATCH NO. MGM-A-1997

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CLASSIFICATION

TO: Chief, AFM
Attn: [redacted]
FROM: Chief of Station, Karlsruhe [initials]

DATE: 30 December 1949

SUBJECT: GENERAL - Operational

SPECIFIC - Legionary Movement, 1919 to Present.

1. Attached for your retention is [redacted] translation of the report on the Legionary Movement which was prepared by [redacted] during his stay at ABACUS 9.

2. [redacted] took great pains with the report because he considers the movement in its present form to be dangerous. He is well qualified to discuss it inasmuch as he was a member of the organization (1933-1940) and has been intimately affected by its manifestations.

[redacted]
for PVR

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...and 1950 when started a ...
...with ...
...Party ...
...in the Old League.

The Russian ... of October 1971 ...
...the ...
...the ...
...the ...
...the ...

During that period of political ... and instability ...
...which followed World War I ...
...of the ...
...Gerrit ...

2. The period 1939 - 1957. The Old League Order:

The League ... a conception of life, political ...
...principles, method of political activity and creating ...
...namely to fight ...
...with ...
...the ...

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economic, social and spiritual-cultural development. Those principles fall into two categories:

- a. The traditional principles: nationalism, the Christian faith, antisemitism and anticommunism.
- b. The new principles, circulated by the European socialist current: social justice, the fight against the exploitation of man by fellow man, the principle of labor, the principle of honor and of mutual assistance.

The chief aim which the Legionary Movement sought to achieve was the education of the human character along all of the principles mentioned above. There existed the firm conviction among the leaders of the movement, at that time, that the transformation of the human character was the decisive factor in achieving the political, economic and social changes in the Rumanian community, both in width and in depth. The method of action and of political fighting decided on by the Legion led to the organization of the Movement on a strict hierarchy and discipline, which gave it a real and important unity and force of action throughout the country.

The development of the Legionary Movement did not take place in a quiet political atmosphere because of the conflict between its aims and the political, economic and social interests of the other political parties or of some state institutions. A serious political break occurred between the Legionary Movement and the old political parties due to the misunderstanding, on both sides, of the social-biological principle. According to that principle there must exist, in the life of a human society, an organized continuity between successive generations, a linking which should lead to a harmonization of the political and social interests of those generations, whose practical effect should be the harmonious development of society as opposed to convulsions caused by revolutionary terrorist actions.

The assassination of MANCIU in IASI (1928) by CODREANU himself, the assassination of I. G. DUCA in SIMLA (1933) and the assassination of STELESCU in BUCHAREST, constituted grave terrorist manifestations of the Legionary Movement in the political life of the country which led, as a logical consequence, to the aggravation of the conflict and of the break between the Movement and the traditional political parties. The very serious political consequences of those terrorist actions forced the Legionary Movement, for a time, into clandestine existence. That barred the Legion from a natural development out in the open, under the critical supervision of the public opinion of the country.

Corneliu Zelea CODREANU and the Legionary leaders grouped around him, such as Ion MOTA, (Engineer) Gheorghe CLIMB, Ion HANEA, Alecu CANTACUZINO, and others, learned the lesson taught by that situation. They realized that the development of a political organization clandestinely and illegally leads to the degeneration and deformation of the human character, which was just the opposite of what they sought to achieve. They realized that the clandestine and illegal existence of the Legion prevented the leaders from directing and supervising the political and moral education of the members and jeopardized the

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political activity of the organization because of the preventive and repressive measures taken against it by the constituted authorities of the state. That lesson determined CODREANU and the group of leaders who surrounded him to make great and successful efforts to bring the Legionary Movement back into the political life of the country, openly, as a political party called "Protecting for the Country, Party" (Partidul Total pentru Tara), in 1937.

That line of political thought and activity permitted the Legionary Movement to establish some contact with certain political parties. That contact culminated in the political agreement made in the Fall of 1937 between CODREANU, on behalf of the Legionary Movement, Iuliu MANIU, representing the National Peasant Party and Grigore IUNIAN, on behalf of the Radical Peasant Party. The result of that political and electoral agreement was that the three signatory parties won the electoral majority in the Rumanian general parliamentary elections, held in December 1937, which determined the fall of the Liberal cabinet presided by Gheorghe TATARESCU.

That experience was further and final proof to CODREANU and to the group of Legionary leaders who surrounded him, that only the public development, out in the open and not in the darkness of clandestine existence, is the method proved by the practice of democracy whereby a political organization can be built on and supported by large masses of the population, and, as such, is able to govern the general interests of a state at a certain given historic moment.

The foreign policy statement which CODREANU made in 1937, and by which he pledged the Legionary Movement to support the policy of National-Socialist Germany before preparing the political climate by making an agreement with Hitler's Germany, is explained by Iuliu MANIU, with all his moral authority and the knowledge of the realities of political life in Rumania, with the following words quoted from a letter which he addressed to Horatiu COMANIGIU on 30 August 1944:

"These statements of the leaders of your movement were in fact in full agreement with the explicit statement made to me by the founder of your movement, Corneliu CODREANU, on the occasion of our one before the last interview, that his ties with Germany were not the National-Socialist principles but that they ensued from his opinion that in the worldwar which would break out Germany would be victorious, and that there should be a political group which should serve as a shield for the Rumanian interests vis-a-vis the supposed victors."

3. The Period 1938 - 1939. The New Legionary Guard.

The teachings learned from the political experiments made until 1937 determined CODREANU and the group of leaders who surrounded him to accept quietly the measures taken by King Carol II, during the Spring of 1938, which meant the establishment of the dictatorial regime in Rumania. That act was followed by the detention, in prisons and concentration camps, of the most representative elements from among the leaders of the Legionary Movement. They were taken in custody as political hostages.

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The parliamentary elections held in December 1937 under really democratic principles, had led to a large Legionary representation in the country's Parliament, which CAROL II disbanded. The country's public opinion was very favorable, at that time, to the Legionary political current. Any repressive measure which would be taken by the dictatorial government of the country aiming to destroy the Legionary Movement would be considered by public opinion an illegal measure, hitting the Legionaries unjustly, if the Movement could not be accused of committing terrorist actions which threatened the maintenance of public order or the existence of the state. Those unjust blows which would be given to men who were strongly supported by the Rumanian public opinion, would have hit back as a boomerang the dictatorial regime of King CAROL II, and the regime would have appeared to the same public opinion as arbitrary, totalitarian and oligarchic.

CODREANU and the group of Legionary leaders who were around him, such as Engineer Gh. CLIME, Ion BANEA, Alecu CANTACUZINO (who were also considered CODREANU's successors in case he should die) as well as other important members of the Legionary Movement, took the political decision to submit to all illegal and unjust repressive measures which the dictatorial government of CAROL II took exclusively against their Movement. They considered that attitude to be the only way whereby they could defend the moral and political position which they had gained in the parliamentary elections, and the just way. They considered that political terrorism should be unconditionally avoided in public, political life, as their past experiences had proved that the consequences of such terrorism were very serious for those who used it, who were placed outside the legal order of society. It was generally considered by those leaders that it was only a matter of time, and patience, until the Legionary Movement would get the power of the state and govern Rumania, although, for the time being, the Legion suffered at the hand of CAROL II.

The last message which was sent by CODREANU during the Summer of 1938, from DOBTANA prison, instructed all Legionaries to be quiet throughout the country. The message repeated the word "quiet" three successive times. That message was delivered to Dr. Cordiu COMSA by the physician of DOBTANA prison. Dr. COMSA was assistant professor of the Medical School of the CLUJ University. Dr. COMSA transmitted the message immediately to BUCHAREST, to the command group organized by Horia SINA and Vasile CRISTESCU, both Legionary Commandants.

The most important elements, the leaders of the Legionary Movement, who held in the Legion the ranks of Legionary Commandants, Assistant Commandants and Legionary Instructors, were then imprisoned in MIERCUREA CIUC and VASIUJI camps, as a result of the police activity which had been started by the Ministry of the Interior in April 1938, or were held in military and civilian prisons as violators of the political-repressive laws. Some of the founders of the Legionary Movement who held the Legionary rank of Commandants of the Glad Tidings (Comandanti ai Sunei Vestiri) and other most important members of the movement were imprisoned in the RARNICUL SAKAT prison, where they were specially guarded and where they served heavy prison terms. All of them sent from prison messages which were similar to that sent by CODREANU, urging the Legionaries to be quiet in the whole country.

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From May to August 1938 there was organized in BUCHAREST a Legionary clandestine command group which consisted of Horia SIMA, Nicolae PATRASCU, Vasile CRISTESCU and ~~PROF. MANOLIA~~. Although he was a Legionary Commandant, SIMA was almost unknown in BUCHAREST. As a history teacher at the CARANSEBES highschool, his activity had only covered a small, provincial area, and had been far from the publicity which the political life of the Capital associated with those who were engaged in it. SIMA was driven from provincial CARANSEBES to BUCHAREST by the repressive measures taken by the Minister of Interior, Armand CALINESCU, because, due to its large population, the capital offered better possibilities for hiding out. SIMA was followed to BUCHAREST by a number of Legionaries from CARANSEBES and the SEVERIN area, whom he had organized in the past, such as Traian BOBOBANU, Alexandru POPOVICI, Virgil NOAGHEA, whom he used in his clandestine organization of members of the Legionary Movement who were still free or were living clandestinely in BUCHAREST. Horia SIMA and Nicolae PATRASCU succeeded, from the beginning, to subordinate the Legionary clandestine command to their personal influence, because all the real and responsible leaders of the Legionary Movement were detained in prisons and camps. The two men drew up a plan for action against the dictatorial regime of King CAROL II, which was based on the method of political terrorism which they imposed on the Legionaries whom they had succeeded to assemble under their command. Their plan ignored the instructions sent by CODRANU and the other Legionary leaders, from prison, urging the Legionaries to be perfectly quiet throughout the country. Their plan also ignored the well-known fact that any disturbance which would be caused by the Legionaries in the country would lead to the execution of the political hostages held by the government in prisons and in camps.

