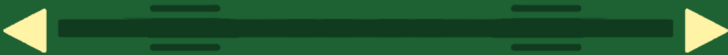




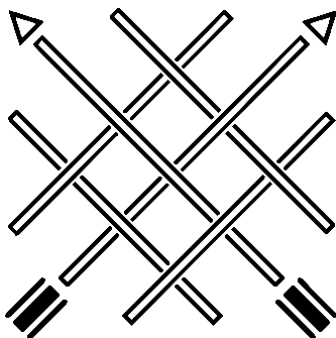
*The Nest
Leader's Manual*



Corneliu Zelea Codreanu



The Nest Leader's Manual



Corneliu Zelea Codreanu



RAGNARÖK PUBLICATIONS

135. YEAR OF FAYEN



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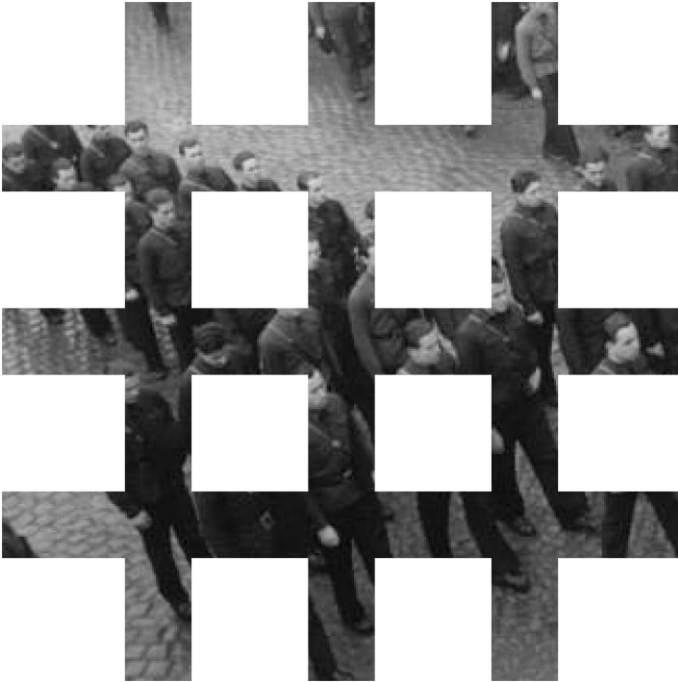
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The goal of the politician is building a fortune; ours is building a blooming and powerful Fatherland. For this we will work and we will build. For this we will make a hero of each Romanian, ready for battle, ready for sacrifice, ready for death.

– Corneliu Codreanu



Translator's Foreword

This work was translated in 2017, by the Romanian youth, a generation under siege.

It is dedicated to the younger generation of comrades who have broken the shackles imposed upon their mind, who have discovered the truth so well concealed by post-war history, and who have found their faith in victory.

This manual represents a blueprint for organizing a movement both large and small, for establishing networks, and maintaining an organization after its establishment.

We stir in the coffins of comfort, rolling sideways beneath the ground while the world above us lies in ruins; trodden underfoot by those who slew our grandfathers.

Yet we cannot sleep forever. No! We refuse! We are called to the resurrection of our nation. A holy call, heard by the youth of our times; the call of destiny and great deeds!

Awaken.

Arise.



The Legion is an organization founded on order and discipline.



The Legion is guided by a clean nationalism, sprung from the boundless love for Nation and Country. The Legion seeks to awaken into battle all the creative energies of the Nation.



The Legion defends the altars of the Church, that our enemies seek to collapse. The Legion kneels before the crosses of the brave and the martyrs of the Nation.



The Legion stands like a shield, immovable around the Throne from which voivodes and kings have sacrificed themselves to the defense and ascension of the Fatherland.



The Legion seeks to build a strong Country, from hard souls and sinewy arms, a new Romania.

Foreword

After two years of wretched persecution, "The Nest Leader's Manual" reappears under the sign of The Captain's victory. This corrector of life, organization and legionary doctrine, with pages from which were born, fought and died so many fanaticized legionaries, has been persecuted and burnt along with the bodies of our martyrs.

Legionaries,

Keep this book and do not stray from it,

It is the thought and the will of our nation's greatest tutor, to achieve a new man, a true elite and a country as holy as the sun up on the sky.

It is a flame from The Captain's boundless love for us.

It is law across centuries for the Romanian nation.

The salute remains unchanged, for we wish to grow in his spirit.

As long as the Romanian sky above our souls will not darken, The Captain cannot die. We have him and he lives in us.

LONG LIVE THE LEGION AND THE CAPTAIN!

Horia Sima

May 1933, Bucharest

Part I

Nest Meetings; the Laws; the Small Flag; Initiative; Following Orders

Comrades, at the call to reorganize the nests, you have all responded in an overwhelming number. *Pământul Strămoșesc** will publish the names of the nests in turn, giving them proper organization. You are from all over the country and from all social classes; in majority, peasants and workers.

Point 1

All of you know what a nest is: it is a group of men under the command of one man. The nest has no committee. It only has one chief who commands, a correspondent bearing mail, a cashier who collects monetary contributions, and a courier which links to other nests or the county leader. Everyone, like true brothers, listens to their comrade who fulfills the role of the nest leader.

Point 2

Duties of the Correspondent, Courier, and Cashier of the Nest

The correspondent oversees the nest mail at the order of the nest leader. He writes and sends letters.

The courier sustains the link between members of the nest, or between two nests, or between the nest and different superiors. He brings packets with brochures, magazines, leaflets, newspapers, etc. from the train station or the post office and distributes them to the members. He is subordinate to the nest leader.

The cashier takes care to collect a small amount (at least one Leu† per month) from each member or other aid. He is also subordinate to the nest leader.

* *Pământul Strămoșesc* (Ancestral Land in English) is the primary legionary publication.

† Romanian currency "Leu" is also the Romanian word for "Lion".

PĂMÂNTUL STRĂMOȘESC

ORGAN AL LEGIUNII „ARHANGHELUL MIHAIL”
PENTRU APĂRAREA PĂMÂNTULUI STRĂMOȘESC



„Din zei de-am fi scoboritori,
C'o moarte tot suntem datori,
Tot una e dac'ei murit
Flăcău ori moș îngârbovit,
Dar nu-i tot una leu să mori
Ori căne 'nlănțuit!”

Decebal către Popor.
(Gh. Ceșbur).



„Spre inimile cele
necurate care vin în-
tru precurata casă a
lui Dumnezeu, — fără
milă întind sabia mea!”

(Cuvinte ce se auză pe
terasa Sf. Arhang. Mihail
din Biserica Încoronării
de la Alba-Iulia).



IAȘI, 1927.

Cover of the first issue of *Pământul Strămoșesc* magazine.

