

CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU



CIRCULARS
AND
MANIFESTOES

1927-1938

Editorial "Libertatea"
Madrid

Circulari si Manifeste

In Romanian:

- 1st Edition – Editura “Totul pentru Tara” – Bucuresti, 1937
- 2nd Edition – Editura Miscarii Legionare – Bucuresti, 1941
- 3rd Edition – Roncoted edition in exile (incomplete) –
Madrid, 1951
- 4th Edition – Colectia “Omul Nou” (roncoted) – Salzburg,
1951
- 5th Edition – Colectia “EUROPA” – München, 1981 .

In Italian:

- 1st Edition – Circolari i manifesti, – Edizioni all’insegna del
Ventre – Parma, 1980

In English:

- 1st Edition – Circulars and Manifestoes, – Editorial “Liber-
tatea” – Madrid, 1987

CIRCULARS
AND
MANIFESTOES



(I greet those who march toward the
great legionary victory,
Corneliu Z. Codreanu — 1938)

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MANIFESTOES

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Translated from the Romanian

Originally published as

Circulari si Manifeste

by Editura "Totul Pentru Tara," Bucharest, 1937.

English translation first published by
Editorial "Libertatea," Madrid, 1987.

**Archangelic
New Victory In
Legionarism**

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Printed in the United States of America

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FOREWORD

This book is a symbol!

The symbol of a living experience in historic realities and of a concept of life translated into fact.

*The knowing of legionary thought, as Corneliu Zelea Codreanu conceived it, is found in his main work **For my Legionaries**. In it one finds contained, as some priceless pearls, the norms and precepts of a conception totally new in politics and social life.*

Future Romanian generations, all those concerned in society's destiny and that of its members, shall some day drink deeply from the springs of legionary wisdom put together in the Captain's book. The people's destiny from now on is tightly bound to the legionary will and doctrine, as a point of support for a hope and a fulfillment in the future.

But Corneliu Z. Codreanu was not only a political thinker. He was also a politician in the fullest sense of the word; namely, a man of action, of organizing, of fight and education. Under his orders, the Legion of "Michael the Archangel's" cohorts have opened up new spiritual horizons and have implanted into the heart of the youth, a sense of living in dignity, the respect for man, the love for honest work and the joy of sacrifice.

Under the influence of his word, a world, out-of-the-ordinary, cemented its durability in a different style of living and understanding. Thought, sense and will have bent before the predestined one, for them to be reborn through him toward inner ennoblement and social renewal.

From the beginning, the Captain was an untiring presence, full of wisdom and enveloping vision. Steadfastly he led the Movement's evolution, authoritatively applying the principles expounded by him in legionary doctrine. Here a harshness, there an encouragement or a word of admonition, next a lesson . . . ; and so on, for each act, situation or problem.

Without respite, echoed through the land, a clear order, a suitable call, or a daring reply. Everything, in the Captain's attitude and achievement, was a lesson and an instructive pondering. Not words

in the wind, but accomplishment! Namely, the awakening of creative energies, man's inner transformation, the remaking of a new spirituality.

— * —

This was the permanent sense of the CIRCULARS AND MANIFESTOES signed by Corneliu Z. Codreanu up until March 1938.

Communiqués of battle, victories or defeats; oftentimes full of hopes and joys; full sometimes of bitterness and pain. But, always, overflowing with moral brilliance, a sense of justice and primacy of honor in thought and deed.

An ample and permanent GUIDE for the Iron Guard's legionaries. An example for every Romanian desirous of changing the country's face through changing his own inner nature.

New school for the entire tormented people, troubled by hardships and humiliated by all leaders who did not understand their own mission.

Through these concise communications, full of sincerity and passion, the cohesion of the entire organization was preserved and the model of the legionary man was created.

In the depths of these circulars is inscribed part of the spiritual phenomenon that had shaken the Romanian plains. It is the side of living in action which completes and evidences the grandeur of an original and imposing doctrine.

In the limitless encompassing of our people's problems and in their resolving through creating a man annealed from a different spiritual steel, lies the entire importance of the Captain's CIRCULARS. Importance denied and scorned by many, incapable as they are to grasp the message hidden in them . . .

But the world surrounding us trembles powerless under the pressure of distress rising from the depths . . . Devoid of an ideal, separated from the spirituality of God, threatened by the negative forces of materialistic ideologies, the sad humanity of our days grinds away its future in compromises and secret deals with its fiercest foes.

The legionary world alone retains its dignity and pride in this test

of force which threatens to soon turn into an apocalyptic conflagration. The legionary world alone is prepared for such a confrontation, for it alone lives in the spirit of the doctrine and of the Circulars which form its foundation.

Model of comportment and symbol of ennoblement, Corneliu Z. Codreanu's precepts bring into our world's political circuitry a breath of encouragement and confidence in the future. For only that man who will know how to face time's events heroically, serenely and disinterestedly — as legionaries are urged in CIRCULARS AND MANIFESTOES to do — only he will do his duty toward the enslaved people.

A more than welcome book for the Romanian community in exile.

FAUST BRADESCU

Champs sur Marne, September 1980

Word of clarification to the 3rd edition

We print the Captain's Circulars.

Only part of them; and some of them not fully. So much as we felt served the present needs for education and spiritual ennoblement.

They are meant for legionaries still alive, for those who will return from wayward ways, as well as for some outside our movement who might approach us.

The circulars do not serve the banal and fleeting political element, that of every day. They have an ethical character, constitute eternal teaching and contain life principles in the broadest meaning of our People's needs and of human perfection.

Their editing could be accomplished by ignoring poverty and defeating prejudices, through the generosity of several students and much friendly good will.

These circulars remind us of a certain past and establish truths; get us closer to our dead and show us those still alive; promenade us through places and immense spaces with sacrifices, offered one way or another; point out to us future responsibilities.

Reading them and traveling years back in time, we could not keep back our tears springing from a mysterious feeling of how great was

the suffering then and how much it continues to this day; this, because the fight we wage upholds forever the rightness of the Romanian People and prepares, on Christian lines, the way for a mankind freed of passion and enmity.

May God be with us.

VASILE IASINSCHI

Madrid, March 1951

Preface to the 4th edition

We again present the Captain's Circulars.

We can consider this edition complete. It is reproduced from a copy that was hard to find.

Still unpublished circulars there may be many, but they must await other times, and hopefully happier ones, of unification and liberation of Country.

The aim now is to save those we have at our disposal; from as many as exist, to quench our thirst for truth, the good and the beautiful — as at the clearest spring given by the Captain to us and to all future generations through his exhaustive labor and clean concern for the molding of a new man.

The edition printed in Spain represents a modest beginning. This one printed in Austria is meant to conserve for the Legion's history the documentary element until the return from exile.

The purpose of the Circulars is to fill a void in the education and deliverance of our souls. They can enlighten minds and awaken thoughts to open up ways of life for those who grope today in darkness.

The teachings and rightness contained in the Captain's writing will bear fruit for the entire Romanian world. They will also bear fruit in far away places, even in the souls of enemies. No moment of despair, but only patience, faith and hope in our struggle to the end.

With the help of these powers thrust into our depths we shall cover roads and abysses, water and emptiness.

For God is with us!

VASILE IASINSCHI

Madrid, October 1951

FOREWORD

The Captain's Circulars and Manifestoes are of overwhelming benefit for those wanting to understand the Legionary Movement.

One finds in them answers and solutions suitable to all individual and collective attitudes, solving problems of the Romanian people of today and of tomorrow.

*These circulars, other than their historic and documentary value regarding various moments the Legion has lived through, enduring defeats and snatching, over death, every victory, constitute what we legionaries call and will call from now on: **the Captain's line.***

Those who want to live in the real legionary spirit and not err in their actions, will constantly appeal to this line, will always come back to the clear spring of this book of unequalled thinking and supreme faith in the destiny of Romanianism in the world.

THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT

Bucharest, 1940

**THE LEGION OF MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL
RAPA GALBENA HOME
IASI**

CIRCULAR #1

The political situation has changed.

The government resigned. The High Regency will decide. In view of this fact, it consults with all politicians in the country. Soon we will thus have a new situation.

The Legion, though not getting involved in fights among political parties or competing with them on any issue, still will follow with the utmost interest the unfolding of events and will even intervene were anyone to dare muddy the waters.

The justification for this interest and for an eventual intervention resides only in the fact that the legionary must be alert to any change of situation, but particularly in the fact that:

1. Our enemy shows an interest; and wherever the enemy shows interest, there too, the Legion has the sacred duty to be interested.

2. The enemy tries to move in times of change, to intervene in order to gain ground; and wherever the enemy moves, there the Legion will also move in order to paralyze his intervention and pin him down.

That is why the Legion's command is:

Every legionary be on guard. Everywhere, lines be drawn together. Our small army will wait, weapons at the ready. To keep in closer communication, the Legion will send out weekly circulars, to legionaries, to the members of the committee of 100 and to the friends of the Legion. These circulars will leave Iasi every Saturday evening. Finally, we express our regret regarding the immense errors of the L.A.N.C.¹ leadership due to which L.A.N.C. is caught by events in a dire predicament.

It would have been befitting that its voice also be heard today in this country and that it would resound determinedly in the name of the Romanian's pains and in the name of the national soul's aspirations. But for these errors — which have lowered it

1. Romanian acronym for "The League of Christian National Defense" (Tr.)

from the stateliest heights ever attained by any organization in this country — the L.A.N.C. momentum would be today decisive.

But let us look forward to the healthy, strong and victorious future of the national movement, all of us shouting:

Long live the Legion!

C. Z. CODREANU

Iasi, 1927

— — —

CALL TO

THE CARRIERS OF THE NEW SPIRIT OF THIS TIME

LEGIONARIES,

The spokesmen of the political parties again scour our cities and villages seeking support in order to recoup. Under their reign the Romanian everywhere was impoverished and genuflected before the newly-arrived foreigner. The Fatherland's pressing issues are abandoned. Our *politicized* world sees nothing ahead but *the party's interest*, for whose victory it sacrifices daily, hour by hour, our very future as a people.

Our mountain forests, fallen into the hands of the foreigners, come crashing down.

The hearts of the Moti² and Maramuresans — forgotten by everybody — groan.

The abandoned Romanian workers are swelling the ranks of the communist Jews.

Romanian commerce, lacking protection, kneels in the unequal fight with the foreigner.

The destructive, conscience-corrupting germ is penetrating ever deeper within the ranks of our glorious army. And difficult times are foreseen for the future. If we should ever be called to the great international test, who will defend the land of our country and the glory of our banner?

2. Inhabitants of the Apuseni (Western) Mountains of Romania in the center of the Transylvanian plateau (*Tr.*)

The Romanian peasant sells his products under cost. Middlemen have proliferated and are swamping us. The coffeehouses are full of usurers and brokers, who get rich at the expense of those who do the work. The people is being robbed. The Romanian — mired in debt — has become a modern slave to the Jewish banker.

The country, divided into political parties tearing each other apart, collapses under our very eyes.

The parties' leadership is not a firm one, not does it have the slightest national direction or one of protecting and encouraging the Romanian element, which for many centuries has borne on its shoulders the life of the country.

LEGIONARIES,

Before this state of affairs, and sooner than the doomed petty political system could stage a comeback, I have unsheathed my sword and have raised the new banner of the times.

Ever stronger is felt in the air the need for other principles of political and moral life.

The de-politicizing of the country is an imperative of the day.

In lieu of the parasitic political parties, the need for a creative arm is felt.

In lieu of hesitation in leadership, the need for a magic wand is felt, to which the entire Romanian people would submit.

In lieu of the disunited parties eternally in conflict, unity of command is needed.

In lieu of the parties constantly subservient to the foreigners, a policy of independence and encouragement of the Romanianism supportive of Fatherland.

Tell those who may again try to win you over that their hour has ended. All these preachers can perish.

From now on you must listen but to a single voice, mysterious and impenetrable as God: *the Fatherland's call*. Let your whole being hear this voice. You must all heed it as one man.

ROMANIANS,

When your voice and arm shall proclaim victory, Romania will

rise again. In her, your children will bloom like peonies. The foreigner will respect her. Enemies will fear her.

SOLDIERS OF "THE IRON GUARD,"

When God predestines you to forge this new Romania, when from the Dniester to the Tisa, the Nation expects to welcome you with unending applause onto history's stage, let our shouts of battle and victory burst forth from your chests of steel:

Long live Romanian Romania!

Long live "The Iron Guard!"

CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU

Commandant of "The Iron Guard"

— — —

THE LEGION OF "MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL" "THE IRON GUARD" AN APPEAL AND A WARNING

ROMANIANS OF THE CAPITAL,

"The march of 'The Iron Guard' which was to take place in Bessarabia was stopped. The enemies of a healthy and powerful Romania have triumphed. For a full month the Sarindar St.³ little Jews from *Lupta* ("The Fight"), *Adevarul* ("The Truth"), *Dimineata* ("The Morning"), these poisoners of the Romanian soul, *have threatened, insulted, slapped* our souls, here in our own land.

"From ticks hooking into the bosom of this nation, they became the only ones who could understand the superior interests of our Fatherland, and turned themselves into uninvited censors of all its administrative acts.

"At *Turda*, they demanded the government stop our demonstration, claiming that Transylvania was being set afire; at *Cahul*,

3. Sarindar St. in Bucharest is where the Jewish press offices and presses were located (*Tr.*)

that revolution was being started in Bessarabia; at Galati, that slaughtering and pogroms were going to begin.

“They turned out to be contemptible provocateurs in each case, for the Legion kept perfect order and discipline everywhere.

“We were headed today towards the Dniester in order to turn Bessarabia’s face toward Bucharest.

“But this did not please these mercenaries of Communism.

“Bessarabia must continue to remain prey to Bolshevism and look to Moscow so that they can continue to terrorize, through the province between the Pruth and the Dniester, Romania’s entire political life.

ROMANIANS,

“The venal and perverse political system, this puss infecting our lives, aids and abets them – out of selfish petty electoral interest and out of a demeaning spirit of servility – in their work of dismembering our country and alienating our ancestral land. It was this selfish interest and this spirit which have been putting Romania for the last 60 years into the hands of foreigners.

“Look! . . . Today the martyrs of Maramures and Bucovina are beginning to stir! They cry out along their roads about the bitterness of slavery into which they were pitched by the treachery of all the country’s leaders; not that they had been forgotten by them, but that they had been sold out.

“Does it not seem to you at least strange that no voice has been found in this country to come to them with a word of consolation? And does it not seem to you to be at least a shamelessness to reduce the entire affair in Maramures to the ‘instigators’ Niculae Totu and Danila? Are they the ones who are guilty? What about the politicians who for 12 years, have daily been cheating these Maramures peasants, are they not guilty? What about the hundreds of thousands of roving Jews who descended upon them like locusts to take away the land they inherited from their ancestors and to enslave them, are these not instigators and provocateurs? What about the gentlemen from Sarindar St. who ridicule our pride in being masters in our own country, are they not provocateurs?

ROMANIANS,

“Here is a typical example from which one can see the real cause of the ‘disorders’ in Bucovina and Maramures.

“*Universul* (“The Universe”) of July 17, 1930 published the following statistic: ‘At Cernauti: children of school age in the elementary schools: 12,277, of which 3,378 only are Romanians (boys and girls) while the rest are foreigners.’ What other proof of the domination of the Romanian element in the northern part of Romania do you need? Where do you want the soul of the Romanian people to run from this huge and murderous invasion? You denigrate, slander, offend it by saying it rises up for a slice of bread due to its ‘precarious economic situation’ when in fact it daringly rises up to defend its own being on the northern borders. Why is it that no politician has come out to tell His Majesty the truth?

YOUR HIGHNESS,

“These unfortunate people do not ask bread. They demand justice! They demand deliverance for the Romanian soul on the verge of dying because it is being suffocated both in Maramures and Bucovina. They demand that measures be taken against the hundreds of thousands of Jews, gorged, rotund and white as worms, who defy them daily in their poverty, being protected by all Romanian local authorities.

GENTLEMEN JOURNALISTS FROM SARINDAR,

“Certainly, the Romanians know all too well that such a problem will not be solved by violent demonstrations; but, having reached the limit of their endurance, they wish to impose *Romanian leadership for Romania*; to force Romanian legislation, laws for the protection of the Romanian element in Romania.

“Perhaps you wish that, through your continuous insults with which you wound our Romanian souls, you will see me some day at the head of the holy rebels from Maramures? You had better know that at that instant your last hour has struck!

“In any case, if you consider the existing laws inadequate to

simmer you down, I declare to you that I have enough power to put you in your place and make you understand in which country you live.

“If you do not quiet down, I shall call up against you all that is alive in this country, determined to fight with all the weapons that my mind can call up.

ROMANIANS!

“*A New Romania* cannot be born from the back rooms of political parties, just as *Greater Romania* was not born from the calculations of politicians, but on the battlefields of Marasesti and the deep valleys on which cannon rained steel.

“*A New Romania* cannot be born except by battle; from the sacrifice of its sons.

“That is why I do not address myself to politicians but to you, *Soldier! Rise up! History calls you again! As you are. With your broken arm. With your fractured leg. With your bullet-riddled chest.* Let the powerless and the imbecile tremble. You, engage courageously in the battle.

“Soon ‘*The Iron Guard*’ will be calling you to a great rally in Bucharest for the defense of *Maramuresans*, the children of Dragos-Voda and of the *Bucovinans*, the sons of Stefan the Great and the Saint.

“Write on your banners: ‘*The foreigners have invaded us.*’ ‘*The alienated press poisons us.*’ ‘*The political system kills us.*’

“Blow your trumpets in alarm. Blow them with all your power.

“*At this moment, when the enemy invades us and the politicians betray us, Romanians, shout with trepidation as of old on mountain paths in hours of storm:*

“Fatherland! Fatherland! Fatherland!”

CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU
“Head of the Legion”

— — —

TO THE LEGIONARIES IN IASI

I write these hasty lines to you in the midst of battle. Here, in

this whirlpool of risk and dangers, my soul finds the purpose of all its earthly life.

In open battle, the holy hour has now struck that all those who throughout this land are of legionary heart, step with brave joy. It is in the sword that I unsheathed that a troubled and weakened Fatherland places its last hopes with so much confidence.

Who is he who would not behave like a lion when in the play of his sword lies the very existence of our sacred Romania?

The enemy must feel terrorized by the sharpness of this sword. Cowards should step aside. And you, fist tight on the iron handle, surge forward.

On your soldier brows the Country puts Its Blessing. From the height of heaven St. Michael the Archangel protects us, leads us and makes us victorious.

And you shall salute with "Present Arms!" those fallen in battle.

CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU

November 8, 1930

— — —

COMRADES,⁴

I send you herewith, my good-wishes and my salute full of admiration for the fighting youth of today.

The Fatherland places all its hopes in your arms. Be strong.

Reject with obstinacy all false theories of the phoney humanitarian and pacifist apostles who try to disarm you spiritually.

Do not forget that right is a quality that rests on force.

In this world people fight; from the depths of the sea all the way to the skies, there is but one fight in which animals devour one another.

In the world of plants, in nature, in forests and on fields — where people take refuge to enjoy peace — there is in reality only a muffled and ruthless fight for survival.

I want to say that in nature, the "peace" that all poets and literati sing does not exist, that only one single reality, great, cruel,

4. These lines were read at the 1930 Student Congress in Braila (*Ed.*)

superb, exists: *the war*.

Peoples which understand this truth, live. The others perish.

Romanians, surrounded on all sides by enemies of great appetite and invaded by enemies that weaken them systematically and grind down their powers of resistance and life, shall not be able to resist in the future, *unless they will understand that on their land* they must grow soldiers like fir trees in the forest.

From this fundamental truth and in this spiritual direction must begin all our activity.

The existence of this millenary Fatherland will then be assured. For its life! For its happiness! For its blossoming!

To battle then, all of us.

CORNELIU Z. CODREANU

— — —

REPRESSION 1933

Circular

All peoples of the world, down to savage tribes, as well as all living creatures, from domesticated animals to the beasts in the woods, defend their offspring because they represent *the future*, the day of tomorrow. What would it be like if the laws of nature would permit, and if they would not consider as a crime and moral monstrosity, that *the life of today kill the life of tomorrow?*

In what decadence and condemnation would lie the present which would rise against its own future?

And yet, this is the picture that is offered us in Romania by the beginning of the saddest Romanian administration.

By order of the Judaeo-masonic bankers of Paris — that which Mr. Tatarascu calls “the international will” — the Iron Guard was dissolved and the flower of Romanian youth were beaten, insulted, bloodied by a force incomparably superior, and now lie humiliated in all the prisons of Greater Romania.

Others rest in their graves and others in hospitals on the way to their graves, all of them absolutely innocent but for their faith in a better, grander Romanian future.

No guilt whatsoever.

I insist; so that no one will believe some day that our sins

merited the above-mentioned measures. As a matter of fact our innocence can be proved.

Yet since the month of July, "The Iron Guard" has held no political meeting, has engaged in no agitation, has printed no manifestoes, has offered no occasion for any conflict with public authorities with whom moreover, it has actually been cooperating.

On the occasion of the festivities in Carol Park organized by the Police Prefecture who requested my help, I have authorized three times that some 200 legionaries dressed in uniform offer their unsparing support. This support was given and for thanks they received — this last time — blows to the head delivered by the same commissars of the same Police Prefecture, on the night of December 9-10, when blood was splattered on the walls of all legionary homes.

The only activity of "The Guard" has been a work of constructive education (before the radio broadcast of Mr. Tatarascu): the building of a student dormitory in Bucurestii-Noui.

Some worked, while the hearts of others were swelling with joy seeing how each passing day out of the efforts of common arms, the fruit of their labor, rose ever higher under God's blessing.

Work of education, which, for true effectiveness, demanded the attention and quiet of all.

They were guilty of nothing; they attacked no one; they did not even say to a single being: "Move over."

It was in this state of affairs that Mr. Duca came to power with his ceaseless threats — which at the same time constituted for the foreign bankers, the rulers of Romania, assurances — that he would dissolve "The Iron Guard."

What could justify "The Guard's" dissolution?

1. *Our attitude?* Agitations? Grave disturbances, even lesser ones? Subversive acts? Terroristic? Out of the question! For they did not exist; not even in the minds of our accusers and torturers.

Excluded! For we do not work on a present plane. We work on a plane of the future. We did not, and do not ask to govern. Moreover: it does not even interest us who comes to power. This leaves us absolutely indifferent. We are interested in the Romania of tomorrow, taking part, naturally, in a certain proportion — for our own education — in all the current activities of the present: in parliament, journalism, science, arts, etc. This truth also removes

the lie usually attributed to us on such an occasion, that we would seek a *coup d'état*, which presupposes the intent to govern immediately.

As a matter of fact we have not been prevented from exercising any try at violence or illegality, but on the contrary, *it was through violence that we were prevented from using the legal means.*

And now a brief question.

How does the man with the soul of a beast, Mr. I. G. Duca, justify all the blood that he shed, the Romanian blood of our innocent comrades?

By invoking "the international will," by the order of the Judaeo-masonic bankers of Paris whose servant he is and to whom he sold Romania's interests and our Romanian lives?

This is the most shameful capitulation known in the political history of Romania; — "Kill your children with your own hands, we need the destruction of your future, Romania!" — This is the infamous order whose executor became a Romanian prime-minister.

Before these facts of historical gravity, I ask myself, as a whole world does:

Where are the perennial defenders of "national dignity" — whose name I am ashamed to utter — who today cover by their silence, this, the saddest capitulation? Do you not see that the "object" of the sellout is no longer matches or oil, or the forests, but our very blood and lives?

Under these foreign orders there were arrested and tortured a countless number of priests headed by the old and sick priest Rev. Ion Mota of Orastie who for 22 years had warmed Romanian hearts through *Libertatea*, and by the 80-year old father of Tudose Popescu, priest in Marcesti.

Prompted by these foreign orders, a whole roster of intellectuals headed by university professor Dan Radulescu, a leader of Romanian science, by attorney Emil Vasiliu-Cluj and by professor Ion Zelea-Codreanu, are suffering the tortures of martyrs.

Prompted by these foreign orders, side by side with thousands of tortured peasants, the flower of Romanian youth lingers in every prison, headed by Ion I. Mota, Mihail Polihroniade, Radu Gyr, M. Lefter, Ilie Garneata, Dr. Trifan, Corneliu Georgescu, engineer Virgil Ionescu, Dr. Vasile Marin, professor Vasile Cris-

tescu, Sergiu Lecca, Alexandru Cantacuzino, professor Horia Sima, Totu, Cranganu, Bozantan, Popa, Dr. Colhon and Lupu, etc., etc.

All of them know that when the great hour of legionary victory strikes, they will not go unavenged.

No one has stood up for us.

In these difficult hours, when monarchical youth was allowed to be ripped apart by those who most dragged Monarchy into the mud, I have ascertained one thing: no one has stood up for us, not in the face of Mr. Duca's thirst for blood, or in the face of the foreign bankers' infamous demands.

Even the doors of Justice, the Public Prosecutor's Office, have been closed to us as to some rabid dogs. To our innumerable lawful petitions of grievances we received no answer. In the hearts of thousands of youth who are familiar with and admire the postures of justice in other lands in similar cases — the pride born of faith in the virtues of Romanian justice wavers.

How is it possible that in a country where justice is supposed to prevail, men who have no guilt can be tortured for weeks on end yet not be able to secure it in any form? Still, real justice, not that of the Prosecutor's Office, surely will not refuse us satisfaction. So, to it we shall appeal.

Dear comrades who will celebrate Christmas in prisons, with your bodies bloodied and your hearts full of mourning, do not let this "isolation" get you down, for God is not against us, and that is why we can never be defeated. We will rally our loose ranks and "The Iron Guard" will come out of this suffering brighter than ever.

In your name, I thank all those who have found for us a good word and especially to the newspapers *Cuvantul* and *Calendarul* which we shall never forget for their attitude and help given us.

Who answers?

Who answers for all the blood that was spilled and for all these offenses, for all the tortures?

The foreign bankers? No, answers Mr. Duca, together with the other seller of our souls, N. Titulescu. So answer Messrs. Victor Iamandi, Inculet, Victor Antonescu, Valer Roman; and so

answers General Dumitrescu, Commandant of the Gendarmerie, who behaved with unspeakable infamy and Mr. Cristescu, General Director of the *Securitate*. These are our murderers and the torturers of over 10,000 Romanian children.

Their names shall forever be inscribed on the walls of our homes full of blood.

They boast everywhere that they have dissolved and destroyed the Iron Guard. We only answer: One never knows!

CORNELIU Z. CODREANU

December 1933

— — —
ORDER

On December 10, 1933 at 6:30 in the morning, General Cantacuzino-Granicerul published "this order left me by the Captain:"

Comrades,

1. You shall await calmly and with the same unconquered faith the unleashing of the storm.

2. You shall never doubt that this is the road of great victories.

3. You shall submit to the measures of justice in whose virtues we have and will believe unlimitedly.

4. You shall divide your votes, over 200,000 in number, as follows, this time again obeying me without hesitation:

a/ *Legionaries in Transylvania shall vote for Iuliu Maniu.*

b/ *Legionaries of the Old Kingdom and other regions shall vote for Gheorghe Bratianu.*

c/ *In the counties where Marshal Averescu personally runs, you shall give him the votes and you shall place yourselves at his disposal in whatever province he is a candidate.*

d/ *You shall fight for these three men with the same zeal with which you would have fought for your own movement. You shall throw into the fight all your forces to see them win, as you would wish to see us win.*

These men do not share our faith, but better with them than with those who would seem to share it with us but are devoid of character. The Turks did not share the faith of Stefan the Great

but he preferred them to all the Christian peoples in his vicinity, expressly because the latter lacked character.

I insist however on one point: I have not met these men, I have not talked to them, they have not asked this of me and I have not promised them anything.

This order stems from me, sprung from my conscience that you have to vote, that it is not good for you to forfeit your votes.

In no case should you vote for the Cuzists.

1. Because the Cuzists, this time just as in the past, are but another face of the government. To vote for them would mean to vote for the government which has conferred upon us the great honor of being dissolved before history.

2. Because the Judaeo-French bankers have not demanded of the liberals the dissolution of Cuzism, not even its persecution or harassment, certainly for the reasons that these masters are satisfied at the way in which Cuzism acts and they are pleased with its existence or at any rate, they have no fear of it.

3. Because I am deeply convinced that you cannot trust the Cuzists' word; they are men of no character, capable of any compromises, even that of bending and humbly kissing the hand of these bankers who dare put on airs of masters at home, here in our land, considering us one of their colonies. Thus it is not through Cuzism that I see that the Paris Jewish bankers' daring could be defeated.

I consider it a great misfortune, in the depth of my conscience as a Romanian, the directing of national movements along the lines of Cuzism.

Comrades,

I expect from you at this hour the proof of discipline, of your faith and of the unflinching resistance. Constantly remember our dead who bind us together and command us.

Sharing with all of you the pain of every blow you receive, I drink by your side from the cup of pain and injustice, but holding, more than at any other time, the belief that tomorrow we shall drink together from the cup sanctified with sacrifices of the legionary victory.

I embrace you with the old camaraderie.

CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU
Chief of "The Iron Guard"

TREASON

Comrades,

The Council of Honor, composed of legionary Commandants who earned their rank in battles and of legionaries who have taken the vows, presided over by General Cantacuzino-Granicerul, in order to look into "the Stelescu case," today at 3:30, after a four-hour deliberation, reported as follows:

1. Mihail Stelescu is guilty as a legionary.
2. He is guilty of high treason.
3. Mihail Stelescu, in the Code of Honor is and remains disqualified.

The decision was rendered unanimously by the Council made up of 23 persons.

I. In view of this sentence, I, the undersigned, Chief of the Iron Guard, dismiss Mihail Stelescu from the Guard for an unlimited length of time.

II. I congratulate the Council of Honor and its President, General Cantacuzino-Granicerul, for the salutary and morally high sentence given.

III. I accord Stelescu the right, in a future as remote as possible, which would be at my discretion, to redeem before the same Council of Honor convoked by me for this purpose, only by sacrifice, his lost honor and committed sin.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

September 25, 1934

C I R C U L A R

I abolish forever Sector III Blue of the Capital in view of the fact that it was here that the former legionary commandant Stelescu began and carried on his treasonable actions.

I want it known that the environment which permits, be it even

by carelessness, the raising of a traitor from its midst, is responsible and it must be destroyed.

Thus, for the history of this Iron Guard, the legionary corps and the political organization of this sector remain abolished, with no right of reconstitution.

Legionaries of this sector can affiliate individually with the other sectors.

— * —

The Brotherhoods of the Cross in the Capital are abolished for the same reason.

— * —

Legionaries Tcaciuc Todor, Petrescu and Mazilescu are ousted from the Iron Guard for a term of three years because at Budachi, in close contact as group leaders under Stelescu's direct command, they lacked the necessary perspicacity to observe that in their midst a plot for the movement's destruction was being hatched, and also lacked the necessary dignity to step out front and report, as seven did, when faced with the first move in the plot.

— * —

Legionary Otto Steperek from Galati, is eliminated for a term of five years for participation in the action of disintegration of the Guard begun by Mihail Stelescu.

— * —

I cite by order of the day, to the entire membership of the Iron Guard, the seven legionaries of the Budachi work camp: Dumitrescu, Cuza, Marinescu, Visan Ion, Barsan Eugen, Craciunescu Petre and Burcea Ion, who upon the first try at breaking up exhibited by Stelescu in the Budachi work camp, stepped out in front of the unit, demanded an explanation, branded the gesture and finally left the work camp.

Let the legionary attitude of these comrades be an example for all legionaries of the whole country.

In the wake of these unfortunate happenings which have touched the honor of our Guard never up to now stained, which have impaired our pride: Discipline, unlimited Trust in chiefs and our spiritual Bloc of which all adversaries were fearful, impressive to all who knew us, we feel wounded in our pride and our honor as

an army.

From now on we will carry this stain as we go with it into history's tomb.

BEWARE:

1. Do not allow yourselves to be tempted with words, praise or the enemy's money or that of so many suspect individuals placed in his service.

2. Never work at these men's suggestion. Work always only by order of your superior or on your own initiative.

3. Avoid those who send you gifts.

4. Be careful.

5. Do not permit the formation of separate groups within the Guard, or the spreading of ideologies for such ends: "We are the extreme right or the extreme left of the Guard; The So-and-So group, etc., etc."

Groups lead to the crumbling of the movement, to destruction of its unity.

I repeat: This guilt approaches that of treason.

The Guard is a perfect unity and any tendency to break this unity is a crime.

6. Do not think of yourself, of your own person, of the place in which you are placed.

Do not create for yourself rights for what you do. Let them be acknowledged by others.

Our glory resides in the only right which we, on our own, have taken upon ourselves from the beginning: that of giving the Guard everything, without expecting anything in return.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— — —

CIRCULAR

Legionary Cotea Vasile is forever eliminated from the Guard for the decision taken and the preparations made to assassinate his own leader.

Cotea confessed and asked for his punishment.

Pursuant to the Christian line of our movement and by my

Christian conviction, I accord Cotea the same right to redeem over the years — only through sacrifice — the sin committed against the Guard.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

September 25, 1934

DISPOSITIONS:

Following Order #1 regarding Mihail Stelescu:

No legionary may have contact of any nature any longer with the two ousted members. No one may shake their hands. The legionary army will never again sing the songs composed by Mihail Stelescu.

C I R C U L A R

Comrades,

Tomorrow, November 8, being the day of St. Michael the Archangel, we shall begin our holy day with prayer yet this evening at 6 o'clock.

In the morning each of us individually will go to the Church of his Parish.

We will remember the pomp with which we used to celebrate this day in years past . . . And that future day when all that is living breath in this country will celebrate St. Michael the Archangel-Victorious, before our present-day enemies, awed and crushed by Victory's grandeur.

We shall pray for those among us who have fallen and for those who will yet fall in the service of the Romania we dream.

We have unshakeable trust in our day of tomorrow and of our legionary Romania.

We have unshakeable trust in the ruthless sword of St. Michael the Archangel.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 7, 1934

THE LIBERAL PARTY

Circular

We swear that we will never forget the horrors and crimes perpetrated by the Liberal Party, hangman of the Romanian youth and of the people. (Oath on the occasion of December 10, 1934.)

Comrades,

The Legionary Movement proclaims the day of December 10 as the day of legionary suffering. Of all suffering endured and of that yet to come.

The Liberal Party came to power in November of last year.

In compliance with the commitments made by I. G. Duca to the Jewish International Finance, the government has pounced upon us, trampling underfoot laws, justice, pity.

It has struck with the violence of a savage beast, believing that it can intimidate legionaries.

These, though incomparably fewer and weaker, have stood up everywhere chest ready for suffering and death, faced with the disaster threatening them.

We remember how they resisted at Constanta where Virgil Teodorescu died; at Nisipari, at Reni, at Pascani, at Iasi where Nita died; at Giurgiu, at Cluj, and everywhere.

Legionaries are proud of their suffering.

This is the first time that, in this country of cowardice — violence, illegality and an appetite for the degradation of human dignity, are confronted by an obstacle of pride and obstinacy which has moved every conscience.

Legionaries fought with so much bravery, so much fire and so much dignity, that any soul and any adversary but this one, would have granted their freedom for the bravery alone with which they fought for it. But among the canailles no such reasoning will be found.

On December 9 [last year], by an act of government, the Liberal Party dissolved the Iron Guard, and during that night, all legionary homes throughout the entire land were violated by gendarmes and policemen. Legionaries, their wives, their children

were molested. In some places roughed up, in others all bloodied, in others shot.

Finally they were forcibly picked up, in their nightwear, and transported to prisons. Without any legal formality whatever, with no trace of respect.

There in prisons, the greatest humiliations, the greatest physical suffering.

The Liberal Party's men, with hatred and sadistic pleasure, tortured the arrested and their families.

In remembrance of these tortures, all of us who then suffered, let us make of December 10 a day of fast and prayer, the day of suffering for the faith in our Country, for the faith in its future.

Each year on December 10 let us remember the injustice done us, and those who have committed it.

In all meetings taking place on this day, the names of all those who had the role of moral and material hangmen will be read aloud.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, December 1, 1934

— — —

AFTER THE REPRESSION

*Letter for the New Year 1935,
to all the legionaries in the whole land.*

Comrades,

The hardest year has passed; the toughest we have ever met in our struggle; the most difficult that perhaps for hundreds of years the Romanian youth has faced.

The balance-sheet: 18,000 arrests with 18,000 homes violated by barbarians and spattered with innocent blood; 300 wounded in hospitals; 16 dead; and three in dungeons for life.

Comrades,

Finally, all this has passed; and the iron in our Guard after having passed through this fire and then through the waters of the

most infamous betrayal, which only later will be known, has been changed into annealed steel.

Our soul, too, is today annealed and on the threshold of the New Year 1935, we are ready to again enter the battles with a determination and bravery never before known.

The coming year is for us a lucky one. The Legionary Movement will take on the aspect of an avalanche and it will score triumphal victories.

To you all, comrades, who have suffered and who after so much have stood firm in faith, unbent before the wave of calumnies and insults, I send my wish for happiness, joy and victory for the year 1935.

Pray for those dead who watch over us, and keep vigil over the three wasting away below ground.

Forward, dear legionaries! Be proud of everything that took place this hard year and step with unbounded confidence into the year that comes.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

January, 1, 1935

— — —

TO THE BRAILA ORGANIZATION

Please communicate the following to the legionaries who want to put out a paper in Braila:

1. They may publish a paper but are not to name it *Arhanghelul* or a similar name that would commit us.

2. A declaration to leave the ranks of the legionaries, on the part of those putting out the paper or supporting it, must be printed in its first number on the first page.

3. This resignation letter must be sent also to me.

4. The published paper cannot be read by any legionary.

Legionaries who *do not have patience*, as I have, must understand the following:

a/ I shall take care as to when to give the signal for battle, when each will have to go out to do battle and win.

b/ Until that hour no one moves, not even as much as a leaf in a tree.

c/ It is hard! I know it is hard. But whoever wants to be vic-

torious must know how to endure. Now, it is *the heroism of endurance*.

d/ Still, I think they are good fellows and smart enough to understand this letter well and to no longer upset me after I have been so upset; and after I had sent them word through Mile Leter regarding the paper.

I ask them as legionaries:

If the order for now is *quiet*, can they not respect it? Or do they imagine I have died, that the movement has died, that it is dying or that we do not know what to do and that that is why we keep quiet?

Let them have no such worry.

We live. We do not even fear the Devil. The Movement has not died and let no one be afraid that it will die.

I am here and I answer for victory.

But I want no one to move without my word.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, January 21, 1935

— — —

DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF DASTARDLINESS AND PLOTTINGS

Circular

Legionaries,

I can imagine how difficult it must be for you all in far-away villages, going without information or any news. It does not reach you because of censorship and repression.

To you only bad news comes, insults, calumnies, lies, maybe you will begin to doubt and will abandon the fighting position. Everything that is breath of treason in this country *throws mud and venomous slobber over our wounds*, received amidst so many *dangers* during past fighting.

Through this darkness and the unknown, lacking any guidance and directive, march tens of thousands of legionaries, led only by their healthy instinct, by honor and unwavering faith in the victory of the legionary banner.

What an impressive tableau: this legionary troop, fanned out over the country's whole territory, with no command whatever, yet stepping in the same admirable *spiritual cadence* on the roads to victory; sure of itself, in spite of all plottings, enticements, perfidious endeavors.

How much honor this moment adds to the name of legionary! It will be recorded in history.

For what other organization in the world other than in Romania, could have survived under the same truly infamous conditions? Everybody is against us. We have no friend at all. No sincere, helpful hand do we glimpse anywhere stretched out to us. The ones you see, which try to lure and buy us, solicitously approaching, are *enemy hands*.

In this wide world, *we are alone*. The others, all, enemies.

And yet astounded they look at us — so poor as we are — defiantly stepping and sure of ourselves, before their riches, temptations, insults, blows.

Treason? It augments our pain. But it also increases our glory. For, harassed from every direction, struck from behind, in front, on the flanks, from everywhere, and *betrayed* on top of it all by brothers of theirs, legionaries fight on, fight against all, their hearts rent by pain. But they fight. Resist. Win. Their glory is great!

Dear comrades of suffering!

We will have to continue so. Government, Jews, Masons, "The Occult" and all other pygmies believe that in our incapacity to be active, in fact forbidden to be, we will scatter, split up, join other formations and our *spiritual bloc which instilled terror in Jewry*, will be fragmented.

They will not live to see such a day. For *never* will the legionary soul be broken into two. It is something else they will see.

They will see *the Legionary Victory*. And that day, disarmed, defeated, bewildered — infamous as they are — they will try to shout: "*Long live the legionaries!*"

You have my word that we shall respond:

"Get back, Canailles!"

Because after hundreds of years for *the Canaille*, the hour has come that it, the Canaille amidst Romanians, be crushed!

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, March 1, 1935

— — —
LEGIONARY PUNISHMENT

Dear comrade,

Three weeks ago I established a legionary court of judgement to be administered by Father Ionescu Duminica.

I want by this to educate all legionaries in the sense of knowing, when they err or stray from the legionary path, to admit their error, to pay through punishment. The legionary will have to say: "I erred, but I paid. I do not owe anything to anybody."

Secondly, I want legionaries to forget the idea that if one pays through punishment for a committed wrong, it is something to be ashamed of. No. It is something sacred, for you re-establish a rightness you upset, an equilibrium you disrupted.

No one is lost when he receives punishment; all of us are lost when we close our eyes to the wrongs committed by legionaries, because we shatter our *line of legionary life, our laws*, by virtue of which we live as legionaries in the world.

In order to implement this education, I have not taken to task those from among the small and weak, but I preferred the best, who by their attitude before legionaries would be real educators.

They will not wail, will not revolt, will not whine, but will say: "Comrades, we erred in such and such a question, for see what the line is, the legionary dogma and see how I proceeded. Now I execute my punishment, my forehead high, with satisfaction. I pay for what I did."