Horia SIMA and Nicolae PATRASCU abused the good faith, and the lack of knowledge of the situation, of the Legionaries, who had been trained in a severe discipline and in total obedience to instructions which they received from the leaders of the movement. Furthermore, they profited from the advantages which are offered by clandestine activity to direct and subordinate without the possibility of being questioned or checked, and organized a clandestine activity with members personally devoted to them.

The application of the plan for terrorist activity was started by SIMA in August 1938 with the assassination of GOLDBERGER, a Jew from CRAIEVA MARE, followed by an attack with explosives against the CLUJ gas plant, an attack with explosives against the Jewish Theatre in ARAD, the dynamiting of a Jewish public building in ALBA IULIA, the attempt to assassinate STEFANESCU-GOANGA, the rector of the CLUJ University, etc. Those terrorist acts could not shake the political stability of the dictatorial regime of KING CAROL II, but offered to the regime the long-awaited motive to declare the Legionary Movement outside the country's laws as one which threatened legal order and the existence of the state, justifying thus the very severe repressive measures taken by the Minister of the Interior. The first consequence was the assassination, by the government, of Corneliu Zelea CODRANU, of the three NICADORES (Nicadori) and of the ten DECEMVIRES (Decemviri), in November, 1938, as a repressive measure of the government against the Legionary Movement. The second consequence was the discovery, by the government, of the clandestine command of the Horia SIMA subversive Legionary organization and the fatal shooting of Prof. Vasile CRISTESCU, a member of that

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command. Simultaneously, a number of Legionaries were murdered in the prison of the Prefecture of Police of the Capital (Prefectura Politiei Capitalei), while others were burned alive at the GENUSA Gymnasium in BUCHAREST, and still others were murdered by the police authorities, in a repressive and counter-terroristic government drive against the Legionary Movement. The third consequence was a police hunt for the remaining leaders of the SIMA subversive legionary organization. Finding it impossible to remain in Rumania because of the very strict measures taken by the Minister of the Interior, Armand CALINESCU, the leaders of the subversive organization who had not been apprehended by the police fled to GERMANY, beginning in January 1939. Those leaders were: Eoria SIMA, N. PATRASCU, Traian BOROBARU, Vasile BOGDANU, Matei DIMITRIU, Alexandra POPOVICI, Constantin PAPANAGE, Iile SMULTEA (Engineer) ^{was in Rumania}, HIRACNICIANU, Eugen TEODORSCU and others.

In 1939 Nazi Germany was preparing for World War II. The dismemberment of the CZECHOSLOVAKIAN state in the Spring of 1938 was the last step of those preparations before Germany started its "Blitz-Krieg" in the "Drang nach Osten". POLAND, which was Germany's next political and military objective, was bound to RUMANIA by a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance, in case of war. The regime of King CAROL II was categorically set, in its foreign policy, on the side of the Allies: England, The United States and France. Because of that, Rumania furnished the Allies with an open avenue toward Poland, whose independence they had solemnly guaranteed. The Allies could use that avenue to supply Poland, in case she was attacked, with war materials or give her any other military aid, which, so far as Rumania, could be brought on the MEDITERRANEAN - ARABIAN - THE STRAITS - BLACK SEA air and sea route, perfectly accessible to them because of their friendship with TURKEY. In that international situation, Germany was greatly interested to shake the political stability of the regime of CAROL II in order to weaken it or even to overthrow it, in which case they could replace it with another regime which would be favorable and subordinated to Germany. In that event the Allies would face the impossibility of using Rumania as an avenue or even a base for Poland's assistance.

On their arrival in Germany, clandestinely, in the Spring of 1939, SIMA and PATRASCU contacted especially the German intelligence services. They contacted Admiral CANARIS and Heinrich HIMMLER through Major GELSSLER, who headed these German services in Rumania. (Attention is drawn here to the fact that in 1945/1946, following Germany's surrender, SIMA was aided by those German contacts, which he made in 1939, to contact the American intelligence services in Germany and Austria). Without considering for a second the tragedy which the Legionaries had experienced by the assassination of CODREANU, only ten months before, as a repressive measure and also as an example and as a warning from the regime of CAROL II, who was strongly supported abroad, SIMA returned clandestinely from Germany to Rumania and organized personally and directly the assassination of Armand CALINESCU. He was well aware that a great number of Legionaries were held in prisons and camps as hostages by CAROL's regime.

The first consequence of SIMA and PATRASCU's relations with Admiral CANARIS and with Heinrich HIMMLER was, therefore, the assassination of Armand CALINESCU, the most important man of CAROL's regime, as

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CALINESCU was then holding the three key positions in the government as President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of National Defense and Minister of the Interior. The Germans had, undoubtedly, calculated very well the political effects of that assassination to fit into and aid them in their "Blitz-Krieg" which they started against Poland on 1 September 1939, only several days before the assassination. CALINESCU's death dealt a severe blow to Rumania at that time, the government being considerably weakened, the political and military potentials being strongly shaken by the internal crisis which was felt all over the country. A second consequence was the assassination, by the government, of the founders and leaders of the Legionary Movement who had survived the first repressive measures and were detained in the MIERCUREA CIUC and VASILUI camps, of the old legionary leaders who were incarcerated in the special prison at RAKHIOUL SARAT, and of a great number of Legionaries throughout the country, as a radical repressive measure against the Legionary Movement. A third consequence was the search, organized by the police, after the members of the subversive Legionary organization, which led to the capture and execution of many. SIMA and his immediate followers returned clandestinely to their base in Germany, from which they had started. A fourth consequence was the plunging of the whole country into a most serious political crisis, exclusive beneficiaries of which were Germany and the Soviet Union who, several months later, in 1940, dismembered the Rumanian state in favor of HUNGARY and BULGARIA, Germany's partners in World War I, and also in favor of the Soviet Union. Germany seized that opportunity to impose on Rumania also the creation of the German Ethnic Group in Transylvania.

The foregoing facts point out clearly how in only two years, 1938 and 1939, the old Legionary guard which had been brought up, educated and led on the right political path by its founders and by its old leaders, was destroyed by SIMA and PATRASCU. By their actions those two men caused the destruction of the best human elements of the old guard, and the birth of a new Legionary guard with a deformed character and way of thinking as a result of the clandestine and subversive existence and activities of its members. The new guard employed exclusively the method of political terrorism which had been abandoned by the old guard.

h. The Period 1940 - 1941.

As it was shown above, Nazi Germany, who was preparing the war against the USSR, needed in Rumania a regime which would be favorable to her political-economic interests and to her war plans. King CAROL II had a weakened political position in Rumania as a result of the fall of Czechoslovakia and with it, of the Little Entente in March 1938, followed by the fall of Poland in September 1939 and of France in 1940, Rumania's principal allies. CAROL still desired to hold the power of the state in his own hands and was maneuvering in all possible directions in order to achieve that aim.

SIMA, on the other hand, had succeeded meanwhile to destroy the important leaders of the Legionary Movement - by conscious or unconscious acts - had successfully neutralized or paralyzed the open opposition put up against him, in 1939 and in 1940, by Constantin PAPANACE and (Dr.) CIOCOARU, Legionary leaders who had also taken refuge

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in Germany in order to escape from the repressive measures taken in Rumania, and had become "Commandant of the Legionary Movement", a title previously held by CODREANU. The international situation in the Spring of 1940 permitted SIMA to use profitably his political situation in Germany to conceive and to start carrying out his plan for assuming the power of state in Rumania. SIMA's plan was based on the following factors:

- a. Nazi Germany had a very strong political position in 1940. Through her ambassador in Bucharest, FABRICIUS, Germany exerted great pressure on CAROL II to induce him to collaborate with SIMA and with the Legionary organization which SIMA had at that date.
- b. The Rumanian Secret Intelligence Service, directed by ^(SS) MIKI STEFANESCU, with which SIMA had established direct contact through his personal friends (Dr.) Vasile NOVEANU and (Dr.) Augustin BIDEANU.
- c. Whatever was left from the Legionary organization after CAROL's repressive measures had been carried out.

During the Summer of 1940, SIMA and PATRASCU went again clandestinely from Germany to Rumania, where he relied for assistance on FABRICIUS and on MIKI STEFANESCU, who had already prepared the atmosphere for his arrival. SIMA's next move was to "make an act of political submission" to CAROL II, in exchange for which CAROL organized the NATION'S PARTY (Partidul National) as single government party and appointed SIMA Minister of State (Religion) and Dr. Augustin BIDEANU Minister for Public Inventory. The lack of political morality which SIMA proved by his act of political submission to and his accord with CAROL II, whom SIMA considered his bitterest political enemy, was considered in Rumania as a "symbol" of his character.

SIMA took advantage of his new political position, which permitted him a great freedom of movement, and of the general weakness of the Rumanian state, which was subjected to dismemberment by Germany and the USSR, following the RIBBENTROP - MOLOTOV agreement, and organized the coup of September 1940, after he had established direct contact and an agreement with General Ion ANTONESCU. The ensuing abdication of King CAROL II, the appointment of ANTONESCU as Leader (Conducator) of the State, the coming into power of the Legionary regime as a dictatorship, the measures taken by SIMA and by the handful of friends devoted to him, such as Nicolas PATRASCU, Nicolae STOILANESCU, Traian BURCEARU, Alexandru POPOVICI, Father Vasile BOLDEANU, led Rumania to a grave political and economic crisis which was aggravated by the recent territorial losses: BESSARABIA, Southern DOBROGEA, Northern TRANSYLVANIA and BUKOVINA.