Point 3

The Six Fundamental Laws of the Nest

1. The Law of Discipline; Legionary, be disciplined, because only thus will you win. Follow your leader, for better or for worse.
2. The Law of Labor: Work. Work every day. Work passionately. Let not the reward of thy labor be its earnings, but the gratitude that you have set a brick towards the ascension of the Legion and the blooming of Romania.
3. The Law of Silence: Speak little. Speak right. Do not exceed the length of what needs to be said. Let your oratory be the oratory of your deed. You accomplish, let others talk.
4. The Law of Education: You must become another. A hero. Do all your schooling in the nest. Know the Legion well.
5. The Law of Mutual Aid; Help your brother that has fallen in misfortunate. Do not leave him.
6. The Law of Honor: Step only on the paths indicated by honor. Fight and never be cowardly. Let others tread the paths of infamy. Rather than win through infamy, better to fall fighting on the road of honor.

Point 4

The Small Flag of the Nest

Each nest shall have its Tricolor Flag of silk canvas. Canvas size 40 cm to 40 cm. Pole length 1 m to 10 cm. Above it, a cross. On the canvas, it is written:

Nest

Garrison

County

The small flag is never taken out. It stays in house at the nest. The flag with seven *stars* is a flag charged with all glory. Stars are awarded only by the Legion Chief* based on the proposals from

* The Legion's Founder and Leader, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, known as The Captain.

county leaders or by his own conviction. A star on the flag symbolizes a nest's participation to a great struggle in which it has distinguished itself and behaved valiantly. For the flags to be of all the same and made from the same cloth, it is good for nest leaders to order them from the county leader, who in turn should order them from the Center (Headquarters) at Bucharest.

When does a nest craft a flag? A nest can only be entrusted with a flag after 6 months of regular activity. Therefore, a nest cannot craft a flag without the county leader's approval.

Point 5

About Reports

- A.** The nest leader must make a weekly report after each nest meeting. This report will be made after the model given by the county leaders. This report shall contain the following data:
1. Name of the nest and date of the meeting.
 2. Presence and absence at the meeting.
 3. Membership contributions.
 4. Initiatives and achievements of the nest throughout the week, which may include:
 - a) Different monetary contributions for the benefit of the Legion.
 - b) Subscriptions to different Legionary leaflets and especially the *Libertatea*.^{*} Acquisition of leaflets, brochures and legionary books.
 - c) Sales of Legionary printed works.
 - d) Days of work in sites and legionary camps.
 - e) Formation of new nests.
 - f) Marches, field meetings, demonstrations, visiting other nests.

The report is made by the nest leader is handed within 24 hours to the garrison leader, along with the contribution. In the

* Romanian for Liberty.

city where the County Organization's Headquarters is located, the reports can be directly passed on to the Organization's secretary.

- B.** The 1st and the 4th day of each month, the garrison leaders move forward the reports that were received in a month's time from the nest leaders to the District Leader, along with the contributions.
- C.** District leaders forward the reports of the nest leaders in their district to the county leader between the 4th and 7th of each month, along with the contributions.
- D.** The county leader, based on the reports of the nest leaders in the county, draws up a general overview of the county over the course of a month. At the same time, he makes a general classification of the county nests, classification of nests by districts and a classification of districts. The county leader draws up a monthly report which he forwards to the regional leader in two copies on the 7th and 13th day of each month. The county leader's report contains:
 - 1.** The number of nests.
 - 2.** Number of members.
 - 3.** Newly established nests.
 - 4.** Increase from the previous month.
 - 5.** Number of nest meetings.
 - 6.** Number of members present.
 - 7.** Number of absentees.
 - 8.** Contributions.
 - 9.** Various contributions.
 - 10.** Print and subscriptions.
 - a)** The amount of entries.
 - b)** Amount of those distributed in exchange for money.
 - c)** Amount of those distributed free of charge.
 - d)** Sum paid.
 - e)** Sum remainder of payment.

11. Sites
 - a) Working days.
 - b) Monetary estimate of work.
 12. Camps
 - a) Working days.
 - b) Monetary estimate of work.
 13. Marches in kilometers and man (multiply the number of marched kilometers to the number of member participants).
 14. Initiatives.
 15. Delegations.
 16. Internal difficulties of the organization: squabbles, misunderstandings, various misconducts of the legionaries.
 17. Measures taken to remove arising difficulties.
 18. Currents of sympathy, hostility, or indifference.
 19. The weak points of the organization and the measures taken to remove those weak points.
 20. Dress code, moral attitude in society of legionaries.
 21. Hostile attacks slander, harassment, abuse of authority recorded. Names and addresses of the attackers.
- E. The regional leader, based on the reports received from the county, compiles a classification of counties in the region and a general overview of the region. The regional leader forwards a report with the general overview of the region to the Center, between the 13th and the 17th day of each month, containing the exact points from the county leader's report. Furthermore, the regional leader forwards a copy of the reports from the county leaders as well alongside the previous reports.

Point 6

When the Nest Gathers

All Legionary Nests across the country gather every Saturday

night. The next day is Sunday, so everyone cannot delay their arrival at counsel. But, if necessary, the nest can gather any time the leader gives the order at any day of the week.

Point 7

Nest Life

The gathered nest is like a church. Upon entering the nest, you strip yourself of all petty issues and for one hour you dedicate your clean thoughts to the Fatherland. The meeting time of the nest is the hour of the Fatherland. Complete harmony must result not only from the friendship of those gathered, but especially from the community of their ideal. There (in the nest), prayers will ascend to God for victory of the Legion, songs by the Legion will be sung, and discussions about the dead will be had; martyrs who fell for the Legion and comrades fallen in legionary faith, friends, parents, grandparents, and ancestors, recalling their spirits. In general, the nest will not give rise to fiery, violent, or contradictory discussions. As little talk as possible, as much meditation as possible. Let nothing disturb the majesty of silence and good will. Complete silence exercises will be done.

Point 8

First Concern: Punctuality

If the nest leader sets a meeting at 9 o'clock, then all must settle their affairs; not to come too soon or too late. Let no man wait for another. The legionary must be a man of his word. When his word is given, he keeps it. The country is littered with those who speak many words but keep none. When you promise something, ponder well. If you think that you cannot fulfill it, say so, for it is much fairer to the one you have sworn to.

Point 9

Second Concern: Good Heart

When the legionary attends the nest, he must do so with a

good heart. Let no thought of feud or malice rise, for in the nest no one is allowed to feud. When the legionary feels like fighting, let him take it against enemies. The great and good works are done with a good heart. For where there is good heart, there is God; and when there is an evil heart, there the Devil entered. That is why where there is evil, no work has zeal. Everything goes wrong. Even maize does not grow on the field of a man who walks with an evil heart.

Point 10

Starting the Meeting

At the appointed hour, after the nest members have gathered, the nest leader stands up and calls out in a loud and soldierly voice: *Comrades*. On hearing this signal, they all stand up. They face the east and salute with an outstretched arm; the sky's salute, which is of heights and sun, the crest of victorious light and righteousness. The nest leader utters with a clear voice and the rest repeats after him as follows:

- Let us pray to God.
- Let us think about our Captain.
- Let us raise our thoughts to the souls of martyrs;
 - Moța
 - Marin
 - Sterie Ciumetti
 - and of all our comrades
 - fallen for the Legion
 - or fallen in legionary faith.
- Let us believe in the resurrection of Legionary Romania and in shattering the wall of hatred and villainy that surrounds it.
- I swear I will never betray the Legion.