What wonderful education could be given *the masses of legionaries* who come in ever-increasing numbers, and we lack the means for such an end.

Their large numbers coming in with only the old mentality will impair our legionary spirit.

Rather than write books on the subject offering all kinds of theories, it is through punishment given someone that I demonstrate good leadership to all: this is allowed, this is not allowed. But it is difficult because we are in the country of *running away*

from responsibility.

We, legionaries, will produce however, another man, whom we will oppose to the cowardly man, the old, and who will say: "*I answer!*"

You, it seems, did not read *The Nest Leader's Manual*.

Before a court you start with:

I. "Not having enrolled, not having taken any vow and with no obligation on my part."

The answer: Like yourself, there were others who were not enrolled, who did not take a vow, yet still felt they had obligations: General Cantacuzino, Dragos Protopopescu, Prof. Cristescu, Prof. Barbu, Mihail Polihroniade, Vojen, Prof. Radu Gyr, etc., etc.

Did you think you were the only one? . . .

II. "*I have not been vainglorious* as others who were enrolled have been."

III. "I did not want to languish or be considered a negligible filler."

The answer: All of us languish in trenches; for such are the times.

IV. "I will never relinquish my place to one inferior to me."

I ask: Where are we here? In a political party? Do we jockey for position? Have we forgotten that those of us are greater who give up everything and trample our own selves underfoot along with every craving?

V. "This is what I have held and I shall continue to hold as a guide for my comportment."

What are you saying, my dear Sir? Do you not hold as yours the Legion's slogans? Or are you guided only by slogans of your own making?

VI. "I ceased to receive anything written, I have not been called!"

No one has received anything, it was not only you. Because I wanted to see who loses his patience. For now, we all have to pass the test of the heroism of endurance.

VII. When you were here I did not say you *did wrong* in supporting the Vaidist list, but that in having had the time to ask, you *did not*.

VIII. "Was I ever again consulted or asked if I am still alive?"

I ask you now: Is this the posture of a soldier in the Iron Guard?

— * —

Dear Sir,

Since this court of judgement was established, there were others besides you brought before it.

Here are their names:

- a) The legionary committee of the School of Theology. Punished with 100 days of manual labor at the Church.
- b) Professor Radu Gyr, punished with three days of labor.
- c) Legionary Commandant Sandu Valeriu.
- d) Commandant-aide Vasile Bostina.
- e) Cristodulo Luzi, President of the Prahova Organization with the entire committee; their case still pending.

But no one has answered me in the way you did. All of them showed up before the court with legionary pride: "If we have erred in something, we take the consequences immediately."

When I saw them thus I experienced a great inner satisfaction.

— * —

You have been very wrong thinking that the manner of your answer is: chivalry.

— * —

Your punishment was not great: two days of work at the Church; and I did not want to chop off anybody's head, but to establish *a legionary law: faced by a somewhat delicate action, the legionary, when he has the time, checks with his leader.*

Only when he does not have the time to ask, does he work on his own initiative.

What kind of letter has your heart produced in support of this legionary law?

But no matter.

Execute the punishment of two days of labor; and meditate on what you wrote Father.

I am not angry, because my aim is to educate, to correct, to straighten out. But I tell you: you are not on the correct legionary line of behavior.

Dearly,

Long live the Legion!

May 23, 1935

— — —

LETTER TO THE
BROTHERHOOD OF THE CROSS GALATI

Dear Comrades,

Yes! You celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Brotherhood of the Cross in Galati.

How joyous the soul must be when — over so many obstacles — you can say the Brotherhood of the Cross is still alive and well.

How many battles did the Danubian Brotherhood fight; how many joys did it bring me; how many fighters of bronze have been born in that nest: Tocu, Savin, Macrineanu, Simion Lefter, Costea, Nicolai Ion, Stefanescu and others who no longer come to mind!

The Galati Brotherhood of the Cross has acquired a tradition of bravery of which it can be proud in a victorious Romania tomorrow, when the glories are going to be divided.

Today only the wounds are being shared.

But destiny has also been cruel to you brothers of the cross from Galati. In your midst was born and raised a traitor.

How heavily this burdens you, our honor as soldiers, me!

For it was I who encouraged him and lifted him up to a position he never dreamed he could reach at the age of twenty-five.⁵

Today, when we live fettered, he is out free and with enemy money attacks us with mud, applauded by the Judaic power, and puts out an expensive paper which we, in our merciless poverty for 10 years could never hope to publish.

My dear comrades,

You shall keep strong. This is victory's road. I wish you will follow it to the end, defying everything barring your advance.

In the end you shall be victorious.

Christ won!

5. Corneliu Z. Codreanu refers here to parliamentarian M. Stelescu who had then turned traitor (Tr.)

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, May 25, 1935

— — —

THE PROBLEM OF THE OFFENSE

Legionaries,

Problems of honor no longer interest anyone in Romanian society.

One can be offended to the utmost.

The offender knows well that in this country the mainspring of *honor no longer functions, that he is met by no opposition, that he risks nothing.*

Because of this all Romanian society lives in an atmosphere of general cowardice.

I think that we legionaries are sufficiently determined and sufficiently strong to put *an end* to this state of affairs and to see to it that from *us* a Romanian way of life based on *honor* commence in all strata of society.

— * —

With this purpose, Friday, May 31, 1935, General Cantacuzino will speak, showing the proper comportment of the legionary before the offense.

Present will be: all chiefs of legionary units in the Capital, the nest Axa, the Macedonians, the students' nest leaders.

— * —

Mr. engineer Clime will see to it that a stenographer be also present.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

May 25, 1935

— — —

TO FATHER HERBEI

Ineu, Arad

Esteemed Father,

I do not recall that we ever personally met. In any case, we have both partaken of the same faith and were baptized in the same baptism of suffering.

Tomorrow, above all the suffering, blows, threats and even death, we will rise again.

And we shall joyously meet, relating our calvary to one another, all of us who by the will of God have partaken of suffering with them. We will wonder at the grandeur of victory, and will disgustedly laugh at the cowardice and baseness of those who today persecute and strike us.

Throughout all the battles and in the midst of all the blows, I retain the same unswerving faith, that we shall rise again, vanquishing in the name of our Savior Jesus Christ and that of the Romanian People.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, May 27, 1935

— — —

BELOVED COMRADE

I am tardy with my answer because of so much work.

I. All those enrolled after the repression are no longer legionaries but members. Following three years of probationary membership, one can become a legionary.

II. The transfer of a legionary from one nest to another is not permitted. The nest can split only in order to create another nest.

Then, a family of nests is formed and all the newly-formed nests belong to their family.

III. It is inadmissible for a legionary to intrigue against another legionary.

IV. No separation between poor and rich legionaries is allowed. The only distinction is made by whoever sacrifices more for the Legion. He is first.

— * —

Headship. I am very saddened when legionaries quarrel for leadership. This is a great sin.

Chief, no matter who he is, will be the greater of two who will sacrifice his ambitions. He who will trample upon his own ambition.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

May 29, 1935

CIRCULAR

Dear comrades,

This time, I reach for my pen to announce to you the painful news that today, Sunday at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, legionary Hristache Solomon, member in the Legion's Senate and Leader of the County of Putna, died.

That old man who loved us so much, bound to us from the first legionary day with a faith that never for one second wavered, for eight years; the old man who has helped us with his money, his bread oftentimes taken from the mouths of his family, the old Hristache Solomon who was struck on our account, who suffered martyr's suffering in the Focsani and Jilava prisons, today leaves our ranks as a great soldier.

One cannot talk and one could never be able to talk about the Iron Guard without talking of Hristache Solomon.

He did his whole duty. He dies on the legionary field of honor, in the most trying times for us, but he dies in the ancestral Christian religion, in the faith of the Resurrection of Romanians and in the certainty of the legionary victory.

Uncover your heads, legionaries of the entire country, before his great soul which ascends to heaven. Carry forever his memory and call him to come among you any time you need his help.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, May 31, 1935

Dispositions:

I decided that we legionaries will bury him — we whom he helped so many times while alive — and that is why I ask those of means to send their contribution to engineer Blanaru, 22 Lascar Catargiu Blvd., Focsani.

The burial will take place Wednesday at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, in Focsani.

— — —

CIRCULAR

Everything that is sent out from the headquarters (orders, circulars, manifestoes, etc.) is not distributed free to anyone.

The price is 1 *leu*⁶ per sheet.

Leaders of local organizations must send in the money every two weeks. Because we cannot go longer without it, particularly since people have grown accustomed to receiving so many things gratis. The legionary must get rid of this sad habit. He should be offended when someone offers him something gratis.

His honesty, correctitude, pride, demand of him that he understand that behind every manifesto there is a man who works and needs a livelihood, equipment, paper, ink.

Pay for his labor, so that tomorrow your own labor will deservedly be paid for.

— * —

Organizations and units leaders will educate all legionaries and especially peasants on this subject, permitting no deviations and being severe in the execution of this circular.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

May 31, 1935

— — —

THE FIRST STEPS IN THE CARMEN SYLVA WORK CAMP

To our comrades in all Dobrogea

The legionary youth from the entire country comes to the seashore, at Carmen Sylva, to recover its health.

At the same time it wishes to erect through its labor one of the most beautiful buildings among those along the entire Romanian shore of the Black Sea.

For supplying the food for this work camp of brave but poor youth, I appeal to all comrades in Dobrogea.

I establish the following Centers:

Supply Center #1, Silistra, shall collect foodstuffs, cheese, ve-

6. The Romanian monetary unit, plural *lei* (*Tr.*)

getables, corn meal from Durostor County. Head of the supply center — attorney Alexandrescu.

Supply Center #2, Bazargic, the same foodstuffs to be collected from Caliacra County. Head of center — Popescu, typesetter.

Supply Center #3, the city of Constanta. Head, attorney Seitan.

Supply Center #4, Harsova. Head, Mihalache Zaharia.

Supply Center #5, "Demircea." Head, Ionita Ozum.

Supply Center #6, "Dulgheriu." Head, Moldoveanu, teacher.

Supply Center #7, Head, Stoia Gheorghe.

Supply Center #8, Head, Virgil Galan.

Supply Center #9, Head, Rev. Ion Chivu.

Supply Center #10, Fetesti. Head, attorney Palosan.

Supply Center #11, Balcic. Head, Rev. Imbrescu.

Supply Center #12, Cocialac. Head, Sichirlischi.

Supply Center #13, Tulcea. Head, Arnautu.

Supply Center #14, Macin. Head, Teodorescu.

All these supply center heads will proceed according to their own initiative and power to collect foodstuffs from throughout their region and to ship them by any means deemed proper, weekly, or at least every other week, addressed to C. Z. Codreanu, Legionary Work Camp Carmen Sylva, 500 meters from Movila towards Tuzla lighthouse.

Legionaries who want to come to work will bring along: blanket, tableware, working clothes, underwear and some food.

Good-bye to all,
Corneliu Z. Codreanu

May 31, 1935

THE STUDENT'S DUTY

Circular

Dear students,

Soon, each of you shall return home to see your parents and birth nest.

A year of work at the university has ended. During this time

you engaged in intense activity. You have studied within your college, and without, you have fought for your people carrying the torch that lights its future, telling it: This is your way, Romanian people!

The legionary way . . .

— * —

You saw how we have been insulted, spat upon, stricken by all. You have seen how hatred seethes around you as the sea around a rocky island. You have felt well the infamous conspiracy of *everybody* against us: government, Jews, Cuzists, National-Peasants, communists, University Senates; and you — a handful of men with a soul of rock — *have withstood it all*.

And you will win. Because to the machinations of the pygmy you answered with the hero's frankness. You will win because your people lives in you. You will win because our people, betrayed by all, lives only with the hope of victory of the legionary faith. The entire good fortune of this people's future is committed to our fight. In this moment, the people lives with us, fights through us, is victorious through us or, if we fall, dies with us.

— * —

Presentation: Upon arrival in your county you shall present yourselves before the county chief under whose command you enter, for him to be able eventually to communicate to you orders that arrive from headquarters.

The school of legionary education: Once at home you shall educate in the legionary spirit all those you meet who are less prepared than yourself, with respect to the following: legionary bearing, salute, presentation, decency, honesty, to be just toward all people, confidence in victory, respect for those who have made sacrifices, dissention among legionaries, how the enemies fight — with calumny, lies, buying off, intrigues, etc.

You must not look down upon those you find back home.

Your behavior: everywhere, on any occasion, let it be truly a model. Carry with yourselves your honor!

The care for the high school students: Baptize them in your faith. Explain to them all the intrigues to which they will be subjected, so that when they enter the university they will not fall prey to the evil ones.

The Liberal Party: You, university youth, wherever you shall go, you must never forget the way the Liberal Party behaved toward us.

Do not forget Messrs. Tatarascu and Inculet, who for two years have mocked all that our labor has saved:

The Home in Iasi, occupied; the Green House in Bucurestii-Noui; the house on Rarau Mountain, the print shop, the brick-yard. Everything is deteriorating, is turning into ruin.

These gentlemen are wrong in thinking that the positions they now hold are eternal. Soon, the day of reckoning will come for everything they have done.

— * —

Work camps and construction sites.

Work camps: This year there are going to be several great work camps.

Each work camp shall have: a legionary commandant nominated by headquarters, and a legionary missionary who will deal with the spiritual education of legionaries. In order to set up a work camp, there must be:

About 30 legionaries.

A project of at least one month.

A legionary commandant, and

A legionary missionary, both sent by headquarters.

The work camp has the character of a school. Each coming into the work camp acquires the stamp of the legionary. No rank shall be conferred on anyone without having passed through a work camp, no matter what his age. Upon leaving the work camp, each receives a diploma with the commandant's commendation.

For veteran legionaries, promotions shall be issued.

— * —

Work yards. A work yard presupposes:

a) a labor of at least three days,

b) executed by at least five legionaries,

c) a nest leader or a veteran legionary as work yard commandant.

The work yard does not have the character of a legionary school.

It is a public good by legionaries without expectation of anything

in return from anybody.

In your village, surely there is a broken bridge, a bad road, a foul pond, a ditch full of mud, a grazing patch invaded by thistles.

The nest leader takes the initiative, gathers his men, starts work, *without any kind of boasting, conceit or publicity.*

If someone inquires, he replies: We are doing a good deed and ask nothing in return.

Next day, the nest leader writes a postcard to the organization leader and another to headquarters in Bucharest, addressed to Gen. Cantacuzino-Granicerul, 3 Imprimeriei St. and reading:

"We have founded a work yard in village,
. . . county.

"We carry out the following task:"

Signed: the head of the work yard and the legible signatures of the other workers.

All those mentioned in the postcard shall receive a diploma signed by the head of the "All for the Fatherland" Party, Gen. Cantacuzino-Granicerul and by the head of legionary education. This diploma will serve them in good stead in the future.

How wonderful it would be if all Romanians would join forces in such work to rebuild the country.

I believe that this year, we, legionaries, will have 1,000 work yards.

I shall see you all in the work camps!

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

May 31, 1935

The section, "Work camps and work yards," is of interest to county leaders as well — and it is for this reason they receive this order the contents of which will be made known to unit chiefs, urging them to establish as many work yards as possible.

— — —

A MOVEMENT LEADER DOES NOT OFFER FRIENDSHIPS

Circular

I ask all organization chiefs to urgently inform all legionaries

about the following:

I observe that, in certain centers Mr. 's lectures are received with an obvious, and many times, expressed hostility.

I have issued no order that this attitude is to be adopted. This is a state of vexation originating within legionary ranks. Unjustly so. He is not the one to be blamed. It is I who am to blame and deserve punishment. Because I accorded my friendship to a man without having studied his character sufficiently.

An organization's chief is not only duty-bound to be careful of those whom he receives into his organization, but also to be careful of those on whom he bestows his friendship.

I have seen many begging for months the friendship of others, only to spurn it after attaining it, to kick it, to assume airs of dissatisfaction, keeping aloof and saying: "I am nauseated by this friendship, by these people, by this organization."

I thank God for punishing me for my sin, by making — in these hard times for us — this man to whom I accorded my friendship and the friendship of your bravery and glory, today to insult me and strike in this difficult hour a hammer blow to the top of my head, hand-in-glove with the Judaeo-Cuzist-liberal-masonic group, in which all enemies of the Romanian nation have placed their last hope.

In time I shall enlarge on this; how I met Mr. , what our relations were.

Now I order all legionaries that Mr. be nowhere even annoyed by any hostile legionary attitude.

Let me bear in full quiet the punishment of my sins.

It is enough that you shall never again receive him with flowers and tears in your eyes, and it is enough that until the end of my days my door and the door of this organization will forever be closed to him.

I have guaranteed that beginning on Monday, June 3, legionaries will not offer Mr. the slightest difficulties while he is lecturing.

I hope that there will be no legionary to disrespect my word.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, June 2, 1935

COMRADES, CHRISTIANS AND ROMANIANS

We, a group of young legionary fighters, have decided to build a church here in the country's Capital in remembrance of the battles we have waged on our long and arduous road, as a token of thanks to God for the victories He gave us, the Romanian youth – abandoned and condemned to death by the generation of the political parties; and particularly for the great Romanian victory won with so much suffering and sacrifice in 1933-1934.

There is nothing more beautiful or more noble for soldiers who return from battle – as many as can make it back – than the raising of a house of prayer in memory of the fallen dead and as a token of thanks to God.

The Romanian land is filled with the churches built by Alexandru the Good, Stefan the Great, Mircea, Matei Basarab and Neagoe-Voda.

But tradition had been broken a long time ago.

Now we, the youth, tying the thread where it broke, will thrillingly follow in their glorious footsteps.

For the purpose of building the church we have a lot of 900 square meters; but to comply with the building code we need another 600 square meters. Without these, no approval can be secured.

I appeal,

To all our friends, to tear from the little we all have and to buy a square meter or more, as we can.

The cost of one square meter is 200 lei.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

June 5, 1935

— * —

The lot was bought. The bricks (130,000) were made, only to be confiscated by authorities then two years later to be returned 60% damaged.

On the purchased lot were later buried Ion Mota and Vasile Marin.

— — —

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS which a legionary must keep in order not to lose his glorious road in these days of darkness, tem-

pest and satanic allurements. For *all the people* must know that we are legionaries and *remain legionaries to the end of time*.

1. DO NOT BELIEVE in any information, news, opinions, regarding the *Legionary Movement* that you read in any *paper* whatsoever even though it may appear to be a nationalistic one; nor whispered in your ears by agents or *even by decent men*.

The legionary *believes only* in the order and word of *his leader*.

If that word does not reach him, *it means* that there has been no change and that he, the legionary, *should continue to quietly do his duty*.

2. TAKE GOOD CARE TO OBSERVE him to whom you speak. Size him up very well, whether he is an enemy who is trying to deceive you, or a stupid friend who was himself deceived earlier by an enemy.

3. BEWARE — as you would avoid a great misfortune — of the stranger who tries to talk you into something. He has some *interest* and wishes to use you as his tool or else *to compromise you* in the eyes of the other legionaries.

The legionary acts *only on orders* or on *his own initiative*.

4. IF someone wants to tempt you or buy you: Spit in his eye. Legionaries are neither *stupid*, nor are they for *sale*.

5. TURN AWAY from those who wish to give you gifts. Do not accept anything.

6. KEEP AWAY from those who flatter and praise you.

7. WHERE there are only three legionaries together, live like brothers: unity, unity and again unity.

Sacrifice everything, stamp out all your desires and your egoism in order to achieve that unity. It — UNITY — will give us victory.

Whoever opposes unity, is against the triumph of the Legion.

8. DO NOT BACKBITE your comrades. Do not tattle on them. Do not whisper and do not listen to whispers.

9. DO NOT BE AFRAID when you receive no orders, news, answers to letters; or if you think that the struggle is becoming stagnant. *Do not be alarmed*, do not take it tragically, for God is above us and your leaders *know* the best way and know what they want.

10. IN YOUR SOLITUDE, pray to God in the name of our dead, so that we may be helped to bear all blows until the suffer-

ing is at an end and until the day of the great legionary resurrection and victory will dawn.

June 5, 1935.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— — —

TO THE LEGIONARIES IN THE ARNOTA WORK CAMP

My dear comrades,

I have thought of you all this time, but as every day I got up at sunup, by evening I was so tired that up to now I could write only two pages in the minutes' register.

And I could not write to you either though my thoughts and prayers were with you and the other work camps.

Fanica is going to fill you in. We turned a desert into something beautiful.

The work camp reached its goal from all points of view.

This year work camps have the educational aim of *creating* or *beginning to create the correct man*.

Up to now we have created: the man of faith, the brave man, the man of sacrifice. Now we need: *the correct man*.

Correct from all points of view: in relation to himself, in relation to the outside world (bearing, attitude, good faith, respect, etc.), in relation to the organization, in relation to comrades, in relation to his chiefs, in relation to his country, in relation to God.

There exist in the world: the cunning man, the charlatan, the cad, the wily man, the canaille.

Burn in the most consuming fire the memory of these men.

A legionary cannot be like them. He must bear the stamp: *a correct man*.

In such a way must legionaries behave that a public formula emerge: He is correct as a legionary.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

July 20, 1935

— — —

THE FIRST CIRCULAR REGARDING LEGIONARY COMMERCE

To County Leaders

Comrades,

We are called to soon cover a new road, with the same success and the same glory with which we have covered the three up to now. We came out winning on the road of sword and battle, we came out winning on the road of prisons, we came out winning on the road of labor in work camps.

This is for the first time that Legionarism steps in a few days from now *on the road of commerce*.

We are living under a prevailing mentality, under its tyranny: the Romanian is not made for commerce, only the Jew is knowledgeable in business . . . , etc.

We wish to overthrow, to shatter this mentality and to show that on this road too, the legionary will win.

At the same time, on September 13 and 14, worried by the thought that here at headquarters we need so many men whom we must feed, we oscillate – in order to meet this problem – between *begging* for our food or *working* for it. I chose working and I decided to start off with my legionaries for the first time on a new road, to us unknown and almost abandoned by Romanians, *the road of commerce*.

Under the protection of the Christian patron of the day when I was reflecting on this possibility, and under that of the Sacred Cross, I proceeded with great faith, which grows deeper, that we legionaries shall open new paths to commerce for the Romanian people.

From then until now:

a) A cooperative was founded, all necessary approvals secured: The Legionary Cooperative.

b) The remodeling of the old Guard Corps rooms in order to install the cooperative was begun.

c) Measures were taken to fit out the interior with shelves.

d) The needed staff for operation was nominated according to

statutes; and now the time has come to turn to you, Heads of Counties, regarding the necessary supplies.

Articles we need at the very start for retailing:

- Beverages: wines, plum brandy, grape brandy.
- *Cheese*: pressed cheese, Swiss cheese, barrel cheese, Moldavian barrel cheese, Braila cheese.
- Butter: 100 g., 250 g., 1 kg.
- *Eggs*: the village legionary, on his own responsibility and honor ought to write down the date of procuring the eggs, and the locality.
- *Fruit*: apples, pears, walnuts, grapes, etc.
- Hams and cold cuts: ham (commercially made), ham (homemade), steaks, 3-4 kinds of cold cuts that keep (for working men), bacon, salami (Sibiu).
- Canned food: canned goods and marmalades in boxes, bottles, jars.
- Sugar.
- Bread, wheat flour, corn flour, noodles, beans.
- Colonial produce, cooking oil, etc.

In time this list will be augmented.

County Chiefs,

A. You shall attentively read this list and shall determine if your county, area, could supply some of the items to "The Legionary Cooperative."

B. Find out the wholesale price and let me know in four days, *the merchandise, wholesale price, delivery terms.*

Gentlemen Chiefs of Counties,

I call your attention in the most serious manner to the following:

I. The motto of "The Legionary Cooperative" of legionary commerce will be: "No shoddy merchandise is sold here."

That means no adulterated merchandise, or old; and no inferior, second hand merchandise.

So that the man who buys be *certain* that he will take home a good item, and so that the producer know his products cannot be

sold unless he makes an effort to produce under irreproachable conditions.

II. The second motto completing the first: "Here, the best merchandise produced by the Romanian people is sold."

That is why from the wine region the best wine will be sought with the greatest care; only that wine will the county leader recommend and buy for us.

Likewise in the other regions: the best cheese, the best butter.

We shall not buy from legionaries but from the Romanians who are most industrious and *produce the best*.

Legionaries should strive, for the honor of the name of legionary, to produce *the best*.

There is but one restriction: nothing to be purchased from Jews.

The county chief who will not make an effort to search for the best merchandise in his region, will be making a great mistake. For he will not be contributing in the required measure to the great legionary victory on the battlefield of commerce.

In this case, it is not a question of business for profit, but of our honor. That is why each of you, with all his soul, must get to work!

We shall overturn an entire world that believes us incapable; we shall overturn and succeed in pushing back the entire Jewish front which assaulted the Christian commerce and we shall take back our lost Romanian position.

Succeeding in this too, along this line, you can imagine what revolution it would create, how many waves of sympathy will rise up toward us, how much panic in the Jewish ranks. Through this, we shall get nearer by another 100 meters to the future Romanian legionary victory.

Therefore, I ask of all who are going to work together in this endeavor, a *great conscientiousness* in the minutest details, as on any other field of battle.

The legionary commerce means a new phase in the history of commerce defiled by the Jewish spirit. It is called: *Christian commerce*, based on love of fellow-men, not on their spoliation — *the commerce based on honor*.

Bucharest, September 29, 1935

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Circular #6

To all legionary organizations

As you know, up to now, we have all had good feelings, even friendship as regards the actions of Messrs. George Bratianu and Marshal Averescu; feelings we have expressed both during the 1933 elections and on other occasions, having asked in return only an elementary dose of civility.

For almost a year now, among the membership of these organizations, a whole series of calumnies circulates, oftentimes typed, anonymous, and reproduced in hundreds of copies in which we — with our record of past battles, with our pride — are continuously besmirched and presented pure and simple as *Madame Lupescu's*⁷ hirelings or those of "*The Occult*," with which, clearly, any man coming into even the slightest contact would dishonor himself.

Yesterday, in Bucharest, at a meeting of this Averescan-Georgist front, a declaration of adherence to it by a moral scum (Stelescu), was permitted to be read.

I understand by this that all bridges between us have collapsed.

From now on, many-few that we are:

I. Any collaboration of any kind with these organizations is forbidden.

II. Personal, amicable relations of legionaries with any member of these groupings are to be cut.

We extend our legionary hand only to those who by their deeds prove that they know what honor means and stay on its line.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 30, 1935

— — —

THE LEGIONARY DORMITORY — MESS HALL

A serious problem: how shall we be able to feed 15 legionaries

7. Magda Wolf, Jewish mistress of King Carol II, the real power behind the throne (*Tr.*)

holding various jobs at the central headquarters. They labor for the movement — they need food and living quarters. Up to now they have lived in the guard house and eaten at the headquarters under very difficult circumstances for the Legion.

— * —

This year, with the change of the guard house into “The Co-operative,” we were compelled to find a solution.

This solution is the founding of *the legionary mess hall*.

To this end a house was found a week ago.

Legionaries made all the needed repairs (quite many, for the decrepit house is almost a completely abandoned fallen-down structure in the center of the Capital).

Legionaries and legionary women, however, with much enthusiasm, patched up the walls, disinfected the rooms, fixed the floors and put on four coats of slacked lime.

There are four rooms: two for sleeping (the common bed system of Jilava); two for kitchen and dining.

— * —

The cook stove and some pots and pans belong to my wife. The rest we shall acquire.

— * —

Tables and silver, in part, were lent by Stelian Georgescu-Insigna.

— * —

Meals are going to be cooked daily by the legionary girls on duty and lady friends who want to render help.

Mrs. Vrani is to be the liaison woman and will direct those legionary girls lacking sufficient training.

— * —

A meal will cost six *lei* and will consist of a single course, well-prepared, clean, tasty and sufficient; with the needed bread.

Evenings it is good to have corn meal mush (1/2 kg. per man) with milk.

— * —

At this restaurant personnel will be insistently instructed to use onions and garlic in liberal amounts.

— * —

Groceries are to be bought through “The Co-operative” at

wholesale.

— * —

“The Cooperative” will help with wood and rent payments.
About 30-40 legionaries will be able to eat here.

Namely:

- a) The ones working at the Headquarters.
- b) Those working at “The Cooperative.”
- c) Those who fill certain functions in the movement, e.g., the Head of the Brotherhoods of the Cross, of the Legionary Center, of the Students’ Center, of the Girls’ Citadels.
- d) Couriers arriving from the provinces.
- e) The poorest among the legionaries.

All will pay.

Meals for those under a), b), c), d), will be paid by the respective organizations.

Those under e) will have to work in order to earn 12 *lei* per day.

Who cannot earn 12 *lei* per day *through his own labor* and prefers to *beg* and to always be a burden on the backs of others who work, is *neither a man nor a legionary*.

No kind of work is degrading. Begging is shameful.

Better at cutting wood or carrying water, than begging.

We must rid ourselves of this mentality, this sickness.

An honor bound duty must make us understand that, *being* able-bodied, we are obliged to have that much good sense within us, that we gain *by our hands* and brains, at least our daily sustenance. This, not in an uninhabited and poor country where something of this sort would be truly an act of heroism, but here in our land where nourishment readily falls from trees and flows over rich fields.

All those who in such a country cannot, or lack the pride to, earn for themselves at least 12 *lei* per day, are *some imbeciles* who do not justify by anything their right to exist.

— * —

In one of these rooms shall be placed:

- 1) A kettle for making corn meal mush.
- 2) A military cauldron, hermetically closed, for food preparation.

— * —

I recommend, ladies and misses in the kitchen, *an exemplary cleanliness.*

Everybody, before coming to work ought *to have bathed.*

Do not let me see in the kitchen or waiting on tables any sloppy or dirty girls or ladies.

Do not let me find flies, hair, or eyebrow hair in the food.

Observe the greatest care, the greatest cleanliness.

— * —

Do not let me hear of envy, conflicts, among the legionary girls in the kitchen. Do not let me hear anything of this sort.

— * —

Consideration for the premises from those who eat there is expected, with civility toward the legionary girls who wait on them.

There, one should avoid using too *familiar terms* and *intimacies*; one is on duty there — you must use decorum and be more severe with yourselves as well as with the others.

And especially so, as there are *some conceited men and women who lose their temper and are set on quarrelling and conflict. They seek the occasion with a candle. Let these individuals spare us; let them control their nerves and nature.* Not to do so is a bad trait for a legionary.

— * —

Legionary, entrusted with the leadership of this project, must see to it that everything I have written here is complied with.

Each day he will come to me to report with the logbook he is to keep in perfect order.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Monday, October 7, 1935

— — —

CIRCULAR

As a result of Report #6 dated September 1935 by Commandant-aide Seitan, Chief of the Constanta organization, the following legionaries: Rev. Cucuetu, Alexandru Ventonic, student; Vasile Cristea, teacher; Ilie Cicisanu, student; Raileanu, graduate of Arts and Crafts; I. Gurducalu, electrician; are hereby cited by

order of the day for their courage and endurance.

Having set out with a simple boat built by themselves, from Ungheni, they rowed down the Pruth, Danube and over the Black Sea down to Constanta, successfully overcoming all dangers inherent in such a trip.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 16, 1935

— — —

THE LEGIONARY FAMILY

Comrades,

In addition to the mess hall we have rented two more rooms. In these we shall install:

- 1) a legionary barber shop.
- 2) a legionary shoe-repair shop.
- 3) a legionary tailor shop.

The barber shop will be under the leadership of legionary Petrut Dumitru (Dura).

The shoe-repair shop under the leadership of legionary Popescu-Galati.

The tailor shop I shall see.

How are these going to operate?

All legionaries in jobs around headquarters, namely:

- the three in my office,
- those in General Cantacuzino's service,
- those in that of Mr. Clime,
- "The Cooperative,"
- the mess hall,
- the tailor shop,
- the shoe-repair shop,
- the barber shop,
- the Brotherhoods of the Cross Chief,
- the Legionary Student Center chief,
- the Citadels of Girls Chief, form a single legionary family.

All legionaries working here consider themselves voluntarily *enlisted* in the respective services.

They do not come by order, but out of their love for the Legion

and country.

And they stay as long as they want.

As such the Legion must give them:

1) meals, 2) sleeping quarters, 3) clothing (The latter only if they stay a longer time, namely, if they do more work than the clothing costs), 4) a pay of 4-5 lei per day.

— * —

If none of them pay how then could they be fed?

a) In this legionary family no one can earn anything.

b) Work is gratis for all those within the family, e.g., the barber shaves free of charge any legionary in the family; the shoemaker makes shoes free of charge for the barber and others; kitchen workers prepare free of charge meals for the barber, shoemaker, tailor, etc.

c) But foodstuffs for meals, leather for shoe soles, material for clothing, the 4-5 lei per day pay, where do they come from?

From two sources:

1/ For anyone from outside "the legionary family," even for legionaries, the service is no longer free (because working somewhere else one earns something and one can thus pay).

For those a price shall be determined at the barber's, for shoes, clothing, for meals.

Everything coming in this way shall be assigned, not to each in his pocket — no one earning here — but into *the legionary family's* funds for its maintenance.

2/ If this is not enough:

Various organizations shall contribute for the keeping of their men:

The Brotherhoods of the Cross for its chief, the legionary Center for its leader, etc., for who serves at the altar, from the altar shall he eat.

Who can be received into this family?

There are two conditions to be met:

1) Love and 2) Diligence.

The entire mechanism of the family is based on everybody's love for all comrades, and of the love of all for the Legion, for country and for God.

Everything that is done is not done out of interest, nor by or-

der, out of Duty, but only out of Love.

Is it Communism?

In the Judaic meaning, no. For this stems from material things and remains there, disdaining the world's moral values, while we start from the latter and live by them, disdaining material things.

Communism operates *out of hatred* of the well-to-do, we out of *love* for the dispossessed.

We are and we signify *a renunciation* out of love for the poor and for country.

Communism means anti-Christianity, and love is the essence of the Christian religion.

— * —

He cannot enter who has no *capacity for love*. You may have all qualities, but cannot be received into this legionary family if *your steps* have not been led here by love.

And you cannot stay, if your love no longer is alive, having become an element of discord and disunity.

— * —

The second condition is diligence.

Because this family would be endangered the moment parasites appear; people who would consume without carrying their load. These would prove a real misfortune for the labor of the others. Therefore, when someone wants to join, he must be asked: "What contribution can you make?"

Does the legionary family offer advantages?

Yes:

1) As only the strictly necessary is being consumed by themselves, anything excess gained goes for the flourishing of the Legion and of the country.

In this way, a country, an organization, can be endowed with everything it needs for the struggle and for existence.

2) In the center of the legionary way of life, these families, jelled by the cement of love, are as some footings of reinforced concrete thrust into the ground, which no enemy, no power, no kind of earthquake, can budge.

3) These legionaries from families, fully dedicated to the Legion and country, living with the thought of battle, are the true *cossacks* of the Romanian people. Always armed spiritually and

ready with their weapons to defend their Legion and country.

4) These legionary families will be among the others a permanent example of legionary life: of renunciation, of love and camaraderie, of diligence and work, of bravery, of decency.

And if to these advantages of teaming up together, the individual's advantages are added, the form of legionary family becomes perfect.

1/ The pains and hardships of life are always supported more easily by a group of people than by one alone.

2/ Victories over sometimes insurmountable obstacles by a single individual, are won little by little by several working together.

To the trust of various capitalists and speculators we must oppose the trust of the *poor people*.

3/ No hardship, no material misery, no pain puts you out of commission, but on the contrary, each gives you a new strength, an additional power of life, when you could capture the great secret for happiness of the Christian teaching: love, and place yourself in the service of your comrades, the Legion and your country.

Any labor, any effort, any pain or sacrifice *for your country* is a balm, a joy for your soul.

All other efforts, pains, sacrifices and blows you consider misfortunes that knock you down emotionally.

— * —

That is why, placing the individual on the line of *Love* and in the country's service and in that of some great ideals, the legionary family makes his life happy.

— * —

Organization.

This legionary family has a chief appointed by the Legion's Chief.

He will be assisted by an aide.

Each will retain his own function as well.

— * —

The membership of a legionary family may start with 10 and may reach 50.

Families may grow to the extent that love grows within a people.

— * —

The law of reciprocal help.

The sick or those fallen upon misfortune will be helped by the legionary family.

The moment a member has had enough, he may at anytime 'retire' and still, later on, anytime return to the bosom of this family.

— * —

If the family is disbanded, a quota of the funds is divided some to each member, the rest going into the Legion's coffers. The latter keeps it in case another family starts up.

— * —

The Legion will not approve the founding and functioning of a legionary family unless, after studying the issue, it is pledged that those forming it will carry things out to a successful end.

— * —

As chief of the first legionary family, Dr. Emil Eremeiu is appointed. He is of the 1927 vow.

His aide, the head of the mess hall and dormitories.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 17, 1935

— — —

ESTEEMED FATHER

I thank you for the lines sent which I read with gladness.

People have only one possibility of keeping in touch with God: prayer.

In monasteries one finds a state of permanent prayer.

Our people, full of sins, lives by virtue of the ceaseless prayers of the nuns secluded from the world and of the monks in all monasteries and hermitages of the country.

I take the liberty of asking a favor of you: pray constantly, for the moment monasteries and churches shall no longer pray, this country will collapse.

Pray also for us who are full of sins, and for the victory of our legionary-Christian army.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 22, 1935

TO ALL LEGIONARIES IN THE CAPITAL

Comrades,

A month and a half have passed since, uninterruptedly from morning till late at night, sometimes even past midnight, we have been refurbishing walls, doors, windows, shelves.

We are close to finishing and we see with satisfaction that out of our work has taken shape, beautiful as a sun, the cooperative premises, with shelving, specially refurbished attic, stock rooms, living quarters, office space, *the legionary mess hall* where 30 legionaries can take their meals, and the dormitory.

Several days hence, the barber shop, shoe-repair shop, tailor shop and knit-wear shop will be opened.

These repairs, however, have exhausted the little money we started with on this long road of commerce.

We had 73,000 *lei* raised in the Carmen Sylva work camp.

Of this, almost 40,000 *lei* was spent for repairs.

10,000 *lei* were spent on publications.

For the beginning of commerce proper we have available a sum of about 20,000 *lei*. If out of this sum various taxes and small transportation charges will be paid, we see that we will be left with almost nothing.

I appeal to all nest leaders in the Capital to present this problem at the next meeting of their nests, after which they should come to me individually with the proposals made vis-a-vis the problem facing us and with the monetary help of which their nests are capable.

It is easy to hold meetings.

Let me see now, who among you resists difficulties and tests.

The nest leaders come to me as soon as each is ready, no later than Monday evening, November 4, 1935.

As always, with love,

Bucharest, October 29, 1935

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

HORIA SIMA

I. The system used by the legionaries in Timisoara is good. I think it will give good results.

II. Do not have any fears. They are simple threats. *The legionary* must appear before them all the more ardent.

Defy them, no matter what their threats, and pity them for what is in store for them.

Lovingly,

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 2, 1935

— — —

COMRADE,

I received the letter.

What you write is true, but you also talked to Dr. Andonescu, with Cristian, with Antohi.

All of them, however, noticed your doubt.

I myself, in my heart, felt you had doubts.

Did you not say once that it is more prudent to continue somewhat on the sidelines, no longer to engage in politics, etc.?

A man having faith in God cannot doubt.

I knew you to be devout.

What sin have you committed, ask yourself in the depth of your conscience, or what trial has God sent you, that He took away His Light, now, after 14 years in the fighting.

Comrade, I feel you were on the verge of drowning, and that you were close to dying the death without resurrection.

You had a narrow escape.

I do not impose upon you further punishment other than normal regret you will have every time you meet those before whom you had your doubts.

With the same affection,

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 6, 1935

P.S. Leave the others alone. Let us look after our own sins.

THE LEGIONARY CONTROL

Circular

I. All legionaries holding office or private-sector functions (commercial offices, student associations, centers, unions, county circles, cultural societies, etc.) are subject during their term of office or at the end of it, to a service of control named: *the legionary Control*.

II. The purpose of this *legionary Control* is:

1. To see that legionary activity be maintained along the highest line of correctitude, ability and morality.

2. To protect the legionary official against slanderers and distrusters, sparing him the anxiety of some perfidious and slanted attacks.

III. No legionary can leave an office he performed without being first cleared by this office of legionary control.

He, the legionary, is responsible for informing the Chief of the Legion one month before handing over his function, asking to be examined by the Legionary Control.

IV. The Legion's Chief appoints controllers 1, 2, 3 (according to case) from among the legionary Commandants. Later, legionaries can be appointed as permanent attachés to this office.

How does the Legionary Control operate?

1. Looks into the entire financial, moral, political activity, in a word, the legionary's total behavior, trying to find whether he stayed or not on the great line of legionary honor and loftiness.

2. The control is to be done in great detail, with close attention and with great severity. There is no tolerance here, nor pity.

3. The report is forwarded to the Legion's Chief who marks it with 'exceptional,' 'very good,' 'good,' 'satisfactory,' 'falling short,' 'bad.'

— * —

Concluding, I repeat:

The legionary charged with an office carries with him all our honor. The Legion and all of us are committed through his acts.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 11, 1935

CIRCULAR

Comrades,

Ever since September 14 up to now we have traversed hour by hour, day by day, an unfamiliar road.

Here we are finally, by God's will, on the 14th, attending, after truly heroic labor, the fulfillment of our dream which has taken us through all these efforts: the inauguration of our cooperative.

There could not be a better reward for our labors.

Many of you worked for a day, two, three, for a week.

I shake the hand of all of you with brotherly warmth.

But there are those who stayed on the job uninterruptedly all 60 days, working sometimes till 2 o'clock at night.

Among the first are: Dr. Eremeiu, Rev. Mosor, Zadic, Catana.

Secondly stand people who worked with a moving devotion: Ghiolu with his helper, Mariana Kuntzl, Craciun, State, Valea and his comrade, Nicolicescu, the elderly Barsan, Udriou and Lucia Trandafir.

