

anti-communist organization
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OFFICIAL DISPATCH

VIA: AIR

Dispatch No. NSMA-19

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

To: FEW

Date: 7 November 1947

From: []

Subject: General:

Specific: Projected Establishment in Madrid of an
"Eastern European anti-Communist Center"

State

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1. Attached hereto is a copy of two enclosures to a despatch forwarded by the Embassy to the Department.
2. The information in the attachment is a resume' of a recent informal and unofficial conversation between an officer of the Embassy and two former diplomats of Hungary and Poland regarding the establishment in Madrid of an anti-Communist "Center".
3. Enclosure No. 1 concerns the conversation mentioned above.
Enclosure No. 2 reports the information known to the Embassy regarding Mr. SZUMLAKOWSKI and Mr. VAJTA.

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CONFIDENTIAL

November 3, 1947

To: Mr. Paul T. Culbertson, Charge' d'Affaires a.d.
From: Mr. Richard H. Wilford
SUBJECT: Informal and Unofficial Conversation with former Eastern European diplomats concerning the projected establishment in Madrid of an "Eastern European anti-Communist Center".

On Saturday afternoon, November 1, 1947, I was informed by Mr. Marjan SZUMIAKOWSKI, former Polish Minister of the London Government in Madrid, and Mr. Ferenc VAJTA, former Hungarian Consul General in Vienna and a journalist and author in his country, of their plans to form, together with other eastern Europeans, an anti-Communist "Center" in Madrid. This organization would gather information concerning Soviet agents of Eastern European nationality who were, they stated, infiltrating into Spain either to remain here or to proceed to countries of the Western Hemisphere, including the United States.

Mr. VAJTA opened the conversation by alluding to his recent trip from Italy to Spain, in which trip he was aided by American Military Authorities in Leghorn. He stated that he had been followed by agents of the Soviet Intelligence Service in Rome and felt that Spain would afford his projected group more fertile ground for development. In his opinion, Italy and France, despite recent electoral gains by moderate and rightist parties, would soon fall into the control of the Communists, and Spain would be the last safe ground in Western Europe in which the kind of anti-Communist "Center" he had in mind would be able to be established.

From his experiences in Hungary, Austria and in Italy (some points of which are recorded in a biographical summary attached), he had been able to discover that Spain was at present acting as a "corridor" or passageway for the travel of Soviet agents, disguised by false documentation and "new" nationalities, to countries of the Western Hemisphere. He stated that Stockholm, Hamburg (British Zone of occupation), Munich (American Zone of occupation), Vienna (Russian Sector) and Milan were despatching centers for such agent traffic. Russian agents sent from Stockholm usually arrived in Spain by way of the Swedish Air Line serving Barcelona, while agents from Germany were clandestine border-crossing cases or, if legal entries, arrived with Combined Travel Board (Berlin) Travel Documents as stateless persons. Milan was the most important center in Southern Europe for despatching agents to the Iberian Peninsula. Agents coming from the Russian Sector of Vienna usually traveled with documents as Austrians or "stateless" persons.

Mr. SZUMIAKOWSKI interrupted at this point to state that he believed it most important for American officials in Spain to institute some form of "travel control", or at least an "information service" which would afford a means of knowing the names and nationalities of all air and sea arrivals at the port of Barcelona. He added that both he and Mr. VAJTA knew several Eastern European nationals now working for the Soviet Intelligence Service who had managed to arrive in Spain as members of the Pax Romana Catholic Delegation, or as businessmen, and that these persons were established in Madrid and other cities of Spain carrying on espionage work.

(The names which he submitted, and all the others which will be mentioned in this report, are being checked in the Embassy files and in those of the attached agencies, and a separate report on them will be prepared in the near future.)

Mr. VAJTA

Mr. VAJTA then outlined what he considered would be the duties and usefulness of the projected Eastern European Center in Madrid, which he, Mr. SZUMLAKOWSKI and other anti-Communist Poles, Hungarians, Yugoslavs and Rumanians were attempting to establish.

First among these duties would be that of gathering in Madrid, from Buenos Aires, Paris and Rome, known personalities of their respective countries who had long experience in Eastern European and Russian affairs through diplomatic or military careers. Especially mentioned in this connection was Mr. COZSA, former archivist of the Hungarian counter-espionage service, and Colonel KARA, a former Polish Military Attache' with wide experience in Russian affairs, who is at present in Buenos Aires. Also mentioned as a possibility was Colonel SZANTHAY, former Hungarian Military Attache' in Madrid, although both men recalled that, at one time, the Allied Missions in Madrid believed SZANTHAY to be pro-German. Several Yugoslavs were named as possible collaborators in the "Center".