Point 11

With What Does the Nest Leader Begin the Meeting

1. With Informative Parts and News

What news did he receive from the Center or the county, etc.? What other happenings took place in the country? What happenings took place in the village (village politics), city, foundry, and university? How fare the different adverse political forces? Do they grow, stagnate, or regress? How fares our Legion in the country? At this part, every nest member also brings the news that he knows to the table. They will read local legionary sheets.

2. Arrived Orders

What orders have been given? With what do the other legionaries from the country occupy themselves? How fares the legionary struggle?

3. Reading *Pămîntul Strămosesc* and Other Legionary Publications

All orders given by the Center as well as the best information regarding the movement from the entire country. The local legionary publications will also be read.

4. The Education of Members

The legionary will have to know that: the Legion will overcome even till the end of all parties, as many encumbrances as there will be placed in its path; that all legionaries are ready to make any sacrifice with joy; that each sacrifice means a step closer to victory; that the Legion has a precise program which will be published at the right moment; that through the realization of this program the country will be remade; that the legionaries will make of this Romania a beautiful and rich country; that the legionaries are called by God, after centuries of darkness and oppression, to sound the trumpet of our nation's resurrection. The nest leader will seek to sow—deep in the souls of each nest member—faith in God, in Fatherland, and in our nation's mission.



Horia Sima, anniversary of the death of two former members: Moța and Marin. Sima honoring the death at the tomb. Presumably Bucharest 1940.

Point 12

Other Discussions in Nests

In nests, when there is time, other issues are also discussed.

Behold some topics of village discussions:

1. How can a better harvest (of wheat, corn, vine, etc.) be obtained?
2. What are the results if we fertilize the soil?
3. Is it good to always sow the same type of grain in the ground?
4. Could the village buy a thresher?
5. How can a better price be obtained for the village produces?
6. How must we care for the cows, our comrades in labor, so that they suffer less?
7. Can poultry-rearing make an income for the householder, ensuring better food for him?
8. How can the village appearance be improved? Improving the roads, bridges? Maintaining the church and the cemeteries and the school?

Behold a few topics of discussion for the nests of girls or ladies (Cetățui*).

1. The role of legionary women in New Romania.
2. Rights and duties of the legionary woman.
3. The legionary sister as mother.
4. The legionary sister as wife.
5. The legionary sister as fighter.
6. The legionary sister and discipline.
7. The legionary woman and the modern woman.
8. How could a more nutritious meal be provided to the family?
9. As much variation in culinary art as possible, so little

* Cetățui (Fortresses) is the name for female members of the Legionary Movement.

known about it in the village world.

10. Cleaning the house and taking care of the children.

11. How entire clothing can be made in house.

12. Raising kids: To the Church. Confession and Holy Communion. Love of books and of light, of labor, and of country.

Intellectual Nests

Behold the conference topics held by the AXA nest from Bucharest.

1. Antisemitism in the Legion. What are the differences between legionaries and cuzists?* (Ion I. Moța)
2. The question of minorities in the Romanian village.
3. Education in the legionary village.
4. The moral question in the public life of Romania. Immoral writings.
5. The moral education of the legionary.
6. The character of a legionary.
7. The agrarian politics. The financial reform.
8. The labor question in the legionary village.
9. Romanian capital and labor.
10. Industry and agriculture.
11. The church in the legionary state. The priest.
12. The foreign policy of Romania.
13. The Legion and Marxism.
14. The army.

Student Nests and Frății de Cruce[†]

Behold the topics of Student Nests:

1. The difference between party politics and Legion politics.

* Cuzists: Before the formation of The Legion of Archangel Michael, the nationalist movement in Romania split in two sides, one of which was led by the famous nationalist professor, A.C. Cuza, hence the name cuzists.

† Romanian for Brotherhoods of the Cross.

2. The organizational differences between the system of political parties and the system of the Legion.
3. The affinity between Fascism and the Legionary Movement.
4. Common points between Hitlerism and the Legionary Movement.
5. Do the Jews represent a danger without a cure?
6. The utility of the spirit of discipline?
7. Why can the Legionary Movement save the country and why the other political movements cannot?
8. Why can cuzism not defeat us?
9. The peasant in the Legionary State.
10. The worker in the Legionary State.
11. Who is Benito Mussolini?
12. Who is Adolf Hitler?
13. Who was Lenin?
14. Physical education, primary factor in legionary education.
15. Fascism before and after 1922.
16. What is Balilla? Its organization?
17. The Legionary song.
18. Nationalist France and socialist France.
19. How to combat the tendencies of Hungary upon Transylvania?
20. How to annihilate Russia's attempt to influence Bessarabia?
21. How can the frontiers from Bulgaria be fortified?
22. How can Maramuresi be saved?*
23. Can a form of legionary art exist?

* Maramuresi is a region in northern Transylvania, which at that time was under economic oppression from the Jewish groups who carelessly exploited the forests for wood - the only resource that citizens of Maramuresi had at their disposal to earn a living. A more detailed picture of their situation is presented in For Legionaries.

24. The legionary state and Romanians beyond the borders.

Choruses

Nests with younger legionaries will learn legionary marches and will sing during the meeting.

Point 13

Decisions

At the end of the meeting, decisions are made. Any meeting must end with precise decisions, meaning to show each legionary what they must do until the next meeting. The nest functions:

- a) Based on orders received from commanders.
- b) From its own initiative (the decisions it makes for itself).

The nest leader may take initiative in many directions:

1. Expanding the organization, as in establishing new nests.
2. Raising funds for festivities, brochure selling, etc. (aside from collecting money, which is not allowed unless among members of our organizations).
3. Dissemination of legionary literature in the non-legionary world, following an established plan.

Each nest has few known people before it. They can be friends, indifferent to each other, or enemies. The nest makes a list of names with addresses then it seeks to slowly convince them and to raise them in legionary faith. Then to each one it sends food for the soul; books, magazines, articles, photographs, choruses. Well studied, after the soul and mind of the man who will read them. A certain book can influence a man, a certain article, a certain sheet, a magazine. Others can influence another man. That is why the nest must study, so it casts nothing to the random wind. Must books be given to the enemy? Yes. Because after what he will read today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, he will begin to stagger. And the enemy who staggers will be defeated. This food for the soul is not sent only once. The nest takes care of its young until

their wings grow. When the soul has grown in faith, they will come filled with gratitude, they will look for you and they will ask: *"What should I do now?"* And you will answer: *"Do what I have done. Feed others as I have fed you."* The material (books, brochures, etc.) is sometimes sold, but most of the time a man will find them at his home for free, given by the nest in its destitution. And without knowing who sent them. The nest gives, watches the effect, and does not say who sent it. In the end, will they know each other. A nest will feel great joy for each man that they will pull out of the world of enmity and bring into the world of legionary faith. Quoting the "Avangarda 13, Nr.3" nest, which for a month and a half had disseminated 37 volumes of "For Legionaries" and 15 of "Wooden skulls". Nests of legionary women and children, of rich or poor legionaries, each after his own strength, can fulfill this work, yielding extraordinary results for the Legion.