All these, as a well-deserved reward, receive today *one rank above their present rank*.

The others, headed by Mr. Potolea and my aides, engineer Horodniceanu, painter Basarab and Dobrin, I cite for their industriousness and devotion, according them a work camp diploma of a minimum of ten days.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 14, 1935

— — —

AT THE COOPERATIVE'S OPENING

In lieu of discourse

1) We have decided to start on this road abandoned by Romanians — that of commerce — on September 13 and 14, 1935.

2) Everything one can see here, except what is of iron, is done by our hands.

Walls, shelves, painting.

3) We started off on this road with 73,000 lei — sum raised by

us in the Carmen Sylva work camp.

4) Over 60,000 *lei* have gone into repairs.

5) That is why today, November 14, we open up with few articles gotten on credit. Colonial imports are missing because no wholesaler of imports would extend us credit, not even 5,000 *lei*'s worth. We too, will deny them credit tomorrow when they will come asking for it.

We, the Romanian people, have extended so much credit to all foreigners for them to become as bloated as whales here in our country and they do not even have the intelligence, let alone the common sense, to behave as they ought to.

— * —

6) Generally, we shall stock all that is found *best, cleanest, wholesomest* in our country.

7) People must know that they will find here neither shoddy merchandise nor tampered-with scales. Here everything is wholesome and correct as the legionary's soul.

Through this commercial work we seek:

A) To resurrect the old renown of Romanian and Christian commerce based on *honor and justice for people*, not on their being robbed.

Renown defiled and lost together with the poor Romanian merchant, through the Judaic invasion.

B) To show this country that finally a handful of youth has been born on this Romanian soil, raised in the legionary faith, who dares measure itself in worth with anybody and place Romanians again in their former economic positions.

C) To shatter into bits the argument that Romanians are incapable of engaging in commerce and that they must thus resign themselves to the situation of economic slavery to which they have been relegated.

— * —

We thank all those who looked upon us sympathetically or have given us a hand.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 14, 1935

— — —

TO LEGIONARY, ATTORNEY

Comrade,

I do not know who sang your praises in depicting you as a common politician.

Surely this originates in our own ranks.

Not knowing who did this to you in order to punish him, I punish you. So that next time, you will know you must be on guard, as you would avoid a fire, against *the enemy's* praises or those of questionable friends.

Let the county leadership know please that you are hereby punished with one week elimination.

After compliance, you are to report back.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 24, 1935

CIRCULAR #10

Fixing the relationship between *Porunca Vremii*
and the Legionary Movement.

To the Chiefs of County Organizations, for dissemination
through the legionary world.

I

1. *Porunca Vremii* is a good anti-Semitic paper.
2. Those who write for it, headed by its director, except Dragos Protopopescu, are, however, recent anti-Semites who have not passed the test of time and trials.
3. When the guarantee of this test is lacking, one knows where everything is going to start, but never can it be known where things will end.
4. That is why, you legionaries, read *Porunca Vremii*, but be on guard at each article, each word, because it is not our paper. Only what is ours do we know where it starts and where it ends.

II

I have noticed in its first year of publication that not everything written is along our line. There are even many things which seem to us dictated by the Ministry of the Interior, such as:

Continuous and unjust attacks on Mr. Iuliu Maniu.

The arrest of all the Manists was even demanded in one of the issues, accusing them — quite perfidiously — of attacking Monarchy.

However, in respect of truth, let it be known by all that Mr. Maniu does not attack the King but the parasites around Him, who kill the King and are destroying the Romanian Monarchy.

I felt humiliated when on the front page I was eulogized, or we were anyway, and on the last one Mr. Iuliu Maniu was insulted.

Justly, this man can boil us too, in the same pot with *Porunca Vremii*. Mr. Maniu is our adversary, but according to legionary dogma we are not permitted to behave dishonorably towards any adversary. How he behaves or will behave toward us is his business.

And there may be some other issues in *Porunca Vremii* on which we shall disagree.

Therefore, in order not to strike a paper which nevertheless, though not ours, is at least half Romanian, our motto is: "*All of you read 'Porunca Vremii' but do not believe everything printed in it.*"

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 26, 1935

P.S. Questions are asked regarding Dr. I. Radulescu's speeches; namely, it is proposed that legionaries stage demonstrations, etc., on these occasions. Such cannot be the case.

— — —

CIRCULAR #11 (Urgent)

To Chiefs of Regions and Counties

Please call, urgently, to the attention of all legionaries that in various towns a swindler and agent shows up, calling himself: le-

gionary Popescu.

He falsifies letters and signatures, presenting himself to various storekeepers as representing "The Legionary Cooperative," closing contracts and taking money on account. Be on guard regarding any such guest calling on you.

Take steps to turn him over to the police.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 30, 1935

— — —

CIRCULAR

With profound pain and grief, I read in a paper the article entitled "Open letter to General Cantacuzino-Granicerul" signed: George Beza.

In this article, our old general, who in our most tempestuous moments stood by us with a sentiment of unequalled honor, and under whose protection the entire Legionary Movement lives, is attacked with an unparalleled indecency.

Evidently such indecency cannot touch his person; and he has no need of any defense. But this attack is all that the enemy could have waited for — all the enemies of our Legionary Movement and of the Romanian nation, these moments: "With the weapon you throw at them, will they shoot at us." But we are much too strong to look at these blows with worry, but only with nausea.

And it is the first time that these enemies are going to call him "Mister" Beza; and they shall praise him in their papers.

— * —

On the occasion of the Iasi legionary promotions, I made Beza a legionary Commandant. Then, after I left for Carmen Sylva, in my absence General Cantacuzino punished him for refusal to execute orders, throwing him out of the organization.

When later I returned to Bucharest, I asked the General to suspend this punishment because the content of the elimination order was offensive to Beza. The General, with his known chivalry, said to me: "If I have done an injustice, I repair it." He suspended the order and changed the punishment to only three months elimination. Meanwhile, Beza writes an article in a paper. Learning about it, I tell legionaries to send him to me at Carmen

Sylva to talk things over; then I left.

In a few days came Beza.

I received him in the house with my family, as one receives a younger brother, with all my love and an open heart.

But I told him that, from the point of view of the legionary line he erred gravely by writing the article. He said he went to that paper with a plan — to do some research; and he found out the paper is subsidized by Messrs. Col. Gabriel Marinescu, the Police Prefect and Col. Parisianu.

I advised him then to chivalrously leave the legionary ranks as being incapable of accommodating himself to this spirit and to the faith necessary for a legionary; so that later on he would not create difficulties in the organization due to his uncommon spiritual build in which I found a flaw: *the impossibility of believing in God* (which for one year I had been trying to treat, with the result one can now see).

This way, he will have a *correct attitude; will be an honorable man.*

And I shall keep my friendship, esteem and love for him.

After nearly a week, he left. We parted lovingly, agreeing that he is to proceed thus, namely that he will leave the ranks.

Only a few days later, in these hours of misery for me and mine, of worry, stalked and attacked from all sides, I read with *nauseated* heart this article, directed, not at General Cantacuzino, who is unassailable, but at the heart of our movement.

I consider this article, in view of my attitude toward Beza, *an act of great human knavery.*

This act has changed him into a knave.

For this, and for his impertinent behavior toward the General — a man covered with wounds and glory on the battlefields, and now, at the end of his life, covered by blows on account of us and our future, — for his posture, completely contrary to the legionary spirit and for such an infamous attitude toward the Romanian people these hard times, Beza is from now on eliminated from our midst, with the loss of the rank he has held for the last two months.

I could not believe that love, loyalty and comradely concern could be rewarded in this way.

In my opinion:

*with this act of great human knavery,
he will continue for the rest of his days.*

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Carmen Sylva

February 23, 1936

— — —

TO THE LEGIONARY FAMILY

Beloved Comrades,

These days we have planted at the work camp here over 500 trees. Next summer, if they take hold, all of us will have some shade to enjoy. Because there is more room for planting, I suggest that each of you give 12 *lei*, for me to plant a fruit tree for your good fortune. Thus I shall start a small forest by the very first legionary family. We also planted seven hectares of wheat, 100 kg. of onion sets, 1,000 kg. potatoes, garlic.

Here, there is good disposition, health and joy.

To all of you I wish the same.

— * —

I hear of the new treacherous offensive.

Oh, how many of these we have weathered! This is at least the 30th. I sit back and laugh.

Have not the canailles at the Police Prefecture yet learned that we cannot be defeated through lies and infamy?

Just a little while longer, to see them at the end.

With much love to all,

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Carmen Sylva, April 24, 1936

Hurray! I read! I am delighted!

And I say: "Long live the Legion and the Captain!"

General Gh. Cantacuzino

— — —

FOREIGN POLICY

Circular

I speak therefore of the people who in a difficult hour for this country will be called to do the talking with cannons or with their blood.

Therefore, I except from among the above the insolent bands of Jews who feign concern for the future of this people, and eliminate the small and big politicians who look only after themselves and weigh all the country's problems solely through the prism of their interests.

These two categories do not matter either for the way in which they reason, for *they reason falsely* (correct for themselves but incorrect as far as the people are concerned), or for the value of their collaboration in an hour of national emergency. In such an hour these two categories will constitute the people's moral shame.

That is why the opinions of these people must be eliminated. Their reasoning must be *thrown into the fire*.

— * —

The sound Romanian people are worried by the country's fate with which Mr. Titulescu's very weak hands play.

We, Romanians, grant that Mr. Titulescu is a talent, is less an intelligence, and almost not at all a wise man.

Better be the fate of a country entrusted to a talentless wise man than to a talented man who lacks wisdom.

The Leaning Toward Russia.

I. It is an act of *treason* the Romanian people commits against God and the moral order of this world and against the peoples serving this order, in the war against *the destructive powers of evil*.

Honor to these peoples.

Our gesture dirties before history the face of the Romanian people, it dishonors it.

Only by blood, by much blood, will we be able in the future to redeem our lost honor in the eyes of those we betray and who will ignore us.

II. If Russian troops would come into our country and would win in the Devil's name, who could believe, who could claim that they will leave here before *satanizing us*, that is, before bolshevizing us? The consequences? Useless to discuss them.

— * —

But if the Christian armies come out victorious, the result would be our *dismemberment*, the abolishment of the Romanian *State*, as payment for our betrayal.

We will walk head down, we Romanians, and never again will we dare lift our eyes up to look into the faces of the peoples that remained at risk of life on the line of honor.

They have the right to despise us, only seeing our vacillations of today.

Those who bear in this hour, the responsibility of Romania's future, let them pay heed.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, May 30, 1936

— — —

LEGIONARY EDUCATION

To the Work Camp Commandants

My dear comrades,

I could not write to you sooner because I have been busy.

On the run, I write you as follows:

Take care of the education of legionaries.

This can be accomplished:

A. By the example of life in common!

Leading the same kind of life.

Behaving with goodness and love.

Doing away in speech, command and gestures with the mannerisms of a troop major-sergeant. Drop the expressions: "Hey, you!" "Get moving!" etc.

B. By the lessons of education taught in meetings.

Here you will insist on the following issues:

1/ The illness of disunity and of quarrels in the organization.

2/ Telling on a comrade, whispering in the ear, intrigue.

3/ Discontent against superiors who, too, have superiors to answer to.

4/ Espionage and treason.

Insist particularly on the legionary's behavior in society.

Through his behavior a legionary can do us the greatest good

or the greatest harm.

Do not give an example of bad, indecent behavior; pride, arrogance, stupid discussions, etc.

The law of silence, the avoidance of any conflict.

The correct man.

In the question of instruction insist on:

The position of attention [military parlance], salute, presentation, present arms, legionary march.

My dear legionaries, the country is full of work camps. There is order everywhere. People are content with our work and behavior.

All of you be convinced that day by day and hour by hour we prepare a great future for this Romanian people.

With much love,

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

July 10, 1936

— — —

THE DISBANDING OF THE WORK CAMP SUSAI

Gentlemen Officers, Gentlemen Prelates,
Gentlemen Ministers, Gentlemen Journalists,

Read please the enclosed report of legionary Professor Dobre and the enclosed letter of my son, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, regarding the profanation that took place on the Susai (Predeal) mountain, where a legionary work camp was organized to care for the sacred bones of our heroes, forgotten and abandoned for 20 years by an officialdom estranged from the People's glories and griefs.

I ought to let the whole country know about the infamous profanation that occurred, for the sacred bones which give us today the right to call ourselves men on this earth, belong to the country. But I prefer not to disseminate the unheard-of infamy and shame, and I prefer especially that no one — not even our worst enemies — be able to say that we speculate on the sacred bravery of our national martyrs.

With His Holiness Metropolitan Gurie of Bessarabia, we laid the cornerstone for the place of rest of these heroes' relics who died for the Country. His Holiness was the first to say Mass last summer after 20 years over the forgotten relics, and people on their knees wept tears of emotion.

Faced with this unheard-of sacrilege I cannot but shout:

Get up, Ferdinand the Loyal, and come see how — knavishly — your heroes are killed for the second time!

Addressing myself to you, officers of the Romanian army, who survived

the savage war, I ask you: "Will you leave the offense brought these sacred bones, unanswered?"

General Cantacuzino-Granicerul

— * —

GENERAL,

On the morning of September 5 (4:30 o'clock) we were encircled by 200 gendarmes under the command of a major, who, after making themselves ridiculous — namely they attacked by assault in the dark surrounding the work camp in a radius of 500 meters — realized they were dealing with but 17 individuals on which not even penknives were found, let alone weapons.

They came, ordered by the government which 'knew' that there are 500 legionaries in this work camp and that 'a great revolution' is being prepared (?)

Seeing that they made themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the soldiers, the major and prosecutor, put to shame, left after a few minutes, leaving the non-commissioned officers in charge.

They made searches, but as I said, did not even find penknives. They helped us carry the baggage and provisions down the mountain, and in Predeal they set us free.

Some 20 gendarmes were left behind, who, by order of Major Hariton — the Legion of Gendarmes commandant — by using axes and mattocks, destroyed everything we built there. They did spare the new constructions.

In their fury's madness they scattered the relics and objects gathered by us, trampling them underfoot. They destroyed the Crucifix, the Gospels, the votive light and icon we placed in the improvised sanctuary pending the completion of the new one, now only needing its roof.

The devastation was done under the command of the chief of the Comarnic post of gendarmes as witnessed by a legionary left behind in the work camp to take charge of the tools as inventoried.

Informed as to what happened there, I immediately sent His Majesty the following telegram:

TO HIS MAJESTY KING CAROL II

Royal Palace, Sinaia

"Heart broken with grief, I address to Your Majesty my protest against the arbitrary measure taken by the government to disband the legionary work camp at Susai (Predeal), which had as its purpose the gathering from the forest's thickets of the relics of our parents heroically fallen in these parts for the unification of our people and their placement in the mausoleum already half-way built by our hands; as well as the building of a chalet for pilgrims and sportsmen.

The men sent by the government to take us by force destroyed everything we accomplished and disdainfully threw among fir tree boughs the heroes' relics gathered by us, at the same time barbarously smashing the

Crucifix, the Gospels, the icon and the votive candle which for the first time, after 20 years, stood guard over these sacred bones.

For this profanation, perpetrated in the presence of Your Majesty's soldiers, we hold the government responsible to us and before history.

Let the blood shed by those whose bones are profaned today fall as a curse over the home and children of those who, out of satanic blindness, could take such measures.

In the name of the sacrifice of these heroes, on which they climbed to the leadership of the country, I ask Your Majesty's intervention in order to revoke this measure which offends, angers and revolts."

Professor ION DOBRE
Commandant of the work camp Susai (Predeal)

Learning about the sending of this telegram, an order was issued that two wagons be taken up the mountain to bring down the relics and the objects under cover of night and *stealthily* take them to the military cemetery for burial.

God foiled them. While resting after the ascent, some sheep herders stole their horses' harnesses and then it was they who had to do the pulling. As it was, by the time they got down to Predeal, all townspeople saw the convoy of their shame. There is no man in Predeal whose lips are not cursing them for what they did.

After they finished their dastardly job, they left the work camp deserted.

Yesterday and today, there was a veritable pilgrimage to the work camp. A large number of people ascended the mountain to see the disaster.

Beginning tomorrow I re-establish the work camp. Only about five legionaries are with me. I go up and start all over again on another site — the former work camp to remain as evidence of the profanation.

I start again from scratch and we will rebuild all the more strenuously for the camp having been destroyed.

I should have come personally to report to you. But I cannot leave here because, in addition to the work camp here, I have down in Predeal the shingles' work site where 20,000 shingles are ready for use. The site is located in the yard of a poor widow with two children. In return for her having offered us the premises, we are repairing her home.

Perhaps it would be well that the telegram be also sent to the Patriarch and other dignitaries.

The rest, General, goes well.

Long live the Legion and the Captain!

Ion Dobre

September 9, 1936

— * —

GENERAL,

After reading Professor Dobre's report, I left for Predeal the same night, to become convinced by my own eyes of the horrors he reported.

I went up to the work camp. Professor Dobre's report is accurate. Anyone can go up there to see the traces of this barbarity. Tens of shelters, put up during a whole summer by the hands of the Romanian youth, were smashed to bits with axes in a truly bestial fury. The work camp is a shambles.

I myself found the Crucifix, and the votive candle which stood guard over the poor bones, thrown in the trash can. The icon donated by sculptor Igirosianu was found thrown into the mud of the courtyard of the Predeal's chief of gendarmes post. The heroes' bones were kicked around and profaned by the fury of the gendarmes *canailles*. A major, with total lack of conscience, addressed Professor Dobre:

"Do not exploit these bones any longer. One finds bones all over the hills. One can tell you were not at the front."

"My father was, Major" replied Professor Dobre.

I add that next day two gendarmes warrant officers went up the mountain to that sacred spot accompanied by two women of loose morals, and threw a party, again defiling the people's poor heroes who fell serving in the 10th Regiment of Mountain Troops, the 73rd Infantry, the 46th Infantry — several thousand in a single day. These warrant officers consumed more than 20 bottles of beer, as many as they found in the work camp's mess hall.

— * —

General, I remind you that several months ago I went up the Susai mountain in search of a site for a house of rest. There I discovered under the fir tree boughs, the white bones of hundreds of Romanian soldiers and officers, which *the savage beasts were chewing on*.

Horrified and shamed, I decided to build a mausoleum in which to gather these bones and the rucksacks, cartridge pouches and their bloodied uniforms which in some places I found not yet rotten. I had taken this decision not only out of a sentiment of piety, but also out of one of shame. For any people in this world, be it even a tribe of savages, were it to learn that 20 years after the war, the sacred bones, the creators of Greater Romania, our heroes, are gnawed by savage beasts in the woods, would turn their head away from us in horror and would despise us forever as a people of knaves.

After the labors of the youth carrying rocks and cement on their backs for kilometers, this mausoleum is almost finished. Now, this infamy occurred, infamy which pierces our hearts and fills our eyes with tears.

General, you who but yesterday commanded these bones now voiceless, will you leave their honor without satisfaction?

Will we, the youth of this country, be the dastards not avenging the bones of the heroes of this People?

Will the King of Romania really abandon those who had fallen under the command of his Father and his? Will he really allow the curse of the thousands of soldiers who died on the front fall on the army and the country?

This would be the beginning of great misfortunes to descend on the Romanian army and the country.

My opinion is that we cannot get out of this except by:

1) The immediate ousting of the entire gendarmerie from the cadres of the Romanian army (with changes of designations of the various ranks and of the uniform), so that the act not dishonor the army and not extend the curse over it as well. Let the infamous deed remain an act committed by some pilferers, police commissars, knaves, but not by the army.

2) The punishment of the two officers whose subalterns were capable of such a crime. They are not directly responsible, but they must answer for the deeds committed by their troops.

3) The arrest of the gendarmes warrant officers and sergeants and their court martial for profanation.

4) General, we ask for ourselves and for the work camp no satisfaction whatsoever. We demand satisfaction in the name of the sacred relics. These punishments are not of an avenging nature. There ought to be a *sacrifice of expiation*. This people must give it. If no one gives it, it will itself find retribution. Misfortunes will come our way.

I am not of the opinion that manifestoes should be issued or that popular masses be stirred up. But please, send confidential word to this effect to all the generals of the Romanian army and all regiment commanders, at their home addresses.

Wednesday, September 9, 1936.

Corneliu Zelea Codreanu

— * —

An investigation was ordered, presided over by Mr. Paul Goma. Gendarmerie Col. Milicescu was included among the committee members. The committee ascertained that not a thing of what is stated above is true and that no gendarme is culpable.

— — —

THE LEGIONARY'S BOOKS AND LIBRARY

1. Out of your savings buy a book today, tomorrow get another and build yourself a library. A small legionary library. Let it be the jewel and pride of your home. It will light your thinking and it will always guide you onto the right path.

2. When you want to do good to someone; if you love him and want to bring him joy; if you want to save him from his lost way-

ward ways; *buy* for him a small book and send it to him. Your small sacrifice will be rewarded in knowing you saved a man.

3. Try, as much as possible, to get your supplies only at the legionary store. Encourage your friends to do the same. If you happen to know a merchant, a lawyer, an industrialist, convince him to buy stamps from us. Likewise for an institution which uses stamps; let it buy them here. For thus you give a helping hand to the huge fight between us and those who want to take over this country.

Youth, the enemy waits for you at each street corner with tempting books and magazines to poison you. Be strong. Reject the poison. Buy only nationalist and Christian literature and papers. Sip every word out of the living water of the legionary Romanian-nationalist writing.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

September 10, 1936

— — —

FOR THE BUYER FROM THE COOPERATIVE

Why must a Romanian housewife buy from "The Legionary Cooperative?"

I. Because in this commerce, one glimpses the determination of the Romanian youth to fight the Judaic hydra, there, where it believes itself invincible: in the commercial field.

Romanian woman, wife of worker or university professor, three-fourths of the entire commerce in Romania is in Jewish hands.

Will you hesitate to give your support, by bringing your sacrifice to this salutary and people-saving start in Romanian commerce?

Will you leave those who fight in the people's name with so much confidence, without your encouragement?

Look at all the fronts of the world and see how woman fights and sacrifices for her people. Look at Italy, Christian Spain, Germany, etc.

What sacrifice do you make?

— * —

Why must a Romanian housewife buy from "The Legionary

Cooperative?"

II. Because out of the profits, part provides *the bread* for a youth who wants *to work*; the rest goes toward the great Romanian fight.

Otherwise your money goes for the *foreigner's bread* and for his fight against your nation.

III. Because at "The Legionary Cooperative" one finds good merchandise and honest scales.

Is the merchandise not quite so good?

It will be tomorrow, if you give us your support today. For all beginnings are difficult.

Is it any better at the enemy's?

But who is she who will give water with her hand to the enemy who has taken over our entire national economy?

— * —

Ladies,

The Legionary Cooperative is located at 3 Gutenberg St. (former Imprimeriei), near the Official Monitor, tramway stop Lazar High School.

Colonial produce and selected wines.

Larger orders are delivered at no extra charge.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

September 20, 1936 .

— * —

Beginning with September 14 of this year the co-op will be run for one year by legionary girls.

— — —

SUPPORT IN ELECTIONS

Circular #41

To Chiefs of Regions and Counties

If in various village, county or parliamentary elections the running parties request support from headquarters, legionaries receive the order to vote for certain lists.

A) Legionaries must comply with these orders precisely, with no questions asked, no suspicions or grumbling, even if personally

they might be at odds with those being supported! For, whoever the legionary is, he has no right to hinder the grand political maneuver played by the central legionary command. Every maneuver is made absolutely only in view of *the legionary victory*. Only he who is against this victory, or lacks confidence, or is stupid, only he will have doubts. The real legionary will stand fast and will have an unshakeable trust in the leadership that maneuvers with an iron certainty.

B) In case this support is decided upon, for anyone: Vaidists, Gogo-Cuzists, National-Peasants, Iunianists, Georgists, etc., county chiefs, those of townships, of nests, will watch out with the greatest vigilance for the following:

I. The legionary is not permitted to get in touch with the members of the organization in question, to discuss and make plans. He will say: "Talk it over with our leaders. We do not discuss matters. We receive orders and execute them."

II. The legionary is not permitted to go campaigning, alone or with the supported party.

III. The legionary is forbidden to address any of their political meetings or get-togethers.

IV. The legionary is not permitted to accept presents or money for propaganda.

V. The legionary may not print out manifestoes in his name or that of the organization.

VI. The legionary is forbidden to sit at the table with the one he supports, during the electoral period or take part in any banquet, common meal, etc.

VII. On voting day, under command, in the most perfect order and quiet, he shows up and votes. Then he leaves.

VIII. If people should ask: "Why do you vote for these? They are bad, corrupt, etc." The legionary answers: "We do not talk about this. We have our orders which we execute."

In case you do not receive the headquarters' orders, legionaries vote for no one.

IX. All chiefs of legionary county organizations shall take steps that this order be read and explained in all legionary nests.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 20, 1936

CIRCULAR #42

Gentlemen Chiefs of Regions and of Counties,

The Captain's letter below is sent to you to be precisely conformed with, as it underscores perfectly the general organizational lines of the "ALL FOR THE FATHERLAND" Party, dated June 5, 1935.

Long live the Legion and the Captain!
General Cantacuzino

GENERAL,

Please announce the following to the chiefs of regions:

The list with the proposed new functions has not yet been received. It is absolutely necessary in order to study the individuals and approve their functioning in liaison with the county chief.

2) A great danger threatens the legionary organization — the entry into the organization's cadres of a host of weak or even bad elements. It is a known fact: whenever a current runs more strongly in favor of an organization, all sorts of *inferior* elements, sometimes even tramps, men with no aim in life, crooks, ne'er-do-wells, etc. . . . , rush to get in. Another contingent consists of the political fellow travelers who have knocked at the doors of all parties and are now ready to rush into the Legionary Movement's arms as well.

3) In last summer's Carmen Sylva work camp I ascertained that county chiefs and those of legionary units — who have the sacred duty to defend the Legion and its name — have not fully done their job. They have not been sufficiently severe in investigating and receiving new members. They scrutinized neither the appearance nor the eyes, the character, the soul, the mind of those who sought admittance and yet they let them into the organization. So it was with pain I observed a group of petty vagabonds, the dregs of villages and towns, men without an aim in life, wearing, and thus defiling, the sacred green shirt in which our martyrs died.

4) I demand that in each county a control commission made up of three members be forthwith set up to investigate individually each member of all county nests. Who is he? What is his past, his status and reputation in society? Any occupation is honorable, from street sweeper to ploughman, worker, etc. Dishonorable is the vagabond, the man without an aim in life, the drunkard, the village and town laggard, the scum. Weak elements *will be removed* immediately.

5) The removal should be done with kindness and elegance via a leave of absence for one year, for the man to *make up his deficiencies*. After which his status can be determined.

6) For the future, all chiefs of counties, townships, nests, etc. should not forget the following laws:

A. As few legionaries as possible and as many friends as possible.

B. Out of 20 applications for enrollment, 19 are to be turned down and one accepted; the best.

C. Tell the one coming to enroll: "Dear Sir, go back and think it over another three months rather than be taken in. Study well when contemplating such a step. Here, in this interim, study these legionary books and magazines. And then, permit us too, to study you so that we will not be taken in." Then follows the period of several months of getting acquainted and the period of three years in which we must realize, if man, even though he be correct, of good-will, etc., still can be perfectly integrated into *the legionary spirituality*. Only in such a case will he be admitted into legionary ranks. Otherwise his presence will be permanently a discordance within the organization and a permanent difficulty.

D. You will continuously stress the difference between the quality of a member and that of a legionary.

— * —

In fine, I call your attention to *the abuse of the green shirt*. On every street corner one meets the green shirt on a body that does not always do it honor, or in ludicrous positions, or in undignified settings (taverns, coffeehouses, clubs, etc.). Any good-for-nothing joins the Guard through a nest leader and next day having put on a green shirt is out on a street corner or in a tavern. Gentlemen county chiefs, are you not nauseated when you see these things? Attention! The green shirts are our vestments. Let them be worn only on holidays and on certain occasions and places. Forbid the daily wearing of this shirt. Otherwise we are headed for its being ridiculed.

— * —

The established commission will commence its work at once. It could admit sub-commissions by townships, with the approval of the county chief, to speed up its task. The work must be finished by November 1. All county commissions, through the county and region chiefs, will forward a report regarding what they ascertained and the measures taken.

Long may you live, General,

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 21, 1936

— — —

To the Chief of the Sibiu Region

THE PRINTING OF *FOR MY LEGIONARIES*

Dear Bidianu,

Finally, through dangers and ups and downs, stalked by agents and spies, *For my Legionaries* was printed.

I. Please accept, personally, my thanks for the care you have shown all during the publication as well as for the material support accorded without which this book could not have been printed.

II. Also, in a festive meeting, please read the promotion order for Patrascu. At the same time, Corneliu Georgescu, Commandant of the Annunciation and you, Chief of Region, shake in my name the hands of comrades: Aurel Bozdog, Fleseriu, Traian Chirila and Pavel Chirila who have in a large measure helped in the work's completion, as well as the hands of comrades Tiberiu Hentea, Gheorghe Micu and Dumitru Banea.

III. Please, see to it that out of the money coming in, 500 *lei* be given as a gift from me to the following workers or clerks of the Vestemean Printers, or their children:

Typesetters: Santion Petru, Clotan Ion, Chivaru Cornel, Ganea Ilic;

Machinist Ioan Tancou and janitor Petru Ciorogar, both having exhibited an unexpected interest;

Mrs. Sarghie Rafira and Miss Chidu Viorica.

IV. Likewise, you will tell the gentleman who did the binding — whose name as yet I do not know (which please send me) — that I am very happy with his work. Anyone who saw his binding was not only pleased, but delighted. Please give him also the sum of 500 *lei* accorded the others; and please let him know that with the next printing he will have to bind 1,000 copies *de luxe*. Even if the printing might be done in another town, he will still do the binding.

V. If there is anyone else who was missed, let him too receive 500 *lei*.

VI. Please shake the hand of Mr. Vestemean, the owner of the press, for me — out of whose shop the book came out so beautifully.

Salute for me the Sibiu legionary organization, which has recorded for itself such a beautiful page in the legionary history through everything printed there.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

October 7, 1936

C I R C U L A R

An ugly and dangerous habit has made its way into our ranks.

Each hour the General is assaulted by legionaries, relatives or friends of legionaries, with all kinds of requests for intervention.

“That the General find him a job; that his daughter pass an exam; that he get So-and-So admitted into the trades’ school; that he be transferred from aviation to the fire-fighters; that he be ‘loaned’ 100 lei.”

When a man has on his shoulders the responsibility of a movement he can not be daily exposed to such demands.

Legionaries, before any others, must understand that with such requests, heaped upon the head of a man who leads, *any victory is imperiled.*

Legionaries! Learn to guard your chiefs from such requests and make it your duty to prevent anyone from trying to make them.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 10, 1936

— — —

TO THE COMMANDANTS OF LEGIONARY STUDENT CENTERS

Dear Comrades,

The 1936-1937 school year begins.

From everywhere the new Romanian scions gather toward universities. In the huge fight our people wages, they, these scions, constitute *a fresh wave* of fighters who step in cadence, sure of themselves, full of faith in the future, onto the legionary field of battle.

Our eyes and the eyes of all Romanians are on them, watching their attitude, determination, the will to work at studying, capacity for faith, the sacred spark in their eyes and the good fortune they bring into the battle.

Fourteen years have passed since 1922. We wonder what year’s class will be the carrier of the great good fortune to say: we won.

There were in these fourteen years some heroic classes, strong

as iron, others weak: The entire leadership of the student movement in 1927-1928-1929-1930 was weak. Then it was replaced by the legionary spirit which gave us the classes of iron ever since.

The first in studying in all colleges, intransigent in the legionary faith and receiving with a sacred joy the baptism of sacrifice.

To those of you now entering the field of battle I say with all my powers: higher.

Victory is no longer far away. You too, make your sacrifice.

The cups of temptation are going to be offered you; petty politics through thousands of means will want to turn you into traitors; honeyed words will flow and promises, lies, calumnies; the bringing about of your disunity will be tried; threats and hatred will also flow over you.

You will be persecuted. You will feel the bitterness of injustices. I shout to you: Do not give up!

— * —

The commandants of legionary centers will take care that at the beginning of the year, when the newly-enrolled will have arrived at the universities, the reception of the new student fighters in the legionary centers be arranged with unusual pomp.

I. They will make a separate front before the old front.

II. The old student fighters, wherever they now live (today attorneys, professors, etc.) are to be invited to attend.

III. Festivities will begin with the "Our Father."

IV. This order of mine will be read.

V. A brief word of encouragement on the part of the region chief or in his stead on that of another commandant will be delivered.

VI. The commandant of the legionary center, accompanied by guests, will shake the hands of the newly-arrived individually — with warmth and camaraderie — beginning at the right flank.

VII. Songs will be sung, following which, for one half hour, those present will remain in the hall, at ease, to get acquainted, to form friendships, to ask and to exchange information.

At this festivity, *solemnity* joined with *boundless love* must be given pre-eminence.

Next day, the Commandant of the legionary Center will give me a written report.

I take this opportunity to recommend to you, and through you to all legionaries you come in contact with:

1) A most perfect and most fully courteous behavior towards everybody, beginning with our teachers and ending with people on the street. An elite fighter is never impertinent, arrogant, a shameless provoker, inelegant in gesture and speech.

2) An attitude of absolute legality.

You shall fight with invincible strength, but only *within the framework of the law*. In this manner you will disarm all our enemies who have plotted against us and who still do so today.

Among the plotters one finds cabinet members themselves and individuals in the General *Securitate* who circulate the calumny, so often repeated, that legionaries stash away munitions' deposits and that they want to stage a *coup d'état*. When the justice minister himself, Mr. Mircea Djuvara, stated these things to a certain circle, you can imagine how much hatred surrounds us and particularly how much knavery.

That is why, I tell you once more, behave in such wise as never to give satisfaction to these plotters.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 11, 1936

P.S. In Bucharest, the festivity took place in the headquarters' yard: Ion I. Mota and General Cantacuzino spoke directing the legionary student body to serious work, irreproachable behavior and sacrifice to bring about victory.

— — —

THE FOUNDING OF THE LEGIONARY WORKERS' CORPS

Circular

On October 25, 1936 (the blessing of the workers' Cross in Azuga) all legionary workers throughout the country constitute themselves a separate legionary corps designated as "*The Legionary Workers' Corps*."

Engineer Gh. Clime, Commandant of the Annunciation, is nominated chief of The Legionary Workers' Corps of the whole

country.

All nests and units of legionary workers will get in touch with the corps' central leadership. A separate workers' insignia will be made, to be worn only by the legionary worker enrolled in a nest.

The strictest measures will be taken in connection with recruiting new elements so that only those capable of believing in God and in the future of this People will be able to enter, and only the ones that are correct in their public and private life. He who has no faith and is not correct, cannot enter into this corps.

He that asks for programs should be told that he understands nothing of the imperative of the hour. Let him therefore stay on the sidelines. The program is:

That we give everything we have for our people, fighting with all our strength against all those who pillage, exploit and dishonor it, threatening its existence.

When the legionary people shall resurrect, coming out triumphant because of our battles and sacrifices, it shall recompense each of us according to merit and deeds: with the plenty and the justice which will flow over us, or with death and the curse.

Comrade workers of all Romania!

To duty then. But let only him come into these sacred lines, who can step with determination, with unhesitating confidence, and with brotherly heart.

In your struggle up to now you have wandered on hundreds of slanted paths and you have been defeated. All your endeavors have been crushed.

The Jewish middlemen of *Lupta, Adevarul, Dimineata, Zorii*, agents of communist and capitalist Jewry, led you from disaster to disaster and from error to error.

I assume full responsibility for what I now tell you: This time you are going to win under the legionary sign; your sacrifice will be rewarded with the reward of winners and that of masters of your country.

I add: we shall win by lawful means, no matter how strong their authors narrow them for us in order to prevent our victory or to force us to circumvent them.

The program is delineated and fixed in one word: Victorious. It is this I oppose to all lying programs, concocted in scores of articles that today, as formerly, are waved before your eyes sunken

by hunger.

Corneliu Zelea Codreanu
Legion's Chief

Bucharest, October 25, 1936

The festivity was presided over — and a speech was given — by
General Cantacuzino.

— * —

Comrades,

Assuming today command of the legionary workers of the entire country on the basis of the above order, I announce all workers' nests as well as the new adherents as yet not formally enrolled, to get in touch with me at 3 Gutenberg St., Bucharest, in order to begin the new organizing and carry to a successful end the entrusted mission.

Engineer Gheorghe Clime
Commandant of the Annunciation

— — —

MEMORANDUM

addressed to His Majesty the King, the Politicians
and the Country

Majesty,

We do not wish to vex anyone with our opinions in matters of foreign policy. But this time, one deals with more than a simple opinion, one talks now about *the future of our Country*.

We have the right to speak up — and to speak up with determination, with manliness.

Everything the Romanian politicians do in matters of foreign policy, they do on our own flesh and blood, and on our responsibility. For good or for bad, they have lived their lives. From now on, ours follow.

It is frightening that their deeds and attitudes of today place *a great responsibility on the shoulders of our generation*.

It is terrifying to think that we, today's youth, would be condemned to witness the division or disfiguring of Greater Romania

as payment for the sins of an *infamous foreign policy*.

Therefore, I reason that we, the youth, would commit an act of cowardice if in these decisive hours for our future we would lack the courage to stand up and see to it that our voice would be heard.

We thus present to Your Majesty our thoughts:

I

We ask that Your Majesty demand from all who lead or express opinions in regard to the foreign policy of Romania *to declare that they will answer with their heads* for the policies they support.

We likewise expect the same gesture of great courage and great chivalry on Your Majesty's part too, regarding the Royal line of the foreign policy of Romania.

This way, in the moment of an eventual catastrophe, the Country would know: both those bearing the responsibilities and the nature of the sanctions.

It is *this* we demand of Romanian politicians — not theories we have no use for. For a foreign policy is *good* or *bad* not when it lends itself to theoretical demonstrations, but when its results are *good* or *fatal* for the Country.

II

If we, the youth, are ever placed in the tragic situation of going into a war on the side of bolshevik powers against those defending Christian and world civilization, the world, those defending Churches from demolition, those who defend the relics of the saints, who defend from profanation the heroes' graves — we openly declare that all of us will unload our revolvers into those who led us there and, because we could not desert, in order not to commit a *dishonorable* act, we will commit *suicide*.

Never will the youth of the Romanian People fight under Satan's banner against God.

III

There is no Little Entente, nor Balkans' Entente. He who believes in these proves he has understood nothing.

Face to face are only two worlds. Under their pressure, the moment war breaks out, all diplomatic combinations will crumble like paper castles. These two worlds are: *the States of national revolution*, fighting in defense of the Cross and of a millenary civilization, and *Bolshevism* with its annexes, which fight for the destruction of nations and the downfall of Christian civilization.

The latter, Bolshevism with its annexes, will be *destroyed* by the armies of the Cross and of the world's natural order. If Romanian politicians will take us into their lot (Bolshevism and its annexes), Romania will be wiped off the map of Europe.

IV

Mussolini's discourse is for us a rendingly painful answer to the great enmity and the great intriguing our foreign policy has adopted against *fascist Italy*.

This policy has been for fourteen years *the most infamous tool of Masonry and of Judaism*. It is to this state that Masonry and Judaism have brought us.

From this point of view we consider that their man, Nicolae Titulescu, has committed the greatest crime against the future of the Romanian State.

We were the first State in the world which, like the lowliest hireling of Judaism, rushed at its orders *to mandate sanctions* against Italy in a difficult moment of her history.

Italy considers our gesture more than a gesture of enmity: a gesture of betrayal of the Latin race.

Is there yet anyone to wonder at the ferocity of Mussolini's discourse?

The first thing we have to do, faced with this situation is that we, the youth, point our finger at all those who brought us here and *who, continuing on this road, lead us to death*.

V

In fact, the same irreconcilable hatred is manifested by the Romanian politicians in internal politics as well: a policy of enmity, of great plotting and of great persecution of the nationalist youth of the Country, by orders of Masonry and the daily urging of the Judaic press.

Beginning with the most odious frame-ups and intrigue, with the crudest blows and the most provocative laws, like the recent one regarding work camps, all the way to the elegant forms of the new [regime-sponsored] youth organizations, everything is directed against the nationalist youth in order to estrange it from the legionary line of its destiny.

Therefore, there is a perfect concordance between the Romanian foreign and internal policies, both stemming from the same masonic and Judaic background of hatred of *the national idea and of Christianity*.

VI

The whole country *must shudder*, rise up and confront those who are planning its demise. All those who today follow the road of national destiny and national history, have the obligation to demand and impose the taking of Romanian internal and external politics out from under the influence and command of Masonry, Communism and Judaism.

This is the only saving measure for the future of this People.
May you live long, Majesty!

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 5, 1936

THE GREEN HOUSE

Comrades,

At the end of an heroic job, full of shortages, cold and hunger, the Green House is almost finished. It has become a true monument and it contains within its walls only youthful spirit of the purest and most sacred quality. I embrace all, with all my heart, all of you who have been constantly humiliated, insulted, persecuted and threatened each moment for your legionary faith and for your lofty deeds.

Never will your duty well-done be forgotten. You could say anytime: *I had worked at building the Green House*; for all the prominent homes in Romania tomorrow to welcome you.

I urge you however to always retain the same line of *correc-*

itude, of enthusiasm, for work and sacrifice.

In remembrance of your labor, the following among you who have distinguished yourselves by working longer are cited:

1.

2. Commandant-aide Zadic shall receive as a distinction the first *insignia of the legionary workingmen.*

3. Commandant-aide Crasler Clement for his great devotion and skill shown, is promoted to *legionary Commandant.*

4. The following are also cited: Tanase Nicolae, I. Papadopol, Leg. Cdt. Virgil Ionescu, Ion Diaconescu, Mihail Cristescu, Anton Davidescu, Cdt.-aide Dobrin Ion, Cdt.-aide N. Horodniceanu.