That situation caused an open conflict between SIMA, Commandant of the Legionary Movement, Nicolas PATRASCU, General Secretary of the Movement, and their circle of devoted friends, and:

- a. General Ion ANTONESCU and the whole army of the country which was controlled by and devoted to the Leader of the State.
- b. The few old founders and leaders of the Legionary movement who had survived the massacres of 1938 and 1939 and who were publicly protesting against SIMA's alleged right to head the Legionary movement as its commandant. They requested that he be replaced.

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group selected from among the old Legionaries. That activity was started by Ion Zelea COOREANU, (Corneliu's father), Dr. GUMUJANU, Constantin PAPANACE, Ion GIORANESCU and others; in the Fall of 1940. That activity was manifested publicly in IASI, on 8 November 1940, before King MICHAEL, and in BUCHAREST, in December 1940, when Prof. Ion Zelea COOREANU occupied the offices of the General Secretariat of the Legionary Movement.

c. All the state institutions as well as the representative personalities in the political, economic and social life of the country.

d. The minorities living in the country.

e. Even Nazi Germany and the German Ethnic Group which had been organized in TRANSYLVANIA under German pressure.

SIMA and PATRASCU then figured that they could get out of those difficulties by throwing wide open the gates of the Legion for all those who desired to join it, whom they could use for internal maneuvers, which they did. Being faced by that situation, almost all the old Legionaries assumed an attitude of reserve and cautious waiting, to which they were driven also by the teachings which they derived from their experiences during 1933 and 1939, which had been caused by SIMA. The Legionary organization was then invaded by a great number of uncontrolled elements, by opportunists who saw their chance to join an organization which was already in power, by men who had had nothing to do with the old Legionary guard and who knew little or nothing of its painful evolution. All those newcomers were immediately given the name of SEPTEMBRISTS (Septemviristi) by the old guardsmen, because they joined the Movement after the coup of September 1940.

In order to solve the general conflict which they had caused and so that they might become the undisputed masters of the Rumanian state, SIMA and PATRASCU, and their immediate and devoted followers, organized the rebellion of January 1941 especially with the Septembrist members. The first consequence of that bloody act was the assassination of a great number of men - primarily Jews - looting, destruction of property, etc. The second consequence was the assassination of a large number of Legionaries, the arrest and the sentencing to prison terms of a still greater number of Legionaries, who were accused of serious political crimes. The third consequence was the flight, once again, to Nazi Germany, of SIMA, PATRASCU, M. STOICANESCU, Traian BOROBARU, Vasile MAILAT, Mircea DIMITRIU, Ilie SAULTEA, Eugen TEODORESCU, from the "group of friends devoted to the commandant", although Germany simultaneously supported General ANTONESCU officially and openly so that he might restore the political situation in Rumania. That immediate restoration was necessary because Rumania figured as a base for the operations which the German General Staff had planned to carry out in the BALKANS and against the SOVIET UNION. But the same Nazi Germany, through Major GEISLER who headed their intelligence service in Rumania, helped SIMA and his group to cross the DANUBE into BULGARIA at GIURGIO, in February 1941. SIMA and his group were provided by GEISLER with German army uniforms and German papers. GEISLER also placed them under the protection of Heinrich HIMMLER and Admiral CANARIS in order to defend them from the wrath of Joachim HIEBENHOP and of Baron Manfred von MULLINGER, the new German Ambassador to Bucharest. The fourth consequence was the clandestine flight to Germany, with approved papers.

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SEPTEMBRIST Legionaries who were bound to SIMA by their actions and especially by their common responsibility for the Rebellion of January 1941. They fled to Germany to escape the repression which General Ion ANTONESCU was conducting in Rumania against the Legionaries. The fifth consequence was the clandestine flight to Germany of a few members of the old Legionary guard, who also wanted to avoid ANTONESCU's repressive drive, although they had not participated in the Rebellion, such as Mr. GABRIELA, Milla LEPTER, Cornelia GEORGESCU, Vasile IASINSCHI, Constantin PAPAGE, Mihai BRUNCU, Engineer NICOLAE BORDNICEANU, Engineer Ios SMARANDESCU, Staller STANIGEL, Vasile COSTEUA, Dr. Iancu FLASERIU. The sixth consequence was Rumania's plunge into a serious political crisis, from which Nazi Germany drew great profits. At that time Rumania's weakness made it impossible for her to resist being subordinated completely to the German war plans and to the plans of the German Ethnic Group - furnished by the Germans - which aimed at the domination, by that group, of the economic and political life, first in TRANSYLVANIA and then in the whole of Rumania. The last consequence of the rebellion was the split of the Legionary organization in two groups:

- a. A group of Legionaries who had taken refuge abroad and which numbered several hundreds.
- b. The group of Legionaries who had remained in Rumania, which included whatever had been left of the old Legionary guard, as well as the few leaders who were still alive and free after the repressive drive of 1941.

The group of Legionaries who had fled to Germany was placed by the Nazi authorities under special supervision, from 1941 to 1942, some of the members being placed under house arrest. Horia SIMA and the representative Legionaries in that group were kept in an SS house near FRANKFURT am ODER, not far from BERLIN. The rest of the group were given quarters in the barracks of the colony of the HEINCKEL aircraft factories at ROSTOK, near the BALTIC SEA, where they worked as laborers and workers.

SIMA had left in Rumania the following:

- a. Alexandru POPOVICI, who was very devoted to SIMA, and who should organize clandestinely those Legionaries who were still free after the Rebellion of 1941 and the repressive drive of February 1941, and should use them in terrorist activities against the regime of Ion ANTONESCU, thereby proving both to Germany and to the Rumanian public that the regime did not have political stability and was disliked by the people. The organization should use the same terrorist practices as had been used against CAROL II two years before.
- b. (Father) Vasile BOLDEANU, also a devoted friend of SIMA, whose mission, given by SIMA, was to try to make a rapprochement, on behalf of the Legion, with General ANTONESCU. For that purpose SIMA wrote a personal letter to ANTONESCU, which was published in March 1941 in the Rumanian papers, whereas Father BOLDEANU organized a group of: (Engineer) Lucian GRECEANU, (Prof) George MANU and Costache GANE, who conducted political negotiations with Prof. Mihai ANTONESCU, who was Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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c. Prof. PROTOPOPESCU and his wife Liliana PROTOPOPESCU, of Bucharest, both very devoted to SIMA, who were to act as liaison elements between SIMA, who was in Germany, and the clandestine organization in Rumania.

SIMA used Mircas DIMITRIU, who was a very devoted friend of his and who domiciled in BERLIN, to maintain SIMA's clandestine liaison in Germany with the Legionaries concentrated in BERLIN and ROSTOCK, as well as with the German intelligence services.

In Rumania, the activities of Alexandru POPOVICI led to terrorist acts along the lines indicated by SIMA, such as the demonstration of 10 May 1941 on the ANEF stadium, in the presence of General Ion ANTONESCU and Baron von KILLINGER. That serious act caused the imprisonment of hundreds of young highschool students from Bucharest. Silvius CRACIUNAS then determined Alexandru POPOVICI, who was a good friend of his and whose life he had saved in the Fall of 1939, to flee abroad and to pass the command of the clandestine Legionary organization on to Dr. Iosif COSISA, a Legionary commandant of the old Legionary guard. Father Nasile BOLDEANU's attempts to establish a reconciliation with General ANTONESCU ended in a political failure. BOLDEANU was arrested, together with Engineer Lucian GRECEANU, in May 1941, was tried and sentenced to prison. In the Fall of 1941 BOLDEANU succeeded to escape from prison and fled to ZAGREB, in the Yugoslavian BANAT, where he remained until 1943. In 1944 he travelled clandestinely to VIENNA, where he established contact with Horia SIMA.

5. The Period 1942 - 23 August 1944.

In 1942 Nazi Germany was deeply engaged in her war of conquest in USSR and needed desperately the Rumanian oil, food and lines of communications, besides political stability in that strategic area. In order to get all that, HITLER, RIBBENTROP and KILLINGER, either directly or indirectly, used different degrees of coercion on ANTONESCU by constantly threatening him that in case he would not yield to their excessive demands they would replace his government with the Legionaries who had taken refuge in Germany and who were headed by Horia SIMA.

In February 1943 the USSR succeeded by her DON, STALINGRAD, CAUCASIAN and CRIMEAN victories to change the tide of the war in her favor. Despite all the German propaganda, an increasingly powerful current was being formed in Rumania that the only way to get rid of the German and Soviet influences on the country was to withdraw from the war and rebuild Rumania's traditional alliances with the Western Allies, the only powers considered capable to guarantee her independence and sovereignty. That current was based on the conviction, formed much earlier, that Germany could not win the war.

What did SIMA do in that international situation ?

SIMA was well aware that his political position in Germany was very weak and unstable, that he had become a mere pawn in the German game with ANTONESCU whereby they were exerting pressure on the General in order to obtain from him ever increasing political and especially economic concessions from Rumania. In order to break away

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from that stalemate, SIMA travelled clandestinely to ITALY, in the Summer of 1943, using for that trip a false passport which had been prepared by Mircea DIMITRIU through his contacts in the German intelligence services. SIMA's political scheme in going to ITALY was based on the assumption that the competition and the diversity of interests between ITALY and GERMANY would induce MUSSOLINI to give SIMA political protection and assistance. But his scheme did not work out that way. On HITLER's personal intervention to MUSSOLINI, SIMA was sent back to Germany in several days.