4. The nest may also take initiative of a work site. This means repairing a broken bridge, a ditch, a road, a fence, helping a sickly child, repairing the house of an old man or widow. Tend to the abandoned graves.

So, in each meeting, the nest leader will address these imperative questions:

- What can we do to enlarge our organization?
- What can we do to help the Legion?

Each member of the nest ponders and one says, *"let us make more nests in our village or in the university"*, if he is a student, etc. Another says, *"there is no nest in the neighboring village, let us go there and establish one."* Another will say, *"let us help the Legion financially."* Because having money, legionaries will endow the organization with everything it needs for battle and let us inform the Legion's Chief, to see what responsibilities he assigns us to (to support a paper, to buy a truck, to brochures, etc.) In the nest, each one's work is of great importance. One nest cannot be established then no longer working. The nest that does not work, that

does not move or gives no signs of life, is noted in the Legion's catalog under *Dead Nests*.

Point 14

Initiate of the Nest Leader

Initiative is the most beautiful flower that a commander can wear. The leader who takes responsibility of an initiative must know that it can result in the organization's expansion, but it can also lead to a greater evil; all of it being dependent on how a nest leader makes use of such initiative, be it for good or for evil. He, especially, must not:

- a) Print something in the organization's name, without the approval of *Biroul Central al Presei Legionare*.*
- b) Write orders or letters with inadequate contents, which can be misinterpreted by those meant to receive them or by adversaries.
- c) Take his unit to unruly activities, parties, feasts or scandals, etc.
- d) Treat or negotiate any political combination with men of other groups without the direct approval of the Legion's Chief.
- e) In general, a leader, as a legionary, must be careful not to do anything or start any action that could endanger, deteriorate or dishonor the Legion.

When do you take initiative?

- a) Initiative is taken when there is no precise order given by the hierarchical leaders. If there is an order, the order is executed.
- b) If, in the meanwhile, the situation has changed, then the nest leader must take measures of his initiative—judging with discernment—to organize and come out the better; like any responsible commander.

* Central Bureau of The Legionary Press

- c) If by any chance there is a legionary leader higher than a nest leader, the nest leader no longer has initiative. Command, initiative, and responsibility are taken by the legionary of the higher position. Besides these cases, the nest leader has a wide initiative.

He will make decisions on his own authority, in good understanding with all members of the nest, with the purpose of serving the legionary cause. Immediately after taking initiative, he reports to the Garrison Leader. After executing it, he again reports back: *"I bring to your awareness that our decision to execute..., we have fulfilled it today, being glad that we have fulfilled it at last."* The Legion's Chief considers a legionary leader after his capacity to take initiative. The best leaders and the best nests are those who take the most initiative and successfully execute their decisions.

Point 15

On following orders

When a legionary or a nest receives an order, executing it is a matter of honor as one must cross through fire and water if necessary. A legionary's worth is measured by this. When the Legion's Senate gives the signal for a legionary battle (like buying a new truck, publishing a new sheet, buying a writing press), the nests are like bees, overtaking each other in speed and diligence. Each must come with what it can offer. Whenever such occasions arrive, all nests must compete in a mad race to legionary victory. How could one nest remain outside the battle, not bringing the least bit of help, the smallest sacrifice? Out of these battles can be seen who is worthy to rise in the new legionary world and who must remain where he is.

Point 16

Closing the Meeting

The nest members rise with their faces towards the sunrise.

They salute with their arms stretched out towards the sky. All repeat after the nest leader, *"I swear I will never betray the Legion."* After this, all legionaries depart in good will; thinking about the decisions they must enact. Next meeting will see how much of the decisions have been fulfilled.

Point 16 bis

The Legionary March

On both Sunday and holidays, nests of all categories—Brotherhoods, Cetățui, etc.—must get used to departing in a march. We do not know our country. Some do not even know the neighboring village. On holidays, in rain or good weather, winter or summer, let us go outside in the middle of nature. Let the Romanian land become a hive where thousands of nests meet on all roads, running in all directions. On their way, let them stop to the Church during mass. Let them stop to comrades from neighboring villages. The march is healthy. The march reposes and renews the nerves and the human soul. But above all, the march is the symbol of action, of exploration, and of legionary conquest. The marching is done in formation, with vigorous steps.



Legionaries marching in Iași.

Part II

Organizing; the Number of Nests; Nest Classifications

Point 17

The Hierarchy of Nests

After a long period of time, following his legionary education, each member of their respective nests may break away to form another nest in which he will be the leader. If three members break away from one nest to form their own, then their old nest will become the superior one. A superior nest may stretch over ten villages if a new nest can be established in each village. Each one is free to stretch out after his power so that more are made from one nest, all forming a sort of family. This means that the first formed nest, along with the other nests spawned from it, forms a family. Each nest from that family has a leader, but above all is the leader of the primary nest.

Point 18

Situated Nests

The nests from a village, commune, city, foundry, university, etc., must have connections between them. Why? To prevent a clash between them regarding certain matters (some having an opinion, others having another). All legionaries will have one opinion, one thought, and one soul. That is why all must have one leader.

Who the Leader in a Village Is

If only one family of nests exist in a village, the leader of the legionaries from the village is the leader of the primary nest. If there are two family of nests, the leader of the village or the leader of the legionary garrison will take turns for a month. The legionary garrison leader will be the leader of one family for one month

while the leader of the other family of nests will resume that role in the next. If there are three or four families of nests, they will each take their respective turns for one month. When switching, garrison leaders must make a record of the handing over and receiving of command which they will then send to the county leader to know who is in command for that month. Later, when the nests multiply, there will be even sector leaders who will make the connection and take care of all nests in the region. The sector leader is named by the central leadership of the Legion following the proposal of the county leader. He will be recruited from the worthiest leaders of the garrison. In the case of legionary victory, mayor from a commune will not be the sector leader or the leader of one of the legionary nest families, but will be the worthiest man that the Legion has in that commune. He will, however, be under the control of the legionary leader from that commune.

Point 19

The calling of a Nest Leader; Staff School

From time to time, the leader of the legionary garrison or the leader of the superior nest calls the subordinated nests to council so that he can be informed about their activity, communicate orders, or make a decision. On this occasion, the nest leaders follow the staff school, meaning the school which teaches the nest leader about the following: organizing, legionary spirit, what the Legion wills and what it will do, the duties of a legionary leader, and so on; all taught after the current brochure. The political county leader calls his subordinates at least once every two weeks (unit leaders, F.D.C, Cetățui, Sectors, joint staff, etc.) Any leader who calls his subordinates to give them directives or give them legionary schooling does not call them to visit and does not serve them with a glass of wine like in the world of democracy. Like a regiment commander who calls his officers before battle so that he may give orders, so does a legionary leader present himself.



Corneliu Codreanu, the founder and charismatic leader of the Legion.