Second, the importance of securing at least "unofficial blessing" from the Spanish Foreign Ministry was emphasized. This step is being delayed until the arrival of Monseigneur NYISZTOR, a Hungarian prelate attached to the Holy See. The latter is expected in Madrid after the 15th of November, and will "smooth the way" for acceptance of the group in Spanish officialdom. Already, according to Mr. VAJTA, unofficial but encouraging conversations have been held with Mr. LOJENDIO, representing the Information Section of the Spanish Foreign Ministry.

Third, the group will supply the American Embassy with information concerning the identity and activities of Central and Eastern European nationals who are engaged in work for the Russian Intelligence Service in Spain, or who are in transit to countries in the Western Hemisphere. Mr. SZUMLAKOWSKI stated that his long residence in Spain and his numerous acquaintances among Spaniards and Eastern European nationals, would serve the group with useful intelligence in that connection, and would second the efforts of Colonel KARA, who is expected to head the entire anti-Communist effort.

Fourth, the "Center" would make studies of recent developments in the countries represented by its members, analyzing trends and personalities, economic, social and ethnic changes. These studies would be available to American services. This feature of the work of the projected "Center" is more in the discussion stage than the other features, apparently due to censorship and printing difficulties, and would be conditioned upon Spanish acceptance of the group as a whole.

The conversation then developed along other lines, which I have grouped under their respective headings for purposes of clarity and historical sequence.

THE INTERMARIUM:

The Intermarium is an organization of Eastern European political figures who were in exile in London during the war. It was organized in April 1944 in London and embraced representatives of most of the countries "between the seas"; namely, the Baltic and Adriatic seas. In 1945, when the Polish Army of General Anders became active in Italy, this group moved its headquarters to Rome. Now, according to Mr. VAJTA and Mr. SZUMLAKOWSKI, its headquarters is Paris. This move is due to the interest of the French General Staff and 2eme Bureau and the British General Staff and British Intelligence authorities in maintaining contact with, and to an extent, control over, the organization.

Mr. VAJTA alleged that the Intermarium was anti-American in its make-up and policies. He stated that he had gathered this impression from the

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period when he was Hungarian Consul General in Vienna and worked with the French General Staff and the 2eme Bureau on Hungarian emigree problems. He added that his subsequent relations with Hungarian and other Eastern European personalities in the Internarium in Rome of this year confirmed this belief. The British and French General Staffs, Mr. VAJTA remarked, are attempting to "shut the U.S. out" of Eastern European affairs. Likewise it was his belief that the entry of Monarchist elements representing Otto of Hapsburg into the ranks of the Internarium, gave it an anti-American bent.

Many members of the Internarium established relations with certain British Masonic Orders while the Internarium was in its infancy in London, and Mr. VAJTA added that the French Masonic Order of the Grand Orient was linked with Internarium activity in some manner.

After British financial support was withdrawn from the Internarium in June of 1947, many of its members, according to Mr. VAJTA, began to organize the "Continental Union". This organization, with different clubs in London, Paris, Rome and New York, is, according to Mr. VAJTA and Mr. SZUMIAKOWSKI, more pro-American in its policy inasmuch as the members fear that British and French penetration of the Internarium has compromised that organization and will make it serve only those national interests. The "Continental Union" is now desirous of founding a branch in Madrid. Mr. VAJTA indicated that the difference between the Internarium and the "Continental Union", politically speaking, was that of Monarchist tendencies in the former and Republican tendencies in the latter. Among those participating in the Rome discussions mentioned above were Monsigneur SIDOR, leader of Slovak groups, Mgr. Augustin JURJIC, vice-president of the Croatian group, His Excellency 'Monsigneur PAPE', Polish Ambassador to the Vatican, M. JANIKOWSKI, M. PONIATOWSKY, Poles, and other personalities from the Baltic Area. Mr. VAJTA stated that when the British Intelligence Service in Italy became aware that Mr. Edward Page, Jr. of the American Embassy in Rome, and Mr. Cowen, in the Office of the Political Adviser to the Supreme Commander of the Mediterranean Forces, were discussing Eastern European problems with the group, British financial support was resumed, which brought about a number of defections from the "Continental Union". Baron APOR, in Rome, has adhered to the Internarium, and efforts are being made to win over M. JURJIC. On the other hand, M. Miha KREK, formerly a supporter of the Internarium, has now joined the "Continental Union" and is presently in Washington representing their interests.