5. I thank small and large contributors, inscribed through their contributions in hearts, walls and in history.

6. I cite with this order of the day and shake the hand of legionary Commandant Al. Cantacuzino for brilliantly having fulfilled the mission he was given last spring, that of leader of the Green House work camp, with unbounded love, tenacity and skill.

7. I pray that God reward you for your clean soul — more than I can with my weak human powers.

May His blessing flow over you, your families and the country, bringing over her a great legionary victory.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 8, 1936

— — —

TO THE LEGIONARIES IN THE CAPITAL

Bucharest, this unending sea of people, it seems has removed itself from the country's soul and has created for itself a life apart.

An ugly, self-interest dominated life, of desire for gain, devoid of any magnanimity or hospitality.

What strikes one upon entering this citadel is the fact that one is treated coldly.

People coming from the countryside are not invited to a meal or to spend the night in a family of friends. This is cold — this is inhospitable. We legionaries, must change this atmosphere and replace it with the old "Romanian hospitality."

Therefore I urge legionaries who have a "home" and a "table" and who can accommodate a comrade from the province, to give

his address to painter Basarab.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 9, 1936

— — —

AT CHANGE OF CADRES

Circular

To Chiefs of Regions and Counties

On January 1, the old cadres will relinquish command to the new ones.

Leadership of Counties and Regions will be ranked:

A. According to capacity in leadership and to the work accomplished.

B. According to correctitude exhibited in questions of handling money.

These days, I started the tedious task of this ranking.

I could — regretfully — ascertain that despite all legionary schooling, with all our insistence last year regarding “the correct man,” we are far from this strictly necessary correctitude.

We can have no right, no pretension of governing, no criticism or branding of corrupt petty politics can we make, if we ourselves are not *correct*.

To those who ask me when will we begin the political action for governing, I answer: “When region and county leaders are going to report to me that in their organizations there no longer exists any incorrect man.”

Incorrect does not necessarily mean being a thief. It also means *insufficient care, order, scrupulousness, severity*, when it comes to matters of money belonging to somebody else.

Under this aspect, working on the classification, I found some organizations which ordered *brochures, photos, calendars, “martisoare”* [March tokens of Spring], etc. (from the propaganda service — some obtained a year ago) which up to now have not paid their bill.

Please think: No donation is asked for. We deal with something else: you took merchandise, sold it. Pay in the money or

return the wares.

In total, the organizations owe the propaganda service 200,000 lei. Thus, it cannot make a move; it is paralyzed. It cannot put out any printing.

— * —

Before this situation I was compelled to suspend the work of classification and to give a one month term, namely, till December 15, to the chiefs of organizations to balance their accounts.

Not only because of the problem in its material aspect, but to uphold the principle of *honor* and strict *correctitude*, in which a legionary must take pride.

With this end in mind, the accounts of the organizations in question, or of men in it, sent out by the Propaganda Service, are herewith attached. The address for the adjustment of debts is: Engineer Horodniceanu, 3 Gutenberg St. I shall also ask for the accounts of *Libertatea* and the other papers.

— * —

In the future, I expect on the part of chiefs of organizations and of any legionary, an attitude of utmost scrupulosity in matters of money. Every good mark, every recognition, every promotion will be affected by this educational point as well.

Beginning with the coming year, January 1, 1937, the general staff of the county will have as head of publications, one of the most knowledgeable and correct legionaries, who:

I. Will be the liaison man between the Center and the county regarding all kinds of printed matter: books, brochures, magazines, photos, insignia, etc.

II. Will organize in the respective city and county a complete service of retailing, using existing bookstores and kiosks or himself opening up kiosks in various city areas, in market towns and even in villages, to sell all legionary publications. Only through him will any printed matter come into the county. He will disseminate them to all legionary units, kiosks and bookstores.

III. Will be answerable for all this material personally, co-responsible with him in financial matters being the county chief with his general staff.

As to legionary newspapers and magazines, they could also be sent directly to bookstores and kiosks, with the publications' chief

being responsible for correct accounting.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 12, 1936

— * —

THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT AND THE CHURCH

From the reply letter to a priest-professor

The historical line is one: that which we live. For we live in eternity.

The line of the Church is much above ourselves. We tend toward it, but we accomplish only little. For we live under the condemnation and under the millstone of our sins, of the world, and those of our ancestors.

We admit that we are sinful: this is the legionary attitude vis-a-vis the Church.

— * —

But it seems to me that in fact the Church people too (her representatives, the faithful) have strayed from the line of *the Church*.

For example: Priests bless with their own hands the weapons, swords, rifles, machine guns and the cannons of the armies that go to war. They walk in front of the army and urge the troops to fight with bravery, to resist, to shoot. It is true that there is a branch, a sect, which advocates *laying down the weapons*. But these are the Adventists! Are they purer in faith, closer to the line of the Church? Here is a problem deserving consideration. Can the Orthodox Church *be taking a step forward vis-a-vis* Adventism, admitting that the latter is purer?

— * —

If priests bless the weapons, it means that they are *good*. If they are good, it means that they too can use them (for *it is painful*, indeed painful that they tell soldiers: only you shoot with them, not we, for it is sinful). And if they are not good, why do you *bless* them?

A priest with the cross and a rifle?

I ask: Who could remove from the Romanian history or which Synod could anathematize *Father Balint* and others like him who indeed held a rifle in one hand and a cross in the other?

Who would be the one to anathematize in the name of the Catholic Church the monk who two weeks ago, died manning a machine gun by the side of other monks, until he shot all his cartridges, defending his altar and the sacred icons?"⁸

— * —

On the battlefield there are traitors. They are shot to death by the execution squad. The church does not anathematize the squad; on the contrary, it witnesses the execution.

— * —

The church says: whoever has killed cannot become a priest.

I answer: At Carmen Sylva there is a priest, formerly a teacher, captain during the war, who shot and killed many. And there are very many priests like him.

— * —

It is said that those who killed Stelescu ought to be ousted from the School of Theology. I do not think so. Not only for the above-mentioned reason, but also for another one. They can say: We do not intend to become priests; we shall be cobblers, but we want to study theology.

— * —

These are facts. Facts on this earth.

I believe however in the everlasting superiority of the Christian Church's principle! The eternal and true victory is the victory born out of martyrdom.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 25, 1936

— — —

C I R C U L A R

I have expected from a chief before anything else that he maintain harmony and unity.

The chief who is not capable of realizing this for the Legion, must request a leave, and must go.

If however, through provocative measures, or in any case lacking tact, he wants at any price to cause discord within the organization, then he is relieved of his command.

8. The author refers here to the raging Spanish Civil War of the thirties (Tr.)

The first quality expected of a chief is that he assure harmony.
Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 26, 1936

**LEGIONARY LAWS REGARDING CERTAIN
OBLIGATIONS OF THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT'S
CHIEF**

First law: The Chief of the Legionary Movement is forbidden to make visits of a political character.

Second law: The Chief of the Legionary Movement and the "All for the Fatherland" Party's Chief are forbidden to intercede with authorities for accommodating legionaries or the various innumerable individuals coming continuously with this aim in mind.

The chief of a movement and the chief of a legionary political party must be defended by all legionaries and by everybody around, for them to be left only with the great preoccupations of the movement, the fight and the country, and in order to spare them from any *obligations of whatever nature* towards anybody. They represent Legionarism's idea of independence which must be guarded as one would guard the greatest treasure.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 27, 1936

MEN WHO KNOW THEY HAVE SINS

Circular #50

I entreat the Chiefs of Regions to call attention to the following:

There also are in our organization people who in their past left something to be desired regarding their behavior in society. Our organization did not slam the door in their faces, out of a Christian spirit and the wish for them to reform; but beseeches them to have *the decency* to keep in the background and not come chest forward. This attitude causes the organization a lot of trouble. We wanted to do them a good turn. We expect them not to reward us

by a bad one. (See *The Nest Leader's Manual*, p. 49, Editorial "Libertatea," Madrid, 1987.)

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 28, 1936

Circular #51

To the Region Chiefs

I forward a copy of the Captain's letter with the entreaty that conformance dispositions be given:

To the "All for the Fatherland" Party chief.

Please communicate to the Chief of Regions the following:

Beginning January 1, the names of all nests entitled "Corneliu Z. Codreanu" shall be changed.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, December 1, 1936

CIRCULAR

To all legionaries

Though we live under the law of silence, yet, in various student manifestations, congresses, meetings, celebrations, legionaries are obliged to talk.

I have noticed that in these rallies various speakers abuse the use of my name in order to gain applause on the part of those who feel obliged to applaud. "Long live Corneliu Codreanu" and many such, in lectures, in meetings and during street demonstrations.

I confess that these legionary demonstrations impress me painfully and I beseech that in the future you show more pity toward me and toward the public forced to listen to you.

I entreat you not to use my name in meetings, congresses or public demonstrations.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, December 2, 1936

C I R C U L A R

Pursuant to Legionary Commandant 's report, a one-half year leave beginning December 15, 1936 until June 15, 1937 is accorded to Commandant-aide

This leave is approved because a *lack of tact* was ascertained in leadership, a fact that led to the disruption of legionary harmony. A chief who cannot establish harmony in his organization, must urgently request a leave during which he will not interfere in any form in the leadership.

It is known that the biggest legionary problem is the problem of *unity*, therefore of complete harmony. The best chief is he who can give the organization harmony and unity. If a chief cannot, he must relinquish his position.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, December 11, 1936

A G A I N S T C O W A R D I C E

C i r c u l a r

A whole series of manifestoes appear, treating various just and unjust questions.

I take advantage of this occasion to shout: *I am nauseated by cowardice!*

Some attribute these manifestoes to us.

The legionary signs his name under what he believes; he signed it and will forever sign it.

He is willing to assume the whole responsibility of his deeds and of his faith and spits in the eye of cowards hiding behind anonymity, whoever they may be.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, December 16, 1937

*Esteemed Sir,
Honored Family,*

In the national struggle of the youth, many were the arguments it had to overcome.

Among them we can cite the words of some politicians, repeated later by all of them of diverse parties: "Not by window-breaking can the Jewish problem be solved. Get into commerce!"

Well, we did that, we opened "The Legionary Cooperative" on 3 Gutenberg St., adjacent to the Official Monitor [Building]. Students, boys and girls, or even graduates, serve as salespeople, in order to learn that to be a merchant is not shameful, and to show at the same time that *this people* is not incapable of engaging in commerce.

But, the politicians' stooges who yesterday urged us on to get into commerce, today pass us by and go to buy from the Jew. Moreover, we heard some of them apostrophizing us: "Economic demagogy!"

Heart constricted by grief, faced by so much perfidy, I said: "Scum that you are! You accused us yesterday that we did not engage in commerce, and now, when we are so engaged, you buy from the Jew, saying 'Economic demagogy'?"

— * —

Under the impulse of these thoughts and inner anxieties we invite all of you who feel Romanian in this land to get your supplies for The Holidays from *The Legionary Cooperative*, 3 Gutenberg St. (Telephone 3.05.54).

We do not ask sacrifice, do not ask for donations. We are in business. The money we make does not go into the pockets of *Adevarul* and *Dimineata* for them to use demolishing our people. It goes for *our Romanian sacred war* and it will overflow over all of us, tomorrow, when victory resounds.

— * —

Gentlemen and Ladies, Honorable Romanian Families,

It is with these sentiments that we welcome each of you to cross the threshold of our home. Your presence will honor all of us and we shall make an effort to serve you conscientiously and with all delicacy. Orders may be placed by phone for delivery service.

— * —

Remember your people!

Look with open eyes at the paths of misfortune on which it is

being led!

Who stands indifferent, scared and cowardly before his country that dies, will be accursed by those who come after him.

Country, call your lads and they will respond. Those who love you will come, while the cowards will keep mute.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

December 18, 1936

TO ALL LEGIONARIES, MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

On the occasion of the Holidays think of those from among us who have fallen. One by one remember them all beginning with Sterie Ciumetti and finishing with the venerable and wise Hristache Solomon.

In the Holidays' hours of joy, when each in his home will find some moment for tranquility, remember that in prisons there languish three under ground plus ten others, making thirteen. No law in this world can make us forsake them. On the contrary, if we would abandon them even for a second, all moral laws of the world would condemn us.

They must be comforted and helped in their suffering. You all know their addresses. One should, from the little one has, send them something also. Remember, when you will be warm near your hearths, that somewhere far away — farther away than our people have ever been before — seven souls, our most select, under Ion I. Mota's command, freeze in the white snow of Spain's mountains, weapons in hand in the defense of Christ.

They planted in our hearts, overwhelmed by so much treachery and cowardice, the spark of a great hope: The people, who willingly goes to a distance of thousands of kilometers from its native land, to fight for a faith, no matter what it be, is a people that can never die. Which neither its enemies' hatred will be able to knock down, nor the limitless rottenness of its politicians who, at the same time, have left to celebrate Christmas in the most expensive climatic resorts of Europe, squandering the country's millions.

They, these children, stand today facing death. They wrote us they were hungry and cold. The distinguished General Moruzzi,

learning of this, opened up a collection campaign. It was totally censored. You know the immense material difficulties we had to overcome for them to be able to leave for Spain. We are poor and the censorship's attitude prevents us from helping them. Our soul is full of boundless indignation. Each of us then will think of a means to make some extra money for them, even if you must beg from door to door. You will send it to General Cantacuzino.

Comrades,

In heaven, in graves, in tough prisons and in war at the earth's end, everywhere, the legionary stands guard.

You, those alive, those free, stand guard weapon at the ready, here at home where we have to ward off so many attacks, so many plots. They plot against us. They plot from a single source. You all know that source.

My dears, I shout to all: Be proud that everywhere in the seen and unseen worlds, legionaries are on duty.

Celebrate these Sacred Holidays safely, with faith and your heart attuned to all those who man the dangerous posts of our fight.

Let us embrace and wish good health to our beloved General who always exposes himself for our sakes.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, December 23, 1936

This order shall be read in all nests throughout the country.

— — —

ORDER FOR JANUARY 1, 1937
on the occasion of the party's change of cadres

Comrades, Chiefs of Regions and Counties,

A great year has passed. In the offices you have held you did your duty. Today when you leave them, receive from me a warm and brotherly handshake.

In gratitude for the way you comported yourselves, the entire General Cantacuzino series from now on will form the Corps of Legionary Inspectors. They will have this quality in the counties or regions which they led up till now.

Your role will be:

- 1) To help the new chief.
- 2) To inspect everything in relation to legionary activity.
- 3) To intervene in the weak regions to strengthen their position.

— * —

On the same date, a service of *Legionary Inspection and Control* is founded at the Center which will keep in liaison with all legionary inspectors. For this year, its chief is Mr. Popescu-Buzau whom you can contact at the Green House, Bucharest.

— * —

According to legionary dogma all functions have been changed, save one; General Cantacuzino, whom we beseech, we the legionary youth of this country, to preside over us another year, in homage to his brave soul and to his love shown us. We assume the obligation of lifting this burden anytime during the year if he feels tired or asks this of us.

— * —

The function of Vice-President for the Party is established and it is entrusted to Legionary Commandant of the Annunciation Ion Mota, presently on the Spanish front.

— * —

All these changes are made for the following reasons:

- a) The dissolution of the spirit of petty politics which led to the sad concept that a county is leased out for life to its administrative leader; that he invests sums of money which later he recoups through all kinds of business deals.
- b) The need to educate as commandants as many legionaries as possible.
- c) The renewal of the organization's offensive forces will be accomplished concurrently with each year's wave of new leaders.
- d) The realization of maximum of work, because, each wave — having a limited time of one year's activity — shall endeavor to give a maximum of effort.
- e) Finally, in some counties I sent out men from the Center to introduce the new methods of activity and innovations in matters of organization, which were studied and tried in the Center's school.

— * —

New cadres, put all your forces into play. Dedicate one year to the Legion. You will take over, keeping accurate minutes of;

- 1) The number of nests in the county and the number of men in each nest.
- 2) You will make sure that the nests you take under your command are indeed alive.
- 3) The number of work camps and work yards established in the county.
- 4) The debts inherited from the previous leadership.
- 5) A year later you will turn over the leadership by following the same procedure.

— * —

I repeat: The *function* ought not be confused with the *rank*. Rank is greater than the function. One may be given a function even if one has been in the organization only one year. While a rank is won with difficulty. That is why the function will give the rank its due respect.

— * —

Proposals for advancement shall be made by the highest rank in activity to be found in the county or region, after having consulted the county chief and other active ranks.

— * —

All proposals for promotions for the last year shall be made by February 15. Well thought out. With severity.

I beseech the new cadres to rely:

On *the correct man*, of his word, of honor, the man one can depend on.

On *the man with a head*, who thinks.

Never to recruit into the organization:

- 1) The wayward man, without any direction.
- 2) The rascal man, lacking inner health.
- 3) The braggart.
- 4) The garrulous.
- 5) The man weak in matters of correctitude when it comes to money.
- 6) The man who could not live in complete harmony with others.

— * —

Do not forget the first law: that the best leader is the one who knows how to keep unity and harmony in his county.

— * —

Classification: After one year of activity, first in the entire country, came out Region I under the leadership of Legionary Commandant Vasile Iasinschi. Classification by counties, later.

— * —

The following counties remain in suspension, namely without chiefs: Soroca, Balti, Falcu, Durostor, Salaj, Ciuc, Odorhei, Trei Scaune!

— * —

My dears, I shout to all: Step forward with God.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

The new chiefs will be called to the school of cadres after the Holidays for instructions regarding organization.

— — —

C I R C U L A R

To be read in all nests. Let County Chiefs do their duty by sending this order to the very last nest.

Legionary comrades in the whole country,

I inform you that since December 18, the seven Romanian legionaries: Ion Mota, Rev. Ion Dumitrescu, engineer Gheorghe Clime, Alexandru Cantacuzino, Dr. Vasile Marin, Neculai Totu and Banica Dobre, are on the front taking part in the fiercest battles.

The last letter we received is dated December 24. Three of them: Rev. Dumitrescu, Neculai Totu and Alexandru Cantacuzino had been sick on account of the cold. The letter of December 24 brings us the news that they are now well. From the news received, they had passed through extremely difficult situations. Since December 24 till today, January 8, we have received no other news. May God protect them!

Their gesture ennobles our people and the one who does not

appreciate this gesture is a dog and a *canaille*.

A Christian Orthodox priest dressed in vestments goes to die in the defense of the Catholic Church, downed by communist hatred.

There are Romanian newspapers pretending not to understand the grandeur of this gesture.

Seven youths, the flower and pride of our generation, go to fight for Christ, thousands of kilometers away (never has our People fought so far from home).

Yes, there are Romanian papers which do not understand. I do not need their publicity. On these occasions I only need to decipher their sentiments and to be able to shout to them with all my powers: "I am nauseated by you, pigmies with nationalist masks!"

And you legionaries in this entire rotten Romania of the politicians, know that the secret of your victory resides in the gesture of these seven comrades, namely: being just like them, *all of us ready to die, facing the plottings* of the innumerable knaves. What do these want to defeat us with? What with? When we, to the very last legionary, stand ready to die?

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

January 8, 1937

LEGIONARIES,

Ion Mota, founder of the Legionary Movement, honorary president of the Romanian student body;

Dr. Vasile Marin, legionary commandant, the head of the capital's organization: both of these men, following 14 years of hardship, blows and imprisonment endured for their faith in the Romanian People, have forever fallen asleep on the Majadahonda front in defense of our Savior Jesus Christ.

The rending news has fallen over us like lightning. It will shake every Romanian. We have given God the best children of our people.

General Cantacuzino leaves tomorrow to bring back their remains.

A large sum being needed, I appeal to those of means to contribute by wire so that these sacred bodies can be brought back

into their country.

Sunday, January 17, 1937 masses will be said in churches.

May God receive their sacrifice!

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, January 15, 1937

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REQUIEM IN MEMORY OF MOTA AND MARIN

ORDER

Legionary cordons will be formed tomorrow at Church: from the crowds to the entrance of the Church and, *if feasible*, from the Church's entrance to the altar so that traffic would be possible.

The path must be at least one and one half meters wide.

The front will be made up by the legionary Student Center under the command of Commandant-aide Livezeanu and the workers' corps.

The procession leadership for the entire order at the Church will be legionary comrade Vojen's.

A separate area will be reserved for various delegations or dignitaries.

This will be by the place reserved for the *Legionary General Staff* (Ranks, functions and those assimilated).

The reception and seating of foreigners, delegations, of the Spanish Legation or those of other countries, will be done by legionary Commandants and students' presidents. They shall exercise special care in acting courteously toward people and in not neglecting anyone.

The place of the Spanish Legation will be on the left side of the Church.

My place with those who accompany me, on the right.

The Minister of the Spanish Legation will be informed this evening that their reserved spot is on the left side of the Church.

The time: 11:15 A.M.

— * —

Flags — no matter whose they are — will be placed along both sides of the front, equally spaced.

— * —

No discourse will be given other than the priest's eulogy.
"The Hymn of the Fallen Legionaries" will be sung.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

January 16, 1937, 8:30 o'clock in the evening.

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THE OATH OF THE LEGIONARY RANKS
over the bodies of
Mota and Marin in the St. Ilie Gorgani Church

Beloved Comrades!

Every time I found myself before a legionary sacrifice, I said to myself: How dreadful it would be that on the supreme sacrifice of our comrades, *a caste of conquerors* be instituted to which would be open the gates to a life of speculation; fantastic business coups; thefts; gluttony; exploiting others!

In other words, some have died in order to serve the appetites for enrichment, comfort and the debauchery of others!

So God has brought us now here before the greatest sacrifice the Legionary Movement could offer.

Let us lay the heart, the mind and the body of *Mota* and his comrade *Marin*, as the foundation of the Romanian Nation; a foundation for future centuries of greatness in Romania.

Let us make the example of *Mota* and *Marin* the foundation for a future Romanian elite which will be called upon to make of this Nation something which our minds can hardly yet imagine.

You, who represent the first beginnings of this elite, bind yourselves by an oath, that you will behave in such a way that you may *really be a healthy beginning* for the great future elite of Romania; that you will defend the entire Legionary Movement that it may not slip into such things as speculation, high living, luxury, immorality, satisfaction of personal ambitions or desire for human aggrandizement.

You will swear that you have understood, and that therefore not a single doubt remains in your mind, that *Ion Mota* and *Vasile Marin* did not make the supreme sacrifice for a few of us of today or of tomorrow, in order that we might revel in good things and feast upon their tomb. They did not die that we might vanquish

through their sacrifice a caste of exploiters, in order then to take over their palaces and continue to exploit the country and the work of others, continuing a life of luxury, of speculation and of loose living.

If that were the case, the poor Romanian masses through our victory would only change the name of their exploiters, while our country would strain her already exhausted strength to support a *new category of vampires* to suck her blood: i.e., us.

OH, MOTA! You did not die for that. You made your sacrifice for the nation!

Therefore, you will swear that you understand this: that to be *legionary elite* does not mean, in our language, only to fight and conquer, but it means: *permanent sacrifice in the service of the Nation; that the idea of elite is bound to the idea of sacrifice, of poverty, of hard living in a severe life; that where self-sacrifice ends, the legionary elite ends too.*

Therefore we will swear that we will bequeath to our followers the vow to come to the tomb of *Mota* and *Marin* and swear on the following essential conditions of the elite, on which we ourselves swear:

1. *To live in poverty, destroying in ourselves any desire for material enrichment.*
2. *To live a hard, severe life, putting aside luxury and surfeit.*
3. *To avoid any attempt to exploit any man.*
4. *To make permanent sacrifices for our country.*
5. *To defend the Legionary Movement with all our strength against everything which could lead it into the path of compromise; or against anything which might even lower its moral standards.*

MOTA AND MARIN
WE SWEAR!

Bucharest, February 12, 1937

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

COMRADES,

The enclosed appeal was released yesterday by the youth of the Liberal Party and the traitor who was stigmatized by the conscience of the entire Romanian student body: Amedeu Badescu.

How long are we going to permit these rogues to insult us? How long shall we keep our arms folded before those who without pity or shame spit in our faces?

In today's circumstances, such staggering provocations cannot pass unnoticed.

Mark them in your hearts and avenge them at the right time.

The liberal youth which attacks us will find us at the post from which it will in time receive its due answer.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

February 13, 1937

The matter deals with an appeal of the liberal youth circulated on the day of the Mota-Marin requiem, in which the Legionary Movement and its two martyrs are insulted.

CIRCULAR #58

To the Chiefs of Regions

Please communicate to the legionaries:

In the wake of the burial of the martyrs MOTA and MARIN, the authorities have gotten frightened, not because of *the disorder*, but because of *the order*, truly impressive, that prevailed at that time.

Right away in a few days, ministerial statements were made, lacking the most elementary meaning.

"We want to enthrone the order." "We shall do anything in order to re-establish the order." We do not understand a thing. Why defend an order that no one threatens?

Now the rumor circulates that authorities would wish to provoke us at any price, spreading the news that a legionary plot is being hatched, that searches are going to be made and arrests, looking for green shirts and weapons in the legionaries' homes.

It could be that these are but simple coffeehouse rumors. Yet I have the obligation to call the attention of the legionaries to them.

I. *The Legionary Movement — in order to be victorious — will never resort to "THE IDEA OF A PLOT" or "COUP D'ÉTAT!"*

I consider this a stupidity.

The Legionary Movement can only win when *an inner process of conscience of the Romanian Nation shall be perfected*. When this process shall encompass the majority of Romanians and shall reach completion, victory then will automatically come without plots and without *coups d'état*.

The victory we expect this way is so great, so bright, that we will never permit it to be replaced by a cheap and transitory victory, born of plot or *coup d'état*.

II. In case of searches, day or night, legionaries are to open to authorities and receive them with the greatest amiability.

At local headquarters, if legionaries are present when authorities show up, the "Present Arms" will be ordered.

III. If legionaries, their families and children are manhandled or maltreated, then with the greatest calm and serenity they will say:

Lord, for the Legion's Victory, make us too, worthy of any suffering and of a death such as that of MOTA and MARIN.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 26, 1937

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CIRCULAR #59

To the Bihor Organization

Please bring to the knowledge of those in the right, the following:

I. The rank of Commandant-aide for was suspended for an indefinite term pending new dispositions.

II. He is accorded a two year leave because he figured in a committee together with Jews. No matter what the nature of that committee might be, it is incompatible both with his rank and with the name of legionary.

III. The chief who proposed him for promotion is admonished

(Please let me know his name right away).

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 26, 1937

— — —

C I R C U L A R

To the legionaries of the Capital

Who will read *The Nest Leader's Manual* will easily see that throughout it passes like a line of fire *the interdiction of a legionary to speak behind his comrade's back*.

Not only because this is a thing dishonorable in itself and unchivalrous, but particularly because this system *destroys an organization*. Any organization. Especially one based on *camaraderie and honor*.

The entire political and private life of the Romanian leading class up to now has been eaten up by this weed.

Our legionary world obstinately opposes this system. We are based on absolute *frankness* and total sincerity.

As the appearance of this illness has been for a while observed in Bucharest and as so far I consider my verbal admonitions insufficient, I *order* that whoever shall hear someone speak evil of another comrade or insinuate something about him, give me *a written personal report*.

Following which I will take measures for the protection of the organization.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

February 27, 1937

— — —

C O M M U N I Q U É

The Legionary Movement has no connection at all with the distressing event in which the University Rector, Traian Bratu was wounded.

It expresses regret for what happened.

And if somehow any of its members is implicated in this affair, steps against him shall be taken.

However, at the same time, it wishes to call the attention of all to two indisputable truths:

I. From everywhere — state, governments, authorities, professors, university senates, rectors, political parties — for several years now, was begun a warring action against the youth. All pre-occupations have been ruthlessly directed to knocking the youth for its sin of having a faith of its own.

This action, carried out by men of *many sins* against the country (for they repeatedly have led it and have brought it to where it is) against a generation of youth *without sins* — for it only now comes of age, thus carries no responsibility as it has had no word in the country's leadership — is a great *injustice*.

The coalition of the men *who have sinned* against the nation, in order to strike and destroy *the sinless*, is something making us indignant and revolts any honest conscience.

What can we say for example about the University of Bucharest's professors who *ex cathedra* day in and day out teach morals, correct attitudes, respect for the right and the faith of each, justice, but in fact give the entire student body the lesson of *the greatest injustice* by dissolving the Student Center, without its having the slightest guilt.

II. A second indisputable truth is that any body, any human organization, any political group, or one of any other nature, has *toeing-the-line people*, who, philosophizing, disregard all this occasional maltreatment, unwarranted interferences, provocations, injustices, but it also has *madmen* who know no philosophy and who react as they will.

Governments, authorities, university senates, rectors, political parties, in their work of repression, only counted on *the toeing-the-line people* of the first category, namely on those who will not react.

I appeal to everybody's spirit of wisdom, as being in agreement with the truths I stated, that at least from now on, they also take into consideration those of the second category who through individual acts could disrupt the general discipline of any organization be it on the right, left or center, or be it even an organization belonging to state authority.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, March 2, 1937

CIRCULAR #60

To Chiefs of Regions, To Legionaries

In the wake of the burial of the two martyrs, Mota and Marin, a firm tendency to provoke the Legionary Movement is noted.

For this to react and on the basis of its riposte, for the government to take steps against it.

I command all legionaries, what I constantly affirmed: *that they no longer respond to any kind of provocation.*

The case of the Rector in Iasi ought to serve as an example. I do not believe that any legionary is mixed up in this, particularly in the wake of Circular #58. But if one is implicated, not only will he be expelled from the movement but also the whole General Staff and the organization he belongs to will be abolished.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, March 3, 1937

TO ALL THOSE GOING HOME

On the occasion of the universities being closed down

I. A behavior of great correctitude.

II. A great propaganda of the legionary faith, not by scandal, fights, contradictory discussions, but by *witnessing his faith*:

“I believe in Romania’s resurrection through the Legion.

“I’ll take any blows.

“I gladly endure any suffering.

“But, I believe in the Legionary Victory and Salvation for the Romanian People.”

III. Then, no quarrels, no fighting, no contradictory discussions, but by witnessing: “This is what I believe.” “You, you may believe in whatever you want!”

IV. In conclusion, I think that with the closing down of the universities, with your being ousted from dormitories, a great injustice was done to you!

Bear it with love!

The day will come when those who wronged you will feel

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Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, March 3, 1937

CIRCULAR #62

In the aftermath of the article entitled "Iuliu Maniu" printed in *Buna Vestire* No. 10 of March 3, 1937, I feel compelled to call to the attention of all legionaries the old circular issued regarding *Porunca Vremii*, which applies equally well to the paper *Buna Vestire*.

This newspaper is not a legionary one. It is friendly to us and we support it.

I would not want though that the paper's point of view be at any time identified by legionaries with that of the Legionary Movement.

Therefore: *Read the paper, support it gladly; but be on guard, for as it is only natural, not everything written in it is on legionary lines.*

Skipping over the substance of the "Iuliu Maniu" article I want to point out only this much: The Legionary Movement does not share the article's point of view either regarding the intention attributed to Mr. Maniu of "winning over to his side the clean youth," because we do not think Mr. Maniu can offend us believing us to be material to be won over — or regarding the appreciation showered on him.

Over and above other differences we believe that Mr. Maniu is a man of integrity and of moral standing, in a country that dies daily due to lack of moral standing and inner correctitude; that because of this posture of his he is conspired against as is also, hour by hour, the youth conspired against.

We demand that at least the right be granted us to respect one another, we who, — not being in the same camp of opinion — feel in our flesh the darts of the same plotters.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, March 4, 1937

THE ADMITTANCE OF POLITICIANS INTO THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT

To Chiefs of Regions and Counties

I reply to the inquiries sent in from various parts of the country where lately one observes an influx toward the Legion of men who have played a unique role in public life up to now.

Men who have played a unique role in public life up to now *can no longer join the cadres of the Legionary Movement*, even though they may give signs of understanding this movement, even though they are ready to take vows and even though it would seem to you they present sufficient guarantees of loyalty.

This measure comes as a result of a legionary experience of several years which concludes that *people living with a certain mentality* have a very hard time adapting to the legionary mentality which is totally different, and even if they apparently adapt to it, they do it only formally, not in depth, for these depths of mentality only to come to the surface willy-nilly in critical moments for the organization, either through a non-legionary judgement or through an action or slip which may endanger the very unity and even the life of the movement.

That is why, *for the security, the inner peace and the unaltered maintaining of the Legionary Movement*, men who have played some role in public life cannot be accepted into its ranks. Even if they never attacked us and even if they always had good feelings toward us.

After victory, they will be able to place (if they be correct) their potential at the country's disposal; they will therefore be able to occupy any function in the state; their knowledge and capacity will be appealed to; but *they will not be able even then to enroll within the active movement*.

At the present time they may join the ranks of the Friends of the Legionaries.

For the victory of the legionary cause we expect from them an act of great understanding of this circular, meant to protect our organization of any risks or eventual turmoil.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, March 9, 1937

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Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, March 9, 1937

CIRCULAR #64

To all legionaries in Romania

My soul is full of joy while reading the two decisions of the Holy Synod of March 10, 1937 and March 11, 1937.⁹

There were, and not too long ago, decisions that agitated us, not as legionaries, but as Romanians, far surpassing our qualifications as a legionary organization. I do not know who among the High Prelates – and I do not know whether one, two or three of them – determined this historical attitude, but I do know that such decisions in the world have always been followed by satanical coalitions. And I am not going to be the one to teach the Church what she has to do when faced by a satanic attack, but in my qualification as a soldier, to those who have thus decided I cannot but say: Forward, you are going to win! For the people support and follow you.

For me, the present attitude of the Orthodox Church, a historic one, is a beginning of glory, a commencement of a royal attitude. And I think that it is well that our Orthodoxy know that one is not an emperor because the empire next door has collapsed, but one is an emperor to the extent that one possesses an emperor's heart, feels in his heart emperor's powers, and takes measures and attitudes worthy of an emperor.

I believe that in the big world of Ortodoxy, Romania's Church someday will play a most important role. There are in the world roads for slaves and roads for emperors. On the road of slavery and on that of unacceptable injunctions, one can never gain such a role. That is why, let all of us, but particularly those among us who did not keep silent when she had taken other attitudes, salute the first steps of our Church on this imperial road.

All legionary nests should read, and if I could I would urge all Romanians of all political parties to read, the two decisions of the Holy Synod.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, March 13, 1937

9. One of these decisions was the denunciation of Freemasonry; the other, commending legionary youth for their work of restoring old churches (Tr.)

COMRADE BOBORODEA,

The chief of book distribution in a county has the mission:

– To organize sales most intensely throughout the county, opening sales outlets everywhere.

– To ensure a correct handling of money.

The Center's office of printing no longer ships out material requested by legionaries, nest leaders, etc., by mail.

They will have to turn to the county chief of book distribution for it.

One exception is made to this rule: *anyone* coming to the office cash in hand, can get any kind of articles in any quantities (if available).

This exception is based on the fact that *it does not* at all go counter to the mission of book dissemination in a county: *as intense a circulation as possible and a correct handling of money.*

Generally, any initiative of individual dissemination that assures a correct handling of money (as is the case of buying for cash) must gladden us.

No punishment by elimination is okayed for infringement of *dispositions*, because the given disposition is not in the spirit of the order I had given. Let all nests make as intense a distribution as possible. They can take material from the county office of book distribution, or on ready cash directly from the Center.

Not only this, but all orders of mine to chiefs of regions lately are based on the idea of *disseminating* the propaganda material by nests, legionaries, *with great intensity.*

Nests which take the initiative of a better distribution are cited. The legionary who distributes cannot be considered bad, but on the contrary.

He can get his supplies in his work from the county distribution office or from the Center if he comes with cash.

II. The report mentions hundreds of *martisoare* turned in You were wrongly informed. He took from 40 to 60 for cash.

Commandant-aide is a very good element, but he could only satisfy each a little, for only about 500-800 *martisoare* can be made in a day. There are 70 counties; but he had to consider that Hunedoara County is larger and that Mota came from

there.

The given punishment cannot be approved because the 20% discount is a *personal right* of any legionary, or of any man who wants to sell legionary material.

The man in question may give up the discount if he so wishes. If not, he may use it as he pleases. For it is his money.

He does not then have to justify anything regarding his sales for the last year or what he did with the discount (except if unpaid accounts are discovered here since the time the present law was not in effect, when he could have material delivered to him on credit).

—*—

I think you have a dissatisfaction because both and were from Simeria; and because the chief of book distribution felt a little embarrassed not having the material, while someone else did. I shall see to it that the chief of book distribution stocks enough supplies so as to give his orders *priority* from now on for as much material as he requests.

Please take care to always work tactfully and harmoniously toward the pacification of the situation.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, March 24, 1937

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THE ROMANIAN STUDENT BODY CALLED TO PASS UNDER THE YOKE OF HUMILIATION

Circular #65

To the legionary students

The Romanian student body is called to pass under the yoke of humiliation.

This is a huge sacrifice that is required of a body conscious of its rights in a country.

My dear students, God wants to place before this new youth all the possible pains in order for it to become worthy of redeeming the Romanian nation. As He placed them on the shoulders of His Own Son for the salvation of the world.

I absolve you: Step, heart constricted by pain, under the forks of humiliation which, in order to dishonor you, these enemies of yours have laid before you, not your parents. The measure asked of you, besides being *an illegality*, besides being an infringement upon your rights which the Romanian student will no longer enjoy, but which every little Jew (shop boy arrived from Galitia, Hungary; or Russia and become overnight a Romanian citizen) has is, in addition, an open encouragement to *treason and cowardice* addressed to youth.

How does the State and its leaders imagine that a nation could live in the world, with a youth whom the State educated in treason, cowardice, treachery? . . .

The crime of the administrators, under this aspect, is so odious and threatens to such an extent the future of this People, that nothing exists in the world to equal it.

Sign your names my dear students, with your souls loaded by pain and with the consciousness of this humiliation to which you are exposed.

Do not forget that all these measures are directed against you solely because you live and grow in the legionary faith. Do remember, youth, till the end of your days those who want to turn you into rascals.

And remember that the unconquered Rome and the Roman army, ever victorious, still were vanquished, definitively vanquished: by the poor, the have-nots, disciples and followers of the Savior, who, faithful to His teaching, received from pagan, conniving Rome every humiliation and every imposed sacrifice.

Later — what greater defeat could you wish for — all the flags of the army that tortured, murdered, humiliated, were carrying the sign of the Cross, the sign of those humiliated and tortured.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Carmen Sylva, April 2, 1937

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THE CORPS OF LEGIONARY WORKERS

Comrades,

I cite in this order of the day throughout the Capital, the S.T.B.

workers' Section, which under the leadership of legionary Stan Gheorghe has worked with so much enthusiasm in the head-quarter's garden.

This garden is now a beauty and a jewel.

The beauty and the jewel are however not in the garden itself but in the souls of the workers who planted it.

Certainly, the garden gladdened me, but its importance is that through it I discovered the beauties in the souls of the comrade workers.

Likewise I cite the nests: "The Heroes of Jiu" and "Waiters" for the care shown in fixing the stairs.

Out of all this a law springs: Wherever the legionary's hand and soul show up, a garden appears.

When, then, will the thousands of legionaries make a garden out of the desert extending over the whole of Romania?

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, April 5, 1937

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CIRCULAR #70

Finding today, April 23, 1937, in a suitcase, unopened till now, *Ion Mota's* last letters addressed to legionaries and to readers of *Libertatea*, entitled: "Present," "It is the right way" and "*The 3,000 Irish legionaries*," dated Lisbon, December 3, 1936, I urge all nests and legionary formations to do what one understands from these letters of *Mota*, which is a last wish of his: that the appeal of the dead be made immediately following the meeting's opening procedure.

One discerns from these last articles his precise, determined wish to stay in our midst and to be permanently with us in all instances of our legionary life. That is why all these articles have above as motto:

"Those who have fallen by the adversary's bullets
In spirit march within our ranks below."

I also urge that this song by which *Ion Mota* was always impressed be regularly sung in the future.

I have taken steps for these last letters to be photographed and to be published in the form of an album.

Each legionary unit must know then, that it has in its midst *Mota*, and that no matter what battle or what hardship it might find itself entering, it must know that with *Mota* in the lead, it shall never be defeated.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, April 23, 1937

LEGIONARY HEADQUARTERS

Circular

To Legionaries and Friends

The Legionary Movement, due to its growth, feels the imperious necessity of a large headquarters in the Capital's center.

With the construction of this building in mind in the shortest time possible, we resort to the idea of an internal legionary loan.

There is need of 2,000 individuals to lend the construction committee 1,000 *lei* each.

In exchange for 1,000 *lei* a receipt will be issued on the basis of which the lender will recover the sum in two years at no interest. The loan is turned in when you sign up.

This opens today April 25, Palm Sunday, and closes on June 1.

With the proposed plan in view, I named:

1. A *finance committee* composed of:

Engineer Nic. Horodniceanu,
The nest "Legionary Victory,"
The nest "Aurel Mateescu."

2. A *technical committee* made up of architects and engineers.

As we are busy and in full fight, my appeal is of great urgency. This legionary accomplishment must be executed in the lull between two battles.

The money is to be sent to engineer Nic. Horodniceanu, 3 Gutenberg St., Bucharest.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, April 25, 1937

GENTLEMEN ATTORNEYS,

I address myself to you and through you to all attorneys of all the bars in the Country; I address myself to all the judges of all levels, to the entire Country, in order — before we shall see what we have to do — to protest from the depth of my soul the unprecedented and unheard-of way in which the ten legionaries were judged.

1. I protest the fact that they, through the newly enacted law, were transferred from their *customary judges* to a military court where the judging of this trial did not belong.

2. I protest the exclusion of the entire defense from the proceedings, leaving the accused totally defenseless — for the 7-minute defense allowed to a single officer for ten men condemned to hard labor for life cannot be considered defense.