He will stand at attention, branded* with the symbol of strength. The rest, in a semicircle standing at attention, serious, conscious that in that moment they are doing a job for their nation, like that of the priest at the altar. They too will be branded. The call will be made, the report given. There will be singing. Then the same formality follows like at the opening and closing of the nest meeting. Formations for the legionary corps: When a new leader arrives, the legionary corps will be arranged in a square or in flanking platoon lines.

Point 20

An Important Role of the Legionary Garrison Leaders

The commune has another great importance in terms of village organization, namely: after the nests of legionaries have multiplied, the garrison leaders gather together and, in the greatest understanding, split the youth nests in groups according to their age; of 18 to 27 or even 30 years. These youth nests, all together, will be called "the group of legionaries from village X". At the head of these nests, the legionary garrison leaders will place the best of the nest leaders (considering who established the most nests and who has the most qualities of a leader) and will request confirmation from the Legion's Chief. In case two are eligible, they will take turns for a month. They will follow orders from the leader of the Legionary Garrison.

Point 21

Another Role for the Garrison Leaders

Another role for the Garrison Leaders is that of keeping watch so that no disagreements might appear among legionaries. There is no other ambition than that of coming out victorious. He will look to wisely reconcile any disagreement. When facing the Legion's Chief, great is not the stubborn, but he who knows how to

* Symbolic branding of the soul.

submit to the holy legionary interests; to sacrifice from his convictions, to sacrifice his pride, for the purpose of victory.

Point 22

The Types of Nests Within the Legion

Nests called *Frății de Cruce*. These include youths aged between 14 and 20 years old from different schools. F.D.C's are only in cities. The role of these nests is that of educating the Romanian youth in:

- a) Christian Education: they must recognize and love God, behaving in accordance to Christian teachings.

There is a lot of immoral literature that kills the soul of a child. He must be protected from absorbing this poison.

- b) National Education: the Romanian youth must learn to love its Country, Land, and King. Without a nation, he is like a chick without a nest.

He must be protected from communist literature that is rebellion against God, against Family, against property, and against the Army.



Frății de Cruce in Dărănești.

- c) Social Education: in the soul of our youth we must cultivate and tend the Christian feelings of justice, of social equity, and the thirst for creative work.
- d) Physical Education: the child must have a healthy and vigorous body, for he will be the soldier of tomorrow who will defend this land. (The Sportive Legion).
- e) Sanitary Education: he must be protected from the innumerable diseases, especially the venereal ones that extinguish the youth's vigor.

In one idea, we must tend to the Romanian of tomorrow who will carry on his shoulders the great burden of the Nation's existence.

Point 23

The girls' (ladies') nests are called *Fortresses* (Cetățui) when they are formed by girls attending higher education, with the same purpose of education. They will be the mothers of tomorrow of whom their children will grow as their mothers have raised them. They will help the Legion with their work and with the propagation of legionary ideas.

Point 24

The Legionary Corps: aged from 21 to 28 years old. All nests with members of this age, together, form the Legionary Corps. Some are admitted as an exception below this age in the case of villages where there are no F.D.Cs. They are the most active members of the Legion. Besides education they go and spread our beliefs. They spread the most soul because they have it in abundance. They do politics for politics is a struggle which is won only by he who has the most tempered, decisive, patient, disciplined, active soul; the education of the creative deed. The legionary, will be the one who, through his own work, will build the new Romania; not for personal gain, no, but only for the wish of seeing a strong country. He must have the education of self-sacrifice, not

that of gain, for through all our sacrifice can we have a beautiful and rich country. He must have the education of severe discipline, for only the united, disciplined effort of everyone can generate the desired effects.

Point 25

Legionary students from a university shall organize in the following manner: all student nests from a county form the Legionary Student Group, bearing the name of the county and being under the command of the worthiest legionary. All student groups from around a university, together, form the Legionary Student Center under the command of a legionary leader helped by all leaders of legionary groups. Group leaders and legionary student center leaders are named by *Marele Consiliu Universitar Legionar* (The Great Legionary University Council) that works under the presidency of the Legion's Chief. This council is formed by the president of the legionary university centers and five leaders of legionary groups. Students from each university are elected automatically in alphabetical order, in each year. In cases of extraordinary festivity, all leaders of student units—such as nests, groups, and centers—can take part in this council. A legionary leader of any unit cannot occupy a position in one of the general organizational student committees at the same time, such as: circles, faculty, centers, etc. For these positions, he will assign legionaries from under his command, or if he must personally enter, he will hand over legionary command to another.

Point 26

The political organization itself: it is the nests of seniors (older men) who also have education in the legionary sense, who will act politically, who will protect, and will guide the younger ones. The leadership belongs to the political county leader, who at the same time supervises and guides the activity of the other legionary units.

Point 27

All these counties have their specific quarters in each county and at the center. Therefore, in each county there is:

- The leader of the Brotherhood of the Cross (F.D.C);
- The leader of the Ladies' Cetățui.
- The leader of the Legionary Corps.
- The leader of the Worker Corps.
- The leader of the Political Organization.

All these belong to the major county staff, respecting and listening to the leader of the political county organization. At the center, there is:

- The F.D.C quarters.
- The quarters of the Ladies' Cetățui.
- The quarters of the Legionary Corps.
- The quarters of the Worker Corps.
- The quarters of the Legionary Student Corps.
- The leadership of the Political Organization.

All these are under the command of the Legion's Chief.

Point 28

As a general rule, all of these leaders change yearly. The leaders of the political organization can remain for two or more years, with the approval of the Legion's Chief. Each leader takes care to groom his replacement ahead of time. Former leaders cross over to a superior situation and always take care to guide and counsel the actual leaders and to supervise the orderly activity of the entire organization. They assist any meeting and always offer their opinions. They especially fulfill the role of judges for any misunderstanding or conflict that might arise among legionaries, seeking with their wisdom and experience to mend things and guard the organization from the greatest mistake: dispute and, eventually, division.

Part III

Prosperity Advice for Nest Leaders

Point 29

The Behavior of a Nest Leader

A nest leader must be wise. A nest leader must think well when making a decision so that it will be a good one. The decision must be made swiftly and carried out. He must be kind and love those under his command. He must be joyous; that is how he must appear in front of those he commands, not darkened, saddened, or angry. He must be just with legionaries and with the entire world. He cannot make an injustice, not even to the adversary. He will fight and defeat the adversary, but on the paths of justice and morals; not by cowardice or deception. He must be brave and determined in hours of peril. If he sees a man in danger, the duty of honor of a legionary is to leap to his aid, facing danger; be it in fire, drowning, etc. He must share joys and pains with all his comrades. On any occasion in the world, not only in the legionary world, he must choose the hardest place. A legionary does not crowd to grab the first seat at the table or the best bed for sleeping. He must be skillful to fulfill any order, using the most intelligent ways. He must command clearly and carry his men to victory. Let him not speak ill of his comrades. Let him not permit others speaking ill of their comrades. Let him know how to maintain harmony in the unit he leads. It is of capital importance. A leader must be replaced immediately if he were to have all the qualities of worldliness and if there is squabble, division, and misunderstanding in the unit under his command. There are some nest leaders whose unit begins to crumble as soon as they take command of said unit. Let him be seemly with everyone. Let him not shove the world aside, because instead of attracting it, he estranges it. He must be tempered in all things.