The first result of SIMA's attempt to flee from Germany was the internment of absolutely all the Legionaries who were in Germany in concentration camps. A small group headed by SIMA, and made up of Constantin PAPANACE, Traian BOROBARU, and a few other representative Legionaries, were interned in the SAKHUSEN camp. The rest of the Legionaries, headed by Nicolae PATRASCU and Mircea DIMITRIU were interned in the BUCHENWALD camp.

The second result was that in those two camps the Legionaries spent their time until 24 August 1944, thinking over their past experiences, analyzing the events, which first led to hot discussions, disagreements, accusations, quarrels and internal struggle and finally to their split into two distinct groups:

- a. One headed by Horia SIMA, Nicolae PATRASCU, Traian BOROBARU, Vasile BOLDEANU and Mircea DIMITRIU,
- b. The other headed by Constantin PAPANACE, Ilie GARNEATA, Mille LEFTER, ROROZNICEANU, and others.

The split was based on all the mistaken political actions and the political terroristic actions for which Horia SIMA was solely responsible and which had had disastrous consequences, had led to the destruction of the Legionary Movement as a political organization, to the placing of its members outside the laws of the Rumanian state and to the pitiless and indiscriminate drives against the Legionaries since 1938, whether they had engaged in those activities or not.

Those Legionaries who had participated personally and directly either in those political or in those terroristic activities, grouped themselves around SIMA out of personal interest and guided by the preservation instinct. They were bound to SIMA by their past full of minor and major crimes and had to stick together in order to fight together against the consequence to which they were exposed. They were, in majority, SEPTENARISTS.

The majority of the members of the old Legionary guard broke away from Horia SIMA and grouped around Ilie GARNEATA and Mille LEFTER, Legionary Commandants of the Glad Tidings and co-founders of the Legionary Movement, Constantin PAPANACE and others, and started opposing the SIMA group openly.

Thus, the "New Legionary Guard", which, as shown above, was organized by SIMA after 1938, split in two groups:

- a. A small group of Legionaries who took refuge abroad,

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b. The large group of Legionaries who remained in Rumania, which includes the mass of members of the old Legionary guard, and which had been organized until 1938.

As was shown already, the small group of Legionaries who had taken refuge abroad, split up, between 1942 and 1944, in the following two groups:

a. The SINA Legionary Group (Grupul Sinaia), led by SINA and PATRASCU,

b. The CELIAC Legionary Group (Grupul Celiaci), led by PAPANAGE, GARNEATA, LEFTER.

A very small number of Legionaries chose to remain independent and they, therefore, do not belong to any of the groups.

In the manner described above and in the midst of unforgettable international events, which led to the collapse of Nazi Germany, there started the historic process of dissolution and disbandment of the Legionary movement as a political organization. The movement disintegrated slowly, but definitely, into groups which are still looking around for new political orientations and which fight, at present, against each other.

In RUMANIA, during the same period (1942 - 23 August 1944), following SINA's attempted flight to ITALY, Marshal Ion ANTONESCU ordered more severe repressive measures against the Legionaries. He ordered the organization of "punishment battalions" with the Legionaries who were detained in prisons along with the common prisoners. These battalions formed the 24th Infantry operational Division which fought in Russia. Other Legionaries who were free were also sent on the Russian front with special orders, regardless of their professions, ages, physical condition, some of them being even cripples who were normally exempt from military service. That caused, again, the death of several thousand Legionaries.

The serious repressive measures taken against the Legionaries by the ANTONESCU regime, the miserable conditions prevailing among the Legionaries who were in Germany and who were finally interned in concentration camps, the advance of the Soviet armies into the UKRAINE and the possibility that they would enter Rumania, created a difficult situation for the Legionaries in Rumania. The ANTONESCU regime considered them a mixture of extremists, both fascists and communists, the Allies considered them as being fascists, whereas the Soviet Union classed them as anti-Communists.

Under those conditions each Legionary felt that that situation constituted a blind alley in the course of his life, which threatened constantly the physical existence of all those who had belonged to the Movement. The crumbling of the Legionary Movement in Rumania, between 1942 and 1944, took primarily the form of two groups of Legionaries which represented two diametrically opposed political orientations and currents of opinion.

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In 1941, following the flight abroad of Alexandru PCPOVICI and of Father Vasile BOLDEANU, there was formed a clandestine Legionary command made up of: (Prof.) GAVANESCU, Costache GANE, Prof. George MANU, Prof. PROTOPUPESCU, Dr. Iosif COSTEA and Dr. Ovidiu COMSA. In order to alleviate the condition of the Legionaries in Rumania, that command worked, beginning in the Fall of 1941, for a political reconciliation with Marshal ANTONESCU, through the following contacts: Baron von KILLINGER, German Ambassador to Bucharest, Prof. Mihal ANTONESCU, President of the Council of Ministers and Prof. Ernest Gumbillsch, Director of the German Cultural Institute. The results of that activity were negative.

In 1942 that clandestine command split up into two groups:

a. Costache GANE, Prof. PROTOPUPESCU, Prof. George MANU, owing to their past connections with SIMA, supported the German policy and continued their efforts toward a political reconciliation with Marshal ANTONESCU, through Mihal ANTONESCU.

b. Dr. Ovidiu COMSA, Director of the Hygiene Institute of the Law School of the Bucharest University, Dr. Iosif COSTEA, a lawyer, Horatiu COMANECIU, a lawyer, Dolin STREB, (Engineer) Stefan FREDESCU, former General Secretary of the Ministry of National Economy, (Engineer) Ion VETELIANU, former Sub-Director General of the Rumanian Railways, (Engineer) Dumitru GHIOGA, former General Manager of the State Monopolies (CAM), Silviu CRACIUNAS, a lawyer, most of whom held the rank of Commandante in the old Legionary guard, approached the National Peasant Party and requested that they be accepted as members. They contacted Iuliu MANIU, as well as other leaders of that political party, on the basis of the relations established by Corneliu Z. CODREANU in 1937, and in agreement with the directives which CODREANU had left that "in case of his death the Legion should be oriented toward Iuliu MANIU". Since 1942 that Legionary group supported the foreign policy toward the Allied Powers (USA, Great Britain and France), whom they considered the natural allies of Rumania. COMSA, one of the leaders of the group, had made his studies in the United States, with a scholarship which he had been given by the Rockefeller Institute.

That group considered that the Legionary Movement had not been able to cope with the historic moment of 1940, when internal and international events had entrusted it to govern Rumania, because of the execution of the founders, of the leaders, and of the representative personalities of the old Legionary guard by the regime of CAROL II, which had left a body without a head. CAROL's reason and formal, legal justification for having done that was the political terrorism which SIMA and PATRASCU had organized. The old Legionaries who were still living were all convinced that had CODREANU and the elite elements of the old Legionary guard lived, the history of Rumania would have been different, because the maturity of thought, the political experiences and the teachings which the old Legionary guard had acquired until 1938, would have prevented the grave errors which were generally made after that date, both internally and externally. The disbandment of the Legionary Movement as a political organization, as a result of the events which took place between 1938 and 1941, created the vital problem of finding a way in which the former Legionaries could join those whose policy was oriented toward the Western Democracies.

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In 1943, in order to counteract the pressure exerted by Germany with the constant threat of replacing his government with the Legionaries who were interned in German camps, Marshal ANTONESCU approved the plan which was proposed by Dr. Augustin BIDEANU and Dr. Vasile NOVEANU, through Eugen CRISTESCU, Chief of the Special Intelligence Service (Serviciul Special de Informatii - SSI). According to that plan, Radu MIRONOVICI, co-founder and Commandant of the (Glad Tidings of the Legionary Movement, was released from the BRASOV prison where he was serving a term of 10 years as a Legionary political prisoner. BIDEANU and NOVEANU induced the old co-founder of the Legionary Movement, Prof. GAVANESCU, who was teaching at the IASI University, to join Radu MIRONOVICI and form a command of the clandestine Legionary organization, with the knowledge and the approval of Marshal ANTONESCU, in order to direct and control the Legionaries in Romania and to cut them off from the influence of Horia SIMA and of the group which represented SIMA in Romania, namely, Prof. George MANU, Prof. PROTOPOPESCU and Costache GANE. The MIRONOVICI-GAVANESCU-BIDEANU-NOVEANU group became closely connected with Marshal ANTONESCU, Prof. Mihai ANTONESCU, with the German Ethnic Group through Andreas SCHEIDT, with Ambassador KILLINGER, and was oriented towards Germany. Those relations permitted BIDEANU and NOVEANU also to build up great personal fortunes. They owned, all of a sudden, textile factories at CERNAUTI, farms, real estate in MUCHARJST, etc.

In 1944, till 23 August, both the MANU-PROTOPOPESCU-GANE and the MIRONOVICI-GAVANESCU-BIDEANU-NOVEANU groups supported the policies of Nazi Germany with the difference that the first group represented SIMA and the second supported Marshal ANTONESCU against SIMA. The development of the military operations on all fronts showed increasing victories of the Allies against Germany. That, in addition to the constant weakening of the ANTONESCU regime, determined the great majority of the Legionaries to shun the influence of those two groups and to draw nearer to the National Peasant Party of Iuliu MANIU. Following the contact established in 1942, in the Spring of 1943 MANIU had given a special authorization to (Dr. Virgil SOLOMON, General Secretary of the National Peasant Party, to maintain clandestine contact with the Dr. Ovidiu COMSA - Dr. Ion COSTEA - Boratin COMANICIU group, with the special objective of preparing the withdrawal of Romania from the war. Iuliu MANIU had made it clear that the participation of the Legionaries to that important action should constitute the factual proof that the Legionaries had been reeducated by the events through which they had lived since 1938 and had given up the totalitarian principles; that they had adopted a new political outlook, towards the Western Democracies and that, as such, they had fought for the democratic freedoms in the struggle for the liberation of the country and for its withdrawal from the war. Iuliu MANIU also showed that in the exchange of cables which he had with the Allied Headquarters at CAIRO he asked for the consent of the Allies, which was given him, that the former Legionaries be employed in the activity aiming at the withdrawal of Romania from the war.