3. I protest the fact that through this system the accused were deprived of the principal witnesses in this question, witnesses possessing sensational revelations in favor of the accused, witnesses who, according to the defense's plans were to appear toward the end, but who in view of the measures taken, could no longer testify.

In the order of their importance, these witnesses are: General Gh. Cantacuzino, who presided over the honor jury which judged and eliminated Stelescu from the organization. He has in his possession documents and acts of crushing importance; Corneliu Z. Codreanu, holder of some important information; Prof. Nae Ionescu, engineer Cristian Leu, familiar with the planning of an odious assassination; Vasile Cotea, the one who was to have carried out the assassination; Luca Gheorghide and Dumitrescu-Zapada.

4. I protest this system which causes mistrust in Justice throughout the country, mistrust which is the beginning of all misfortunes, for justice refused leads a man to the idea of seeking his own justice. As in the Stelescu case. Or, this is the greatest misfortune coming any country's way.

Gentlemen attorneys, please take all steps dictated by laws, that the decision pronounced be annulled by the superior courts.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, April 28, 1937

COMRADES

Of universities and high schools, take your exams.
The legionary who does not take his exams shall be sent before
an honor jury.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

May 16, 1937

— — —

CIRCULAR #75

The "All for the Fatherland" Party is not going to organize this year any *work camps*. A circular which will be sent out at the proper time will explain this in detail and properly:

Who,

How,

And in what circumstances the legionary youth has been deprived of the sacred right to work.

This summer, our organization will set up only two *camps for rest*.

I. One at Carmen Sylva for sufferers of rheumatism.

II. The other, in a sub-mountainous region for those with chest ailments.

In these camps working *is strictly forbidden!* (of course, except for the necessary cleanliness, as we cannot afford maids). Anyone trying to work will be *immediately sent back home*; in order not to disobey the law and particularly the legislator's intention or that of his inspirer, and in order not to provide pretexts for closing down the camps.

Both housing and meals will be charged for.

Room and board will cost 10 *lei* per day for the poor and 30 *lei* for those who can afford it. In addition they will be able to buy whatever they wish at the camp's snack bar.

Everybody has to bring along:

A. Plate, spoon, fork, knife, cup.

B. Bedding: blanket, sheet, small pillow.

C. Clothing: a wool flannel, change of underwear, light coat (we caution that both at seashore and up higher sometimes it is cold and humid).

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We invite in these camps the youth of other political parties as well, of any political party, to benefit from the sea water and the mountains' air, but only on condition of submitting to the Legionary Movement's atmosphere and discipline.

The camps open on July 10.

Interdictions. Completely forbidden are:

I. The green shirts (each will bring white shirts or of some other color).

II. Singing on trains or on the way.

Excursions. I urge the rest of legionaries to organize, county-wide or in villages, excursions into the mountains or other scenic places. In large groups these excursions come very cheap.

I beseech these groups to be examples of order, honesty, quiet, decency, harmony, everywhere.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, June 13, 1937

P.S. These two camps of rest and the excursions were also forbidden.

C I R C U L A R #76

Today, June 14, I received a letter from the O.E.T.R.¹⁰ by which we are asked, in case we are planning on having camps or summer colonies for youth between 7-18 years:

1. To request approval from the O.E.T.R. for operating.
2. To execute throughout the entire period a minimal O.E.T.R. program.
3. That the execution of this program be done by an "O.E.T.R. commandant" of the colony's hiring.

The undersigned, with the entire Legionary Movement, refuse to comply with these terms for reasons which I shall present in time.

I have the impression that these gentlemen will want one day to also send us a party chief to educate us.

10. The Office for the Education of the Romanian Youth, a branch of the Ministry of Education (*Tr.*)

That is why, in order not to be obliged to comply with such a demand and in order not to find myself compelled to see in my house an "O.E.T.R. commandant" educating me, I refuse to admit into the two camps announced in the earlier circular, children between 7-18 years.

If, for the over 18 year olds, I shall also be requested to seek the O.E.T.R.'s approval, I will not do it and I will give up the two contemplated camps.

So that, if before the camps' opening, the authorities, justly or unjustly, inform us that they cannot be opened, I shall let you know in time for you not to leave for them.

And in case the authorities intervene after their opening, they will be closed down.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, June 14, 1937

TO THE LEGIONARIES AND MEMBERS IN THE CAPITAL

All *informers from the Capital's police*, who are in nests, are hereby invited to come to me *individually* between June 19 and 23.

The informers who are agents of the *Securitate* or of the General Staff will come to me between June 24 and 25.

The informers of other services, private, on June 26.

This order is to be read in all nests at the next meeting and all nest members must sign an acknowledgement.

Those who do not come to see me will be punished.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

June 15, 1937

CIRCULAR #77

To the Chiefs of Regions

1. The restaurant of the legionary Cooperative soon to open in the Capital, needs ten peasant children, with primary school completed, smart and in good health. Orphans are preferred, or

belonging to poor and large families.

They will grow up in the legionary family in anticipation of the future legionary commerce. If you know of such children in your Region, please let me know at once and take the necessary steps for sending them to Bucharest.

2. County chiefs are to make a list of all legionary grade school teachers with their addresses and forward it, through the region, to the Center.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, June 15, 1937

— — —

SWINDLERS

Circular #78

Do not let yourselves be cheated by swindlers!

They circulate through towns and villages, call on legionaries at home, pretend to be legionaries, indicate they have certain missions. They know someone at the Center and speak of him to gain the host's confidence; finally, they request money, or steal something from the homes and vanish. Others make collections. Others sell legionary brochures. Others sell swastikas, badges, etc.

All of these *are not permitted in the Legionary Movement*. As soon as the legionary sees such an individual in his village, he must immediately tell himself: *this fellow is a swindler*.

Sometimes they claim to be sent by the Center.

Let legionaries know:

The Center will never send to a place men who are not known by the locals.

In case this is not clear enough call Bucharest.

Chiefs of Regions, Counties and Sectors, educate your men in this regard. All legionaries and nest members, also inform your friends.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— * —

To the Brasov organization

I *urgently* call to your attention that in Predeal, three in-

dividuals have shown up in the restaurant facing the railway station; swindlers, distributing legionary books and at the same time making a collection "for the Legionary Movement."

The team got off the train at Timis where they went house to house offering legionary brochures and taking from one person the sum of 1,000 *lei* claiming that money is being collected for the building of the legionary headquarters.

Please:

1. Urgently tell all legionary nests in your county about this.
2. Warn the public to beware of swindlers, through local papers or any other means.
3. Probably this is the team that passed through Turda county.
4. As the number of these swindlers has increased, the Legionary Movement will give a reward to the legionary or nest exposing one of the teams mentioned above.

I repeat on this occasion:

- A. No public collection of money is authorized.
- B. Legionary books cannot be sold by traveling teams.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, June 15, 1937

- - -

C I R C U L A R

Following the inspection report of Legionary Commandant Horia Sima, Inspector of Region X:

1. The Timis county cashier's office led by legionary Instructor Negru Ion is cited for perfect order.
2. All nest leaders in the Buzias township are cited for legionary bearing and intense activity.
3. Let no one in the future get into conflicts of a political character.
4. The Legionary Organization in Sosdea is cited and the township leader, Rev. Dr. Petru Buhariu.
5. In village nests, legionary peasants are expected to increase their dues to more than 1 *leu*.

Give for the legionary victory!

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

June 16, 1937

N.B. Region inspectors are begged to send in their inspection reports.

COMMUNIQUÉ

Last night at 3 o'clock, during the great electrical storm, the canopy over the tomb of Mota and Marin caught on fire.

The legionary on watch, who was right under it at the time of discharge, escaped unhurt. He gave the alarm.

The night guard was made up of three nests: "Vulturii Olteniei," "Gh. Negrea" and "Ion Caranica" of the S.T.B. Section of the Workers' Corps. These, together with the entire staff of the Green House have shown much calm, self-control and dedication.

As the baldaquin had wooden supports it was entirely engulfed by flames, which were so big that they threatened the surroundings.

A miracle happened!

The cross, supported by the three wooden pillars, encircled by huge flames, escaped untouched. Excepting these three wooden pillars supporting the cross and the baldaquin's legs, everything burnt and collapsed.

The baldaquin will be re-done in reinforced concrete, while the cross and the wooden pillars that supported it, will be saved by legionaries as proof of God's power.

Today, Friday and tomorrow, Saturday, all nests – legionaries and legionary girls – will go to the tomb to see what happened and to pray.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

June 18, 1937

CIRCULAR #79

Comrades,

Several days hence, on Thursday, June 24, 1937 it will be ten years since the Legionary Movement was founded.

I started off together with Mota and three others; five in all.

From the very first moment we were assailed with every insult, then we were slapped and took blows; blow after blow marred our faces and brows, prisons sapped our bones, in the mind of our enemies we were condemned to death; and, for several years, we had been the object of all kinds of ghastly plottings. War of destruction waged hour by hour. For us, no pity whatever. We have lived by God's grace and by the point of our sword!

Even today we live by them and will forever do so.

We have endured and have replied tempestuously.

— * —

And now, ten years later, when we will have made the balance sheet of these intrigues, of these torments, of these humiliations, of these endeavors to annihilate us, four of these five who started will turn to say to our enemies:

This is the result of your plotting of ten years:

We are now a million strong!

One million souls, of women, children, men, of the old, who have *a new faith*, who live, who fight, who sacrifice under the legionary flag, who await legionary Romania and believe in her.

Where is your victory now? And where will it be? For if you could not destroy five, how are you going to be able to destroy two hundred thousand times five?

— * —

And now, I turn to you, *dear comrades* of yesterday and today:

Keep your thought on the sacred tomb which has sanctified our whole generation of fighters through the blood of Mota and Marin; and on those three perishing below ground under unjust persecution.

Manfully put all your inner thoughts in order and step determinedly into *the decisive decade* of the legionary fight. This coming decade will still bring us persecutions and tombs, but it will also bring defeat to our adversaries and the shattering of all their plottings.

These coming ten years will see *the decisive fight*, will see legionaries winning. Winning and scattering today's arrogant, dark powers. Winning and laying new foundations for our people.

Legionary,

You will not celebrate this June 24, 1937 either in song, or

champagne, or banquets, or festivities — common commemorative celebrations — or with long discourses, bloated and empty.

Be you a college professor or a worker with your hands, be you priest or teacher in a village, be you a merchant or one working a trade, be you a peasant ploughing the fields or a shepherd with flock of sheep, be you father or husband, and you, mother or wife, *do your duty* this day toward yours and toward your people.

Be correct; be just; be upright; be cheerful — as you would like every Romanian to be and to do his duty in his legionary Fatherland.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, June 18, 1937

— — —

SUPPORT IN ELECTIONS

Hergheliegiu,

If you are on good terms with the Vaidists of your county, give them your support in the forthcoming elections.

But do not publicize this too much:

a) So that no one can say, if they win, that they won because of us.

b) So that if they lose, no one can say that it was we who were defeated.

I repeat the interdictions:

a/ No written manifestoes should be made;

b/ No participation at meetings, confabs, etc.;

c/ No discourses should be delivered;

d/ No money should be accepted for travel;

e/ No money should be accepted for meals;

f/ No participation in banquets.

Legionaries are to be informed through *regular channels* and on voting day they will do their duty appearing in order at the polling places in the greatest silence.

And voting with all their heart, because when the legionary supports someone, he must do it fully.

And not pluck his eyes out afterwards, bragging or asking for something in return.

June 23, 1937

A CLARIFICATION

Why does "The Legionary Consumers' Goods" Carmen Sylva sell cheaper?

"The Legionary Consumers' Goods" does sell cheaper; not to compete with the other merchants, but on the basis of a very sound principle which all merchants in Carmen Sylva should follow.

1. *In their own interest:* because people seeing that in Carmen Sylva they are not taken advantage of, that merchandise is as cheap as where they came from, instead of 10,000, 20,000 will come, and the merchants will make more profit selling cheaper to 20,000 than dearer to 10,000 people.

2. *In the resort town's [Carmen Sylva's] interest:* because the resort town will prosper with a larger number of people, it will not be deserted as when only a few come.

3. *In the visitors' interest:* for they should not come here frightened, as if approaching a town of speculators wishing to rob them.

Think that these people who come here have great expenses: train fare, renting a house, taxes, cost of baths; and we, knowing that they have to come here because of illness, raise prices on all foodstuffs markedly over those back home. How would it be if the Railways — seeing that so many come to Carmen Sylva — would double the train fare?

4. *In the people's interest:* it is interested that as many Romanians as possible come to the seashore to relax, to get well. It must not be said: "Let only the rich come." The people says: "Let all come." Let those come who have to, the sick, rich or poor. For the people depends upon all equally, on the rich as well as on the poor. And perhaps more on the poor. In any case, the people is interested in all its sons, *poor or rich, being healthy.*

Therefore I repeat:

Merchants of Carmen Sylva, for your own good and profit;

For the good of the resort town;

For the good of the poor families forced by sickness to come to the lake or to the seashore;

For the good of our People, heed the advice and example we give you:

Sell at normal prices.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

June 1937

AT THE FOUNDATION OF LEGIONARY HEADQUARTERS

Comrades,

A new sign, over centuries, of Legionary Will and Power.

We have brought and are putting into its foundation stone from Trajan's ancient Roman fortress, Tropaeum Trajani (Adam Clisi) in Dobrogea, from the immense monument of labor, faith and enthusiasm built over the soldiers fallen in battle.

This stone, built into the foundation of our home, symbolizes the liaison between the two categories of legionaries in the world: the Roman and the Romanian.

May this be by God's Blessing.

At the foundation of the legionary headquarters.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

July 1, 1937

THE CARMEN SYLVA LAW

Circular #80

I am deeply saddened anytime I hear of a misunderstanding or a state of conflict within the Legionary Movement.

Where conflict starts, there the Legion ends. The legionary life ceases. There, there is death and the Devil lives there.

That is why one legionary in conflict with another has lost his legionary being.

For the organization's protection I made "The Carmen Sylva

Law.”

If two legionaries are at odds, one of them must leave, requesting a leave of absence until the conflict is settled and harmony is re-established.

Who leaves?

1. If one has more seniority, another less, the newer in the organization leaves.

2. If one has a rank and the other has not, the one with no rank leaves.

3. If one is recently enrolled but holds an office, it is the senior who leaves, because the function represents the local organization.

Make it clear to everybody that the law will be applied where such cases occur.

Region Chiefs are going to get bad marks if in their regions unresolved cases are found.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, July 1, 1937

— — —

TO THE PATRONS OF THE LEGIONARY RESTAURANT

The Legionary Movement has conquered yet another height. It has taken a healthy and victorious step in a new field of activity: the restaurant business.

We seek:

1. To educate the youth in the economy of this branch of business as well.

2. To come to the aid of comrades who want to get a cheap, wholesome and clean meal.

3. To realize a profit in order to further advance the movement and to be able to buy some clothing, a bed and a meal for those who work or fight for victory in the offices or around this headquarters or that of the Green House. Their number is large and I do not want to touch even a cent of the funds from dues which must all go into the fight. For the maintaining of these services we must earn the needed money through commerce. So that if meals are not cheaper yet, know that the extra *leu* you pay goes for the

upkeep of comrades at the Center, or goes into the fight.

4. To accomplish within this restaurant legionary social harmony.

In this restaurant may come both a college professor and a hauler, or anyone who works with his hands. To sit down and eat together with their families. Spouses and children.

The university professor will not look contemptuously or as-
kance at his brother, the worker, but with a fraternal eye.

However, the latter too, must not disturb his other brother, or his family and children: "yelling at the top of his voice at the table, spitting on walls, swearing like a dock-worker, or committing other incivilities."

Here, everybody ought to behave decently, showing good breeding and civility.

Any and all must respect our home as they respect their own home.

Everyone must be conscious of his every gesture, setting a good example of behavior for the children and family of another, just as he would show before his own children.

He who wants to be respected, must also respect others.

In other words, I want to say, that here in this restaurant I wish for us to have a real school of good behavior, of elegance and warm legionary camaraderie, with fraternization among all sons of the people.

I wish for us not to speak in loud voices here, to seem like a synagogue; legionaries are quiet.

Let us have a decent posture while eating, let us always take care to keep our behavior irreproachable so as to set a good example to those younger than ourselves.

This is how this people must be tomorrow under a legionary sun: it can have an appearance neither of a Greek coffeehouse nor of a Jewish synagogue.

Finally, I also beseech everybody: Be honest. Do not try to leave without paying. Not because you will rob me of 20 lei, but because I would be ashamed of my own people.

When, I wonder, would our people also shake off its back this foreign rag of dishonesty and propensity to deceive?

— * —

No one is a professional on the staff of this restaurant. We are just now making an effort to learn. Therefore be tolerant of any mistakes you notice and, please, always call our attention to them.

I wish everybody a good appetite.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

July 3, 1937

— * —

Please do not toss silverware around, for that makes a deafening noise.

One finds daily in this restaurant:

1. A regular menu for 20 lei — two courses plus dessert.
2. Reduced menu for 4 lei — borsh with corn meal mush.
3. By special order, according to the daily menu.

Beverages

Luther beer — large bottle 17 lei, small bottle 9 lei.

— * —

We offer wines we can be proud of.

Guaranteed natural and the price much lower considering their quality.

White

Odobesti A (Mild), 24 lei per liter.

Odobesti B (Strong), 20 lei per liter.

Red

Bourgogne, nicknamed "Bear's Power."

— * —

Soon the famous "Odobesti #1" will be available.

— — —

TO NEST LEADERS

Twenty-five children between 12-15 years have arrived.

They came barefoot, naked, no underclothing, no bedding. They are all from poor, burdened families; some without parents.

From now on they are the children of the Legion.

I appeal to those who can spare secondhand shoes or clothing, underclothes, blankets, sizes for 12-15-16 year olds, to bring them to me.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

July 3, 1937

THE NEST "FARUL"

The nest "Farul" of the Legionary Workers' Corps Constanta, repaired by the labor of its members 37 torn tents of the Carmen Sylva Work Camp.

It is cited as an example of legionary faith.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Brotherhood of the Cross Constanta

Distinguished itself upon the occasion of transporting four chalets from Eforie to Carmen Sylva, giving proof of great devotion.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

July 4, 1937

THE REST CAMP IN THE MOUNTAIN REGION

I. Departure from Bucharest, Monday evening July 5.

II. Every legionary can sign up any evening between 8 and 10 with Leg. Cdt. Nicoleta Nicolescu.

III. When signing up he must turn in 200 lei, train fare both ways. In this sum are included the expenses of the first installation.

IV. The legionary shall have on him:

A. *Bedding*: blanket (two if possible), sheet.

B. *Clothing*:

1. Light coat or overcoat.

2. Boots, woolen socks.

3. Thick flannel shirt.

4. A change of underclothes.

5. Towel.

6. Underpants.

C. *Tableware*: 1) Deep plate (preferably of metal); 2) Cup,

knife, spoon, fork.

D. *Cold provisions*: for three days.

Recommended:

1. Bacon.
2. Sugar.
3. Hard-boiled eggs.
4. Onion, garlic.
5. Salt.

E. *Money*:

10 lei per day for room and board after the first three days for the poor man;

30 lei per day for one who can afford it.

Attention. The man who wants to bring wife and children pays only for *two persons* (namely 20 or 60 lei per day), no matter how many children.

The women and children can only come after July 15.

Various:

a) Who has a tent may bring it along. Who has a knapsack likewise.

b) Everybody shall come cleanly dressed but shall not bring with him his Sunday best.

c) Who has, it is good to bring with him: hatchet, axe, adze, saw.

The camp begins under my leadership.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

July 5, 1937

P.S. This order also applies for Carmen Sylva with the difference that the camp there will open on July 15.

CIRCULAR #81

To the Chiefs of Regions

Working with the Chief of Region IV Iasi, Legionary Commandant Flondor Neagoe, I have made the following dispositions for each county separately.

With the other Chiefs of Regions I shall work consecutively

during the summer.

I ask that the reports of Chiefs of Regions be made in time, namely by the 17th of the month.

I ask that Chiefs of Regions and Counties study the newly reprinted edition of *The Nest Leader's Manual*, which has changes particularly regarding *the vow's formula* and regarding matters on which the Region and County Chief has to report.

The best, nicest and most complete report was made for two consecutive months by the Chief of Region 6 Dobrogea, Legionary Commandant engineer Virgil Ionescu.

He is cited as an example and I urge Region Chiefs passing through Bucharest to ask to look at his file.

Other Dispositions: No one is accepted into the two camps of rest without the Region's or a County Chief's recommendation, or that of a Legionary Commandant.

I wish that Region and County Chiefs stop in and visit the two camps or at least one of them.

Up to July 15 I am going to be in *the rest camp in the mountain*.

15-16 of July in Bucharest.

July 17 to August 1, in Carmen Sylva.

August 1-2-3, in Bucharest.

August 3-13, in the mountain camp.

August 15 to September 1, in Carmen Sylva.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, July 5, 1937

In the wake of Region IV Iasi Chief's report

THE COUNTY OF BALTI

The entire legionary organization of Balti County is abolished until a serious man emerges, sound in mind and body, capable of organizing and leading.

All existing county nests are and remain abolished for not being up to par as required in the Legionary Movement.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— * —

In the wake of the Region Chief's report

THE COUNTY OF BACAU

I am satisfied by the manner in which legionary activity in the county of Bacau has evolved from January 1 to July 1, 1937. I have great hopes that the struggle in the county will fare better and better.

County Chief, attorney Dragomir, *well done.*

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— * —

LEGIONARY GH. RATOIU

An unlimited leave is accorded him with suspension of rank for the duration, because of his repeated nonconforming attitude to the legionary line.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— * —

In the wake of the Region Chief's report

THE COUNTY OF ROMAN

The entire legionary organization of the county of Roman, and of the city of Roman, is abolished, falling far short of the level expected of the Legionary Movement's faith and honor.

All existing nests cease their life, no longer permitted to be active.

The County's Chief could proceed to the rebuilding of the organization on condition that he not reaccept into his new cadres more than a maximum of five per cent of the present organization's total number of legionaries.

All present-day ranks in the county are not to be permitted to perform any function for two years, they being collectively responsible for the unsatisfactory state in which the county was found.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— * —

Following the report of the Region Chief

THE COUNTY OF BAIA

The youth is definitively eliminated from the Legion-

ary Movement for behavior which lowers the prestige of the legionary name.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— * —

Good, the proposal made regarding legionary Scriban Romulus. It is well for him to remain in the background until he changes his ways . . .

— * —

The citadel [nest for women] "Despina Doamna" (Boroaia) cannot be founded under any other form for one year, for the dire offense of disunity, quarrels, disagreements among its members; all legionary activity during this period is forbidden them.

The nest "Nicadorii," though understanding has been reached, is abolished for six months, the central leadership being in disagreement with the county's and the region's proposal.

— * —

The leave of six months requested by is approved; he recognizing his non-legionary offense of having struck a brother of the cross and of having had on this occasion attitudes not conforming with the legionary line.

— * —

The student Roman (Giulesti) is not and has not been considered excluded from the Legion.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— * —

THE COUNTY OF VASLUI

The legionary organization of the town of Vaslui is abolished.

Because, with all the efforts of the former chief and those of the new county chief, the groundwork laid is much too weak to erect on it a powerful and undefeated legionary movement. Disagreements, disunity, quarrels, denote lack of faith, of love, of harmony, and of capacity. They show us that we are face to face with some elements which cannot stand as a sacred foundation to a movement.

The nests cannot operate any longer in this town until the emergence of some serious elements. The old ones lose any position in the Legionary Movement.

Mr. Butnaru continues as county chief only regarding nests in

villages, with no right to make a stop in the town of Vaslui.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

July 5, 1937

— — —
C I R C U L A R #82

To the Chiefs of Regions

I must disavow this note released by the Commandment of the Gendarmerie:

"For some time a manifesto began to be sent through the mail, typed and reproduced mimeographically, entitled 'Infantry, Cavalry and Administration Officers — Justice in the Military has died,' and signed 'The Committee.'

"This manifesto is distributed from legionary circles and in it the question of promotions in the military is being agitated.

"Issue confiscation orders and report cases encountered."

The Legionary Movement does not sign "The Committee." It signs with a name, number and street.

To stir up the officers in the military is considered, down to the last legionary to be a criminal act, as he considers that it is an indecency for us to be blamed with accusations like the one above.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, July 5, 1937

— — —
T H E C A M P I N A L E G I O N A R Y C A M P

This work camp is formed by elements from:

- The legionary student corps.
- The legionary workers' corps.
- Legionary women.
- Students' and workers families.
- Sympathizers.

Daily cost per person: 10 *lei* for room and board, for the more affluent 30 *lei*. All pay an installation tax of 50 *lei*. Families, no matter with how many children, pay as for two persons. Those completely poor are exempt from the tax of 50 *lei* and for the 10 *lei*

per day on condition they pay this money within one year.

The camp's purpose

Is to offer the benefit of the mountain's clean air to as many sons of the people as possible, especially the poor, and in particular to as many of the poor as are fighting so their people will no longer be poverty-stricken.

Those among the poor who do not fight are not wanted, those who beg, or who sell themselves, who have their necks in a halter and who wait for a better fate to fall from the skies.

He is welcome who believes in the future of his Romanian people and fights in order to lift it up in the world, to its ancestral glory.

In the work camp one leads a rugged life, severe, austere, for this is the road to ennoblement.

Comfort, gluttony, luxury, frivolity, indicate for nations the road to decadence.

In the work camp there is love and camaraderie among those gathered there from all social categories. Out of love grows and blooms everything:

Plant, man, country, people.

In the work camp one finds good cheer.

For good cheer stimulates to the maximum the creative energies of the nation. Good cheer can not be equaled in yield either by sense of duty, or by discipline, or by authority.

Finally, legionaries, students, workers, intellectuals, be they poor or rich – gathered here in the camp, at the foot of the mountains, full of good cheer, send their salute to all Romanians of Campina and environs.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Tuesday, July 6, 1937

P.S. This camp near Campina, after five days of operation, was closed down by officials.

— — —

CIRCULAR #83

— Urgent —

The Campina rest camp was closed down today at 12 o'clock, following the summons of the authorities.

There were 100 poor and sick youth there, who with inexpressible joy breathed daily the mountain's clean and health-giving air.

Yesterday, July 10, the Major of Gendarmes, Hariton, the same one chanced by fate to mock our work camp on Susai in well-known circumstances, called on those in the camp at Campina to produce within 24 hours an approval for operating the camp, otherwise all occupants would be forcibly evacuated.

General Cantacuzino then sent out the following telegrams requesting such an approval:

To General Gabriel Marinescu,
Minister of the Interior
Bucharest

"The prosecutor and the gendarmes from Prahova showed up at the rest camp in Campina, on private property rented by us, and served us with a summons. Since I think we are perfectly within the law, I protest this posture of local authorities and I ask you to give orders to stop this harassment or communicate to me urgently if these summer colonies too, are forbidden, so that I can order their closing."

— * —

"Since I do not wish my people to incur expenses of their trip, and installation in the Carmen Sylva camp too, which is to open July 15, please let me know if you forbid rest camps, so I can announce ahead of time that they are not authorized."

— * —

"I come back to my prior telegrams. I ask you to let me know your decision in time. My people, here for rest, on a property belonging to us, are warned of being forcibly evicted tomorrow at 12 noon if they cannot show proper authorization."

— * —

"I return, telegraphing for the third time, reminding you that my people in the Campina colony gathered for rest, risk being forcibly evicted tomorrow at 12 o'clock. I ask that your decision be communicated to me."

In addition to the registered petition sent by mail and another sent by courier, General Cantacuzino sent the following telegrams to the Commandant of the Army Corps Brasov:

"Please issue approval for a rest colony Campina, organized by

me for weak youth. We are threatened with eviction.”

— * —

“Since 100 youth arrived at the Campina colony to rest are threatened with forced eviction today at 12 o'clock because we have no authorization, please be good enough to approve our stay, in time, or to communicate your disposition in order to avoid annoyance to sick youth by armed force. Please have the communication sent directly to Campina — the Istrati Park.”

He sent another telegram to those in the camp:

“I forwarded application telegraphically to the Ministry of the Interior. Also telegraphic petition to the Army Corps. The procedure of issuing a 24-hour summons to people gathered there to rest, to either produce an authorization or get out, is unspeakable. The application for authorization has been forwarded to the very authority that is summoning us.”

— * —

Authorization however did not arrive from anyone.

General Gabriel Marinescu, the man who was appointed with the mission to be the hangman of the Romanian nationalist generation, mocked all of this with the following answer:

“To General Cantacuzino.

To your telegram #4380 we inform you:

Obeys the orders of the 5th Army Corps on whose territory you set up the camp, as you lack the proper authorization of this Commandment and as the territory is under martial law.”

The undersigned sent then a telegram to the camp with the following text:

“The Government's reply to the General's petition being unsatisfactory, wait until 12 o'clock for the answer from the Army Corps from Brasov. In case it does not arrive, the camp closes down. At 5 minutes to 12 o'clock legionaries leave the camp. Since train tickets are not valid for the return trip earlier than Wednesday, take steps for excursions in the environs, avoiding population centers in order not to upset anybody. Take steps for the storing of existing materiel.”

— * —

At 5 minutes to 12, I came to the place. Legionaries picked up their baggage, said their prayer and walked in complete silence

toward the depot. I note that their tickets were not valid for their return trip, for the eight days have not yet passed. They had to buy full one-way tickets, 9,000 *lei* out of pockets so poor as our hangmen who live comfortably could never imagine. They bought their tickets and burned those 100 round trip ones, since it is not good that someone benefit from the misfortune of others.

Humanly, for we too, are humans, it would have been fitting to be told: "Gentlemen, we ask you to be in good order by obtaining the proper authorization;" but not to be rudely summoned to leave the camp in 24 hours under threat of 200 gendarmes ready to crush the weak chests of innocent youth.

And this, that much the more, because for this youth answered General Cantacuzino.

Thus, while bands of Jews have filled the Romanians' mountains with no one asking them for their authorization, the right for us to breathe clean air is denied.

But our generation has made greater sacrifices.

Therefore, we also gave up the Carmen Sylva rest camp, which is not going to open as announced.

Our General has sent, in light of this, the following telegram to Mr. Gabriel Marinescu:

"I withdraw my telegraphic application for the Carmen Sylva rest camp."

Consequently, the two rest camps announced for the mountain and the sea, no longer take place.

Please urgently inform all legionaries, to avoid fruitless trips.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, July 11, 1937

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Mister Professor,

I received your nice letter. As I was out of the Capital it is only now that I answer it.

I find it very hard to accede to your request; however, I shall do

something.

We have supported Mr. Vaida on various occasions and lately in the elections in the Old Kingdom, in several counties. Our help has not been decisive because there are not as many of us as people think. We are strong, but not many.

Regretfully, however, I must ascertain that Mr. Vaida whom I respect, *cannot be of help to me against the forces bent on destroying me; in fact, on exterminating all of us.* He cannot help us, perhaps for not having enough influence regarding this question.

And then, with all love and respect for Mr. Vaida, I am compelled *to search for an ally* with whom I can defend myself against the forces wanting to destroy me along with the entire Legionary Movement.

These are the forces *alluded to* by Mr. Iuliu Maniu. Him too, personally, they want to exterminate.

It is very hard for me, just when I am seeking an alliance with someone, to fight him.

I am aware of *the deadly plottings* against the Legionary Movement. We face death and I regret that Mr. Vaida, *who would like to help us, with all his heart,* cannot do a thing.

In this war in which our fate, that of the legionary youth of Romania, has been thrown on the dice table, in *the last analysis* is played also the Romanian problem of Bihor, conquered by Jewry; Bihor, which without *a legionary victory* will remain Jewish-controlled even with an eventual victory, no matter how glowing, of "*The Romanian Front.*"

For, above Mr. Vaida's will, *there is also a will of those* who dictate in this country, which makes or breaks up parties, shatters friendships, topples or imposes new governments. Or, it is in this that the tragedy of "The Romanian Front" resides, as does that of all the other nationalists actually: *this will from higher-up is completely in Jewish hands.*

And they will take care, these black Jewish hands, that in the case of a "Romanian Front" or "Cuzist" administration, nothing happens to the Jews of your Bihor or other regions overrun and bloodied by them.

Please accept my salutations together with these explanations.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, July 19, 1937

P.S. Though I have ordered that Bihor be informed of the annulment of votes (before seeing your letter), I make an exception for Bihor, urging that *your list be looked upon sympathetically* and supported by them as far as possible.

(Sent to Prof. Apostolescu in Oradea who solicited support in the Bihor county elections).

CIRCULAR #86

For reasons that I am going to reveal in a longer circular, I would want *legionary family-fortresses* to be formed in the midst of the Romanian nation.

Because of this, I want to encourage the marriages of legionaries to legionary girls, having at the basis of this union not only the appreciation of physical beauty but particularly that of the shining legionary spiritual qualities.

The legionary family-fortresses:

- 1/ Will be true centers of resistance in the midst of the nation.
- 2/ From them heroes for the people will be born.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, August 18, 1937

CIRCULAR #87

— Urgent —

To the Chiefs of Regions

Whereas one observes among legionaries a poorly thought-out tendency of commercial initiatives, and whereas the attempt to establish a business under legionary control or at least considered as such, which would fail, would implicitly mean *the compromising of the entire movement* in that region;

Whereas it would be criminal on our part to leave all labor, all sacrifice, all the blood which created this Legionary Movement at the mercy of just anyone's capacity and correctitude, you must urgently announce to the county chiefs that *any commercial endeavor* is attempted only by the Center under my direct leader-

ship; with men trained here.

Any move contrary to this order will be punished:

a) With automatic elimination for five years of the elements alluded to.

b) With publicity in papers that that business has no connection whatever with the Legionary Movement.

Please make clear to everybody that there is, in this beginning of commerce, a huge experiment that we are making in sight of the Romanian people, and a war on an extremely dangerous ground, war we cannot risk to individual initiative and leadership.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, August 31, 1937

FOR THE FOUNDING OF "THE LEGIONARY BATTALION OF COMMERCE"

Dear comrades,

Each year on September 13 and 14 (St. Cornelius the Centurion and Holy Cross Day) our movement celebrates Legionary Commerce.

It is now two years since the legionary took his first step on the commercial road.

Following a year and a half of schooling around the Cooperative in Bucharest, we started off to the first offensive with the veteran men.

The result was: Complete success both materially and morally. Legionaries and legionary girls have made efforts of will, endurance, resistance, strain, devotion, so that with the closing order of Carmen Sylva I created a new distinction in the framework of our organization: "*The Battle of Legionary Commerce*" which is to reward this devotion.

We are now on the eve of a great offensive in the field – lost to Romanians – of commerce. That is why we feel the need for organizing a new Corps.

That is established today September 13 and will be named "*The Battalion of Legionary Commerce.*"

It will have the mission of conquering, foot by foot, the eco-

conomic positions which our people has lost. Its name rings of war, not of business.

In it will enter elements of the highest elite, from the point of view of *correctitude, capacity* and *devotion*.

This New Corps will be under my command for one year having as helper Legionary Commandant Petru Tocu.

Our fight is a historic fight. It shall be inscribed in the People's book, because we will go, with the greatest certainty, from victory to victory, defeating opposition and enmities, and breaking the defensive and discouraging walls of today's and of yesterday's mentality.

We will overthrow opinions and arguments rooted for decades in the defeated thought, depressed and humiliated, of the people, proving that yet from our Romanian blood, merchants in any branch can be born to measure up to anybody and to put out of the fight any rival.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 13, 1937

— — —

THE ORGANIZING OF THE LEGIONARY BATTALION OF COMMERCE

1. The battalion is led by a Chief-Commandant, an assistant and a General Staff.
2. The General Staff is made up of:
 - a) one central cashier.
 - b) one accountant.
 - c) a technical consultant for each commercial branch.
3. A service of control is temporarily created — the Legionary Inspectorate of Commerce — which in time, depending on the legionary's extent of becoming perfect, will disappear.

The men in this battalion have but one control: that of their conscience, and they are so correct and ordered that they will consider the very idea of being controlled offensive. I do not believe that the proliferation of controls could extirpate dishonesty and thieving, but only the perfecting of our conscience as correct men. This conscience is the greatest and surest real control.

4. Each commercial enterprise forms *a legionary family* (or

group) bearing the name of the enterprise concerned. The family will be divided into nests, leading their nest lives, from cook to the head of the enterprise.

5. Each enterprise has: a leader, a cashier, an accountant, a buyer, specialists such as sales people, cooks, etc.

6. Legionaries live here according to the principle of *the legionary family*; life-long voluntary soldiers in the service of the victorious Legion.

It is here where they have the purpose and joy of their lives. Living and working morning till night and making the Legion and the People flourish, out of their labor and sacrifice.

They live according to a great motto: The Legion and the People grow only out of what we do, not for ourselves; namely, from what for us is a renunciation, a sacrifice.

This Legionary Battalion, working in the field of commerce, but constantly with weapon at the ready, expecting animosity, alongside of other legionary corps, stands ready to be an example of an *ocean of sacrifice*.

7. No one is admitted into this Battalion except by:

– the recommendation of the county's Chief plus that of a legionary commandant.

– the definitive acceptance takes place only following a one year probationary stage.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 13, 1937

— — —

THE BATTLE FOR SCRAP IRON

ROMANIANS,

Gather scrap iron and any metals for the Fund of Legionary Commerce

ORDER

Beloved Comrades,

The new legionary commercial unit has made progress on the

road of commerce from the very first day. Soon, according to a well-established thought-out plan there will come into being, in the Capital and other cities, several commercial enterprises. In addition to imported colonial produce, the commerce in fabrics and lumber is being studied.

Here the legionary — more than in any other field — will be face to face with and pit his forces against Judaic power.

The battle is going to be waged before the eyes of the entire Romanian nation! The adversary will be defeated at every point where the legionary appears before him.

In this huge confrontation that comes after decades of victories by aliens, and Romanian defeats — in which Romanians have lost their commercial positions, their courage and their country — *we need a fistful of money for capital.*

Heart we have, great as a mountain. Correctitude, Capacity and a Cause that is right, we have.

For the realization of this *fistful* of capital we must resort to all possible solutions.

I give now one of those solutions:

Due to a great demand, construction iron has become enormously expensive! Almost double in price within one year.

At the same time scrap iron became higher! The iron, pitched around in all peasants' yards, corroding and considered valueless.

This you are to gather, not only from all villages, but from all the roads, and deposit it at country headquarters, *when you are asked to do so.* From there we will sell it. One kilo brings close to three *lei!* Do not forget we are many and we will be able to gather several million kilos!

To those who will say: "Is it with this that you want to defeat the great Jewish capital?" we answer: "*The Romanian nation has defeated undefeatable armies which the whole world had considered unbeatable, with only its spirit and a fist of iron.*"

THEREFORE, *the scrap iron — and old materials — will be gathered up by all legionary nests till December 15, 1937. It should be saved until further notice, and in the meantime protected from thievery.*

Bucharest, September 15, 1937

TO THE CHIEFS OF REGIONS

— Urgent —

I need for the Legionary Commerce in the Capital 30 to 40 elite men.

County chiefs are to look for the following traits:

1. Great spiritual honesty; with incapacity to cheat or lie.
2. Good manners, good upbringing, spiritual elegance.
3. Tall, well built, bright figures.

Please urgently communicate to this address:

(Engineer N. Horodniceanu, 3 Gutenberg St.)

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 19, 1937

— — —

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COLLECTION OF METALS

1. The iron collected must be sorted into categories because it cannot be sold to advantage unless it is sorted. On the other hand, some iron pieces can be used for purposes other than that of being melted.

2. The first sorting — indispensable — is the separation of light iron, which is the thin sheeting, from the heavy iron.

3. Thin iron is to be stacked and bound with wire.

4. Black iron plates are to be separated from zinc-iron alloys and particularly from the tin-iron alloys. The latter can be exported, which is permitted as no one buys it here. This tin-iron alloy is sold in Germany or England where the tin is recovered from it.

5. Black iron plates bring 60% less than thick iron and if it is not separated out, the latter brings a lower price.

6. Cast-iron must carefully be sorted out, for it brings a price double that of regular iron.

7. Heavy iron plates coming from boilers or reservoirs have a totally different price than thin plates; therefore they should be set apart.

8. Everything that is rod, tubing, wheel, etc., also ought to be separated out, as these parts can be directly sold in most cases for re-use.

9. Occasionally, mixed in among scrap iron, projectiles or bombs may be found. It is possible that these have been purposely planted. In order to prevent accidents — always serious — therefore problems with the authorities, issue orders that nobody is to try to take them apart or kick them or toss them. They ought to be carefully stored out of the way somewhere until the specialist arrives to defuse them, break them into pieces or destroy them — as needed.

10. Every little piece of metal such as: lead, brass, various alloys, copper, bronze, aluminum, zinc, tin, etc., shall be stored separately in small boxes or sacks, one for each metal.

11. Also any parts such as: pistons, motors, heating registers, locomobiles, clock motors, faucets, etc., ought to be separately stored.

12. Metal ashes, storage batteries — which occasionally come our way — form a special category. They should be sorted and put into sacks: zinc powder, lead, aluminum, etc.

13. *Nothing* must be discarded, not even old toothpaste tubes, or gilt from chocolate or cigarette boxes, or from packing material. Box lids, sardine cans, food cans, aluminum tubes and boxes (medicines), etc. everything must be saved for *even the tiniest metal piece has a value.*

THE LEGIONARIES OR THE FRIENDS

Of the Capital

who wish to bring in such metals are requested to inform legionary Nicolae Sandulache at 3 Gutenberg St., at Headquarters, Metals Section, Telephone 3.05.54.

Of the Country's towns

shall store the quantities gathered, reporting them to the County Legionary Center, which will make records by towns, through the legionary delegated by the County Chief to centralize and store the materials in each town.

Of Villages

Nests shall gather together the iron and metals in places designated by the Chiefs of Nests and Garrison, and shall keep them there. They too, must inform the County, at Headquarters.