Horia Sima, the second and last Legion's Chief.

For example, it cannot be conceived that a leader or legionary be drunken. The legionary may party, but he does not get drunk. Let him be a man of his word. Let him be of such honesty to attract the respect of all men around him. In one idea, let him behave in such a way that anyone can say: *"You can trust a legionary, because an endeavor started by a legionary is always carried out"*. The chief of the legionaries is a wonder-making man, who from any circumstance, no matter how hard, comes out on top. He must be a winner. If he falls, he will rise again and conquer. Only if endowed with such qualities can a legionary leader, through the schooling of the nest and through the power of his example, transform each Romanian, creating a new soul; a true character, who will know how to win in any circumstance, and of whom the country can be proud of.

Point 30

What a Legionary Leader Must Guard Himself Against

A legionary leader must guard himself against lure attacks. Adversaries have two ways of fighting. The first way is their outward attack meant to crush us. If they see that we have resisted and were not crushed, they will then try the second way: luring some men for our division. One example: The Văcărești trial from the 28th of March, 1924. This trial sought to crush us. We, however, have resisted, coming out victorious; meaning that we were acquitted. After the trial, various people from high places have displayed a friendly attitude towards us, inviting us to dinner, praising us: that we are good, that we are talented, that we will get far, etc. At the same time, they sought our division; speaking ill of the other comrades. We caught note of this attack and what we heard, after which we shared with each other. And the attack fell. And we, after 10 years, still find ourselves as united as in the first hour. Now, against the Legionary Movement, the first method is used: our adversaries' attempt to crush us. When, however, they will see that they cannot crush us, they will try using

the second method: our division through luring. Can you not see how all Romanian parties have been divided through the lure method: liberals in twain, averescans in twain, and now, at the end, the national peasants stand ready to be defeated and cloven in two. They will try it with us too. But we will be ready and we will overcome.

Point 31

What must a Legionary Leader do When He Senses a Lure-Attack?

He must report to commander and to the Legion's chief. He must openly tell his nest. This means to show the enemy's plans.

Point 32

There Is No Place in the Legion for "I am Angry and I am Leaving"

If he has an argument with someone—with a comrade—the legionary must reconcile with that person. In any case, he cannot leave the Legion for this reason because he cannot be angry at the Legion, namely, the fight for the salvation of his country. And if he leaves, his mistake is a great one to all legionaries, to the flag of the Legion, and to his kin. One can leave the Legion when he no longer believes, but not when he gets upset.

Point 33

Fighting With Other Legionary Leaders

It is a big mistake for a legionary leader to begin speaking ill of a comrade in the face of the people from the nest or the village out of envy. This leads to the breaking in two of the legionnaires; to infighting, to the enemy's victory. This is so serious to the extent that the Legion considers such actions almost like treason. How so? For your ambitions to destroy the Legion? Even if they are personal foes, when they become legionaries, they no longer squabble, they no longer speak ill of each other; each fighting in his own function and faithfully serving the legionary cause and to the victory of tomorrow.

Point 34

Negative Spirit

Another disease that a legionary must avoid and from which he must protect all his men from—a disease which is very dangerous because it brings disagreements in the organization and even more because it cuts the wings of great admonishments—is critique; critique under the form of everlasting dissatisfaction. There are certain people who will always be displeased and have something to say, regardless of what you do or say. These people hold back any attempt of creation, cutting the wings of the men of deeds. Our organization is not one of critique, of negation, but an organization with spirit of affirmation; of combativeness, of offensive. We leave all critiquing on the hands of historians. Let us conquer and fulfill much and well.

Point 35

All legionary leaders and all legionaries from a village, factory, etc. must approve of every matter in which our organization has an interest. For example: at the Faculty of Letters from Bucharest, there were elections for President and for Committee. Legionary X, with some of his comrades, legionaries, ran on a list, while another legionary with another group of legionaries ran on a separate list. The legionaries were broken in two and they lost the vote as a result. Legionaries will no longer make such grave mistakes. No. They will go united even on a wrong path because the worse path is division. Even if the legionary troops descend into hell, they will defeat the entirety of hell and return victorious if united. For example: at the mayor election from a commune, if the legionary leaders decide to vote for a specific man, there must be no legionary who will vote for another or who begins criticizing; all must be of one thought and of one soul. Thus, our enemies will then say: *“Let us have good relations with the legionaries, because they are all men from a single piece, determined and united. The one which they vote for, that one will become mayor, since they all go to one side.*

Part IV

Recruiting Members

Point 36

When recruiting his members, the nest leader must be careful to look for the most able elements, with a developed sense of dignity. The dishonest, the quarrelsome, the troublemakers, the arrogant, the boastful, the selfish, the craven, and the cowards must be left outside the organization. And to be sure that none of the above-mentioned elements will be able to enter the organization, the number of legionaries in any village will not be higher than half of the number of the villagers. Once the number of legionaries capped, nobody can join until some slots become vacant. In any case, the organization must be protected from the people who cannot live without arguing with others. When a member of the nest cannot get along with other members, he must immediately leave the organization; forwarding his resignation. It is better to be few, living in complete brotherhood and perfect unity, than many yet quarreling amongst themselves. The nest leader will guard the organization from both agent provocateurs and spies sent by politicians or crooks.

Part V

The Legionary Uniform

Point 37

In all of Europe, there is a current for the introduction of soldierly virtues in the public life of countries. Instead of talking much and having long speeches, the world wants short phrases, clear and precise, like that of a soldier. Instead of the lack of courage and the doubt of today, the world wants quick decisions. Instead of democratic committees, which discuss, bicker, and cannot make decisions, the world wants a chief and discipline to all (to be understood and helped by the committees). Instead of discouragement, the world wants trust, good will, and military pride. Instead of laziness, the people want work from morning until evening, for everyone, not three parts only at work and one part only at parties. Instead of lust for profit, of a desire to draw benefits from politics, the people want sacrifice for the country, like the sacrifice of a soldier on the battlefield. He does not look to win anything, he gives all, work, soul, and life for his country. This is what we need. If all people who are into politics would give work, soul, and life for the country, how good would it be for Romania! This is what the legionary school will do. Instead of discord and bickering, we put the beautiful camaraderie of the soldier and the perfect unity of a troop, of the whole nation. All have one thought in mind: The Fatherland, one Banner, one Chief, one King, one God, and one Will: that of serving faithfully until death. The legionary made a uniform because at its back he sees all these great military qualities, which empower nations and make them winners, against all odds. The uniform, therefore, is as follows: the green shirt and a diagonal belt.