Other Eastern European leaders who participated in the discussions in Rome and who have remained with the Internarium are: General PRCHALA, Croatian, JANIKOWSKI, Polish, PONIATOWSKY, Polish, LOZORAITIS, Lithuanian, LEPIK, Estonian, PRIBICEVIC, Serbian, KRNICVIC, Croatian, FOTITCH, Serbian, JANKOWSKI, Polish and MIS MISSUM, Hungarian.

Mr. VAJTA stated that Mr. Page, who is presently in Washington consulting with the Department regarding this problem, had informed him prior to the latter's departure, that it had been discovered that certain Soviet agents had penetrated the Internarium. Mr. SZUMIAKOWSKI intervened at this point to state that, in his opinion, that factor, plus the Masonic hue of the Internarium's members, would prevent its recognition by the Spaniards.

However, Mr. VAJTA continued, the section of the Internarium which is apparently unaware of Masonic or Soviet penetration, and which is Monarchistic in outlook, is sending two Priests to Madrid for the purpose of gaining Spanish recognition before the VAJTA group is able to secure the same for the "Continental Union". These two Priests are Father SZALAY and Father DER, who have arrived today in Madrid from Berne. The Internarium in Madrid is to be largely under French influence and will later be directed by a politician rather than a Priest. SZUMIAKOWSKI stated that a certain M. CULMANN, representing the French General Staff, visited Madrid in February, and that a M. KOLCZONAY is here at present and a guest in the home of Spanish Foreign Minister MARTIN ARTAJO.

Mr. VAJTA

Mr. VAJTA remarked that Otto of Hapsburg ordered two of his friends to enter the Intermarium representing the Hungarian Legitimists. They are M. STOMFAY STITZ and Count TELEKI. Otto himself arrived in Lisbon yesterday to seek Portuguese hospitality in the event the Communists succeed in coming to power in France. Otto, according to VAJTA, is seeking Vatican pardon for his liaison agent with Washington, Mr. VARGA, who had voted against the Catholic Church during his term in the Hungarian parliament. VARGA, who is at present in Washington, has the mission of winning over Ferenc NAGY to the cause of Otto of Hapsburg. Between October 15 and October 18, VARGA is reported to have had conferences with Otto and members of the French General Staff. These conferences were held at the home of the Reverend Father Imre GACSER, a friend of Otto and highly esteemed by the French General Staff.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INTERMARIUM MEMBERSHIP

According to Messrs. SZUMLAKOWSKI and VAJTA, a defection from the pro-American group of VAJTA-SZUMLAKOWSKI, MACEK (in Washington) and KREK (in Washington), has been that of Mr. MIS MISUM, a former Captain in the Intelligence Service (Hungarian), who is now an active supporter of the Intermarium in Rome.

To aid the Intermarium club organized in Rome, M. STOMFAY STITZ, Marshall FARKAS and the Chief of the Pontifical Mission in Paris, will shortly make a trip from Paris to Rome.

A Rumanian in British pay, M. JENKSCO has arrived in Madrid to help M. Francois MARUSSY, (a Hungarian also in British pay), secure Spanish recognition and thwart the VAJTA-SZUMLAKOWSKI group.

Mr. Roberto de SATORRES, of the Spanish Foreign Ministry, is reported by VAJTA as a long-time friend of the Intermarium due to his membership in an English Masonic Order.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN SPAIN DISCLOSED BY VAJTA

Mr. SZUMLAKOWSKI, during the course of the conversation, alluded to Bayonne, France, as an important "field post" of the French section of the Russian Intelligence Service, and stated that agents are passed across the border from that post. He mentioned San Sebastian and Barcelona as important centers for work of the Communist International and supplied the names of two businessmen (of German and of Belgian nationality) who were facilitating the work of Soviet services.

Mr. VAJTA supplied the names of ten Soviet agents at present in Spain, and one in Tangiers, and stated that the newest Soviet trick in developing a commercial "cover" for espionage activities is to despatch agents from the Russian Zone of Austria with stolen patents with which they are enabled to establish businesses, usually in the chemical line, and to support themselves. (These names are being assembled into a separate report to be transmitted in the near future)

Both men again stressed the strategic importance of Spain with regard to Russian penetration of the Western Hemisphere. They added that it was their belief that Madrid would soon become one of the last capitals of Western Europe not dominated by the Communists, and might one day find itself host to all the Eastern European exiles now in Paris and Rome. VAJTA stated that Monseigneur NYISZTOR had written him from Rome several days previously that the Russian Secret Service had succeeded in kidnapping eight anti-Communist Hungarians from the center of Rome, and that the situation was fast becoming perilous for the others who remained.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS BY MESSRS SZUDLAKOWSKI and VAJTA.