County Chiefs

shall forward to the Bucharest Center, through regions, a list of:

- a) All the metal collected in their Counties;
- b) The quantity collected by each nest;
- c) The locality (village, town) where it is deposited;
- d) Means of transportation suggested to the nearest depot.

All Nests

of peasants, workers, intellectuals, shall be ranked country-wide. The first 25 and the last 25 nests will thereby be determined.
Bucharest, September 20, 1937

APPEAL TO ALL CHILDREN

Dear children,

There are hundreds of thousands of you.

Each day, as you head for home, pick off the road:

- every tin box,
- every piece of iron,
- every horseshoe,
- every nail,

and take it all home.

THERE

make yourselves a small warehouse, in order to hand it over to

the legionary commerce later.

I hope no one is going to accuse you of engaging in a "subversive" action.

WHEN YOU SHALL KNOW

how much metal you gathered, you will realize how many there are of you and how powerful are the many when united in a good project.

MY ADVICE IS:

*No child without his pile of iron.
No nail left behind in the road's dust.*

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 20, 1937

— — —

CIRCULAR #89

— Urgent —

For the Chiefs of Regions, Counties, etc.

In the wake of the two articles published in *Porunca Vremii*, the Legionary Movement is compelled to break all connections, of any nature, with this paper.

All legionary collaborators shall withdraw their cooperation.

No editor of *Porunca Vremii* or any of its employees will any longer be able to enter our Party's Headquarters in the Capital, or any other headquarters in other localities.

Legionaries will also see to it that they have no access to any legionary festivity.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 22, 1937

This will be read in all nests. Region and County Chiefs will report at the next meeting as to what steps they took.

— — —

THE 40 LEGIONARY CHILDREN

Sunday, on the occasion of the festivity at the legionary headquarters, the 40 children being raised by the Legion to become merchants, are to be dressed in their new suits.

All of them scions of peasants and poor workers, they were chosen from among the most burdened families and most bent by poverty and hardship.

They came from various parts of the country: the counties of Dolj, Someș, Făgăraș, Ialomița, Covurlui, Botoșani, Bacău, Prahova.

They are organized in their own corps under the command of Commandant-aide Muresanu Stefan, receiving a good education. Their motto is:

“The legionary never lies.”

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 26, 1937

— — —

To the workers

In New Country . . .

The Legionary Movement will give the working class more than a program, more than a whiter bread, more than a softer bed.

It will give the working class the right to feel master in their own country, together with all other Romanians.

The worker will walk like a master, not like a slave, on the streets full of lights and luxuries, on which he today dares not raise up his eyes.

For the first time he will feel the joy, the pride of being master, of being the master of his country.

In comparison with this, all other questions are of too little interest because the worker-master will have the laws, the organization in State and the fate which he alone will fashion for himself by his own hand, brains and conscience of a master.

CORNELIU Z. CODREANU

Bucharest, Sept. 26, 1937

AT THE POURING OF THE LAST CONCRETE FLOOR OF THE HEADQUARTERS

Comrades and Friends,

What you see here is the result of a heartfelt effort of 114 days of which 97 were working days.

The satisfaction of those of you who worked as legionaries or sacrificed as friends, resides in the imposing walls of this building which salutes all of you with its profile of youth and grandeur.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— * —

DISTINCTIONS

On this working site the following have distinguished themselves:

1. Antonescu Cristache of the Bucharest Workers' Corps.
2. Florescu Alexe, *id.*
3. Negulescu Nicolae, *id.*
4. Ibanescu Vasile, *id.*
5. Stefanescu Constantin, *id.*
6. Dumitriu Nicolae of the Bucharest Student Center.
7. Morarescu Dumitru, *id.*
8. Mazilu Sandu, *id.*
9. Stanescu Anton, *id.*
10. Obreja Emil, *id.*
11. Mangiurea Nicolae, *id.*
12. Stanila Iacob, *id.*
13. Chiriac Constantin, *id.*
14. Busila Octavian, sympathizer.
15. Dadarlat from Tg. Jiu.
16. Guter Florin of the Ilfov County student group.
17. Minescu Nicolae, legionary.
18. Merfu Aurel, member.
19. Nicolescu Gheorghe from Dambovita.
20. Mihail Cristescu of the "Razleti" organization.
21. Atty. Talnariu, Legionary commandant-aide from Bucharest.

22. Eng. Petrulescu of the "Razleti" organization.

The following legionary units which distinguished themselves in their totality showing an unusual dedication, are cited as a group:

1. The S.T.B. Section of the Legionary Workers' Corps, chief Sandu Marin.

2. The Constanta legionary student group, chief Morarescu Constantin.

3. The Tulcea legionary student group, chief Obreja Emil.

4. The nest "Toader Toma" of the "Razleti" organization, chief Iordache Nicoara.

Distinguished by promotion in the legionary hierarchy for exceptional work and faith:

1. Architect Doicescu Gheorghe, to the rank of legionary.

2. Engineer Popovici Grigore, to the rank of legionary Instructor.

3. Anton Davidescu, to the rank of legionary Instructor.

4. Architect Ionescu Vasile, to the rank of legionary.

5. Conductor Niculescu Ioan, to the rank of legionary.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 26, 1937

— — —

C I R C U L A R #91

To the Chiefs of Regions

On September 28 of this year I sent the following telegram:

To Il Duce Benito Mussolini

and

To the Führer Adolf Hitler

Berlin

"Together with all the Italian people, likewise with all the German people, together with Rome and Berlin, Romanian legionaries, namely everything that Romania has younger, more correct, more resolute and braver, salute with unbounded enthusiasm the historic meeting of Il Duce Mussolini with the Führer Adolf Hitler.

No power in the world will break their power and no shadow will eclipse their glory."

It was censored. I do not know why. Does it go counter to the present policy of Romania?

What if the line of the present policy goes counter to the line of this nation's future?

What shall be the penalty for today's censors?

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 28, 1937

CIRCULAR #92

To the Chiefs of Regions

Please make known to all the legionaries in the country the following confidential orders by authorities, for them to learn from these the spirit of *legality* and *justice* that animates officialdom and for them to know that such names as well as those of all temporary oppressors will forever be unforgotten. This people will have to punish, at least once in a thousand years, those who disobeyed its laws, who have oppressed and betrayed it.

I think that this category of men, for the idea of a great millenary exemplification, will have to be stigmatized by a victorious country. Stigmatized also their parents, the nest in which the spirit of treason was born and nurtured; stigmatized too, their children, for 'like father, like son.'

For the good and for the purification of this people, we solemnly commit ourselves to what we stated above.

We beseech then the Chiefs of Regions and the Chiefs of Counties to understand that *not out of hatred*, but out of duty to the people, we request from them monthly reports with the names of those who fall into this category.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 28, 1937

The Cernauti Police Regional Inspectorate, Nr. 17461, Sept. 19, 1937.

Mr. Questor of the Cernauti Police — Confidential.

In compliance with the telephone order of the General Police Direction, you will forbid for today, September 19 of this year, any assemblies, festivities, marches or celebrations organized by the "All for the Fatherland" Party, even those previously authorized, and report to us.

Regional Inspector
(ss) Pihal

[for] Chief of Service
(ss) Amstor

— — —

The Ministry of Justice
The Judiciary Direction
No. 7464/of July 24, 1937

General Records
No. 42506 of August 7, 1937
The Ilfov Tribunal

To Tribunal Presidents in the whole country

Mr. Prime President,

As you certainly know, in the Official Monitor No. 286 bis of Dec. 9, 1933, the Journal of the Council of Ministers No. 1456 of 1933 was published, regarding the dissolution of the political Group "The Archangel Michael" also known as "The Iron Guard," and in the Official Monitor Nr. 287 of Dec. 11, 1933, in completion, the Journal of the Council of Ministers Nr. 1457-933 whereby it is clarified that the dispositions of the first Journal apply to said organizations also under the designation of "The Corneliu Z. Codreanu Group."

Both Journals, constituting acts of government, as verified by their very content, I have requested the General Prosecutors of the Courts of Appeals through our circular No. 36732 of April 9, 1937, to bring to the attention of the subaltern Prosecutors' Offices that, in the suits filed by the former members of the above-mentioned organizations who contest the effects of said Journals, they introduce conclusions in the sense that said Journals constitute, incontestably, acts of government which are spared from the censorship by the courts, and at the same time, that they insist that trials of this nature be judged without delay in order to arrive at the definitive closing of the respective dossiers.

Lately, having been informed that there still are court trials pending regarding grievances directed by members of these organizations against prefects, gendarmes, etc., we have the honor of asking you to take steps for the speeding up of the judging of these trials which have no reason for having been brought — the measure being an act of government which cannot be blamed on executive branches.

Minister (ss) Aurelian Bentoiu
Director (ss) Em. Elicescu

— — —

A confidential order of the Prahova Prefecture

Address sent to following factories: of textiles, glass and cement, the brewery, in Azuga.

Prefecture of the Prahova County
Service of State Administration
No. 116 of July 27, 1937

Personal-Confidential

Mister Director,

I have the honor of bringing to your attention the fact that our subaltern offices have ascertained that the personnel of the factory whose name is indicated on the back of this address, is known to be guilty of agitations which have disrupted public order.

For these considerations and as an example to others of the intolerance of such manifestations, please agree to removing them from their jobs.

Prefect /s/ Alex. Bondoc

There follow the names of 36 Romanian legionary workers of whom it is proposed that because of their faith their means of livelihood be taken away.

Here are their names: *The textile factory*: Braga Ambrozie, Cioc Mircea, Irimie Alex., Prian Vasile, Clinci Ioan, Irimescu Gh., Nedelcu Anghel, Stefan Bitoiu, Prian Mihail, Talianu Ion, Talianu Mircea, Olteanu Const., Pintoiu Gh., Prahoveanu Gh., Ghiberdiciu Gh., Pitic Ioan, Pitic Nicolae, Turea Nicolae, Prian Nicolae; *The brewery*: Banu Alex., Cretu Gh., Toma Iosif, Mos Gh., Dragus Nicolae, Pacuraru Tudor, Iordache Mihai, Pavel Serban, Ancu Nicolae, D-tru Cojocar and Duia Ion; *The glass factory*: Vrabie Nicolae, Spiru Panciareli, Godea A., Stoian Tudor; *The cement factory*: Ciobanu Elise and Diaconu Nicolae.

REPORT

Captain,

Please approve the elimination from the Legion of member

Vlad Iordanescu of the nest "Spre Tinta," because *as charged, in the nest, with the dissemination of material, has taken for selling almost 6,000 lei's worth and not even up to now* — with all my repeated requests — has he given an accounting. His bad faith also is evidenced in that for three months he has not shown his face at nest meetings, systematically avoiding any explanations regarding his conduct.

May you live long Captain,
Long live the Legion!

Prof. Vasile Christescu
Chief of Sect. III. Blue

Resolution

The elimination of the youth Vlad Iordanescu, member, from the Legion is approved.

Comrades, be careful, for through bad behavior, incorrectitude, you can lose for a lifetime your honor and any future joys.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, September 28, 1937

— — —

C I R C U L A R #93

— Urgent —

To the Chiefs of Regions and Counties

I ask the chiefs of Counties that by October 20 of this year, they send in a report with all the abuses committed by local officials against legionaries, from January 1, 1937 to today.

To be reported:

1. The object of the abuse with as detailed an account as possible.
2. The names of those molested as well as those of witnesses.
3. The place where the deed occurred.
4. The name, position, address, antecedents of the persecutors.

I ask that these reports be made with the greatest care and objectivity. The reports are to be forwarded directly to the Center occasionally, by courier.

Bucharest, September 29, 1937

THE INAUGURATION OF
THE LEGIONARY CONSUMERS' STORE OBOR

Beloved Comrades,

This new enterprise is headed by legionaries Cd.-aide Petre Bolintineanu and Cd.-aide Viorel Trifa, president of the Bucharest Student Center.

You do your duty and *never forget* that you are legionaries.

Legionary commerce, taking today its step in the old Romanian Obor, salutes with brotherly greeting the Romanian merchants, successors of the famous merchants of old, now reduced to half their former numbers by the alien invaders. The old invincible enclave of former times, is today almost half conquered. Death awaits each of you, one by one. Under our own eyes Romanian merchants in Lipsani have vanished, the Romanian merchants in Vacaresti, the Romanian merchants in Duesti. Three-fourths of the stores on *Calea Victoriei* are Jewish.

In this muffled struggle, you have another brother, a soldier who will know how to make you respected by any foreign claimants, and put them down. He will today, by fighting, and tomorrow through the victory of the Legionary Movement, rebuild the ancient glory of the Romanian tradesmen of Obor, who built churches, hospitals and in general were of great benefit to the country.

Out of this small citadel which we open today, soon, trained elements shall go out, *conquerors of the lost fortresses!* The cities of Iasi, Cernauti, Chisinau, Tighina, Cetatea Alba; Northern Transylvania.

Glad to see you therefore, Romanian brothers.

Beloved comrades who shall work here and shall go to this new school.

There is today a trend in commerce: for one *to get rich* as quickly as possible.

No! You shall renounce it. The motivation will be: "that I live,

not that I get rich.”

It is “the right to life” which is justified by nature’s laws, not “the right to get rich.”

The whole mentality must be overturned! The rapacious joy for enrichment, the appetite for profit, must be replaced by *the joy of doing good to those around us*; the joy of knowing you did a good deed and that every man who steps out of your store, leaves satisfied. This joy is worth more than the joy that 20 *lei* overcharged someone can bring you.

The merchant, as the office-worker, as anyone having contact with other people, must be cheerful.

A society lacking a good disposition, upset, produces less and of poorer quality. Say you have upset a customer. He leaves saddened and in his turn saddens someone else, who in turn saddens another, and so on. On the water’s smoothness a stone makes a ripple and a ripple multiplies to a hundred. So that a nervous man who saddens another becomes a *spreader* of depression and of pain on the quiet waters of the soul.

Just as he who brings joy to another man becomes a *disseminator* of joys, of cheerfulness in society, for one joy multiplies into one hundred others. That is why the merchant, through his occupation, in constant touch with society, becomes not only a man supplying people with merchandise, but an important moral *factor*, one of the greatest importance. He must be a spreader of cheer, a nucleus of moral health and enthusiasm in the body of the nation, not a depressing factor.

That is why, be of good cheer and shout: Long live the Legion!

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

— — —

C I R C U L A R

Comrades,

On October 14 of this year, in Alba-Iulia, out of the beautiful initiative of a committee, a statue to the three Romanian peasant martyrs: Horia, Closca and Crisan, will be erected.

The Legionary Movement takes part in this solemnity, being represented by one thousand peasants from the counties of Alba,

Hunedoara and Sibiu, urging at the same time the entire Romanian peasantry to take part in this pious celebration.

From the Center the whole team that returned from the Spanish front, under the leadership of the *ad interim* President of the "All for the Fatherland" Party, engineer Gh. Clime is delegated to attend. In the party's name no discourse is to be delivered.

The chiefs of the counties in question shall take all steps to see that the delegation of 1,000 peasants comports itself in the most perfect order.

— * —

You, Legionary Peasantry, who now walk under heavily burdened shoulders on the same road of persecution, of death and later of Resurrection — that of Horia — you too, come to Alba-Iulia.

For Horia is yours.

Horia does not belong to prefects or to gendarmes.

Horia is the legionary of yesteryear's Romanian nation, who believed in his people and who died for it in a heartrending way, and you are the Horia of today whom other hangmen flog and persecute for having the same faith as his.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

October 6, 1937

— — —

CIRCULAR

None can be admitted into "The Battalion of Legionary Commerce" either as members or even as helpers, or in auxiliary services, without the recommendation demanded in *the founding* order and without the petitioners individually having been by to see me.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

October 7, 1937

— — —

CIRCULAR

— Urgent —

1. The person in charge of the coordination and leadership of

the legionary units delegated to participate in the celebration of Alba-Iulia is legionary Commandant Iosif Costea, attorney.

2. He will urgently get in touch with the county chiefs of the three counties to which a fourth one is added, Turda.

3. He shall make his plans in such wise that the Legion will come out impeccably.

The legionary battalion of 1,000 shall be selected one by one from among handsome and strong men. Weaker men may come but not in formation, only alongside.

4. It is to be wished that all legionaries and their friends come on their own.

5. Time being short, county chiefs even before meeting with legionary Commandant Costea will take all steps indicated and will begin executing this order.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 7, 1937

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COMMANDMENTS

1. Be correct, to the utmost. See that I gain confidence in you even if I were to entrust to you hundreds of thousands of *lei*. Do not defile, through dishonesty, the legionary commerce. You will not steal 20 *lei* but if you did, you would topple a school.

2. Do not lie, ever. Never deceive anyone.

3. Behave with decency, civility, good-will and courtesy toward all people.

4. Avoid any conflict, any contradictory discussions. As a great courtesy, in your store, *the customer is always right*.

5. A dispute over merchandise, over price, money, etc., is always solved in the customer's favor.

6. Be very polite and *very reserved* with ladies and with every female.

7. He who gets nervous, who cannot control his nerves, is not good for the battalions of commerce.

8. Never bicker with your comrades in front of customers.

9. Do not smoke, do not adopt indecent postures, do not be dirty, do not go unshaven and dishevelled. At all times be clean, well-groomed, elegant in manners.

10. Always look around you and learn to be orderly: put a thing in its place, even if it is not your responsibility to do so, pick up a sheet of paper, reach for the broom, give a comrade a helping hand. The minute you finish a job, let your eyes look in a thousand directions and where you see the smallest need, pitch in. Do not say as the lazy person says: "this is not my job." You do as much as you can, do everything, do continuously, observe everything around you, judge everything, act swiftly and restlessly, do not be idle one instant. Intelligent and alive as a snake.

11. Do not forget that any job you have, sweeper, bus-boy, waiter, cook, behind the counter, in the cellar, etc., you enjoy the same love and the same honor. No job well-fulfilled is inferior to another. Wherever you are placed, outside or below in the cellar, you are the Legion, you represent it. The Legion sees you. As to a hostess, no greater honor is befitting her when in the living-room receiving guests, than when she is in the kitchen, or than when she sweeps or washes the floor. The important thing is, that all you do be well done. Your duty well fulfilled. You are honored in the Legion not according to *what* you do, but according to *how* you do that which has been entrusted to you to do.

12. Do not forget that we legionaries are going to engage in a great war with the invading race and it is only through these qualities that we will be able to win. Consider then yourself each minute on the front. Get used to the rugged legionary life. And do not forget that if you are not going to be like that, then we Romanians will lose this war, and the Legion will be compromised in the eyes of the people, notwithstanding all the sacrifices made up to now.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

October 7, 1937

CIRCULAR

Those coming in to bring me information or to communicate something to me are asked:

a/ To inform themselves precisely about the event witnessed or heard and about the problem as a whole; whether it is an isolated event or a general measure; whether it is an event due to a mad-man or it is a thought-out and orderly measure.

b/ The approach of the reporter should be in keeping with a correct report, giving always the essence of the truth.

c/ The legionary must know that it is a great mistake for someone to inform me incorrectly, incompletely, imprecisely or to slant the information, giving it a different aspect.

I am expected to take steps, and my measures must be right, like a pharmacist dispensing medication. If I am wrongly informed, incorrectly or incompletely, I shall take measures that are wrong, incorrect, incomplete.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 12, 1937

LEGIONARY RESTAURANT-BOARDINGHOUSE AT PREDEAL

Several days hence a new legionary commercial establishment will be opened in Predeal. It is situated on the Susai mountain on one of the most charming of sites. A dining hall, quite roomy, for about 60 persons, and seven rooms nicely furnished. This new legionary establishment is truly a great blessing because it aims at that category of people who otherwise could not take advantage of the curing and strengthening air of Predeal. The 100 *lei* per day for room and board, heat, light, is a price not yet matched in a climatic station or spa. Proof is the fact that even before the opening, numerous individuals had signed up at the legionary headquarters in the Capital.

We hope to soon announce the inauguration of this new achievement.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

October 20, 1937

CIRCULAR #94

I ask the members of the "All for the Fatherland" Party to take notice of the following orders of the Ilfov Prefecture and of the General Direction of Police in the Ministry of the Interior.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 20, 1937

— * —

Prefecture of Ilfov County
Administrative Service
No. 198 Reserved. Oct. 11, 1937

Strictly personal
Confidential

Mister Pretor,

We have the honor of sending you below a copy of the confidential personal order No. 61096-937 of the Ministry of the Interior, Direction of Police, relative to the measures for order issued in view of the extension of legionary propaganda and organizing in Ilfov County.

You are to take steps to prevent any endeavor of these legionaries to enter the county and the villages.

Those who do not willingly comply, will be arrested and then sent back to their home.

Any such endeavors should be immediately reported to the Prefecture.

Prefect

— * —

Copy
Mr. Pretor,

Pursuant to circular Nr. 956 of August 12 of this year we have the honor of bringing to your knowledge the following:

In view of the extension of legionary propaganda and organizing in the county of Ilfov, professor Sima Simulescu, Chief of the Capital's Black Sector of the "All for the Fatherland" Party has delegated his subordinate chiefs of nests to personally go into the villages of Ilfov county, the part dependent from the Black sector, where together with local organization chiefs they are to collaborate in the extension of propaganda and organizing in the county.

To each nest leader a number of villages was earmarked, where he is obliged to go on holidays, with this aim. In addition to this, each nest shall make one march per week into the sector's suburbs, and the entire sector shall organize at least four larger-scale marches per month in the county.

Bringing the preceding to your attention, we ask you to be good enough to order that measures be taken for the execution of the instructions in the circular to which we refer, in order to prevent such marches.

[for] Minister, /ss/ Cernat

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CIRCULAR #95

It shall be read in all nests

At the inspection by Mr. Popescu-Buzau around 5 o'clock in the morning on the Headquarters' work site, before the daily program had begun, a legionary was working alone in the dark carrying bricks in his arms into the building. The other comrades had not yet arrived for work.

Asked who he was he answered: "I am legionary Manzala Dumitru, leader of the Constantin Brancoveanu nest in the village of Scaeni-Prahova. I came to work for the two days of my vacation. I have been here since 4 o'clock to do my duty in full conscience."

He did not know that the stranger who had been watching him for a half hour and who questioned him, was a legionary Inspector.

I cite this legionary as an example and tell legionaries and non-legionaries: "This is why we will win! When every Romanian will get to the point of doing his duty unseen by anybody, only then will we be saved."

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 21, 1937

CIRCULAR FOR THE BATTALION OF LEGIONARY COMMERCE

This morning, at the usual time for exchanging the siphon bottles, the legionary inspection which arrived, ascertained the following:

Among empty siphon bottles which were to be returned, they found: *36 siphon bottles* one-fourth to one-half full, and *one* completely full.

Legionary Marin Dumitru (Radauti) in charge of this job did not do his duty.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 21, 1937

AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE LEGIONARY BOARDINGHOUSE IN PREDEAL

Comrades and friends of our movement,

We have opened this restaurant in Predeal for the youth in the Legionary Movement to have under their control a bridgehead to *the best air of Romania*.

They will know then, that what for them was earlier an impossibility, from now on no longer is so. They will be able to come up here and stay for a reduced price or in exchange for services they can give.

They will gain back their health or double their strength, in order to put them both to the service of our Fatherland and help gain the legionary victory.

These *bridgeheads* are always maintained through material sacrifices by organizations, governments, or states. But if we, through commerce, will also be able to realize *no matter how small a profit*, our enterprise of today will have reached and even exceeded its proposed goal.

Comrades and friends,

All of you will eat in this restaurant the same fare, but *will pay according to means*. Between a minimum and a maximum determined by us, the poor will pay less and those richer will pay more, according to their family hardship, or their income, respectively.

If one says: "I have no money" — he will not pay anything. For it is not right that one die of hunger. But we shall inquire as to *why* he does not have, for us to put him to work and make him *have*.

Who shall judge how much a client must pay? The client himself. So much I think I can, so much I think it is right for me to pay. His judgement cannot be appealed.

Beloved comrades,

A principle of Justice states:

1. "No one can be a judge in his own case."

I answer: This principle demeans mankind, for it considers man cowardly or rapacious. And so it is. However, I do not talk about man as he is but as he *can and ought to be*. In an *elevated*

mankind, man not only can but must be *his own judge*. Man must judge himself, must have the courage and loyalty to give everybody *his due*, namely to be righteous. Man – judge in his own case, *righteous and severe* towards himself.

At a country's foundation must stand the righteous man and it is well to begin educating in this direction. With this much said, the Restaurant in Predeal is open and all of you now here, *poor or rich*, are our guests for dinner. To whatever and to however much we have.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Predeal, October 24, 1937

CIRCULAR #96

Please inform urgently the chiefs of counties that they are to find out whether the individuals who are to be candidates in their counties, have been dropped from the electoral lists. Our lists, as those of other groupings, would be threatened if those who intend to run are not included in the electoral lists. We call the attention of all to this question very seriously, because a *new* maneuver for the falsification of the country's will is in the making: we can cite hundreds of names that have been omitted from electoral lists in the Capital and the country at large.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, October 21, 1937

CIRCULAR #99

I want to show the situation of expenses at the Center and at the same time redistribute them, because up to now the expenses were covered by the *Propaganda Office*, which was spending money that should have gone to printers and the new publications. And so the Office has been crippled; it cannot print anything until it collects the sum of 2,500,000 *lei* owed it by the counties.

Fund A. (Office personnel)

22,200 *lei* per month.

13 persons:

500 *lei* wages.

900 *lei* meals.

	200 lei, rent, heating.
	200 lei, materials, clothing, footwear.
Total	1,800 lei per person.

<i>Fund B.</i>	28,000 lei per month.
Nicadori:	8,000 lei per month.
Decemvi:	12,000 lei per month.
Others imprisoned; trials; trips:	8,000 lei per month.
Total	28,000 lei per month.

<i>Fund C.</i>	7,000 lei per month.
Office supplies, postage, newspapers.	

<i>Fund D.</i>	7,000 lei per month.
Headquarters upkeep; The Green House (water, electricity):	10,000 lei per month.
Various kinds of assistance:	5,000 lei per month.
The car:	2,000 lei per month.
Total	17,000 lei per month.
Total spent	74,200 lei per month.

In these expenses are not figured those needed to finish and furnish the Green House, food and living expenses for its (30-40 people per day) personnel, nor the building expenses of the Central Headquarters, nor those for occasional sickness or misfortunes – all of which I hope to keep to a minimum.

The profit from business I cannot touch for I am in a full commercial offensive and every bit of profit I throw back into this battle of commerce to be the winner as much as possible.

I have therefore taken steps to re-distribute these expenses for six months:

Fund A.

The Office personnel will be maintained by the Central Service of Written Propaganda.

Fund B.

Nicadori, Decemviri, others arrested, trials, trips: 28,000 lei

month will be provided by the following organizations:

Prahova	1,000 lei
Buzau.....	1,000 lei
Constanta.....	1,000 lei
Tulcea.....	1,000 lei
Caliacra.....	1,000 lei
Durostor.....	1,000 lei
Covurlui	1,000 lei
Putna	1,000 lei
Teleorman	1,000 lei
Tecuciu.....	1,000 lei
Citadels (Bucharest)	500 lei
Citadels (Country at large).....	2,000 lei
Ladies (Basarab)	1,000 lei
Sector I.....	1,000 lei
Sector II	1,000 lei
Sector III.....	1,000 lei
Sector IV.....	1,000 lei
Legionary Workers' Corps (Country at large).....	5,000 lei
Arad	1,000 lei
Timisoara.....	1,000 lei
Romanati	1,000 lei
Dambovita	1,000 lei

Funds C and D will be subsidized by the Razleti Center organization.

The fund for various kinds of assistance will come from various donations.

The chiefs of counties and units mentioned above must take steps, beginning with the month of November of this year, to support for six months the expenses of the fight or the food and clothing of those in prisons who belong to us all.

After six months other units shall take their place. All sums are to reach us by the 10th of each month. Address them to engineer N. M. Smarandescu, 3 Gutenberg St., Bucharest specifying on the money order: Dues for Fund

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 3, 1937

CIRCULAR #100

Among those now being retired, on the occasion of the reduction of military cadres, I read the name, GENERAL UICA; he who in 1933 during the repression, becoming a tool of the liberal government, had forgotten that he was a soldier and had tortured at Jilava for almost 100 days, keeping in a misery unknown until later, one of the greatest and most glorious soldiers of the Romanian nation: his comrade, the old General Cantacuzino. He was helped in this infamy by another general of whom we shall speak later.

General Uica, during the 1934 trial, called upon the generals in the Council, and tried to violate their consciences, urging them to go against their oath of judging according to their conscience, and ordering them to condemn Gen. Cantacuzino as well as the signer of these lines, together with 50 other innocent souls among them also the great soul of Mota.

These pressures and odious endeavors were tried on Generals Ignat, Costandachi, Dona, Comanescu, Filip.

At the last moment, General Uica fraudulently made use of H. M. the King's name, communicating to the Council that H. M. gave the order for condemnation.

Only the last minute miraculous intervention of General Moruzzi saved the situation.

I have written on this question and I shall soon reveal with documents and evidence, terrible infamies the mind refuses to accept, attributed to a prime-minister, to some cabinet ministers or some Romanian military.

Today General Uica no longer wears the glorious uniform of a soldier and has no command. He is simply a private citizen as I am, like everybody else. And how happy he would be were this the case.

However, he is no longer a man but a rag that will be rewarded by the new Romania as he deserves.

A Romanian soldier who at a given moment, perfectly aware, placed himself against the destiny of his people!

I do not know if he has any descendants.

Legionaries in the whole country, today collecting millions of

kilograms of scrap iron: on such souls and names as this, gather and unload, more than all the weight of the iron – the weight of your cursing.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

November 3, 1937

CIRCULAR #101

A young Cuzist lawyer from Orhei issued a manifesto from which one gathers he would like to join the ranks of legionaries.

He takes issue with his own organization. I am not interested in what the Cuzists do among themselves. They may quarrel, it is their business; Cuzists cannot join us.

I do not have to give any explanation. Each of them knows, down to the last, why.¹¹

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 3, 1937

CIRCULAR #103

At every political meeting of our party, speakers shall raise the issue of my appeal regarding the scrap iron.

My first order shall be read.

All Romanians shall be urged to inform county chiefs of all scrap iron and any other metals they have gathered for the creation of the necessary capital towards the battle of legionary commerce.

No meeting, no kind of rally shall be held without raising this issue of the scrap iron.

Once again I cry out: I need capital for commerce.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 4, 1937

11. See Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *The Nest Leader's Manual*, Editorial "Liberataea," Madrid, 1987, p. 82, 'The Cuzists'; See also Circular #117, p. 184 (Tr.)

Circulars #101 and #103 are missing from earlier editions (Ed.)

CIRCULAR #105

I call to the attention of all those who, on the occasion of the electoral campaign, go out in towns and villages to hold rallies or meetings, the following:

1. They shall have at all times a bearing of great dignity.

2. An uncommon sobriety in all manifestations, even in the most intimate ones (at the table, in groups, in the family).

Jokes are forbidden, communications, pranks. They do not befit the line of tragedy which the movement has reached through its mission, through battle and the sacrifices made.

3. I expect a posture of great seriousness even within the most familiar circles.

4. Any personal needling and any aspect of discord among participating legionaries shall be completely absent.

5. Meals should be simple; wine reduced to a minimum. The fact of excessive eating, drinking, time spent at the table, I consider a grave error of overstepping the bounds of great severity expected in such circumstances.

6. During all such occasions compliments on one's person, or praise, shall be avoided with the greatest care.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 4, 1937

CIRCULAR #106

The following minutes were received at the Ministry of the Interior:

"Today, 21.X.1937, authorities met in the cabinet of the Prefect in a council of collaboration, there being present:

1. County Prefect, Dr. Emanoil Bancescu;

2. Garrison Commandant, Col. Paduraru;

3. Prosecutor of the Tribunal, Constantin Disescu;

4. Legion of Gendarmes Commandant, Major C. Dragulanescu;

5. Secretary of Police, Dr. Arcadie V. Clipa.

The state of the spirit and the general economic state of the country were discussed and the following was ascertained:

a/ There were no cases of subversive propaganda, etc.

b/ Regarding currents of the extreme right, most active are the members of the party "All for the Fatherland," who go out from village to village propagandizing man to man, determined to put up lists of their own in the general elections, planning no cartel with any party.

c/ Public officials and village population are very agitated over the inflated price of firewood, etc.

d/ The composition of the future government is much speculated upon, parties of the extreme right, particularly members of the "All for the Fatherland" Party claiming that if a National-Peasant administration comes to power, they will proceed to assassinate its most important members."

There follows point e/ and conclusions. Signatures:

County Prefect: Emanoil Bancescu;

Garrison Commandant: Col. Paduraru;

Tribunal Prosecutor: Constantin Disescu;

Legion of Gendarmes Commandant: Major Dragulanescu;

Chief of Police: Arcadie Clipa.

This circular of mine is directed specifically to the entry under d/.

IT IS NOT TRUE that members of the "ALL FOR THE FATHERLAND" Party claim that if a National-Peasant administration should come to power they would proceed to assassinate its leading figures.

It surprises me that responsible persons such as the above could have signed such minutes.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 4, 1937

CIRCULAR #108

I have noticed lately, during the electoral campaign, that legionaries show an attitude of misplaced courtesy for ladies and misses.

This does not befit the legionary's soldierly bearing but rather the comportment of the dandy raised in the school code of elegant manners.

This code of conduct has stemmed from a world which, having nothing to do, passed the time by courting ladies and misses. Out of this world came the ladies' men of our day with exaggerated ex-

pressions of courtesy behind which *no trace of respect* for woman or *mother* exists.

The legionary cannot have anything in common with this milieu.

He respects woman and in particular the mother.

He is serious toward any woman and does not slide on the slope of courtesy and frivolous compliments which he must leave to living room ladies' men with whom he can have no kinship.

A new, legionary chivalry, of decency and respect, without too much hand-kissing and cooing, must take the place of the old cavaliers, who under the curtain of elegant manners brought society more harm than good.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 8, 1937

THE CAPTAIN'S WORD:

"WORKERS IN ALL OF ROMANIA, TO BATTLE!"

Opening disposition (The Grivita Restaurant).

The Captain read the following advice upon the opening of the restaurant:

Comrades,

This restaurant opens today for workers.

Attorney Gh. Leatu and student Buhaiu Vasile are charged with managing the enterprise and do their duty JOYFULLY.

In the new legionary commerce we will overthrow the Judaic-materialist principle: work WITH ONLY INTEREST in the CRAVING FOR PROFIT.

THE HUNGER FOR GOLD

As long as in one part of the world hunger for gold exists in the other part there will be hunger for justice.

For those WITH MUCH GOLD unjustly break each day a little from the black bread of the poor, in order to increase their pile of gold.

The legionary who is engaged in commerce will know then, that the mystery of the success of his business, as that of all successes in the world, resides in Love. Love of his profession and love of people.

Until then I shout: Workers in all of Romania, to battle!
November 10, 1937

— — —

TO ALL LEGIONARIES

The meeting at the "Green House" — The Captain's appeal — The reading of the lists of candidates — The last guidelines regarding the elections

Whoever wants to help the Legionary Movement is asked to reproduce this flyer on his own and distribute it wherever he wishes.

THE MEETING AT "THE GREEN HOUSE"

Two meetings of the chiefs of regions and county organizations of the "All for the Fatherland" Party took place at the "Green House" on November 11. The Captain too, participated. The solemn meeting was opened at 11:30 in the morning by engineer Gh. Clime, Commandant of the Annunciation and leader of the "All for the Fatherland" Party.

Region chiefs, county organization chiefs and those holding ranks present at that time in the Capital, assembled around the tomb of Mota and Marin.

The oath was taken:

MOTA AND MARIN

*I swear before God,
Before your sacred sacrifice for Christ and Legion,
To root out earthly pleasures from my heart,
To tear myself away from human love,
And for the resurrection of my people,
At any moment,
To stand ready to die.
I swear!*

Then followed the roll call of regions and counties. Then, the roll call of the dead.

Mister Clime calls out:

Ion Mota: Present.

Vasile Marin: Present.

Sterie Ciumetti: Present.

General Gheorghe Cantacuzino-Granicerul: Present.

Hristache Solomon: Present.

Virgil Teodorescu: Present.

Nita Constantin: Present.

Toader Toma: Present.

Nicolae Balaianu: Present.

Gheorghe Negrea: Present.

Gheorghe Grigor: Present.

The moment is a solemn one. Legionaries meet, at beginning of battle in thought and remembrance, with all fallen comrades. The spirit of Mota and Vasile Marin is present. The shadows of the other comrades, fallen, facing toward the legionary victory, float around the mausoleum. Legionaries in heaven with legionaries on the earth are, in the hours of battle, one. Those of yesterday are among those of today, for the fight of tomorrow and for the eternal victory.

After the last comrade from the grave answered "*Present*" to the roll call, the "*Hymn of fallen legionaries*" was sung:

"As a tear of blood . . ."

In remembrance of the sacrifice for the Cross of Christ — legionary roads start off under the sign of the Cross — "*Majadahonda*" is sung.

The white figure of General Cantacuzino appears before the resolute eyes of the young fighters and his hand caresses their foreheads.

THE NEW LEGIONARY SENATORS

The Captain proposes and the Legion's Senate approves the

following new legionary senators: *Prof. Corneliu Sumuleanu, Col. Vasile Piperescu, Dr. I. Pantelimon, Col. Stavoianu, Pharmacist Aristotel Gheorghiu, Rev. Duminica Ionescu, invalided Col. V. Diaconescu.*

Then followed:

THE OATH OF LEGIONARY RANKS

Beloved Comrades,

Every time I found myself before a legionary sacrifice, I said to myself: How dreadful it would be that on the supreme sacrifice of our comrades, *a caste of conquerors* be instituted to which would be open the gates to a life of speculation; fantastic business coups; thefts; gluttony; exploiting others!

In other words, some have died in order to serve the appetites for enrichment, comfort and the debauchery of others!

So God has brought us now here before the greatest sacrifice the Legionary Movement could offer.

Let us lay the heart, the mind and the body of *Mota* and his comrade, *Marin*, as the foundation of the Romanian Nation; a foundation for future centuries of greatness in Romania.

Let us make the example of *Mota* and *Marin* the foundation for a future Romanian elite which will be called upon to make of this Nation something which our minds can hardly yet imagine.

You, who represent the first beginnings of this elite, bind yourselves by an oath, that you will behave in such a way that you may *really be a healthy beginning* for the great future elite of Romania; that you will defend the entire Legionary Movement that it may not slip into such things as speculation, high living, luxury, immorality, satisfaction of personal ambitions or desire for human aggrandizement.

You will swear that you have understood, and that therefore not a single doubt remains in your mind, that *Ion Mota* and *Vasile Marin* did not make the supreme sacrifice for a few of us of today or of tomorrow, in order that we might revel in good things and feast upon their tomb. They did not die that we might vanquish through their sacrifice a caste of exploiters, in order then to take over their palaces and continue to exploit the country and the

work of others, continuing a life of luxury, of speculation and of loose living.

If that were the case, the poor Romanian masses through our victory would only change the name of their exploiters, while our country would strain her already exhausted strength to support a *new category of vampires* to suck her blood: i.e., us.

OH, MOTA! You did not die for that. You made your sacrifice for the nation!

Therefore, you will swear that you understand this: that to be *legionary elite* does not mean, in our language, only to fight and conquer, but it means: *permanent sacrifice in the service of the Nation; that the idea of elite is bound to the idea of sacrifice, of poverty, of hard living in a severe life; that where self-sacrifice ends, the legionary elite ends too.*

Therefore we will swear that we will bequeath to our followers the vow to come to the tomb of *Mota* and *Marin* and swear on the following essential conditions of the elite, on which we ourselves swear:

1. *To live in poverty, destroying in ourselves any desire for material enrichment.*
2. *To live a hard, severe life, putting aside luxury and surfeit.*
3. *To avoid any attempt to exploit any man.*
4. *To make permanent sacrifices for our country.*
5. *To defend the Legionary Movement with all our strength against everything which could lead it into the path of compromise; or against anything which might even lower its moral standards.*

MOTA AND MARIN
WE SWEAR!

THE CAPTAIN'S APPEAL

Chiefs of the 71 counties,

We are all assembled at the tomb of the greatest legionary sacrifice, on the eve of going out to battle for our faith, for the future of justice and glory of this people and for the securing of our own future in our country.

We have no manifesto to address to the voting Romanian people.

Our manifesto is this huge sacrifice of our generation, this grave of my comrade and brother Mota, of our comrade and brother Marin.

More than this, our generation has nothing to say to the Romanian people either now or ever.

Our manifesto is Ciumetti's grave and of the others among us who fell.

Our manifesto is all of the suffering we have supported for almost 15 years for the whole country to see, without having given the smallest example of straying from the line of our faith, supporting every imprisonment, every blow, every humiliation to which we have been exposed by all those who one by one have placed themselves athwart this people's path.

They wanted to destroy us by plotting, treason, money and violence.

And they pushed us into the dilemma: either of capitulating or of *forcing our way ahead by violence*. That is why, today when a new battle is opened, into which people will come with manifestoes and programs, we come with the wounds in our soul and on our poor bodies, we come with our graves.

In the new fight, over the old wounds, other wounds are in store for us and lo, soon we will part ways and who knows if all of us shall return; if some of us will not be laid to rest at the end of these graves.

These are our perspectives, and faced with them my word is: no compromise whatsoever and not one step back.

Chiefs of Counties, Comrades,

For this electoral campaign I have taken the following steps:

I. *You*, chiefs of counties, shall run as the last ones on the lists. Because, I want to destroy the concept that a county is the political property of a county head, in which he invests his capital in order to recover it later out of *per diems*, intercessions and business deals.

II. I shall nowhere run at the head of the list, but in the second place.

III. I made up the candidacies in all counties without any counsel, with no clashing of passions and interests. In deciding upon these candidacies I understood to grant no favor and to serve no interest, save that of *selecting the most capable from among us*, for the fulfilling of the parliamentary function.