Point 38

The Banning of Uniforms

The government has banned the wearing of uniforms. Once the law is voted, we must respect it. The legionaries will no longer be dressed in uniform in public, but we will never renounce it. We will make uniforms and we will wear them only on days of celebration and only in our homes, where we are masters and free to dress how we like. We will wear them with love, waiting for the time when the lawmakers will convince themselves that these beautiful uniforms are not a danger to the country, but, on the contrary, they are good for it. There should be no legionary who does not have a uniform in his house, wearing it on days of celebration, when he must honor a guest, dressing in the green shirt. There will be a celebration in a legionary's house when he and his family will dress in the beautiful green shirt; the symbol of spring for the Romanian people.

Point 39

Ranks and Functions

Ranks

The newcomer in the Legion is called a member. After three years, he can be promoted to the rank of legionary. The next ranks are:

- Legionary Instructor
- Commander Helper
- Legionary Commander
- *Buna Vestire** Commander
- Legionary Senator (Honorary Role)

Functions

- Nest Leader
- Garrison Leader

* *Buna Vestire* is an elite legionary order. There is a publication with the same name, key to the dissemination of legionary ideology.

- Network Leader
- Team Leader, Camp Leader, Site Leader, Leader of a Legionary Corps
- County Leader
- Regional Leader

There is no obligation that a function be occupied by a rank. The function determines the honor of the rank.



Legionnaires in uniform transferring dead legionnaires to the graveyard.

Part VI

Point 40

Camaraderie, Discipline, and Trust in Chiefs

An organization can never obtain victory without unity. Organizations with shaky unity usually break in two an hour before obtaining victory—meaning the enemy tears them apart using his intrigues—and they begin infighting much to the delight of the former. In that moment, all is lost. One thing remains: the enemy's triumph. This is why every organization must ensure its unity. There are two ways to do so:

1. By camaraderie; that force of the soul that unifies all warriors in holy brotherhood.
2. By discipline; that outside force which harmonizes all wills to achieve the same purpose.

A legionary leader must therefore be disciplined to trust his superiors. Camaraderie, trust in his leaders, and discipline complete themselves in that the first two move upwards, the third (discipline), comes from above, so unity is assured even when all downward elements have other opinions or even contrary sentiments. This is why the education of discipline remains a large valve of safety for ensuring unity and, as a result, victory, when all other means have been exhausted. The nest leader must look everywhere in order to develop this sense of discipline in every legionary and especially through his very example. Let us not forget that voluntary discipline is of superior essence because it involves a surrender of personality and every renouncement for this great purpose is of superior spiritual essence.

Point 41

Punishments

In the legionary world, we do not insist on punishments

because they will not be heeded. In any case, punishments begin with the first scolding, then the second scolding, and then the third scolding; after that, suspension from the fight for one month, two, three, six, and finally a permanent termination from the organization. There can also be a relieving of command for either a limited time or an unlimited time. County leaders and legionary corps commanders can give punishments up to elimination from the fight for two months. More importantly however, is the beautiful, dignified, understanding way in which a legionary accepts his punishment. He admits his mistake, he does not get angry, nor does he rebel, he executes it and decides that through a dignified attitude he will reconquer his position. In any case, disobeying an order constitutes one of the gravest mistakes possible when done intentionally. And if repeated, the legionary will leave the organization.



Codreanu with two friends.

Part VII

The Nest Leader During Electoral Campaigns

After what has been said so far, the legionary's purpose is not the electoral campaign, yet the electoral campaign is of much importance because it is the only path the law makes available to us for any change we want in the country. The fate of the country for three and four years, sometime for more, is sealed on the days of elections. On the day of elections, the elector is master of the country. What he decides, through his vote, will be. But it is precisely for this fact that, on the polling day, wanders the buyer of souls and political parties; with silver, with drink, with food, for buying votes. In the face of politician debauchery, let us juxtapose faith in the better days of our people and we will win as we have won in Tutova, Neamt, etc. Behold why the nest leader must grant a great importance to the electoral campaign.

Point 42

A Legionary Does Not Make Electoral Promises

At the eve of the electoral campaign, all political persons begin with promises. A legionary will never promise anything except that which we can fulfill. We do not promise. We do not promise brandy. We do not make appointments. We do not buy souls of men with money. Those who come in the name of God do not do this. Only he who comes in the name of Satan buys souls with silver. A legionary leader will say: *"We do not promise money, we promise justice"*. We do not promise doing you any favors. We promise working and fighting for our country. Whoever wants to fight for justice and uprightness in the country, whoever wants to work for his Fatherland, whoever wants to make sacrifices alongside us, let him come with us. Will it be good so? Yes, because things go well in a country that is like a household. If the household has good soil and richly blessed with all that a household

requires, but the householder is not worthy, is squandering, drinks all that he has, squabbles all day, then the household will fall to ruin and the children will have a hard time. They too will be destitute and hungry. But what if the householder is changed with an honest, hard-working, worthy man? The household will flourish in a short time, with all children blooming like peonies. Our country, is she not like a household with good and rich soil? With all she requires? Are we, Romanians, not the children of this household? And are we not destitute and hungry? When we change the household, it will no longer be so. That is what the Legion will do. It will change the household, meaning the governing parties and will form its own legionary government. That is the only promise that the legionary can make in the eve of elections.

Point 43

What Is Our Purpose

The nest leader must school every legionary and tell them that our purpose is not electing a number of 5, 10, or 20 deputies. It is much greater, much holier, and much harder than that. We must make it so that the entire Romania becomes legionary. The new legionary spirit must govern. The country must be led after the will of the legionaries. That is why a legionary depute who was elected in a county must rush in 5-6 other counties to preach the new faith and call all Romanians to life, preparing the hour of victory. Some say: *"He came to us once, but from now on it's over, we elected him and he is no longer coming."* Answer: *"How can he come, if there are 71 counties with 71 cities and 10,000 communes where the Legion's Chief orders him to go in order to make new nests, to organize and prepare the great victory? And if we were to go into each commune, that means 10,000 days and 10,000 days means 365 days every year, for almost 30 years. Do you see how hard it is to visit each commune but once, but what if we were to visit twice, or three times? An entire lifetime would not be enough."* Legionaries must understand and explain

this thing to all people. They must be glad when they see that two years ago we only had organizations in Cahul, Covurlui and Neamt counties and 3, 4 others, while now we have organizations in 50 counties. Others say: *“Behold, we have elected these fellows from the Legion. They too, have done nothing.”* Legionaries will answer: *“Legionary deputies, even if they would be 30-40, cannot do much. Wait for legionaries to be victorious in the country, to extend from one end to the other and then see the large reforms that they will bring.”* The laws that the legionaries have prepared are laws of great justice which the people have been expecting for a long time. He who believes in the final victory — who knows how to fight to the end — only he is legionary. Only he who has not doubted in his heart will truly enjoy the hour of victory, then when the Romanian Nation would have built through its own willpower a new road, a large road, a road of victory.