6. The Period 23 August 1944 - 1948.

The coup of 23 August 1944, the turning of the Rumanian Army against Germany, the Armistice with the Allied Powers, the preventi

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and repressive measures stipulated by the Armistice Convention against the Legionaries, their purge from all state institutions and private enterprises, the creation of the screening commissions which worked in conjunction with the police headquarters for the internment of the Legionaries in concentration camps, etc., led to the complete collapse of the clandestine Legionary organization as it had been built during the ANTONESCU regime. In that exceptionally serious situation, Iuliu MANIU addressed a letter to the former Legionaries, at the end of August 1944, which was published by the whole Rumanian press, (see ANNEX 1). That letter, as well as other documents written in longhand and signed by Iulia MANIU and by Dr. Virgil SGLICOM are kept at present in the files of the Secretariat of the National Peasant Party abroad, at 33, rue Lubek, in PARIS, and are at the disposal of the Dr. Ion COSTEA - Horatin COMANICIU - Dr. Silviu CRACIUNAS group. Those documents are a certified guarantee by which MANIU intended to defend the Legionaries against severe repressive measures, as he had been informed that such measures were being prepared by the Soviet authorities and by the local Communists against the Legionaries. MANIU's real aim was to defend the former Legionaries so that he might be able to use them as experienced combat elements in the fight against the Rumanian Communists. MANIU was well aware of the fact that the prolonged opposition in which the National Peasant Party had been, during CAROL's and ANTONESCU's regimes, had used up and had aged the political combat elements of his party. He therefore saw the need to use the Legionaries as new elements who would revive the combativeness of his party. MANIU's act had the following consequences:

a. The majority of former Legionaries ^{Union} approached the National Peasant Party and became members of that organization. Some of them were given important political positions in it. Thus, (Engineer) Ion VETELIANU was appointed assistant of Prof. VENIANDIN, who was heading the "workers" group of the National Peasant Party. That group had the most important activity against the Communists, in the working class. Because of that activity, Engineer VETELIANU was arrested and sentenced to 25 years of hard labor, which he serves in the AIUD prison.

Some important members of the Permanent Delegation of the National Peasant Party, such as Ion THALACHE, Dr. Nicolae LUPU, Nicolae BURESCU, opposed the admittance of the former Legionaries into the party, but the president, Iuliu MANIU, argued with great courage in support of his decision to assist them and to accept them in the party.

b. The disbandment of the groups of former Legionaries who, until 23 August 1944, had supported the German policy and the strengthening of the political position of the large group of former Legionaries who had approached the National Peasant Party. In an attempt to avoid being arrested and to be permitted to hold their jobs, some former Legionaries joined the Social Democratic Party headed by Constantin Titel PETRESCU.

c. The unexpected consequence, which had exceptionally serious effects on the Legionaries in Rumania, occurred in Nazi Germany. On 24 August 1944, SIMA was released from the SAXHAUSEN camp and accepted right away to form a Rumanian national government. He was flown immediately to HITLER's headquarters in East PRUSSIA, where he received instructions concerning his government and was directed to establish

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that government in a Northern TRANSYLVANIAN city. While being flown to Northern TRANSYLVANIA, accompanied by a German General who was his liaison officer with the Germans, SIKLA was stopped in BUDAPEST where the local German headquarters informed him that the German army was not in a position to defend Northern TRANSYLVANIA. That situation compelled SIKLA to establish his government in VIENNA, where he immediately organized the radio broadcasts on the DONAU station, a national army, groups of paratroopers who were trained in German training centres and who were parachuted into Rumania from German planes under the command of Nicolae PAIRASOU, whom he named "commanding general" (comandant general). Thus, in order to satisfy his craving for becoming Prime Minister and for governing, SIKLA refused to consider and to acknowledge the historic decision which had been taken in Rumania by the whole nation, from the King to the last peasant, and refused to consider, also, that by his action he was once more exposing to death all the Legionaries who were in Rumania, many of whom were still in prisons and camps from the time of the ANTONESCU regime. Moreover, SIKLA's activity in VIENNA harmed and weakened considerably the activity, in Rumania, of Dr. Ion COSTEA, Moratin COMANICIU, Dr. Silviu CRACIUNAS, and others, for permitting the former Legionaries to join the National Peasant Party and to start a new political life. At that time many Rumanian politicians gave SIKLA's activity as an example that the Legionaries could not be trusted when they claimed that they could change their political views, attitudes and methods of action. SIKLA's activity in VIENNA complicated Rumania's internal difficulties and her international position and caused a new series of repressive measures to be taken against the Legionaries in the country, who once again filled the prisons and the concentration camps.

¹⁹⁴⁵ The establishment of the government of Dr. Petru GROZA on 6 March 1946, by the direct intervention of VISHINSKY, determined the COSTEA-COMANICIU-CRACIUNAS group, who had joined the National Peasant Party, to continue its activity against the Communist regime clandestinely, along with the other political parties. As spokesmen for a large number of former Legionaries, the members of that group held the following views during the period 1945 - 1948 :

- a. According to their individual convictions, the former Legionaries should join the National Peasant Party or any other Rumanian democratic political party in order to start a new political life in the world which would be organized after the war according to the principles of the Western Democracies and of the Charter of the United Nations.
- b. The war is inevitable as sole means of solving the general conflict which was ever increasing between the Communist and the Democratic worlds; implicitly, that war alone could bring about Rumania's liberation from the Communist regime.
- c. The continuation of the fight against the Communist regime was no longer possible in Rumania and it was necessary, therefore, that representative Rumanian political personalities from all political parties, and especially from the National Peasant Party take refuge, clandestinely, abroad.
- d. In Rumania, the former Legionaries and especially democratic political fighters should be advised to

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preserve their physical being, especially by avoiding useless sacrifices, in order to be available at the time when the war would request open combat against the Communist regime.

e. Rumania's allies are: the United States, Great Britain and France and consequently firm contacts should be established with those Western Allied Powers, whose support should be secured for continuing the fight against the Rumanian Communist regime from abroad.

As a factual proof for the fight which that group put up for freedom and for democracy it should be enough to mention that the names of COMANICIU, VETILEANU, CRACIUNAS and those of other former Legionaries were mentioned as defendants in the trials of: General ALDEA, head of the National Resistance Movement (Miscarea Nationala de Rezistenta), in 1946, Iuliu MANIU, President of the NPP, in 1947 and BUJOIU-POP-MANU also in 1947. Other trials which were held some in secret, others without publicity, sentenced thousands of former Legionaries to prison terms. Until 1948 over ten thousand former Legionaries were interned in concentration camps on the basis of the individual files which had been prepared on them by the CAROL and ANTUNESCU regimes, which the Communist regime found in the archives of the Ministry of the Interior. The great public demonstrations which were organized by the NPP in the Fall of 1944, in 1945 and during the general parliamentary elections held in the Fall of 1946 had a large participation of former Legionaries who had joined the NPP according to the advice given and the preparation made by the abovementioned group.

Following the MANIU trial and the monetary reform of 1947, the COMANICIU-VETILEANU-CRACIUNAS group organized the escape abroad of several representative personalities of the NPP for the purpose of continuing the activity against the Rumanian Communist regime. CRACIUNAS personally convinced and assisted to leave Rumania, on the route which he had established, the following:

(Dr) Sabin PLANULLA, former General Director of the Statistics Institute and close collaborator of Iuliu MANIU,

(Sng) Horatius BOJILA, a nephew of Iuliu MANIU and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the NPP,

(Prof) Virgil VENIACIN, Associate General Secretary of the NPP, who holds a statutory mandate which was given him in Rumania, in 1946, by the Permanent Delegation of the party,

Horatius COLANICIU and other 20 NPP members who are presently in PARIS. The presence of the above mentioned personalities in PARIS permitted the organization of the Central Committee of the NPP abroad.

Germany's surrender in April 1945 was the closing chapter in the historic process of dissolution and disbandment of the Legionary Movement as a political organization, a process which had started immediately after the rebellion of January 1941.

The Legionary group which SIDA headed in VIENNA and in GERMANY and the group which PATRASCU headed in HUMANIA (which had been parachuted for partisan warfare behind the Rumano-Soviet front) continued to remain in radio communication with each other. As the two groups were bound by

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the same terroristic past, by the same interests, SIMA elaborated a plan of action the aim of which was to save the two groups from the sentence and from the disaster which awaited them, as the SIMA group should be arrested, tried and sentenced by the Allied Powers for participation in the war, on Germany's side, after the Rumanian Armistice, whereas the PATRASCU group should be arrested, tried and sentenced by the Soviet Union and by the Rumanian Communist regime for the partisan warfare in which they had engaged in the Fall of 1944 after they had been parachuted into Rumania and they had taken over the secret dumps of war materials which the Germans had left during their retreat.