IV. Parliament is not a *reward* accorded to veteran legionaries, to those who fought more, or to those who sacrificed more. An only reward we have, greater than anything: THE LEGIONARY VICTORY; and a sole joy in life: to see how Romania blooms out of our work which we gladly render, devotedly, each in his place, namely in the place where we could give the most.

Parliament *is not a reward*, but a battleground in which I have the obligation to send the most capable, in order to wage the fight in the best of conditions so as to obtain victory.

V. In order to be victorious, we must begin by vanquishing ourselves. To vanquish ourselves, by breaking within us every wish, every vain velevity, every craving for ascendancy, every personal interest.

Think, to what horizons of light we lift this Legionary Movement when no craving troubles our souls; while nearby in tens of councils and committees, driven by passions, appetites, and dominated by special interests, friends will rip themselves apart for each favorable place on the lists.

To the honor of our movement, with us, not a single man suffering of this sickness exists. And if one should appear I will look upon him with utmost disgust.

VI. Candidates shall be 'pitched' into unknown counties. The mass of Romanians has no need to personally know them, for no legionary congressman is permitted to busy himself with satisfying the interests or business of his various relatives, kin and supporters.

To those who seek the satisfaction of such interests you will say in no uncertain terms that they have no business voting for the Legionary Movement.

This way they will run in an admirable fraternization, fighters from Transylvania, in the capital of Moldavia, in Iasi, or Suceava, Craiova or Cetatea-Alba; others from Moldavia, to Transylvania in Mures, Turda, in Arad or in Caras.

VII. I have invited several personalities to run on our lists,

among which are:

Professor Nae Ionescu, Prof. Mihailescu, General Ignat, Professor Gerota, etc., etc., not because I needed them but because our generation wishes to bring them homage for their posture vis-a-vis the people.

All the invited shall run only on lists for the Senate, the youth waging its own fight for the Chamber by themselves, through its own powers.

VIII. Now you will hear the fixed lists and go off to battle for the time is short.

Mota is with us:

“Those who have fallen by the adversary’s bullets
In spirit march within our ranks below.”

CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU

— — —

READING OF THE LISTS OF CANDIDATES AND THE CLOSING OF THE FESTIVE MEETING

So here the lists of candidates which are soon to be published, are read.

“The Hymn of the Legionary Youth” is sung and — the agenda ending after an hour and a half — the festive meeting is closed at 1:00 o’clock in the afternoon.

For 20 minutes more, chiefs of regions gave the last instructions to the county chiefs.

At 1:30 P.M. the entire assembly goes to lunch to the legionary restaurant on Grivita Way.

THE AFTERNOON MEETING

Mr. engineer Gh. Clime, chief of the “All for the Fatherland” Party opened the afternoon meeting at 5 o’clock. The Captain received informations from chiefs of regions and then each county chief was handed an envelope containing instructions and the necessary formalities for the deposition of lists.

The meeting concluded at 7 o’clock in the evening. Legionaries left for the various fields of battle to do their duty.

CIRCULAR #109

The Ministry of Cults and Arts with Nr. 22.021 of October 9, 1937 sent His Holiness, Bishop of the Ramnic Diocese the following address:

Your Holiness,

I have the honor of bringing to Your attention that I have suspended temporarily the salaries of priests Gheorghe Popescu from the village Apele Vii and Stefan Smarandescu from the village Dabuleni, the county of Romanati, on October 1 of this year because they took part in singing legionary songs, in distributing manifestoes of a legionary character and took the vow of those who participated in legionary meetings in their respective villages.

At the same time we have the honor of asking You to be good enough to let us know the steps taken by Your Holiness against these two servants of the altar.

Receive, please, Your Holiness, the assurance of our special consideration.

[for] Minister /ss/ St. Bradisteanu

[for] Director /ss/ Indecipherable

I call attention to the fact that *Mr. Stancu Bradisteanu* is the *President of "The Association of Public Clerks"* of Romania, and *Rev. Partenie*, Secretary General of the Ministry of Cults is *President of "The Association of Priests of Romania,"* both called to defend clerks and priests against administrative abuses.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 13, 1937

CIRCULAR #114

In the county of Prahova, at Moreni, one of the legionary leaders, an elite individual, engineer Traian Ionita, was called to the village hall under pretext of reaching an agreement regarding a forthcoming meeting.

There, at the village hall, in the house to which he had been invited, he **WAS SLAPPED BY THE MAYOR.**

The engineer took the slaps and did not react in any manner,

thus executing the Legion's orders.

The offense is however so great to the name of a Romanian engineer, to our organization in Prahova, to the spirit of LEGALITY which an official is called to uphold, that it must be given satisfaction for *in the shortest possible time*.

The offense is not only that of the MAYOR but of the other two as well: *engineer Bejan and Prefect Bondoc* who are on their 50th count of high-handedness and human knavery.

I appeal to all legionaries in the county of Prahova to demand satisfaction and to wipe out this offense in the shortest possible time through any means they consider appropriate.

Let these three give satisfaction.

We need this at no matter what risk, even at the risk of losing the elections in Prahova and even those in the whole country.

If no one is found in the Prahova organization to wipe off this offense within two weeks, I shall appeal to the legionaries of other counties.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 22, 1937

— — —

DECLARATIONS
OF MR. CORNELIU Z. CODREANU¹²
— published in *Buna Vestire*, November 30, 1937 —

Gentlemen journalists,

You know I concluded an accord with Mr. Iuliu Maniu and Gh. Bratianu! This accord has the aim of defending freedom and of the carrying out of a civilized electoral battle in which denigration, disloyalty and bad faith are to be missing.

The accord stipulates that each contracting party shall affirm its own ideology before the country in a decent and irreproachable form.

Therefore, the accord wishes to accomplish two things: freedom of expression and on the other hand the removal of everything that could prevent as good a decision on the country's part

12. Missing from earlier editions (*Ed.*)

as possible.

Namely the carrying of the battle in the field of ideas by the absence of personal passions, of bad faith, of violence, all of which always prevent a good decision.

I was profoundly amazed by the letter of a party president in which he states that his party could not conclude a "pact of non-aggression" which seems to him strange and immoral, with another party of diametrically opposed ideas.

"Pact of non-aggression" not with regard to "ideas," for it is exactly this that we wish, but that they fight freely, Mr. President, but a pact of *non-aggression* with regard to cudgels, to bad faith, to the insincere and paid attack.

How do you mean? Is it *immoral* that someone invite even his greatest adversary to *an honest fight*, correct, civilized, and is it *moral* to unjustly run him down, to insult him, to slander him?

Is it more *moral* to lie in wait for him back of a fence and cudgel him from behind?

Gentlemen journalists,

Therefore, in the framework of this pact of non-aggression, which has as its aim not *the abandoning of our ideas and faith but their very affirmation as freely as possible* before the country, Mr. Iuliu Maniu invited the journalists before whom he made declarations according to his ideas or belief. I too, take the liberty within the same framework and invite you to hear me state before the country my ideas and beliefs.

Foreign policy

Mr. Maniu, stating his party's point of view in the matter of foreign policy, said in essence: "We are on the side of the great Western democracies, on the side of the Little Entente and the Balkans' Entente" and he expressed his great attachment to "The Society of Nations."

With profound respect for Mr. Maniu, I dare say that my opinions are EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE.

I am against the great Western democracies, I am against the

Little Entente, I am against the Balkans' Entente, and I feel no attachment at all to "The Society of Nations" in which I do not believe.

I am for a foreign policy of Romania on the side of Rome and Berlin. On the side of the states of national revolutions. Against Bolshevism.

A man who has not traveled and has begged nothing either from Rome or from Berlin says this.

Within 48 hours after the Victory of the Legionary Movement, Romania will have an alliance with Rome and Berlin, entering thus on the line of its historic mission in the world: the defense of the Cross, of the Christian culture and civilization. This does not mean we hate France and the French people, for France shall do as we, itself re-entering the same historic mission in the world. What the French people experiences today is but a Judaeo-masonic divagation, which the French people in the hour of its resurrection will shed with determined energy.

In regard to the border revisionism exhibited and speculated upon by Mr. Titulescu, the Legionary Movement affirms that no border revision in Romania's disfavor will be made.

Internal policy

Mr. Maniu is for democracy. I am of the *exact opposite* opinion. I am against democracy. And I am also against dictatorship. Under the morning's aurora, another system is being born, new, so far never encountered. It is for this I stand.

Mr. Maniu says that his party will bring justice to and tolerance for minorities.

I am for JUSTICE without TOLERANCE; for we have been tolerating so much that we are now on our deathbed. The Legionary Movement will bring justice to Romanians. I speak of that justice, for centuries administered in disfavor of the Romanian People, I speak of those millenary rights of Romanians they must regain, and which, according to the severest application of justice, they will have to divide with nobody. In particular, there is no justice whatever that obliges us to share with Jews our rights of mastering and leading this country.

Mr. Maniu claims in the final part that according to all manifestations up to now, the country is with his party. My opinion is different: I think the Country is with the future, that is, with the Legionary Movement.

With all these great differences of ideas and opinions, it does not mean that we cannot both advocate free elections, precisely in order to find out which is the country's opinion, and in any case, it does not mean, if we are of differing opinions, that a third party come steal my, his and the country's votes.

I end with a statement. I speak of Mr. Titulescu:

Romanian legionary youth, tortured in 1933-1934 with the most ruthless violence, whose freedom has been stolen, will oppose Mr. Titulescu no matter what list he might run on, and over any pact will combat him with the greatest violence.

All the youth will show up in the counties in which he is going to run and will oppose with all their powers any re-entry of this man into the internal politics of the country.

The only pact we can conclude with Mr. Titulescu is a *pact of aggression*.

Bucharest, November 29, 1937, 6 o'clock in the evening.

— — —

CIRCULAR #117

It is seven years ago this fall that I interdicted Cuzists from entering the Legionary Movement.

The reasons that determined me in this decision are known and they will be more clearly seen in a circular to come.

I took the same measure against liberals in the spring of 1934 when I forbade them to enter among legionaries because the party oppressed and tortured all the youth by order of the Judaeo-masonic power.

Indeed, seven years have passed since any Cuzist has joined us; four years since a liberal joined.

Today I lift this ban for a one month term, namely until December 30. Both *Cuzists and liberals* may enroll this coming month and could become legionaries, *except those among them*

who personally attacked the Legion. These cannot ever become legionaries.

These enrollments will be closed after December 30.

The next such month will come after seven more years, namely in December of 1944.

I have taken this decision for I know how easy it is to sign up with someone when everybody applauds him. I want to find out who knocks at my door these days when I am attacked.

I want to know, at these crossroads, who the man is who sells himself out or who hesitates as well as the one who has unlimited faith in our arms and hearts, and faith in the great legionary destiny.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, November 30, 1937

— — —

A PUBLIC PROTEST

Sunday, in the provinces, in the Capital, and over the radio, scores of discourses were delivered, all of them attacking Mr. Iuliu Maniu, while by use of tear gas he himself was prevented from speaking.

To attack a man from ten sides — no matter what opinions he may hold — accusing him of more than he deserves and forbidding him at the same time to defend himself, is an act of cowardice which ennoble him and demeans all those who attack him.

If through illegalities someone may yet succeed, cowardice has never brought forth victors.

Those who make use of it are condemned to defeat.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Wednesday, December 15, 1937

— — —

AN ANSWER

The leadership of The National-Christian Party has ordered its membership to prevent Jews from voting.

In the papers some nationalist gentlemen tempt me with the old and well-known Judaic cunning:

"What is Corneliu Codreanu going to do? Shall he order his legionaries to come out in defense of the Jews, bearing down on the National-Christian lancers? Here is the question to which we want an answer."

I answer you gentlemen, not because you challenge me, but because I do not ever want to owe anybody anything.

And this is my answer:

"No! Legionaries will not defend the Jews.

Members of The National-Christian Party are free to stop them from voting.

I notice though that you are more preoccupied with the votes of the legionaries than with those of the Jews."

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Saturday, December 18, 1937

CIRCULAR #119

Legionaries,

The wave of lies and hatred still continues. But we have weathered so many storms and so many waves have rammed against our chests that this last one in which so much hope was placed by our enemy and particularly by our 'friends,' did not and will not budge one single man, one single soul from the position of *his legionary faith.*

Such an attack, of the lie, has its share of pain, out of nausea for lying; but it also has its blessing:

We have known our enemies since childhood, have not been in doubt about them, and have fought them; we thank God that today He helped us know our 'friends' as well.

So, for example a 'good' friend sententiously repeated this question:

"Let Mr. Corneliu Codreanu answer whether the pact for guaranteeing free elections does not mean the defending of Jewish votes?"

I answer:

"For 17 years my comrades and I have not crossed the threshold of a single Jewish store though we lived in Iasi [where

most of the stores were Jewish-owned], have not entered a Jewish home, have not *talked* with a single Jew, because we considered them here in this land as enemies of our nation.

"Is this your question? That I ask for freedom at election time for Jews? That you would stop them and I would defend them? No, Sir.

"I ask for freedom in elections for my people, for the youth of my people, which four years ago in the last elections, by order of the Judaic power, under the most ruthless terror, were some put in hospitals and another 10,000 into prisons.

"I ask for freedom for my people precisely in order for it to be able to break and shed the yoke of Judaic power which burdens it in its country, on its own land, at its plow, its table, in its laws.

"The historic mission of our generation is the resolving of the Jewish problem.

"It was this aim that all our fights for the last 15 years have had and all the efforts of our life from now on will have the same aim.

"And you ask me *whether I have sold myself to the Jews?*

"*Do you not look at my forehead, do you not look at my body, to see how wound upon wound lies there, dog of a friend?*"

— * —

Another 'friend,' guest for several months in the (Cuzist) nationalist movement, candidate on the lists of the National-Christian Party, blesses me in the following fashion:

"The National-Christian Party is the only organism which has put forward a nationalist program without compromises, while the other nationalist formations have capitulated either into the hands of liberals as in the case of Messrs. Vaida and Iorga, or into the hands of the popular front organized by Mr. Maniu with the collaboration of Jews and communists, as in the 'All for the Fatherland' Party's case led by Mr. Corneliu Z. Codreanu."

The name of this 'friend' is Ion San-Georgiu, college professor. I have sued him for libel and I shall remember him as you legionaries will remember all those who dared cover you with mud so as to conceal the raw flesh of your wounds from the eyes of the country.

— * —

Another 'friend' ironically ponders, insulting me, whether he

does not have the right to "discuss" the non-aggression pact.

I answer:

"You have the right to discuss, offend and slander, as much right as a pastry-cook has to discuss the strategic measures of a troop commander during a war."

And in any case, to a man who leads a troop responsibly, and who proves his good faith perhaps even showing great skill, must be accorded a respite of at least a month and not be slapped and attacked in bad faith at the very first.

I think it only right for me to ask to be slapped at the end, even by these gentlemen, and stoned, only after it is proved that I committed the tactical error.

— * —

Finally I left for Bacau, my heart full of a sacred emotion.

The first legionary company which is headed for the land of Christian Moldavia, carrying with it the first liberating banner in the economic struggle out of which the indigenous people of Stefan the Great came out defeated and his land transformed into a Judaea with local slaves and Jewish masters.

Not even one Romanian store. *We shall open one!* The fight is going to be difficult because before us stands the Jewish commerce, while we are utterly poor. We enter this battle with a handful of savings put together with so much care and so much sacredness, out of the hardest labor and renunciation, so that any decent folk would cry, were they to know.

Arrived at Bacau, the legionary commerce organized to deliver Moldavia, faces however two enmities, united in the fight against us:

The Jews and the Cuzists.

The latter whispering and spreading everywhere the rumor

"that we open the store helped by Jews;"

"that we took money from Moscow;"

"that we are paid by the Jews."

In face of this situation I return humiliated and write this circular now, not in order to exonerate myself, that I took money either from Moscow or from the Jews, or because I fear these connivings, but in order to affirm: *my flesh cringes from so much treachery.*

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

ORDER FOR CLOSING THE ELECTORAL BATTLE

read by Mr. Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Today, Thursday December 23, at 11 o'clock Mr. Corneliu Z. Codreanu, chief of the Legionary Movement, convoked at the Headquarters on 3 Gutenberg St. all ranks and legionary officers of the Capital, to whom he read the order for closing the electoral battle.

Legionaries in the whole Country and Friends,

Along the legionary front no retreat has been recorded.
The fight has ended.

From one end of the country to another the legionary, alone or in a team, with no exception, behaved with an unsurpassed heroism.

Full of enthusiasm and filled with an indomitable faith, everywhere, he willingly submitted to hardships which he overcame, to adversities which he defeated, to physical and moral suffering which he gladly supported.

In this fight the legionary proved his great dedication, defying every danger and defying death, dedications which entitle him to other victories.

All these moral qualities of the legionaries which make up the real strength of an organization and which can be the pride of a people, were equalled by no one else.

In the country, there were counties which appreciated these moral values and our sacrifices up to now; there were others which did not understand a thing.

At the head stand: the Capital, Arad, Neamt, Timis-Torontal, Dolj, Covurlui, Radauti, Campulung-Bucovina, Cernauti, Teleorman, Braila, Vlasca, Gorj, Prahova, Turda, Hunedoara, Ialomita.

The last ones are: Roman, Vaslui, Falciu, Botosani, Muscel.

Perhaps they have their dark places in the history of legionary victory.

My dear friends,

Thank God and go all *in corpore* to the graves of our dead to tell them that in this fight just waged, we have won.

That we felt their souls by our side all the time. That we are ready for any battle, against any power. That no sacrifice exists in the world which we do not feel capable of making.

Now, peace and rest, legionaries.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, December 23, 1937

P.S. The Chiefs of Counties and Regions shall send in detailed reports on men and teams which distinguished themselves in battles.

Also let me know which counties and which villages distinguished themselves.

I ask that the names of the weakest villages be also sent me.

I ask that the names of all those who committed illegalities or showed in some manner their enmity toward the legionary cause, be also sent me.

CIRCULAR #122

To be made known to all nests

There have been changes in the political situation.

There is no reason in the legionary world for becoming agitated.

Everyone should celebrate in his family the Sacred Holidays *to the end*; with no worry.

Nothing must trouble the legionary and make him disobey the order I gave at the closing of the electoral fight: PEACE and REST.

I wish all fighters a great legionary year.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Predeal, December 29, 1937

Mota and Marin,

A year has gone by since you departed. In our fighting ranks your places are vacant. No one can occupy them. The legionary soul, all the Legion's brave ones, search for you and constantly lament you. In your deserted home, Mota, your children mourn you and each day wait for you to come. Your parents, old and overwhelmed by grief, expect you. Your wives call you.

From now on, years and years will pass and we shall constantly lament you.

But you, forgive these tears of ours, do not see them. See only the bravery with which we are going to wield our weapons in battle and with which we shall carry through the storm, in defiance of death, our legionary banners.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Saturday, January 1, 1938

— — —

FOR THE DAY OF JANUARY 13

To the chiefs of regions and counties

Comrades,

The day of the great sacrifice is drawing near. At this time a year ago, Ion Mota and his comrade Vasile Marin, were preparing for death.

In those days, a frightening tragedy took place in their soul. A storm of pain. The forever-breaking away from your children, wife, parents, all the dear ones, life, sun, the far land of your country.

Thousands of kilometers away from all your loved ones, you do not have anyone by your side in the hour of death.

Mota had the foreboding of the approaching of this tragic moment. His soul, in those last days, was engulfed by concern for his children; he missed them and the rest of the family.

A wave of infinite pain descended upon his soul.

This is how Ion Mota died on January 13, 1937 at Majadahonda.

His sacrifice is huge because God wrested it from him accompanying it with all possible human pains.

And the pains of their sacrifice spread farther, ever farther, because we — our hearts rent — ceaselessly seek them, constantly call them, continuously cry out for them.

Our generation of fighters has lost the cleanest amongst its ranks, the loftiest and the noblest.

I wonder if this great, huge sacrifice, with all its pains — will not be taken into consideration by anybody within our nation?

Beloved comrades, legionaries throughout the land, with clear soul come near the sacred sacrifice of Mota and Marin for Christ at Majadahonda. Take steps that everywhere this day be spent in total fasting and prayers in churches.

Pray this day for all our dead as Mota left us word in his testament: "I wish to be buried alongside all my comrades fallen in battle for the legionary faith."

I ask that this day pass without parades, noiseless and without any outbursts that would disturb even through preoccupation the profound grief and sorrow of our souls.

Do not go out among people with demonstrations, but run away from them; slip by unnoticed by anyone.

Let us live this day within ourselves, and only within us, reading what Mota left us. Let nothing of the outside world preoccupy us.

Legionaries, pray and fast, down to the last village.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Saturday, January 1, 1938

The Legionary Movement decided that the prayers for the repose of the two martyr heroes be said on January 13 at 4:30 in the afternoon, the hour when Mota and Marin fell at Majadahonda for Christ and Legion.

— — —

COMMUNIQUÉ

Gentlemen journalists,

Please bring the following to the knowledge of those interested in our opinions:

The National-Christian Party's attitude of one month ago regarding the Legionary Movement is known.

We carry the wounds of a wrongful attack which has hurt, not because it would have had some electoral effect on us, but because it was unjust and more than unjust.

The downpour on us through the press and public rallies centered around two accusations:

I. That we supposedly betrayed the national cause crossing over to the enemy and becoming the Jews' defenders. An unjust accusation circulated down to the last village, not containing in it the smallest kernel of truth.

II. That we, by the pact of non-aggression concluded with Mr. Maniu, have commenced an anti-dynastic action. I can state that both Mr. Maniu and I consider as a crime any action or act which might not only touch Dynasty but even darken the brightness of Its glory. Therefore, this accusation also was untrue.

There is something else which is true in this regard. *This* I shall clarify at the appropriate hour by some declarations so clear that even those feigning not to understand what one talks about, shall understand.

The third attack was the authorities' known campaign of incitement against us, aiming to throw our lists in 18 counties into disarray, under the pretext that those who went to Spain, the dead and those alive, have lost their citizenship; invoking in support of this contention — at the National-Christian rally in the "Astra" hall — the country's Constitution; a constitution which grants at the same time Romanian citizenship to millions of Jewish aliens.

The one claiming this — obviously pleasing to and approved by the Judaic power — an astonishing and offensive theory, became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the present National-Christian Cabinet.¹³

And now it follows for us to fix our position vis-a-vis the new government.

Are we going to slip, I wonder, on the slope it traced for us?

No! Because we must be correct even if others have not been so with us, and not leave a tarnish on the record of our movement.

We shall say: *In whatever manner and by whatever way you have*

13. Istrate Micescu (Tr.)

come, you are welcome.

You are a nationalist government.

I do not even have the right to doubt your good faith, even when I do not understand some things or when they seem to me to be wrong. A righteous man cannot hurl himself onto another man the very first hour, before giving him a chance to initiate his program.

When you take measures with an anti-Semitic character, many or few, it will not be I who adopts a posture of striking you; it will not be I who assumes a posture of being a tool of the Jews, of becoming their hope against a nationalist government.

Governing is a millstone placed on the shoulders of several men. Never will you see me climbing on top of this millstone to add more weight on the shoulders burdened aplenty.

Likewise, prompted by some envy full of baseness, you will not find me complaining: "Look, these people appropriate and execute my program, so what am I going to do?"

But I say now and shall always say: "May God help you do for the Romanian people everything we want, have wanted, all that our mind ever dreamed of accomplishing."

— * —

On this occasion we want to show that the entire legionary corps raised in the cult of honor was deeply and painfully impressed by the disgusting gesture of some politicians who at the last moment made switches not permitted by public morale. We do not say this to criticize or to create difficulties for anybody, but to show that this is a wrong road.

For, going to battle side by side with your comrades, up to 20 meters before the enemy, letting it be understood by those on your side that you are faithful to them, and there, to put your hat on a stick and go over to the enemy's lines, is to commit an act lacking the most elementary honor and decency, is a betrayal.

What a sad future must our people have if it would make its own national revolution under the mark of treason.

It is horrible to pretend fighting against Judaism, at the same time consecrating the satanic principle of Judas, namely treason.

For we wish it clearly understood that we do not deal here with a *conversion* to a new belief but with betrayal rewarded with high state functions.

It is bad procedure on the part of those who in a state make use of the weaknesses and defects of the human soul, rewarding them with honors and high office; while at the same time punishing virtues, chasing away men of character and removing those of clean dedication.

That is why I think that for our nation's morale and for the education of our up-and-coming youth, a nationalist government that asks for the Blessing of Our Savior Jesus Christ, should have rejected the satanic offer and to have refused — as a first gesture in the new country — the consecration of the principle of betrayal.

— * —

I do not believe that it is good for the National-Christian Party to dissolve the legislative bodies and to proceed to new elections, because in my opinion the government cannot get, in new elections now, even 30 per cent of the vote; which would mean a useless effort taking us back to the starting point, namely to a government without parliamentary majorities.

Elections suit me, for legionaries are untiring and they will wage the fight in order to *double their votes*.

In case the present legislative bodies are opened, the Legionary Movement is disposed to vote for the Budget and for the enactment of other urgent laws.

I conclude calling to the attention of those who in their lack of judgement try to push the Crown towards dictatorship, that it would be equal to a *disaster*.

The greatest wisdom is to know how to avoid the posture which could place the Crown into conflict with the nation or Her destiny.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, January 13, 1938

— — —

To the Bacau and Roman legionary organizations

You are to take steps so no Catholic can enrol for three years in the Legionary Movement.

In the aftermath of the elections, it was ascertained that this category of people ostentatiously voted against the Legionary Movement.

In some places they said:

"We would like to vote for you but we feel we have obligations toward the government for it gave us advantages."

This seemed astonishing to me: When Mota died defending the orthodox Catholic Church, 5,000 kilometers away from his homeland, you feel obligated to a government for promised advantages.

I had expected you to say to the government:

"We would dearly vote for you, but two heroes died in Spain for our Church, thus we have obligations with respect to their souls (They did not seek them, but we feel them within us)."

Others, assuming airs of negotiating and bartering:

"We would like to vote for you, but what advantages can you offer us and what can you guarantee us?"

We answer now:

"We do not guarantee you anything. We do not need your votes which we reject. We never traded in our faith and never will."

The organization that gave Mota and Marin for the defense of the Catholic Church knows now and at all times, how to answer, as merited, anyone who tries taking us for hunters of votes in exchange for advantages, facilitations and promises.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

January 14, 1938

CONFIDENTIAL ORDER

"This letter shall nowhere be published. It is confidential, for legionaries only."

My dear comrades,

I ask that these few lines be read to legionary ranks and to as many legionaries as possible, even in nests, for them too to be able to find their bearings:

I. It is almost *certain* that elections will take place.

II. Therefore, be ready, waiting for the time for deposition of lists.

And see to it that they appear in second place, or even first, or in any case on the first page of the ballot.

Chiefs of counties who *will not be as smart, as adroit and as quick* to find out in time, in order to be ready with their men and place their lists well, will be poorly marked.

III. Down to the last legionary, one should exhibit a posture of *great dignity*. One will not engage in petty *meanness* during propaganda, in malicious innuendo, slander, insults, etc.

And these particularly meant for Cuzists.

A line of *great correctitude*.

Are there people wanting to vote for them? Very well. Vote for them. *Let us be voted for only by those who believe in us.*

IV. Generally, during the campaign:

Do not attack anyone. You will not say: "Vote for us, for the Cuzists, national-peasants, Vaidists, are bad." But will say: "Vote for us for what good there is in us."

"Vote us in because of our faith and our sacrifices."

The legionary I find going out speaking evil of others or gossips, I will kick out of the battle.

Do not darken any more men's souls, but go out in good spirit, talk to them only of good, hope, victory, conveying to them joy and brightness.

I want this propaganda to be made under the sign: *of joy, of brightness, of spreading good cheer, of trust, of victory.*

V. Make your plans, form your lines quickly and start off toward the new victory.

Affectionately,

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, January 18, 1938

CIRCULAR #126

I decided to found in each county *a school for legionary mayors* and in Bucharest *a school for legionary prefects*.

These schools will have the mission of creating in each village (rural or urban) at least *five men*, who, at any moment could perform *in the best of conditions, the duties of mayor*.

They will also have the mission of training for each county at least *five men* for them to be able to fill the Office of Prefect in the same best of conditions.

Those taking these courses shall be selected from among the most qualified, keeping in mind:

1. *The capacity* (the faculty of grasping and resolving problems well).

2. *The most severe correctitude.*

3. *A sense of order.*

4. *A managerial sense.*

5. *Civility, love of fellow men and interest in the country's issues. Patience and tact. Self-control.*

6. *The zeal of doing one's duty up to the last limit and beyond it, namely the sentiment of sacrifice of one's own person.*

These classes are going to be offered under my leadership. The lectures, between 20 and 30, will be printed. One would start off however, from the practicality of things.

So that the legionary or a sympathizer, upon entering a village hall or a prefecture charged with the leadership, know from that very moment what he has to do.

And if he proves incapacity or incorrectitude, he be automatically replaced by the one next in line, so that the service not suffer.

This legionary school wants to repair the mistake of up to now which has been claiming that in order to run a tramway one needs schooling and that in order to head a village hall or head a county, no schooling is needed.

The legionary must be thoroughly prepared, down to the minutest detail, for the moment he will be called to duty.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, January 20, 1938

— — —

CIRCULAR #127

"ONE MAN, ONE ACRE"

Everybody knows about the campaign of lies, conniving, slander against the Legionary Movement since its beginning.

When the weapons of terror, imprisonment, provocations, court trials, brutal blows did not work, the weapons of slander and lies were brought into play.

Such has been the fate of our movement: that it has overcome both types of attack and has grown stronger and prouder, in spite of its enemies become more and more despairing.

I am not in the habit of answering these calumnies intending to set public opinion straight, because whoever yet believes in the calumnies heaped upon the Legionary Movement deserves no clarification.

I do not respond, but point out the slanderer or his nest.

The gentleman who stated that we campaigned in the county of Dolj, going through villages and promising people the wealth of others, under the motto: "One man, one acre" is called Nolica Tatarascu, brother of the former Prime-Minister. We have some other accounts as well to settle with this family. The gentleman named above is challenged to produce the evidence of his defamatory statements.

As far as I am concerned I can identify any time the circles in which he launched his slander.

In conclusion, a clarification: The Legionary Movement is not going to take the people's acres, more or few, gathered with effort, good management and thrift. But it will take the acres and the wealth amassed dishonestly through the embezzlement of public money.

Another calumny issued by the sources of lies and intrigues:

– The Legionary Movement wishes to destroy the old folks by taking away their pensions.

– Another, spit out by a high dignitary whose name – if need be – I can divulge in a future circular with all necessary evidence: "Legionaries are communists."

I ask all those people:

"How long are you still willing to believe that through such incorrect means you will defeat the Legionary Movement?"

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

P.S. County organizations shall establish a special police unit to deal with the uncovering of nuclei launching such calumnies.

In order to arrive at the wished-for result, every legionary should jot down the name and address of any transmitter of slanderous news and send it in to the Center so it can be followed up to a conclusion.

The Liberal Party, this infamous intriguer.

The Liberal Party, the tyrant over our 1933 generation.

The Liberal Party, shameless, without honor, has written the following infamous letter which was mailed out — 50,000 copies at 7 lei per envelope.

At the end the letter was erroneously signed: "a group of legionaries" instead of: "a group of liberals."

For a wretched group of legionaries is poor. It does not have 350,000 lei, namely the cost of mailing the 50,000 envelopes.

But the Liberal Party with its Bratianus, younger or older, which rushed upon us, will pay, will pay with interest at the proper time for all this action of knavery and plotting.

The time shall come when we meet face to face, gentlemen liberals.

A real group of legionaries

Here is the text of the infamous letter:

COMRADES,

"We have been confronted by an unexpected, astonishing fact. On February 21 of this year the Captain dissolved the Legionary Movement, declaring that he awaits 'the legionary moment' which 'as yet has not come.'

"Until the arrival of this moment he will be staying abroad, namely outside of the fight and of risks, but especially far away from the souls he raised in the spirit of self-sacrifice, which he now abandons.

"In this situation, a question becomes legitimate: 'What about us legionaries who have fought and have suffered, have endured offenses, tortures and imprisonment, believing that tomorrow the sun of legionary victory will rise?'

" 'How can that dreamed-of Romania come now, when the very man we have believed was leading us victoriously toward it, has forsaken us near the end of the fight, preferring a life abroad, free of worries?'

" 'Are we dealing here with a betrayal?'

"It would be frightful.

"Logically, because of this self-dissolution, we legionaries who yet keep our faith and hopes, ask also:

" 'What has become of the millions collected in dues imposed on us, of sizable donations and of the income from the legionary commerce?'

"We learn that some comrades, such as Smarandescu and Mugur, cannot account for small sums they handled and they were summoned to

come up with them.

“How about the one who gathered in all these millions, has he ever given anybody an accounting?” “The hundreds of thousands of lei squandered from the Legion’s wealth by a member of the Captain’s family, have they been put back?”

“Thievery was sanctioned only by admonition and the elimination from the Legion.

“And on what money does the Captain go abroad where he wants to stay longer, when no one knows of any other source for his income?”

“Without being accused of insubordination, we will yet ask: ‘Who is going to keep the women who admired and understood the Captain?’

“These are questions troubling us, to which we have no answers.

“Can anyone give them?”

A group of legionaries

— — —

TO THE LEGIONARIES THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE COUNTRY

CIRCULAR #128

The Central Electoral Commission has definitely decided: The legionary list has as a sign FIVE BLACK DOTS; carries #5 and appears on PAGE 2-A, upper LEFT.

Sending out this circular I wish to express my protest:

I. AGAINST THE CHANGE OF THE ELECTORAL SIGNS *PER SE*.

The people has spoken in its own way for years; namely, it expresses its will in the matter of elections through certain signs it knows. “With what interest and what aim does the government come now to change its language in these elections?” To confuse it, to compel it to learn and express itself in other signs. I do not ask whether this is legal, but I ask: “Why? For what purpose? With what interest?”

I ask this because I think that our first moral revolution in public or private life must be that of learning to no longer gain anything by cheating another man.

II. I wish to protest also the way in which this change was effected. For I consider it would have been better for party chiefs to be called in and told openly:

“Gentlemen, we shall change the electoral signs as follows.

We ask that in our capacity of government, we be permitted to take the first place on the list. The rest of you go to the Electoral Commission to take whatever place you can, or throw the dice."

Or, you have made this change clandestinely having gone to the Electoral Commission along with the Liberal Party; and the rest of us finding out only several hours later. AM I NOT JUSTIFIED IN ASKING: "WELL, brother nationalist, YOU MAKE A PACT WITH MY, AND THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT'S GREATEST HANGMAN. HIM YOU WARN IN TIME, WHILE I, WHO HAVE BEEN SO TORTURED AND TO WHOM YOU PRATE ABOUT THE THEORY OF FRATERNITY, AM LEFT TO MY FATE?"

III. I protest also the following, which I found in a recent decision of a ministerial council:

"When using public force, after giving legal warnings, police and gendarmerie organs shall not retreat before they impose quiet and order."

I ask you: "Who threatens public order? Was this people not beaten and shot long enough, but that you too, must beat and shoot it? In what way is it threatening? By coming to the polls as the country's laws stipulate?" You, the first nationalist council of ministers of Romania, should have said: "The hour of freedom has arrived for you too. From now on no one is going to strike you."

That finishes my protests.

Legionaries,

After deep pondering it has been decided that the "All for the Fatherland" Party no longer is to take part in mayoral elections.

For rather than being legionary mayors under the orders of non-legionary prefects and ministers, better wait a while longer to be mayors under legionary prefects and ministers.

That is why, fight everywhere now for the general elections. *In this battle behave decently and wisely. Avoid any conflict.*

Do not respond to any provocation. Do not attack in any meeting the nationalist government. Pass over its drawbacks for it is no glory for one to always regard the errors of others. But defend

your right guaranteed by laws, any time when someone, not erroneously, but forcefully tries to deprive you of them.

If on your way you should meet Cuzists, national-peasants, Vaidists, etc., rooted in a faith with full sincerity of heart, do not shake them in their faith endeavoring to win them over to yours. For you will be placing them in a difficult inner turmoil.

From the one million votes the last government had, at least 700,000 are the so-called "government dowry;" people who have no faith whatever.

Convince as many of these as you can to have your faith; and this shall suffice us.

— * —

I bring to your knowledge through this circular also, that I decided to urgently found the following study commissions attached to the old existing nests:

1st Commission of study for the organization of the Ministry of the Interior.

2nd Commission of study for the organization of the Ministry of Finance.

3rd Commission of study for the organization of the Ministry of Commerce.

4th Commission of study for the organization of the Ministry of Education.

5th Commission of study for the organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

6th Commission of study for the organization of the Ministry of Cults.

7th Commission of study for the organization of the Ministry of Agriculture.

8th Commission of study for the organization of the Ministry of Cooperation.

9th Commission of study for the cataloguing of Romanian wealth, subsoil, soil, industrial production, real estate, labor pool, capital.

10th Commission of study for the administrative organization, for mayors' and prefects' school.

11th Commission of study for the legionary Constitution of Romania.

Other commissions will be established later. The operation of these commissions will begin February 5-10 and will continue on a daily basis.

Legionaries or friends of legionaries who want to serve on these commissions are to see engineer Horodniceanu.

NOW STEP OUT ON THE BATTLEFIELD WITH FAITH AND WISDOM TO REAP THE VICTORY YOU DESERVE.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, Friday, January 28, 1938

CIRCULAR #129

In the aftermath of the sad news received from the counties these last two days I am compelled to convoke the Legionary Senate of the Capital for Tuesday, February 8, at 9 o'clock in the evening.

In almost all counties, the government — presided over by Messrs. A. C. Cuza and Octavian Goga — took measures against the Legionary Movement justified by no legal or moral motive.

Chiefs of Counties, candidates, men — within the strictest legality and civility — have been prevented by cordons of gendarmes from holding their meetings, have been sequestered, arrested, beaten.

This answer of the nationalist government to its nationalist brother, given our known posture, seems to me something totally without logic.

The Tuesday meeting is to study with much attention and care, the steps we are to take in order to defend ourselves.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 1, 1938

INSTRUCTIONS

I. On Monday you are to hand in the lists, taking the greatest care with respect to *formalities*. Particularly, the carriers must not forget to have on their person their voter's registration card.

II. After lists are recorded, send the Center a wire: County X

has handed in the list.

III. Then ask the candidates on the lists to send in their acceptances.

IV. See to it that you check carefully at least **THREE TIMES**, up to February 19, at 18:00 hours to be sure if the list has been recorded legally and acceptance received.

The county chief who loses the list because of negligence or lack of foresight shall be considered as a *regiment commander* who lost his banner.

V. You will receive at the Senate two days hence the names of all the candidates.

VI. *In questions of propaganda.*

a) Try not to expose too much those who sympathize with our movement. This would be a great mistake because once identified they would have a hard time entering the polls.

b) That is why I do not think that many meetings should be held, but instead, propaganda from man to man for the trend is clearly in our favor and it will continue to increase.

c) **IMPORTANT:** urgently teach nest leaders the new electoral sign and they in turn should teach the rest of the men.

d) At various propaganda rallies leave any discourse proper completely out. Let all of them have an informative character: reading of orders, circulars; their explanation. Ideas should be stressed, especially that for the school of mayors and prefects.

e) *Important:* Take steps that by Monday, February 7, *no old electoral sign* exist any longer in your county. Let all of them be removed by legionaries.

f) Any Cuzist attack, of any kind, *shall be reported in writing with names and evidence*, on the same day; with no poetry or literature. I **DEMAND** that in these reports the relation of facts be brief, correctly narrated, without misleading exaggerations.

g) Do not yet react to provocations and attacks.

h) I convoked the Legionary Senate of the Capital for Tuesday to discuss the government's attitude vis-a-vis the Legionary Movement.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 3, 1938

CIRCULAR #130

Disquieting news arrives from everywhere. Legionaries — whose attitude vis-a-vis the government is known — are attacked by groups of Cuzists. These groups operate with the backing of gendarmes' forces; this is useless, for legionaries have been ordered not to react.

Gendarmes, present or absent, legionaries do not respond to blows.

In fact the attacks of these Cuzist groups are directed against unarmed persons who are under orders, and thus *cannot* reply in any shape or form.

Yesterday, in the county of Neamt, candidate Radu Budisteanu who was on his way to Tupilati was attacked by a group of over 100 lancers dressed in beautiful blue uniforms and followed by two truck-loads of gendarmes.

Attorney Radu Budisteanu was insulted and struck and those who accompanied him, professor Andrei of the Piatra Neamt high school and the youngster Vlad, were stabbed and they are now in critical condition in the Hospital of Rasboeni.

Certainly, legionaries who have seen and gone through so much, will know how to give today proof of an heroic endurance.

I had convoked the Legionary Senate of the Capital for Tuesday evening, February 8, to study with more attention the new problem we face.

Until then I send to all the wounded, heroes falling under blows without answering, my salute and admiration.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 3, 1938

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CIRCULAR #131

The gendarmerie units throughout the land have received the following coded telegram:

"No. 5861. Take steps of surveillance and moral quarantine of the troop and especially those called to duty who are dubious or suspected of being guardists, communists or sectarians. Also keep an eye on the at-

titude of officers. General Bengliu."

— * —

Well, brother nationalist, on one hand you come with the theory of brotherhood and unity and on the other you send out coded telegrams to watch me as you would watch a dangerous enemy of the state?

I expected all the defrauders of public money to be watched, all those enriched through fraud, all corrupting Jews in military ranks.

Is it still I to be watched?

What irony?!

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 4, 1938

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CIRCULAR #132

New sacrifices for the legionary victory. Nine of the Grivita-
Locomotives Romanian Railways shops were fired by the order of
the Administration Council because of their legionary faith.

Nine families left breadless.