Before concluding the discussion, Mr. VAJTA alluded to the interest of the French and British General Staffs in combatting pro-American sentiment among the exiles of Eastern European countries, and stated that Richard CROSSMAN and General BETHOUARD (French General Staff) held a meeting at Innsbruck between August 22nd and 29th concerning that particular aspect. Mr. VAJTA stated that it was decided to "utilize the extraordinary situation of the United States" for the aims of French-British policy, to attack the Marshall Plan (by propaganda among the exiles) as "the road to European suicide," and to regroup control over the Balkan exiles under the French General Staff in Paris. During one of these interviews in Innsbruck, M. BLANDINIÈRE, one of the chiefs of the 2eme Bureau, stated that the return of De GAULLE to power was a "matter of days" and that he would take over the control of Balkan affairs himself. The French General Staff promised to put the Eastern European communists under strict surveillance and to close up their clubs, allowing the latter to pass into the hands of the non-communist emigrant-exile groups.

Mr. VAJTA added that he was extremely grateful to American Military Authorities in Italy for their help in effecting his escape from Russian agents in Leghorn and Rome. He stated that, if the United States became active in the question of Eastern European exiles, a great many of the latter would desert the ranks of the Intermarium because they felt that both the French and British governments were pursuing the gold game of "divide and rule", whereas the interest of the United States was closer to that of the "Continental Union" with its hope of a regional confederation of Eastern European countries.

Mr. VAJTA is contemplating a trip to the United States in December, at which time he will contact Hungarian exiles in an effort to turn them from the Intermarium. After a stay of three months, he intends to return to Spain, as he stated that Europe would be the battlefield for some time to come.

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch _____

Memorandum Reporting the Information on file in
the Embassy concerning Mr. Marján SZUMLAKOWSKI
and Mr. Ferenc VAJTA.

Ferenc VAJTA:

Born in 1914, VAJTA is known as one of the younger Hungarian intellectuals. He studied at the Sorbonne and the University of Geneva, and is the author of two books dealing with the Hungarian ethnic question: "Origins of the Hungarian Race", written in French, and "Our Heredity" in Hungarian. He represented Hungary in the League of Nations Assemblies.

The subject lived for two years in Italy, occupying, it is believed, a Consular position. He was expelled by the Mussolini government for his anti-fascist sentiments, and in 1941 was sent to Berlin as head of the Hungarian Legation's Press and Information section. In 1941-42 he organized a group of Balkan and Eastern European intellectuals into an organization to combat German influence in those areas. He headed a newspaper of similar tendency and was often the subject of strong attacks on the part of the German press, especially the "Volkischer Beobachter" and the "Frankfurter Zeitung". In 1943, together with KALLAY, President of the Hungarian Council, VAJTA founded another newspaper dedicated to championing the rights of Eastern and Southeastern European countries to manage their own affairs. This was suppressed when the Germans formally occupied Hungary in March of 1944.

In August of 1944, the Hungarian Conservative Party nominated VAJTA in the electoral contest against two Nazi Ministers. This election was never held, however, and VAJTA was sent to Vienna as a Consul General to supervise the question of Hungarian emigration. The Russians attacked him as a "Nazi tool" and asked for his extradition eleven times, attempting to arrest him four times in various European cities. In August of 1945 he worked on Magyar problems with the French General Staff in Austria. Later he traveled to Italy. In September of 1947 VAJTA fled from Italy with the aid of the U. S. Military authorities and arrived in Spain.

Marján SZUMLAKOWSKI:

Born in 1893, he attended the Universities of Lwów and Rome, specializing in the former, on historical studies. Between 1915 and 1918, Mr. SZUMLAKOWSKI was a journalist in Kiev, and in 1918 attended the preparatory sessions of the Peace Conference in Paris and London. In 1919 he was head of the Eastern Department in the Polish Foreign Office. Between 1926 and 1932 the subject was a delegate to the League of Nations Council and Assembly, representing the Polish Foreign Minister, whose Chief of Cabinet he had become in 1928.

Mr. SZUMLAKOWSKI acted as Rapporteur at the Disarmament Conference in 1932-1933. Other conferences in which he took part were: Peace Conference with the Soviets at Riga in 1920 and with Lithuania in Copenhagen in 1925. He was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain and Portugal in 1933. At the termination of the war in 1945 he was considered for nomination by the Allied Governments in Madrid on the newly re-formed German Chamber of Commerce, and holds that position at present after formal acceptance by the representatives of the three governments concerned.