SIMA's salvation plan worked out as follows:

a. SIMA's own group scattered, after Germany's surrender, and on SIMA's instructions, over FRANCE, SPAIN, ITALY, AUSTRIA and GERMANY. SIMA used his old contacts with the German intelligence services and other military and civilian institutions, which were taken over by the Allied Occupation Powers in Western Germany, and established contact with the American, British and French intelligence services as well as with the military, police, administrative and political occupation authorities. In that manner SIMA saved himself and his group from being tried by the NUREMBERG Court where they had been scheduled to appear on the charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

b. PATRASCU's group in Rumania maintained radio communications with SIMA and was instructed by him to contact the Rumanian Secret Intelligence Service and try a similar salvation by contacting, through that service, the occupying power in Rumania, ie the Soviet authorities. SIMA's radioed instructions were received in Rumania by a wireless operator named Vigorel BOBORADEA, a Legionary from DEVA, Hunedoara county, who had been parachuted into Rumania with German wireless equipment as a member of PATRASCU's group. According to those instructions PATRASCU established contact with Teohari GEORGESCU, Minister of the Interior, through Nica NEDEULESCU, in the Fall of 1946. That contact extended soon also to NICOLAE PATRASCU and Dr. Nistor CHIGREANU, PATRASCU's most devoted assistant, were arrested, however, only as a show, in November or December 1946 and were held until February 1946, in a villa located on Soseaua AVIATORILOR, in Bucharest. During that interval PATRASCU had interviews with Teohari GEORGESCU and with Ans PAUKER, with whom he established the following agreement:

(1) Nicolas PATRASCU, as former General Secretary of the Legionary Movement, agreed to instruct the Legionaries in Rumania not to join the historical parties.

(2) Nicolas PATRASCU agreed to instruct the Legionaries who had gone into hiding to report to the Police Inspectorates where they would be issued identity documents (Buletine de Inscrisi la Biroul Populatiei).

It appears clearly that the Communists wanted to identify the Legionaries who were living clandestinely.

(3) The government agreed to pardon PATRASCU, CHIGREANU and a number of SEPTEMBRIST Legionaries who had been sentenced to prison for infringements to the common law during the Rebellion. They were released from the AIUD prison.

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That agreement which had SIMA's approval could only have been made by PATRASCU, who had been sentenced to death for his past crimes, and wanted to save his own life. At that time, also, due to his long absence from the country, PATRASCU could not understand why former Legionaries desired to join the NPP and other democratic parties. The beneficiaries of that agreement were a comparatively small number of Legionaries who were bound together by a common preservation instinct as they were all guilty either of serious political errors, or of infractions to the common law, or both.

The Police Inspectorates and the Communist Party attracted many Legionaries from the SIMA-PATRASCU group and organized them into Police Brigades (Brigazi de Politie) which were also called Shock Teams or Units (Echipe sau Unitati de Soc), and used those brigades for arresting and torturing many anti-Communist, democratic fighters. PATRASCU himself consented to the Legionaries' joining the Rumanian Communist Party and claimed that in that manner they could save their lives and be ready to fight the Communists when the war would break out.

The mass of Legionaries, however, viewed the agreement with distrust, because of the general distrust of the Communists and the special distrust of PATRASCU himself, whom they considered responsible for all past tragedies. They therefore did not obey PATRASCU's circular as General Commandant of the Legionary Movement which was the implementation of the agreement.

PATRASCU's freedom and freedom of movement permitted him to organize a clandestine courier service with Horia SIMA through Eugen TEODORESCU, who brought SIMA's instructions and directions concerning a general plan of political activity. In compliance with that plan, PATRASCU established contact with George MANU, Prof. PROTOPOPESCU and with PROTOPOPESCU's wife, and divided his activity in the country into the following three phases:

a. The maintenance of contact with the Rumanian Communist Party and with the Ministry of the Interior by PATRASCU and Vica NEGULESCU for consolidating the group's position with the Communists.

b. The clandestine organization of the Legionaries by Dr. Nistor CHIROREANU with the aim of participating in the resistance activities against the Communist regime as an immediate goal and with the long range aim of obtaining political recognition for those activities and of reviving the Legionary Movement.

c. The organization of the clandestine George MANU - PROTOPOPESCU - Georgeta AULETESCU group for a political activity leading to the reestablishment of contacts with the democratic historical parties as a preparation toward the recognition of the Legionary Movement as a political organization within the framework of future international developments.

All those three phases of activity were directly subordinated to PATRASCU. Through Eugen TEODORESCU, PATRASCU was himself subordinated, in turn, to Horia SIMA.

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PATRASCU had a series of conversations with political personalities of the National Liberal Party, such as Rehabmentum and with personalities of the NPP, such as Ion Mihalache. As the results of those conversations were totally unfavorable to PATRASCU, he decided to let the MANU group go on and prepare the rapprochement with those parties.

SIMA's intention in organizing clandestinely the Legionaries in Rumania, who were well known for their experience in clandestine activities and for their combativeness against Communism, was to polarize and to concentrate around that Legionary group all the other resistance groups in the country, which consisted of former military personnel or of members of other political parties. His final aim was to monopolize, directly or indirectly, the leadership of the resistance movement in Rumania, and the resistance activities. As Rumania constituted, because of her geographical and strategic location, a factor of the first order in the war plans of both the Soviet Union and of the Western Allies, as well as in the plans for political activity of the Rumanian Resistance Committee abroad, SIMA had figured out that whoever could control and direct the resistance movement in the country, and the future partisan warfare, would hold the key position of the whole situation in Rumania during the period preceding the war, during the war and after the cessation of hostilities. He had also considered in his plans that the Western Allies and the political parties which were represented abroad would have to take into account the force which SIMA represented, namely, his clandestine group in Rumania, his clandestine courier service between Rumania and Allied occupation areas, the fact that the members of his group who were abroad had been trained by the Germans, during the past war, for sabotage work, for parachutage, for partisan warfare, etc. That line of thinking and of action has led SIMA to consider, both in the recent past and at present, the clandestine contacting of Rumania and the resistance movement in the country as a monopoly of his, which he is determined to defend by all the means available to him. SIMA and his group fight all those political personalities from among the political emigres who are planning or whom he suspects of intending to contact Rumania, either for discouraging them to carry out their plans or for compromising them vis-a-vis the Western Allies, who are the essential supporting factors of any such action, as will be shown below.

SIMA and PATRASCU overlooked the following serious contradictions which existed in their plan of action:

- a. The left wing of their plan rested, through PATRASCU and Vica NEGULESCU, on the Rumanian Communists;
- b. The right wing of the plan rested on the democratic historical parties, through the MANU-FROTOPOPESCU-DEMETRESCU group, while the middle rested on the Nistor CHIOREANU group.
- c. The SIMA group which was abroad had established direct contact with the Western Allied Powers through their intelligence services (American, British and French) and was openly engaged in activities against the Communist regime in Rumania, while the PATRASCU group which was in Rumania had established direct contact with the Communist regime, to which it had openly shown a favorable attitude and with which it had started to collaborate.

The consequence of those contradictions was that neither the Communists nor the responsible political personalities of the democratic

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historical parties had any confidence in PATRASCU and his group, which was left without a real political foundation and was finally crushed by the contradictions of the plan of action which had been erroneously conceived and carried out. That group was annihilated as a result of the trial which was held in October-November 1948. Thus, once again a plan of SIMA and PATRASCU had a catastrophic end.

That last political error which was made, in the country, by SIMA and PATRASCU, the initiators of the political agreement with the Communist regime, compromised and stigmatized them definitely vis-a-vis the mass of former Legionaries and the Rumanian people. That error led to:

a. The arrest of over 12,000 former Legionaries, who were either imprisoned or interned in labor camps in 1948, as a preventive and repressive measure taken by the Communist regime in Rumania as a result of PATRASCU's activities, although, his own group did not exceed 600 members in the whole country.

b. The branding of all former Legionaries as it is very difficult to differentiate between those who joined the Rumanian Communist Party and those who fought against the Communist regime, which resulted in great suffering for all former Legionaries.

c. A renewed confusion, caused by SIMA, concerning the former Legionaries, so that the measures which will be taken by the Rumanian people after its liberation from the grip of the Communists, will hit unjustly those who have no guilt and no responsibility for those actions, along with those who are guilty and fully responsible for them.

d. The elimination, by SIMA and PATRASCU themselves, of the last possibility which they still had in Rumania to put up an organized fight against the Communist regime and thereby make up for past errors and rehabilitate themselves with the Rumanian people for all the evil they had done or caused.

The mass of former Legionaries was reeducated by internal and international events with which it had been closely associated and for which it had often bled, from 1938 till 1949, and is firmly oriented toward the democratic parties and toward the Western Democracies. That mass did not follow SIMA and his group headed by PATRASCU, will never follow them in the future, but just the contrary, considers as a matter of fact that those two men and their group will have to be tried and sentenced for their crimes.

The Rumanian people's attitude toward SIMA, PATRASCU and their group is even more bitter. They cannot forgive them for their very serious errors. For those people the names of the two men are odious and they are determined to see to it that SIMA and PATRASCU never again get the chance to repeat, in the country, what they did from 1938 to 1948.

7. The Situation in 1949.

A. In Rumania.

The situation of the former Legionaries

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follows:

a. A large number of former Legionaries are in prisons and labor camps. Many of them are there since the ANTONESCU regime but the majority were arrested in 1948 on the basis of the individual files which were prepared on the Legionaries by the successive governments from 1930 on.

b. A large number of former Legionaries are hidden in the underground and live clandestinely in cities or have joined the resistance groups which were organized in the mountains, where they are spiritually and politically united with all the other Rumanians against their common enemy which is Communism.

3. Abroad.

Abroad, there are at present two opposing Legionary groups, identified as the FOR-LEGIONAR (Legionary Forum) or MEXICAN group and the HORIA SIMA or CUBAN group. The terms MEXICAN and CUBAN derived from the fact that the FOR-LEGIONAR group called the SIMA group the "CU BANI" (with money) group, or group which had money. If the two words are written together, the ensuing word "CUBANI" means Cubans in Rumanian. Thereupon, those called the CUBANS (the SIMA group) called the others (the FOR-LEGIONAR group) the MEXICANS.