Here are their names:

1. Toaxen Gheorghe, foundryman.
2. Avanu Ioan, blacksmith.
3. Anton Nicolae, blacksmith.
4. Jianu Grigore, assemblyman.
5. Negrescu Mircea, adjustor.
6. Popa Iosif, assemblyman.
7. Maldarescu Ioan, grinder.
8. Ionescu Stefan, electrician.
9. Zaharia Constantin, adjustor.

Thirteen other families left breadless; wages stopped, forbidden to enter the shop and . . . sent before the disciplinary commission.

Here are their names:

1. Talangescu Ioan, master.
2. Barbu T. Ion (Barbulescu), draftsman.
3. Goanta Const., master.
4. Jianu Petre, assemblyman.

5. Butnaru Chirea, lathe operator.
6. Floroiu Vasile, adjustor.
7. Bedreaga Mircea, lathe operator.
8. Santaroza Victor, lathe operator.
9. Nemes Romul, apprentice, School of Masters.
10. Dragomir Paraschiv, assemblyman.
11. Dobrin Nicolae, apprentice welder.
12. Golesteanu Aurel, assemblyman.
13. Alexe Nicolae, boilerman.

This firing took place on January 28, 1938 by order of the Director of the Administration Council: General Ionescu.

We add to the same list of sacrificial victims the following engineers transferred from Simeria, away from their families:

1. Engineer Tudor Popa, sub-inspector of the Simeria Shops. Moved to the Inspectorate of Military Works in Nasaud.
2. Engineer Ionescu Simion, chief of the Maintenance Section, moved to Satu-Mare.
3. Engineer Cernatescu Petre, chief of the Locomotives' Depot, moved to Ilva-Mica.

This transfer took place on December 8, 1937, under the liberal administration, by the Director of the Council of Administration of the Romanian Railway Works, General Ionescu.

Receive joyously the sacrifice required of you.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 4, 1938

CIRCULAR #133

The state's organizing on the basis of social categories seems to assert itself by natural evolution.

Reality compels us today to constitute, or better said 'to consecrate,' the existence of a new corps within the framework of the Legionary Movement:

The legionary corps of veterans

We deal here with those people who had as their life's occupation the carrying of arms and who, leaving it honorably, wish to

offer — on the line of legionary struggle — the rest of their strength also to the same Fatherland which they have faithfully served.

The legionary corps of former military has two sections:

Section A: Officers.

Section B: Non-commissioned officers.

Each of these two sections has two categories:

a/ Those who saw war duty.

b/ Those who donned their military uniforms later.

Especial honor and the gratitude of generations to come, are deserved by those to whom God gave the sacred mission of creating the Greater Romania, going into a baptism of fire and leading the Romanian nation to battle and victory.

All former military throughout Romania, now in the Legionary Movement, consider themselves then, beginning today, in a separate corps.

The corps is going to be led by a chief with two assistants: one for officers, one for NCOs. According to the legionary principle, the leadership is going to change every year.

The mission of this corps is to gather around itself and organize all former fighting men of Romania, forming them into a force in the service of the legionary Country's Victory and at the same time to be an educational force for the rising youth, this corps being the live icon of bravery, abnegation, dedication, and of the spirit of order.

Until the organizing of this corps, temporarily, command is taken by Colonel Stanescu Constantin.

I bow respectfully before the new legionary corps and I wish it victory.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 4, 1938

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CIRCULAR #134

Legionaries,

This morning, Friday February 4, 1938 at 11:00 o'clock a new and grave attack occurred by order of the nationalist government

and of the prefect of Arges, Pirica Emanoil.

Legionary Commandant Banica Dobre, the hero who was wounded on the Spanish front, accompanied by engineer Voicu Popescu, Rev. Misu Georgescu, attorney Dutescu and Dumitrescu Gavana, was attacked by 22 gendarmes accompanied by six NCOs of which four have been identified: Mihail Boloboi, Tanase Toma, Rotaru, Popa Gheorghe-Zarnesti.

The attack took place in the middle of the Culmea Dobrina woods, above the Perisani village.

Banica Dobre and his companions were insulted, struck, then dragged for two kilometers to the gendarmes post in the village.

They were guilty of wanting to participate in a meeting announced for the village of Valcele and which, of course, they were unable to attend.

Noting this new provocation and blow, I urge legionaries to calmness.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 4, 1938

CIRCULAR #135

I bring to the knowledge of legionaries and all public opinion the following order sent to the gendarmes inspectorates.

"In the radius of each inspectorate an internment camp is established for all individuals who engage in propaganda in other counties — even though they be candidates; for those found without proper documentation. And for former communists.

Mr. Corneliu Z. Codreanu, the old professor Codreanu, Mr. Clime and other prominent, well-known individuals of the 'All for the Fatherland' Party, are to be exempted.

The arrested will be transported on night trains or on roads detouring villages, also during the night.

The daily ration for internees is set at 10 lei.

When rallies by political parties are held, a report should immediately show what their propaganda was, who the propagandists were, and their background.

The same procedure shall be applied to all political parties."

I ask whether this is true? I ask because I am not inclined to

believe it.

If it is true, I ask the government; I ask the country's nationalist government which *to my face* talks to me about the theory of brotherhood and unity, while at the same time, *behind my back*, issues these secret orders: "Is this an act of decency, chivalry, honor? Is it even a legal act? Is this the beginning of a new country?"

Well, brother nationalist: "*You open internment camps for Romanians? You open them for nationalists?*"

Poor Romanians: "... on roads detouring villages, ... during the night ...," "... daily ration ... 10 lei ..."

"Do you plan that at the end of your administration *we Romanians* end up *destroyed*, and the Jewish hordes whom you claimed to have come to destroy, end up untouched?"

"How did I act toward you from the very first day of your coming to power, for you to behave thus toward me, brother?"

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 5, 1938

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CIRCULAR #136

TO THE CHIEFS OF LEGIONARY GROUPS

I saw a group of Cuzists today riding in a truck on the Capital's streets.

Some of them sang gravely. Those on the edges were laughing, greeting pedestrians with arms outstretched.

All this was a saddening picture. I ask myself: Do our legionaries behave, I wonder, the same way? Are they lacking a sense of shame, dignity, or the ridiculous?

— * —

If there is a chief, who, going with a team on a propaganda mission, shall sing and exhibit his men gipsy-fashion instead of passing with the greatest decorum and care so as not to annoy anybody and *of doing so in the least noticeable manner*, that chief *will immediately lose his command* and all team members will be automatically eliminated from the organization for three months.

I call your attention for the thousandth time:

I want in our organization that decency and good sense pre-

dominate.

CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU

Bucharest, February 6, 1938

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CIRCULAR #137

Today, Sunday, February 6, 1938, a legionary team had left by small van for Mariuta-Dragesti where a meeting was to be held.

Upon entering the village of Afumati the road was blocked by a crowd of Cuzists dressed in blue shirts, revolvers in hand.

The legionaries did not stop.

In Maineasa they were summoned to stop. They stopped; they showed their IDs. They were told they were not allowed to proceed.

They replied: "We are within the law. We are not breaking it in any manner. We go to an electoral rally. It is you who break the law. We summon you to stay within legality." They boarded the van and drove off. The Balint chief of the gendarmes post and the two gendarmes opened fire.

Legionary Mija Dumitru was shot in the head and died in the arms of his comrades.

At the same time legionary Ciubuc Dumitru too, was wounded in the head.

The van returned to the Capital bringing to Headquarters the dead legionary. He was lowered in the arms of his comrades who mourn him and placed in the large room, where we invite Messrs. Octavian Goga, Armand Calinescu, General Bengliu and General Gabriel Marinescu to come and view him.

The order issued by these gentlemen was executed exactly:

"In the moment of using public force and after legal warnings, police and gendarmerie organs shall not hesitate until quiet and order are re-established."

Without specifying whether 'using public force' is legal or not.

In any case, you have taken onto yourselves *the terrible responsibility to condemn to death people for infringements for which any tribunal refuses to condemn them to the slightest penalty.*

Bloodied and awed we look at the lifeless body of our comrade
Mija Dumitru.
And we do not shout anything else but:
Long Live the Legionary Victory!

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 6, 1938

CIRCULAR #138

In the village Maia, county of Ilfov, gendarmes NCO Coman Paraschiv shot legionaries Popescu St. Florian, student, and Grozea Constantin, leader of the "Ion Mota" nest.

The former is in serious condition with the bone of his left leg above the knee completely shattered. He lost a large amount of blood.

The latter has a bullet wound in his right leg, the bullet having missed the bone.

Legionaries throughout the land salute those who gladly shed their blood for the sacred legionary victory.

CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU

Sunday, February 6, 1938

CIRCULAR #139

One hour ago, at 11 o'clock less 7 minutes, Sunday, February 6 of this year, legionary Popescu Florian, student of agronomy, wounded in the village Fierbinti, in great pains gave up the ghost.

Having been seriously shot in his leg, at 1:30 o'clock during the day, with the bone of his leg above the knee completely shattered, he lost almost three liters of blood.

He was brought to Bucharest under gendarmes escort only at 6:30 PM. with the order to transport him to the police.

Dr. Zavergiu having left to meet him ahead of time had a hard time taking him from the gendarmes to the Colentina Hospital. Throughout this ordeal the legionary's morale was high. Though manfully facing his pains, he finally died.

In spite of the superhuman care given him by the medical corps

at Colentina, legionary student Florian Popescu died.

His last words were: "It hurts," and when his uncle came and crying told him: "Your Dad fell at Turtucaia; if he were to come see you shot by gendarmes," he answered:

"Do not cry uncle, for my blood too, is shed for the country."

LEGIONARIES, STUDENTS THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE COUNTRY, HE IS THE SECOND INNOCENT DEAD OF THIS DAY OF SUNDAY.

UNCOVER YOUR HEADS AND SALUTE, IN THIS TERRIBLE GRIEF WHICH HAS ENVELOPED US, THE BODY OF YOUR FALLEN COMRADE FOR THE LEGIONARY FAITH. THEIR SOULS HAVE ASCENDED BESIDE THAT OF MOTA, OF THE GENERAL, OF MARIN, OF CIUMETTI. FROM NOW ON WE SHALL CONTINUOUSLY CALL OUT THEIR NAMES AND THEY SHALL CONSTANTLY ANSWER: "PRESENT."

BEFORE THIS GREAT GRIEF, MAINTAIN UNCONQUERABLE CALM.

CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU

Bucharest, Sunday, February 6, 1938

— — —

CIRCULAR #140

From the county of Fagaras the county chief writes us:

"200 legionaries arrested and tortured.
In Sinca Veche 45 legionaries cruelly beaten to a pulp."

— * —

Mr. Goga, those are Transylvania's sons, children of the Romanian nation, blood brothers to you.

Are you the one who came to solve the Jewish problem?

Soon we shall compile the statistics of Romanians arrested, beaten to a bloody pulp, killed.

Legionaries, whoever among you loses his calm, whoever among you does not smilingly accept any suffering, whoever under pain wrinkles his brow or tries the least riposte, him I shall look upon with pity, as I would look upon a brother who does not

deserve the name of legionary.

Pass this test also with the most perfect manliness.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 7, 1938

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CIRCULAR #141

I bring to the knowledge of legionaries the following report regarding what happened in Oradea:

"Today, February 6, 1938, we met with 250 legionaries in the yard of the nest leader Paul Gavril of Lazareni, Ceica Township, county of Bihor, under the direct command of Commandant-aide Cretiu Ioan.

We had opened the meeting and had sung three songs, when the chief of Ceica Gendarmes Section NCO Degeratu with six gendarmes and mayor Tent Vasile appeared.

They asked us whether we had the Prefecture's authorization. I replied that as the electoral campaign has been opened I know we did not need it and that we were legally assembled in a closed place. Loading their weapons they called on us to disperse. We answered we did not fear them and I even offered them my chest. We began to sing 'Cu fruntea sus.'

The NCO turned, revolver in hand, to the right flank shooting comrade Lazureanu, teacher in Forosig, in the head.

The other gendarmes had let go a salvo, lunging with bayonets at our lines, striking and bayoneting in shouts of 'Hurray' and insults.

Legionary Hendrea Vasile from Forosig, stabbed by a bayonet, retreated toward the house together with many others who were beaten and stabbed, whose names we do not know.

Comrade Cretu, Commandant-aide, was arrested and taken between bayonets to the gendarmes post.

Legionaries and friends then dispersed.

We took the wounded giving him necessary first aid through township doctor Arnold Kovacs whom I had to personally call as he did not respond to the appeals of legionaries.

We transported the wounded man to the Central Hospital in Oradea for the bullet's extraction. Inquiring about the arrested comrade the gendarmes forced me to leave the village hall indicating to me they were doing me a favor by not arresting me as well, though I requested I too be arrested. Right at that moment 'the government' was holding a meeting with some 50 inhabitants outside the village hall, insulting legionaries."

Colonel C. Luca

Cavaller of the Order "Michael the Brave"

Flag Station Celea Mare, February 6, 1938, at 19:00 hours.

Where 20 and some years ago it was the Hungarian gendarmes beating and shooting Romanians, today the same Romanian people is shot and beaten by the gendarmes of Mr. Goga, the poet of our Romanian suffering.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 8, 1938

CIRCULAR #142

I communicate to legionaries:

Our comrade Varjac of the Ploesti garrison has disappeared.

We demand to be told: If he is arrested, where is he now?; if he was killed, who did it?; in what police dungeons has he expired?

A group of investigating lawyers have sent the prosecutor's office a petition to search the cellars of the Ploesti police.

Who killed Varjac?

What about the corpse brought yesterday to Bucharest, in the wake of the petition for search, at the Ploesti police?

Answer, Mr. Goga.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 8, 1938

CIRCULAR #143

Frame-up of a priest

Rev. George Teodorescu of the village of Chiajna was arrested last night. He is not a legionary but only a sympathizer of the Legionary Movement.

He was accused of something terrible:

"The priest had thrown stones and mud at the Country's flag."

Oh! Christian administration, you that arrest priests, as would the most horrible Judaic rulership, knavishly framing them with infamy.

The rulership of *the National-Christian Party* of Messrs. Goga and Cuza.

What sad times our nation lives through today!

Here is the end of the arrested priest's written testimony:

"That I picked up a rock and threw it at the flag carried by lancers, I consider a frame-up, a crude knavery, because every man of reason, good sense and love of country, however lowly, could not do such a thing, the less so I, a priest — and I think I am lucid enough to know what the country's flag means."

This dignified statement of Rev. George Teodorescu says it all.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 8, 1938

— — —

TO LEGIONARIES IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY

As a result of the meeting of the Capital's Legionary Senate, I communicate the following to legionaries of the entire country, to our friends and to our enemies:

No one can kill off as many among the legionaries as there are those ready to die for our faith.

But this is not the proof that the Legionary Movement must produce today: it gave it yesterday, it will give it in the future.

Today it must produce the proof of WISDOM and ORDER. Our attitude vis-a-vis the nationalist government is well known, from the moment it came to the helm until today, when we stand, innocent, before two graves and several hundred men wounded and bloodied.

N O W:

Heart bleeding and mourning, the Legionary Movement does not respond to the illegal provocations it has been subjected to.

As it neither answers the attacks by the Liberal Party made simultaneously with those of the government.

Attack us as you will, strike us as much as you want! We have no answer for you, and do not worry about any riposte.

Is it for votes you do all this? To be able to govern for six months, a year or two?

Well, I advise our enemies who have murdered our comrades that **THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT IS PULLING OUT OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN**. It no longer takes part in the fighting because it does not wish to hinder anybody.

Beginning tomorrow:

1. All meetings scheduled by our party are countermanded.
2. No electoral meeting, or one of any other nature, shall take place. No speeches. No public meeting.
3. No legionary propaganda team will cross into another county, not even go from village to village within the same county. In other words, no legionary team is to go propagandizing any longer.
4. County, or outside-of-county candidates, prominent or non-prominent individuals, shall not travel anywhere to express their beliefs or reply to attacks.
5. No kind of manifesto shall be printed except the one indicating the electoral sign: 5 dots, list #5, page 2.
6. Whoever wants to vote for us, fine. Who does not, let him vote according to his conscience and soul, for whomever he wants.
7. *We do not wish to hinder the government in its administrative work. We step aside. Your way is open. Nobody is going to harm you. Govern in peace.*

But you might as well know that we shall never forget you, that you will reach in vain for our hand, that our eyes will look at you in the only way they can.

The Legionary Movement has nothing to ask from you; it has nothing to complain about.

I tell the enemy powers without our borders or within them, who imagine that the legionaries are going to be tricked into starting an uprising, that they are mistaken.

CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU

Bucharest, February 8, 1938

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COUNTY CHIEFS

County chiefs will decide on delegates and assistants and are free to find the means they deem best to reach and tell voters about our sign; this with no meetings, travel, marches — in column or out.

— — —

CIRCULAR #144

About the government that fell

Comrades,

Another administration has passed over our heads.
And others will still go by.

As the rest of them up to now, almost ten in number, this one too, was like the others: a burst of insults, blows, maltreatment, intrigues, arrests and two dead — a student and a worker.

During the short life of this government:

I. — The Christian student body was offended when a police officer struck its President, Dr. Milcoveanu, and by the brutal eviction at night of students from all dormitories in Bucharest.

II. — 450 legionaries were illegally detained or arrested.

III. — 52 wounded and beaten, among whom we mention:
Professor Andrei, Aurel Vlad, Radu Budisteanu, Macovei, in Neamt.

School teacher Lazareanu in Bihor, shot in the head.

Legionary Ciubuc, shot in the head.

Legionary Grozea Constantin, shot in the leg.

IV. — Two dead.

Compared to the other governments, this one chalks up much more knavery.

And now for all those past happenings, some advice: Do not forget; do not forget those who have tortured you, struck you, offended and killed you. Comrades, God gave you memory. Use it.

Our honor line commands you not to speak with these people,

not to shake hands with them, not to return their greeting, to turn your back on them.

And the line of honor of our movement commands that in no wise should a single member of this party enter some day into legionary ranks.

If one of them will have somehow sneaked in undetected, any legionary has the right — even five years later — to use the “veto.”

Whoever has fraudulently gotten into the movement will have to leave it, no matter what part in its activity he may have had.

We have submitted to everything demanded of us.

We have carried on our backs without murmur all that was placed on them.

But know that we shall never forget you.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 11, 1938

P.S. You shall take urgent measures to sue all those who have committed illegalities; and you shall report.

— — —

CIRCULAR #145

Comrades,

Seeing the grievance made, the Military and Civilian Prosecutor's Office which alleges that Mr. Istrate Micescu in his capacity of Foreign Affairs Minister called in Mr. Emilian, attorney and Prefect of Neamt, and in exchange for some material and moral promises propositioned him to kill me for “*high reasons of state*,” I declare that I too know something, of which I have not made use of till today.

General Sichitiu, former head of the General Staff, called me two weeks ago to impart to me something serious.

He told me:

“Mr Codreanu, I called you to warn you. In a discussion I had with Mr. Armand Calinescu regarding your disappearance, that you could disappear and thus the Legionary Movement too would disappear” . . .

As Mr. Emilian was called in through the Ministry of the Interior and then sent to Mr. Istrate Micescu, I believe that Mr. Armand Calinescu is not in the dark as to Mr. Istrate Micescu's urgings.

In fact, I strongly believe that Mr. Istrate Micescu and Armand Calinescu, in this matter too, represent certain circles you know about all too well.

Comrades,

I ask you not to take this circular in the wrong light; let no one think that I am afraid of death.

The Legion's chief laughs at death and does not defend himself from it, ever.

I write this circular because I want to be avenged.

As Mota told you and got you organized.¹⁴

And not out of a personal wish for revenge, but because I am convinced that you would be doing a great good to the Romanian nation.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 11, 1938

CIRCULAR #146

Circular #145 of February 11, 1938 is annulled because General Sichițiu has sent me a letter in which he says he never stated what I wrote in Circular # 145; that he had called me in not

14. When the Swiss anti-Semitic leader Gustloff was assassinated by the Jew Frankfurter, Ionel Mota wrote in an order to the chiefs of nests of Region XIII: ". . . in the case of any attempted similar assassination here in Romania against our legionary leaders, the legionary reaction shall strike such a fierce blow against all the great guilty Jews and Jewized that it not only will terrify the adversary but shall constitute for Romanian history a warning to echo for centuries, showing that this people knows how to react against its adversaries and destroy them . . ." (See GH. GH. ISTRATE, *Fratia de Cruce* ["The Brotherhood of the Cross"], p. 164, Bucharest, 1937.) In April of 1936, referring to the preparations for an action to destroy the national movement, Ionel Mota said among other things: ". . . this movement could not be defeated by one or two assassinations or through inefficient dissolutions, but could be defeated only when all tens of thousands of youths it represents, will have been lowered into the grave." (See ION I. MOTA, *Cranii de Lemn* ["Wooden Skulls"], pp. 336-7, München, 1970.) *Editor's note.*

with the intention of communicating to me something serious, but only to meet me and that probably it was a misunderstanding; that I did not correctly get the sense and true note of that discussion.

At the same time he assures me of Mr. Armand Calinescu's good feelings toward me.

Such being the case, I annul Circular #145 and ask that all county chiefs be urgently informed to stop its circulation.

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 14, 1938

CIRCULAR #147

The Legionary Movement urges all people attached to her by feeling — peasants or townspeople, young or old — to fast and pray one week beginning Friday morning, February 25, until Friday evening, March 4, 1938.

The two Fridays and one Wednesday, total fast!

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 17, 1938

DURING LENT

A — Several times a day one should read *The Acatyst of Our Lord's Mother*, pp. 62-82, little pamphlet, the 1899 edition put out by the Holy Synod (Editing House Pavel Rusu, Calea Victoriei, Bucharest).

B — No newspapers should be read, or any kind of books; no distraction of any kind is permitted or even something that could distract the soul of the legionary from prayer.

C — One should not smoke, one should not eat anything on Wednesday and Friday; on other days fast only.

D — One should not play cards, backgammon; one should not go to the shows. One should not go visiting except for prayer.

E — The whole question revolves around:

a) suppressing any pleasure, in vanquishing body and matter;

b) freeing the soul from the yoke of matter;

c) concentrating in prayer, that is, in getting closer to the dead

as much as possible, to the saints, to Jesus Christ our Savior, to God.

Call on the dead to always pray side by side with you. Call on Mota.

F – One should not engage in contradictory discussions, which would make us forget we are in prayer.

G – One's deportment, anywhere: at home, on the street, on trains, be as in a church.

Legionaries must know that there is no enemy who can fight and win against fasting and prayer.

Those of you who pray, rest assured that before you everything is going to be clear.

Myself, in the 16 years of battle, in the most difficult and dangerous moments, have read at the stroke of midnight, for 42 nights *The Acatyst of Our Lord's Mother*.

I also read during persecution – I always carried it upon myself – the little prayer book of St. Anthony of Padua (St. Iosif Bookstore, Berthelot St.).

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

Bucharest, February 18, 1938

C I R C U L A R #148

Already a week ago I called for a meeting with reporters to be held tomorrow, Tuesday, February 22 of this year at 8 in the evening, to make several political declarations regarding our posture as a party, in view of the new circumstances.

Whereas Wednesday, February 23, is the last day for public servants to make their statements and for forwarding their resignations from political parties, I see myself compelled to make these declarations today for them to reach our members in good time.

Here are my declarations made in the name of the Legionary Movement's leading forum:

We inform members that as of today, February 21, 1938 the "All for the Fatherland" Party no longer exists.

The entire leadership has agreed that the party's *raison d'être* has ceased.

All those juridically connected up to now with this party, civil servants, or non-servants, are released from all these ties, thus gaining complete freedom of action. All functions, chiefs of regions, of counties, etc., are abolished. Headquarters close down and are to be returned to their owners.

The reasons having determined us to these decisions are:

The Royal Decree Nr. 870 of February 17, 1938, contains the following dispositions:

a) Civil servants may not engage in politics, may no longer join political parties.

b) Those who are not civil servants, namely the rest of the citizenry, if they act politically are sanctioned.

c) The leadership will be sanctioned if it issues circulars, orders, dispositions.

In other words, we are thrown from the rapport of Law into a rapport of Force. However, this we reject. In expressing our faith we stayed within the law.

If we cannot do this, and if any expression of our faith is forbidden us, the *raison d'être* of our party has ceased.

We do not wish to use force.

We do not wish to use violence.

Our past experience suffices us, when without our will we had been drawn onto the way of violence. To each violence we are not going to react in any form: we take it, even when the entire Romanian nation is treated like a herd of unconscionable animals.

A *coup d'état* we do not want.

For, by the very essence of our concepts, we are against this method. It would mean an attitude of brusqueness, one of an external nature, because we expect our victory through the fulfillment in the nation's soul of a process of human perfection.

We are not going to use these means because our youth of today possesses the consciousness of its historic mission and its responsibility too deeply rooted, to resort to foolish acts which would change Romania into a bleeding Spain.

Our whole generation recognizes well the gauntlet thrown down before it.

The pitched gauntlet, however, will remain on the ground.

We refuse to pick it up.

The hour of our victory has not yet struck. It is still their hour.

If the generation of our elders believes that the way it handled things is better, we have no business interfering in order to teach it a lesson.

They bear the responsibility before God and History.

As a matter of fact, my opinions, only opinions, of the latest events will be put in a letter addressed to a member of the present cabinet.

In the same royal decree, the legionary commerce is hinted at. In order not to give any occasion for clashes, with much grief we relinquish commercial activity as well. All legionary commerce is to be liquidated. Chiefs of enterprises will tell their personnel in time for them to find jobs elsewhere. The 70 children supported by us, will be sent home, as we would no longer be able to afford their upkeep.

In the free time that beckons us, I urge all youth to study most profoundly in their professions.

In fact I too, taking advantage of this time, shall go a month from now to Rome to see to the translation and printing in Italian and French of my book, [*For my Legionaries*, Ed.]. Also I shall write the second volume.

And now, in the hour of our dissolution, we, Romania's youth, raised in legionary faith, thank the generation of the old politicians for the way it behaved toward us, for the way in which it treated us, for the examples of character, honor, dignity and legality it gave us.

Closing this sad page we keep united in the spirit of Mota, Marin and our other dead, who pray for us to God.

Believe, comrades in villages, towns, mountains and fields, in the legionary future of Romania, which neither hatred nor wily plotting, nor even death can prevent.

Corneliu Zelea Codreanu

Bucharest, February 21, 1938

LETTER ADDRESSED TO
MR. MINISTER ALEX. VAIDA VOEVOD

Mr. Minister,

I take the liberty of addressing this letter to you in connection with the latest political events in which you have played such an important role.

These are but the simple opinions of a man going on 40 years of age, who spent his youth in the roughest battles, in the greatest suffering and through the greatest perils.

This man, during 16 years of battles, created a political organization which he had to dissolve out of his love of country, because he did not want to answer the war challenge sent to him.

For the coup d'état which you, the representatives of the old organization effected the night of February 10, is a great offense to our nation and constitutes a challenge to war, addressed to each Romanian.

Mr. Minister,

A nation is not condemned to live all its life in the same forms. The constitution of this country stipulates any change is possible provided the legal norms imposed by the state's fundamental law are respected.

Well, you have broken the laws of the country in order to bring about a new form of state. This new form, however, poses a series of problems:

1. *Disdain for the Romanian people.* The characteristic of new state forms in the world does not reside so much in those forms per se as much as in the nation's contribution to the creation of these state forms. The mechanics of state in these changes do not matter as much as does the nation's will: the same state of high consciousness, the same state of élan to which a people can rise in order to decide its own fate; their future, their pinnacle of consciousness to which, for all to see, these peoples have risen. As a Romanian I feel offended and I wonder:

What did you think of our nation, in so disregarding it?

That we should not participate in this great test, in this great competition among the nations of the world, where the appearance or form of state is not appreciated but our capacity for conscientiousness and our sense of national dignity are?

Through the act of February 10-11 you prevented us Romanians from taking part. Giving us a new regime and dictating to us a constitution put together in a few nights thus branding the whole nation as "incapable and blockhead."

I ask myself once more. Did you take us for a herd of cattle? In all these state changes, next to the idea of a new form appears the idea of the victorious nation, not a slave carrying a yoke placed around its neck: the nation that wants to do its part, which is called on to take part in the establishment of its future, if it wants to have a future and if it wants to be validated as a nation with a right to be respected by the other nations of the world.

2. *Legality.* All of you who for 10 years played to us the tune of "legality;" that 'the existence of the state is based on the idea of legality;' 'whoever touches this principle of legality, whoever does not abide by the

country's laws is a criminal.' You who have thrown us into prisons for the smallest deviations from the penal code, you, now, terminating this beautiful hymn, end up by becoming the greatest violators of the state's fundamental laws, stomping on the land's constitution which has been respected by all since the Romanian state's establishment up to this day. To this fact attest the dossiers at Tribunals, Court Martials, and the prisons I have entered; being accused by you repeatedly that I want "to stage a coup d'état." There is no trial of mine in which this formula does not emerge in its full amplitude and cunning. So that after 10 years of tortures which you have inflicted on the Guard and upon the soul within me, it is you, yourselves giving the coup d'état; it is you perpetrating the very offense of which you unjustly accused us and tortured us. All the theories of your generation have served us, the youth, for years on end — the theme of legality, order, respect for legality — now end up with this horrible example of reversal.

Look at us as within the framework of legality and look at you to see how the greatest breakers of the law end up.

3. *Perjury*. But you have taken an oath on these laws. You took an oath that you would obey and apply them. And now you have broken the oath you took.

Over your entire political generation hovers perjury. Sad example, frightening example for the Orthodox Church under whose aegis such an act took place, and for our people.

What horror is contained in these two words: infractors, perjurers!

4. *The nullity of your work*. Your whole legislative work is nullified. All that is born of perjury and breaks the law is condemned to perish. And those committing such acts are never helped by God. A vote, forcibly taken, under a state of siege, censorship, non-secret and verbal — worse than under the bolshevik regime — does not enhance your work.

5. *The new constitution and the struggle of Romanians for liberation from the chains of the Judaic powers*. And this so much the more as the present constitution, as we shall later prove, dispossesses Romanians of their historic rights and consecrates the Judaic masterdom in Romania.

The whole nationalist struggle ends up after 20 years in a constitution which not only does not solve any vital problem of our nation, but comes to forever seal the rights and positions stolen from Romanians by the Jewish invaders, against whom no possibility of defense is left us by the new constitution. The present constitution is a tombstone over the life of the Romanian nation.

Mr. Minister,

I have written you these lines not to reproduce and disseminate them to the public, which would be but a sterile agitation, but because I deemed it good that you know all opinions, both of those who applaud you and of those who do not.

Receive my salute,

(ss) CORNELIU Z. CODREANU

February 22, 1938

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FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF THE LEGIONARY COMMERCE

a) A liquidation committee shall be set up headed by Mr. Popescu-Buzau.

b) I ask for the greatest care and correctitude till the very end.

c) Our commerce is only one year old and less; we shall not be able to pay suppliers, because the investment *in buildings, clothing, linen, bedding, expenses for children and personnel, the necessary inventory — shelves, scales, furnishings, lighting, water, kitchens, vans, fixtures*, cannot be covered in less than 1-2 years no matter how successful a business, as was the legionary commerce. In addition one must count the loss of part of the merchandise, sold under cost, something inescapable in a liquidation.

The total value of the legionary commerce reaches 11,000,000 *lei*.

The deficit we shall not be able to meet on account of the reasons enumerated above, amounts to about 1,000,000 *lei*.

The question of bankruptcy comes up. It is an "out," but it is not honorable and places people who have trusted our honor and have extended us their credit, in a difficult situation.

Therefore, we must make every effort to get out of this with our hands clean and our honor unstained.

We do not want to owe any money to anybody.

I appeal to all our friends to make a last effort, pledging as much as they can in order for us to be able to acquit all obligations and honorably close the gates of our commerce.

Pledges are made to engineer Horodniceanu.

Corneliu Zelea Codreanu

Bucharest, February 23, 1938

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TO THE CREDITORS OF LEGIONARY COMMERCE

When I announced the closing down of legionary commerce I did not intend that even one of our creditors might remain unpaid by us.

We have always acquitted all our obligations to the last *leu*.

Yet, men who in our good days manifested laudable intentions, when they see that hard times are coming for us, that clouds thicken around us, now with no trace of decency, with no heart at all, they rush upon us putting a knife to our throat, demanding payment for the merchandise we have, in a matter of a few days.

Demands accompanied by gestures lacking civility; with threats that they will close our shutters and declare us bankrupt.

Among those behaving with most indecency I cite Mr. Stefan Filipescu, great wholesaler, whom we owed:

At Obor, 430,000 *lei*.

At Bacau, 163,000 *lei*.

Friends are known in hard times, not on sunny days.

I am satisfied that I could know who they are.

For the peace of mind of those who as yet have not put a knife at our throat, I announce *that we are not going to close down our commerce and that I shall not go abroad as I had planned, but I stay here to busy myself with paying off to the last leu, debts owing those lacking in faith and decency.*

CORNELIU Z. CODREANU

February 28, 1938

To Chancellor Adolf Hitler

"With untold joy, I salute the victory of truth in German Austria.

All the Judaeo-freemasonic powers are defeated before the triumphant light of truth.

You are the bearer of this light and no power could ever destroy it."

Corneliu Z. Codreanu

March 12, 1938

CLOSING THE LEGIONARY RESTAURANT GUTENBERG

Dear Comrades,

Regretfully, we close down this restaurant.

We close it down because of the knavish leadership of today, and you comrades who have served in this restaurant, I embrace with all my brotherly soul.

You still have a meal this evening, but tomorrow you will be asking yourselves: "What are we going to eat?"

Do not despair comrades, for you shall not remain out in the street.

I charged comrade Caravia to see to it that those of you who have nowhere to turn, be re-hired by Romanian businesses.

What we did yesterday, we can no longer do today, but will do tomorrow.

Our time has not come yet. But legionary victory is fast approaching — certain!

I also embrace with brotherly love the customers who have taken their meals in this restaurant.

I say to you, good-bye.

CORNELIU Z. CODREANU

March 15, 1938

FOR PROFESSOR IORGA

Mister Director,

I saw the communiqué published in your newspaper and in other papers, the epistle by Mr. Professor Nicolae Iorga regarding my letter. I reproduce it below:

"With the most justified indignation, I send back the irresponsible lines on the part of someone who, remembering how much blood he shed and as a consequence of his deeds ought to descend into the depths of his conscience in order to repent, sparing the Country the peril he brought it."

It seems to me strange that Mr. professor N. Iorga lacked the chivalry

to also have my letter to him published, preferring to print only his own.

I ask you to be kind enough to also publish my letter, which I enclose, as well as my answer I am sending Mr. Iorga to his epistle. I hope that he will not take the advantage that censorship grants him, and publish his lines but not my letter.

To Professor Nicolae Iorga

"I descend into the depths of my conscience and I see that I have defended the Soil of my country throughout 15 years of sword battle.

During this time I received hard knocks.

I see my body and my soul full of wounds that my enemies and in particular traitors within our Nation have inflicted on me with their weapons.

You too, reach down into your own conscience and tell me what do you see there?"

Corneliu Zelea Codreanu

March 29, 1938, Bucharest

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FOR PROFESSOR IORGA
THE LEGIONARY COMMERCE AT OBOR AND AT
LAZAR

Today, Saturday, March 26, 1938, at 9:00 o'clock in the morning, the two restaurants at Obor and Lazar Lyceum were closed down by authorities.

Likewise the colonial produce store in Obor.

At the former, Chief Commissar Furduescu of the 18th District showed up, accompanied by three commissar-aides and by a gendarmes squad commanded by a sergeant. At the latter, Chief Commissar Malamuceanu, accompanied by two commissar-aides, instructed the staff to leave for they were given orders to evacuate and close down the premises *forthwith*.

Mr. Popescu asked to be shown a written order. They answered: "We have a verbal order." The staff retreated, offering no resistance, leaving everything in the officials' hands.

I mention as to this procedure: the lack of decency, for decency still exists even when greatest injustices one wants to commit are involved.

It is indeed a lack of any sense of decency for one to show up at

a commercial enterprise, *to immediately close it down*, to kick the staff out in the street depriving it even of the rooms used for sleeping.

To top it all off, we felt the laughter and satisfaction of the Jewish merchants who were watching how by the blows of a government under Jewish lordship, this small start of Romanian commerce too, was being demolished.

How would it have been for them to say ahead of time: "We order you to put your things in order within three days and close down the business because the Ministry of the Interior has issued this disposition."

The second question. You refuse to issue a written order on the basis of which we could go to court to find out who had the moral and juridical responsibility.

You did not want to give us the order? Well, I give it to you as it was received by local officials from Mr. Armand Calinescu:

"Pursuant to order No. 745/25 of the Ministry of the Interior and General *Securitate* No. 1488/25, take steps and see to closing down and sealing up the stores and restaurants known and specified in annex-order No. 1821/17/2 of this year. Report follow-up 25678 00213 86091 22001."

The third remark is that the closing down of these two restaurants caused us heavy material damage and obligations which *we will not be able to meet in any manner*; therefore, great moral damage.

The "Obor" enterprise which opened on October 3, 1937 required a 400,000 *lei* investment in fixing up the premises, and paid a rent of 200,000 *lei* per year.

The "Lazar" restaurant opened in November 1937 with a 280,000 *lei* rent per year and an investment of 250,000 *lei* in repairs.

In both premises, merchandise, tableware, wines stocked in the cellars, most of them on credit, of over 2,500,000 *lei*.

All that we have saved through the greatest thrift and labor is to be found here.

When 15 years ago the youth noisily demonstrated against the Judaic conquest (no more noisily than did Mr. Iorga in 1906), the gentlemen of today's government were telling us:

"You shall not resolve the Jewish question this way. Get into commerce like them."

Well, we did get into it; with our soul full of hopes. With enthusiasm for work.

But when you saw that we did start, that we deal honestly, that we are capable, that our effort is blessed by God, it is again you who come to destroy this start of Romanian commerce, perhaps the first serious beginning of our times, you who come and mercilessly stifle these endeavors, all our enthusiasm and so many hopes.

What epithet can I bestow upon you? What adjectives in the Romanian language would be suitable for you?

You accuse us of having erred in the past? But who among you has not erred? But tell us, with what have we erred now! Do you label it *a crime* that which you yourselves yesterday urged us to do?

Now comes professor Iorga, who warned four months ago, that he was alarmed, at how Christian commerce was being knocked out by Jews, and he even appealed *to our violence*; now he comes, smears our honest intentions and *knocks us*, his fellow Romanians, down?

Under the happy and Christian administration of His Holiness Patriarch Miron, in Romania no longer exist Jews, or Jewish commerce, or a Jewish problem.

Only we exist who must be destroyed through any means.

Not once have we ever had a bad word for professor Iorga; we always addressed him respectfully and decently.

For some time he has showered us with poisonous articles.

"Between meals (namely in our restaurants) we plot; plan terrible revolutions; wish to kill people. Souls of assassins, men carrying revolvers in their hands and pockets."

Well, I can no longer take it.

From the limits of my human powers, I who have respected you, shout:

"You are a dishonest man. You are spiritually dishonest."

The elementary obligation of a correct man is that he also talk to the man he judges not only to Mr. Armand Calinescu's lying agents (who yesterday launched the rumor that 16 teams led by Alexandru Cantacuzino are after him to kill him).

I cannot fight you. I have neither the genius nor the years, nor

the pen, nor the power that you have.

I have nothing, you have everything.

But from the depth of a soul stricken and wronged I say, and I will say from the depth of my grave, "*you are spiritually dishonest;*" one who unjustly ridiculed our innocent souls.

You who accuse us of violence, after you have used against us *the greatest violence*, pushing us to desperation and sin, you, who, had someone only slapped you once, would have reacted as I did, without having passed through the physical tortures and the humiliations heaped upon us, *you spiritually dishonest people*, we shall prove to you now that we shall not react in any fashion to your provocations.

Not if you closed down our commerce, stifled our enthusiasm, but even though you would whip the soles of our feet, send us on Serpents' Island, kill us with stones, hang us upside down and nail our feet, subject us to the greatest humiliations — you shall not encounter, all of you who have taken upon yourselves the responsibility of a bloody and unjust oppression, *the slightest violence, or even the slightest resistance.*

But from now on till I shall close my eyes, Mr. Iorga, and even past that, I shall look upon you as you deserve.

CORNELIU Z. CODREANU

Bucharest, March 26, 1938

A word for my legionaries¹⁵

Dear Comrades,

After fifteen years of struggle, persecution and lives sacrificed, the youth of Romania must know that the hour of legionary victory is at hand.

All the enemy's attempts against us will be crushed; all plans to tempt us, all endeavors to buy our souls, all endeavors to divide us, as well as any betrayals among ourselves, all will fall to the ground.

Look them right in the eye — all your tyrants! Endure with resignation all blows, support any torture, for the sacrifice of all of us will be the foundation of iron, of broken bodies, and of tortured souls for victory.

Those from among us who will fall, will have heroes' names and graves!

While those who will kill us, will carry the stigma of traitor and will be accursed from generation to generation.

From the depths the legionary emerges victorious! With his soul of rock. Those believing they can defeat him as well as those who think they can buy him, will be convinced soon — but too late — that they were mistaken.

CORNELIU Z. CODREANU

15. Delivered on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of The Legion of Michael the Archangel and recorded on disk. This discourse is the only recorded vocal document left us from the Captain. The record, containing in addition to the Captain's word, a selection of the most beautiful legionary hymns and marches, can be ordered from the editor (*Ed.*)

Circulari si Manifeste

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- 1st Edition – Editura “Totul pentru Tara” – Bucuresti, 1937
- 2nd Edition – Editura Miscarii Legionare – Bucuresti, 1941
- 3rd Edition – Roneotyped edition in exile (incomplete) –
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- 5th Edition – Colectia “EUROPA” – München, 1981 .

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- 1st Edition – Circolari i manifesti, – Edizioni all’insegna del
Ventre – Parma, 1980

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- 1st Edition – Circulars and Manifestoes, – Editorial “Liber-
tatea” – Madrid, 1987