- (1) The FOR-LEGIONAR or MEXICAN group, with headquarters in ROME, Italy.

That group is headed by Constantin PAPANAGE, a Legionary Commandant, Mille LEFTER, a Commandant of the GIAD TIDINGS, Ilie GARGHEATA, a Commandant of the GIAD Tidings, Viorel TRIFA, former President of the Rumanian Students' Union, Stavri COTULIA and others, all of them members of the old Legionary guard. The headquarters of the group is in ROME, at Mille LEFTER's home, 26 via PALESTRA and at Stavri COTULIA's home, 59, LOMBE BRIANZE. The majority of the members have immigrated into ARGENTINA and into other South American countries. There are few members of that group in AUSTRIA, GERMANY and FRANCE.

That group initially broke away from SIMA's group during the first refuge in Germany in 1939. The final separation between the two groups occurred between 1942 and 1944 in the SAXHAUSEN and BUCHENWALD concentration camps. Following the release of the Legionaries from those two camps on 24 August 1944, that group refused to participate in SIMA's National Government in VIENNA. The leaders and members of the FOR-LEGIONAR group earned their living in GERMANY by doing odd jobs or such jobs as streetcar conductors but refused to yield to the German pressure exerted upon them and to SIMA's attempts to determine them to participate in his so-called government. After the surrender of Germany, the leaders and members of the FOR-LEGIONAR group fled clandestinely to FRANCE but mainly to ITALY, from whence some emigrated to South American countries.

From the political viewpoint the FOR-LEGIONAR group holds the following views:

a. The Legionaries were loyal to the King and the country and caused the death of General Ionel Celescu.

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surrounded him and of the majority of the leaders of the old Legionary guard, for which SIMA and PATRASCU will have to account some day.

b. After the death of CODREANU and the annihilation of his group of leaders, no Legionary, including Horia SIMA, could hold the position which CODREANU had had as creator and founder of that political organization. Consequently, the Legionary Movement should be headed by a Legionary Forum consisting of those co-founders, Legionary commandants and leaders who were still alive and free. That Legionary Forum was organized by the FOR-LEGIONAR group and denied and rejected the alleged right of SIMA and of his devoted friends to head the Legionary movement.

c. The Legionary movement was not and is not disbanded by "History". The internal and international events which occurred from 1941 (the Rebellion) till 1945 (Germany's surrender) led only to the dismemberment of the organization. The Legionary Movement continues to exist, and has the right to exist on the basis of its past, from its creation until 1938-1939, having the same right of existence as the other political parties both in Rumania and abroad, specifically as the Fascist L'UNION NUOVA party in ITALY, and the Independent Nazi Party in AUSTRIA.

d. The political principles and the ideology of the Legionary movement are those established by C. Z. CODREANU and other theoreticians of the old Legionary guard, which were published in books, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers.

e. The foreign policy of the movement is presently in line with the Western Allied Powers: The United States, Great Britain, France and Italy.

Consequently, the FOR-LEGIONAR group is engaged in an open activity and has an openly expressed attitude against SIMA and his group, attacks moderately the group of former Legionaries which joined the NPP, and seeks openly to establish close contact with fascist elements and organizations and with their newspapers in ITALY and in SOUTH AMERICA. The FOR-LEGIONAR group publish the newspaper TARA (the country) in ROME and publishes articles in the Fascist Italian papers. The group contacted the VATICAN from which they receive both material and some political support, through the Catholic Churches.

Having left Rumania in 1941, the leaders of the FOR-LEGIONAR have broken off from realities in Rumania and cannot realize the great changes which have taken place during their long absence from the country, both in the thinking of the former Legionaries and of the people as a whole. Furthermore, they do not seem to grasp the real meaning of the present struggle between the Western Democratic World and the Communist World, in which there is no room for middle-of-the-road attitudes and even less so for the revival of Fascism in any form whatsoever.

In an attempt to prepare the way for a future active political role, and to obtain present political recognition both from the representative Rumanian political personalities and from the Western Democracies, the FOR-LEGIONAR group is presently engaged in an activity which is to

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organize abroad a SOCIAL-CHRISTIAN party which is intended to include the FOR-LEGIONAR, members of other Rumanian political parties and those who, so far, have not belonged to any political party. For achieving that aim the FOR-LEGIONAR group started a febrile activity in ROME early in 1949. They contacted General Puiu PETRESCU and VASILIU-CLUJ, a lawyer, in order to obtain a political cover for their members and for increasing their possibilities of political maneuver as both PETRESCU and VASILIU-CLUJ were on very good terms with General RADESCU. During the Summer of 1949 the FOR-LEGIONAR group negotiated the creation of a new political party also with Mircea ELIADE, who was sent to ROME from PARIS, by Nicolae HODESCU, who is General RADESCU's closest collaborator in ROME. In all their negotiations the FOR-LEGIONAR group made use of the services of GRIGORIU, a newspaperman and editor of TARA. Although not a member of the Legionary Movement in Rumania, GRIGORIU, who was one of the editors of Pamfil SEICANU's CURENTUL, is presently closely connected with the FOR-LEGIONAR group. In October 1949, Dr. Ilviru CRACIUNAS was shown by Moratiu CRANICIU a letter which he had received from GRIGORIU who informed him that following negotiations with Mircea ELIADE and General PETRESCU it was decided to organize a SOCIAL-CHRISTIAN Party, and that a committee had been formed for that purpose. The committee consisted of: Mircea ELIADE, Nicolae HODESCU, Constantin PAPANACE, RABOVIANU, General PETRESCU, GRIGORIU, and other unspecified persons. VASILIU-CLUJ followed General PETRESCU to PARIS, from ROME, in October 1949, and continued there the activity which had been started in ROME.

The efforts of the FOR-LEGIONAR group to organize abroad a SOCIAL-CHRISTIAN (social-crestin) political party have so far been unsuccessful because those who conceived that scheme ignored a series of opposing interests which prevail between the groups which were expected to support it. Thus,

a. The collaborators and the close friends of General RADESCU seek to attract to their side any political group in order to strengthen the General's position and to back him up in his attempts to alter the present structure of the Rumanian National Committee and to force the constitutional factor, i.e. the King, to change his attitude and his political stand concerning the National Committee.

b. The FOR-LEGIONAR group endeavors to camouflage the revival of the Legionary Movement under the name of a new political party, but ignores the fact that history has disbanded that movement and that both the leading political democratic personalities among the Rumanian emigres and the western Democracies are decidedly against any political groups or parties which aim to revive the Fascist past.

c. The political force and the influence of the FOR-LEGIONAR group are rather weak chiefly because of the political position of the group which is based on false elements and unreal principles which no longer correspond to present trends.

(2) The HOKIA SIDA or CUBAN (Cubani) Group.

Following GERMANY's surrender and after he appeared before the NUREMBERG Tribunal, HOKIA concentrated all his efforts for organizing a new political group as a new political party.

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ordered the scattering of the members of his group to FRANCE, SPAIN, ITALY, GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, the UNITED STATES, ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, and to other South American countries. The leadership of the group is centered in the hands of SIDA, who was accepted as chief by all the members. SIDA himself has clandestine residences in FRANCE, SWITZERLAND and SPAIN, and travels frequently, clandestinely, over the frontiers of those three countries being aided by the clandestine organizations which he organized in those countries. Around SIDA are grouped his most devoted collaborators: Father Vasile BOLDEANU, Traian I. GOCANU, Prof. PROTOPESCU, General OLTEANU, Mircea DIMITAIU, Vasile BILAU, General Platon CHIRACU, Mihail STURZA, Vasile IASINSCHI and Japon PETROVICI.

FRANCE is considered the principal political location for directing the activity aiming at political recognition of the group. SIDA therefore located in PARIS his most important collaborators whom he entrusted with the mission of following up, day by day, that political activity. Following are their names and addresses:

- (Father Vasile BOLDEANU, Paris, clandestine domicile.
- Prof. PROTOPESCU, Paris, 3 rue Marie Davy, 3rd floor.
- Mihail STURZA, Paris, 2 rue Chateaubourg, 2nd floor.
- General Platon CHIRACU, Paris (Protopescu's address).
- General OLTEANU, Paris, 3 rue Rene Bazin, 1st floor.
- Japon PETROVICI, Paris, 3 rue Saint Omer.
- Mircea DIMITAIU, Paris, (Protopescu's address).

In 1948 SIDA sent Vasile BOLDEANU to ENGLAND to uphold the activity for political recognition. The conversations which BOLDEANU had with V. Churchill and with Major HUBBARD had negative results and BOLDEANU had to give up continuing the activity which he had planned on to return to PARIS.

In 1949 SIDA sent the following to the United States to uphold there the activity for political recognition of the group:

- Engineer CALEY (Cnu).
- Dr. HODGE (Cnu), an old friend of George WASH. HODGE came out of Romania after King MICHAEL's abdication. Both he and his wife were among those who were in the King's entourage. HODGE went to the United States as a cancer specialist to attend there a congress of specialists in that disease.
- Mircea OLTEANU, a very devoted friend of SIDA's, changed his political religion for the Roman Catholic faith, moved to PARIS on SIDA's orders, contacted the VALLIS through which he was granted the entry visa into the United States, where he was sent by SIDA as leader of the group which will work there for obtaining political recognition.
- Mircea STURZA, a lawyer, a former Legislative Consultant and a great supporter of SIDA, left GERMANY for the UNITED STATES on 7 Nov. 49 with a contract for work somewhere in CALIFORNIA.
- Other Legionaries from the SIDA group entered the UNITED STATES with contracts for work, but in reality they were sent there by SIDA to contact the American entities and the leaders of the Americans of Romanian descent and make propaganda for the political recognition of the SIDA group.

Father Vasile BOLDEANU himself filed an application for an entry visa into the United States with the US Embassy in PARIS, but was refused the visa.

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Following are SIMA's representatives in other countries:

In SPAIN, Vasile JASINSCHI whose mission is to lead the activity for obtaining political recognition, being assisted by the group of SIMA's Legionaries in MADRID who are supported by FRANCO. The leader of the Legionaries in SPAIN is Aventur CRISTU, alias NARIN, who also directs the Rumanian language broadcasts from the RANCOLOSI station.

In ITALY, Alexandru POPOVICI, 149 via de Balbuli, ROME.

In ARGENTINA, Gheorghe SIATTA (Gheorghe), whose mission is to coordinate the activity for obtaining political recognition in all South American countries.

In AUSTRIA, Mircea ODMITRIU at SALZBURG and Vasile MALLAT at LINZ.

In GERMANY, the activity is directed by SIMA personally, is assisted by Traian BOROBARU, both having clandestine residences.

The tactics employed by SIMA from 1945 in an attempt to obtain political recognition for his group as a new political party are as follows:

a. The scattering of the members of his group in different European and American countries either by clandestine travel or by legal travel or immigration.

b. The securing of lucrative jobs by the majority of the members of his group primarily for gaining their livelihood and next for feeding with contributions the fund which SIMA needs for carrying on his activity.

c. The establishment of contact with and the supply with agents of the American, British and French intelligence services. SIMA's aim in doing that are to assure the personal physical security and the freedom of movement of certain members of his group in order that they might travel freely in certain areas or in certain countries or through certain countries; to organize clandestine contacts with Rumania; to establish contact with important and influential military, political or diplomatic Allied personalities which SIMA could use politically. In fact he used such contacts and conveyed to HEARST, the president of the newspaper trust, a political memorandum in which SIMA claimed that a war alone could not solve the problems created by Communism unless a superior conception of life after the pattern of the Legionary conception of life in Rumania were opposed to the Communistic conception of life, by all European countries.

The infiltration of the Allied intelligence agencies in GERMANY by members of the SIMA group was directed by Traian BOROBARU, who lives permanently but clandestinely in GERMANY, and who directs from behind the stage the activities of all these Legionary agents.

AUSTRIA was considered by SIMA, and still is, the base for contacting the Allied intelligence services which attempted to extend their operations into Rumania. By establishing these contacts SIMA secured

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to funds and the monopoly of the operations into Rumania, which he could use very advantageously to further his political aims both in Rumania and abroad. He named Mircea DIMITRIU and Vasile MAILAT as his representatives in AUSTRIA, to direct the activities of the agents who had penetrated the Allied intelligence services operating in that country. DIMITRIU's clandestine quarters are at Paula Maria KILLER, 75 Ignatz Barrerstrasse, SALZBURG, while MAILAT lives in LINZ. Their Legionary agents contact all the Rumanian refugees, debrief them and write up reports which they sell for varying sums of money to the Allied intelligence services. Special information from Rumania, general information from abroad, any information on the Rumanian emigration are all sold to the American services in SALZBURG and LINZ, to the French services in INNSBRUCK and to the British services in GRAZ. A large percentage of the sums which are obtained for that information goes into SIMA's activity fund.

Using AUSTRIA as a base for operations into Rumania and also the support and assistance from the Allied Intelligence services, the SIMA group organized the clandestine contacting of Rumania where the group relied on the foothold which had been established by PATRASCU's group. One of the missions of the PATRASCU group was to gather intelligence information for SIMA. However, the annihilation of the PATRASCU group in 1948 was a severe blow to SIMA who, according to all probabilities, has not succeeded, up to the present, despite relentless efforts, to reorganize a clandestine group in Rumania, nor to establish regular contact with such a group through couriers.

SIMA gave special authorization to Mircea DIMITRIU and Vasile MAILAT to conduct any negotiations with the French intelligence services in INNSBRUCK, through BLONDEL, concerning the establishment of clandestine contact with Rumania with the purpose of obtaining intelligence information. BLONDEL heads the French services in INNSBRUCK. Contact with him is maintained directly by Mircea DIMITRIU, who uses for his travels a false Austrian surname, and indirectly by Nicolae MARINESCU, 15 Rechenweg, INNSBRUCK.

SIMA uses the scattering of the members of his group primarily over Western Europe and secondarily over the Americas for:

- a. Organizing a network of points of support and clandestine hideouts in the homes of the members of his group.
- b. Organizing a network of clandestine routes over the frontiers of those countries for the travel of SIMA himself, of his couriers, of different members of his group for special assignments given by SIMA such as the action of October 1949 in PARIS for taking over the Rumanian Orthodox Church; those routes are also employed for the transit of certain Rumanian emigres from GERMANY and AUSTRIA into FRANCE, from whom they snatch letters of thanks and recommendation, which they use as a proof of their national Rumanian activity.
- c. Organizing the assistance and the emigration to other continents of the Rumanian refugees through the so called "Rumanian Committees" which were elected in AUSTRIA, GERMANY, ITALY, BRAZIL, ARGENTINA, etc. in an apparently democratic manner but which are managed either directly or undercover by SIMA's devoted followers.

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d. Organizing a special intelligence service for SIMA personally. Every member of the SIMA group is a permanent observer in the area where he lives and must gather any and all information from Rumania, important general information from abroad and all possible information on the Rumanian refugees and their activities. All that information is passed on to Mircea DIMITRIU and to Traian BOCOBARU who centralize them in a "general central file" which SIMA keeps in a secure locality which, so far, has not been identified.

SIMA's political activity within the framework of the Rumanian emigration has had the following aspects:

a. The assistance which was given to certain Rumanian emigres to travel clandestinely into FRANCE or to emigrate to other continents, as well as the organizing of the so-called "Rumanian Committees" for the assistance of the refugees, aimed to exercise a certain control over the Rumanian emigration, to prove that the SIMA group was active in the national interest and thereby pave the way for the political recognition of the group as a political party.

b. The statements of devotion and loyalty which SIMA addressed in a memorandum of approximately 30 pages, in the Summer of 1949, to King MICHAEL - the constitutional factor, recognized as such by all Rumanians - are not meant by any means. Those statements were made only after SIMA had used a threat against King MICHAEL. Indeed, in order to force the King to adopt an attitude of goodwill toward the recognition of the SIMA group as a political party, SIMA had established contact with Prince NICHOLAS, through Vasile BOLDEANU, Traian BOCOBARU, General Flator CHIRNOADA and several other followers of his, and had signed the SIGMARINGEN Agreement on 24 January 1949.

c. Also during the early part of 1949, SIMA made an agreement, in OBBERSTERRICH, with the leaders of the German minority refugees from Rumania, who amount at present to approximately 100,000 Saxons and Swabians. According to that agreement, the two groups must collaborate and give each other reciprocal political support in the political activities in which they engage while they are abroad, in organizing the clandestine contacting of Rumania, and in their future activities in Rumania, after its liberation from the Communist regime.

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ANNEX 1

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Corneliu MANIU's Letter to the Legionaries
(which was published in all the Rumanian papers on 30 August 1944)

W. A. L.
Dear Mr. Commiciu,

More than two years have passed since several authorized members of the staff of the Legionary Movement informed me that they were decided to revise the bases of the external and internal policies of their organization. They admitted to me that they had been convinced by the experience with the dictatorships which had governed the country from King Carol on, that the dictatorial and totalitarian regime does not agree with the nature of the Rumanian people, nor with the social and economic structure of Rumania. They admitted to me that they had been greatly mistaken about the collaboration of Rumania with Germany which, evidently, pursues her own aims.

These statements of the leaders of your movement were, in fact, in full agreement with the explicit statement made to me by the founder of your movement, Corneliu CODREANU, on the occasion of our one before the last interview, that his ties with Germany were not the National-Socialist principles, but that those ties had resulted from his opinion that in the world war which would break out Germany would be victorious, and that there should be a political group which should serve as a shield for the Rumanian interests vis-a-vis the supposed victors. Now it is clear, however, that Germany will be defeated.

The dictatorship, the martial law and the censorship of the press made it impossible that those opinions of your leaders be publicly expressed and demonstrated and, consequently, you had to endure the heavy atmosphere which was created around you.

I am very gratified that you have seized the first moments of the day of our freedom - which has come owing to the high decision of H.M. the King - to impart to the world your views and your decision to start a new era.

Your so beautiful proclamation reveals your patriotic feelings and your full understanding of the victorious democratic ideas and of the conception of social justice, which is the earthly religion for the times in which we live.

Your declaration proves, to my great joy, that you are decided to participate, in all sincerity, in the constructive work to which the King and his Government have called the Nation.

If you permit me to give you, together with my congratulations for your decision and for your beautiful manifestation, a friendly advice, it is as follows: devoid, as it is, of its fundamental conception and of the principal directive of a political ideology and of a foreign policy, your movement has no reason to be maintained in its old forms. The unsuccessful attempt of Horia Sima to govern the country has created a political atmosphere around your party which makes it impossible for it to spring into activity with the dash requested by the times.

For these reasons I believe that many valuable energies which are grouped in your movement would do well to look for suitable places in other political parties, according to their preferences and needs.

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convictions.

I have all the reasons to believe that the gates of the parties which have united in the National Democratic Block are open to all those who are not guilty of crimes or dishonorable actions. I am sure that the path which you have taken today will lead you to many spiritual satisfactions and will contribute to the eternal evolution of the Romanian people.

Please receive and impart to your friends my best greetings.

BUCHAREST, 29 August 1944.

signed, Iuliu MANIU

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