Point 44

Requests

Immediately after elections, the legionary deputies received thousands of requests. Some people ask for money, others for jobs, free wood, or land. A legionary does not ask. He says: *“We do not need money or services. Give us fair laws in the country, because with fair laws we shall earn our money and livelihood through our work.”* Legionary deputies cannot run with 2000 requests for 2000 persons, in order to serve them, while 14 million peasants, workers, clerks, wait again and again for the day of their justice. Legionary deputies will not appoint 5-6 partisans from a village, like the political parties do, and leave the unfortunate multitude, poor and downcast, pulling the yoke. And then if a legionary depute asks a minister for a favor for 1, 2, 3 people, the second day the minister will ask him to close his eyes at the laws he makes, to combat them no longer. That is why legionary leaders will have to explain these things to all men, providing true legionary schooling for them. They must say to all: *“If we have*

joined the Legion, we ask nothing for ourselves, but we give. We give from the soul, we give work, we give suffering, and we give all that we have for the holy day of victory of the Romanian people."

Point 45

Imperatives During the Period of Electoral Campaigns

Immediately after the fall of the government, the nest leaders will hold meetings with their nests once every two days. Also, they will gather in meetings with all the other nest leaders from the village or commune to study the situation and take the measures that they deem appropriate so that the Legion will come out the better. Also, they will take measures to execute the given orders from the county leaders, if such orders arrived.

Point 46

Imperatives Prior to Elections

a) The schooling of our electoral sign with all men from the village.

The sign must be made on a paper, small, in such a way that even the children from the village will get to know it to perfection. They will inform themselves from the county leader on what page of the voting bulletin our sign will be and will explain to the people ahead of time if it is on page 1, 2, or 3.

b) They will look to make the sign with chalk, line, or tar in the interior of the village as well as on the road outside the village.

c) Five village householders will be entrusted for each man of the nest who he looks to convince to vote for the Legion.

d) Never will he believe nor will he let other men believe the lies that our adversaries will spread against us: that the list has been retired, that our sign is not on the voting bulletin, that they have closed our organization down by law, that no one is allowed to vote for the Legion, that whoever will say something about the Legion will be punished, that we have been arrested, beaten, shot, killed, etc. All these lies our adversaries

spread against us during the electoral campaign to confuse electors in hopes that they will no longer vote for us. Others try to lure people saying that we would be cuzists. Legionaries will respond: *"We are not and we will never be cuzists!"*

- e) It is very profitable that our manifests do not reach a village, either due to lack of funds or because they have been halted at the post office. The nest leaders from the village must do what they can: small, handwritten leaflets, and will fight with propaganda from man to man.
- f) It is possible, as well, that no candidate of ours can reach a village. The nest leaders, as well, will prepare the people ahead of time for such a case so that the multitude remains not discouraged.
- g) They will seek to take part in all meetings of our political adversaries, so that they hear what is spoken there, and after the adversaries' departure from the village they can enlighten the people.

Point 47

Imperatives During Election Day

- a) Nest leaders from a village, together with all their men, young and old, will meet in one place and go to the voting section in block formation with the flag and with the sign made of board and painted in black.
- b) They will make sure to have a fighting tactic well planned, in case anyone wants to stop them from going to vote, so they can be pushed back and forced to calm down.
- c) In case they will not be numerous enough, they will slip through the crowd—isolated—to reach the voting section.

And if they see that the oppression is grave, then they will all wear the government sign and they will say they passed with the government. Then they will go to vote, and in the ballot—where only God can see them—they will vote for the Le-

gion. During this struggle, the nest leaders will be in the highest possible harmony and discipline; following orders either from the center, county, legionary garrison, or from the higher nests. Before leaving for the vote, at the last meeting of the nests, all the nest leaders among their legionaries will make prayers as before every battle.

Part VIII

The Spiritual Direction of Legionary Education

Point 48

How a Legionary Presents Himself

When a legionary presents himself to a superior leader or the Legion's Chief, he keeps a distance of three steps. In an upright position he salutes, taking his right hand to his heart and then lifting it to the sky saying: "I am Legionary X, from nest Y."

Point 49

How a Legionary Must Speak and Write

A legionary must write and speak in a short, clear, and precise manner. Long and confusing talk is the prattle of democracy.

Point 50

The Clothes of a Legionary

The legionary will be modestly dressed. He will not care about the luxurious and shiny clothes of anybody. He will despise luxury which he will consider as having its foundation a spiritual inclination to frivolity, to flatter, and to triflingness. Nowadays, in any case, if he is not a thief belonging to one of the multiple forms of thievery, the luxurious man is an uncaring person who slaps the endless misery of our country. The legionary will not judge a man by his clothes and will not make distinctions between the poor man with torn clothes and the rich man with fancy clothes. The legionary will judge a man by what is under the cloth; in other words, his soul. There are many torn clothes concealing, underneath them, golden treasures of the heart!

Point 51

The Legionary Handling of Public Money

The legionary who takes money that does not belong to him, who will handle the Legion's money or any other person's in a dishonest way, who cannot give an honest account of the money gained from the selling of brochures, newspapers, badges, etc. will be forever terminated from the Legion in the first case of such an action; regardless of which situation or occupation he held. In this organization, only honest people are allowed to grow. A small theft cannot leave you innocent because it ultimately is the seed of a greater theft. The seed that would develop from our tolerance shall only crucify one again, through theft, the Romanian people and this nation.

Point 52

The Sense of Dignity

We are sick and tired of the lack of human dignity. If you do not give a tip, unless you pay, you will not join the party. If you do not pay the papers from the city hall will not be released. If you do not give a tip, you will not gain your rights. Tipping, bribery, and theft has dismantled the moral health of the Romanian nation. The legionary will seek to get rid of these habits and reinvigorate the human sense of dignity. He will not give anything to anyone, he will not promise anyone anything, and when he performs a service for somebody he will not lower himself to the level of receiving a tip or a bribe; instead, he will stick his hands down the briber's throat.

Point 53

The School of the Creative Deed

The legionary needs to be a man of action. Through his actions and through his work, he will lay the foundations for a new Romania.

Point 54

Prayer as the Decisive Element of Victory, the Call to Our Ancestors

The legionary believes in God and prayers for the victory of the Legion. It shall not be forgotten that we, the Romanian People, stand on this land by the will of God and the blessings of the Christian Church. Around the altars of churches, the entire Romanian breath on this earth has gathered thousands of times during moments of tribulation, women, children, and the elderly, all with the perfect consciousness of the last possible refuge. And today the Romanian people stand ready to gather around the altars as we have in times of great danger, so that kneeling we may receive God's blessings. Wars are won by those who know how to draw the mysterious forces of the unseen light from the sky and from heaven and ensure the cooperation of these forces. These mysterious forces are the souls of the dead, the souls of our ancestors who were once tied to this earth and to our furrows, those who fought and died to defend this land and who are now linked to it by the memories the living hold, and through us, their children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, but above the souls of the dead stands God. Once these forces have been attracted, they will come to your balance, they will come to protect you, they will give you courage, and they will give you all the elements necessary to achieve victory. They induce panic and fear in enemies, paralyzing their work. In conclusion, victories do not depend on material preparation or the material forces of the belligerents, but their ability to ensure the cooperation of their spiritual powers. This explains the miraculous victories in our history over great powers despite our lack of material preparation. How can we ensure the cooperation of these forces?

1. Through the righteousness and morality of your actions;
2. Through frequent invocations of them. Call them; attract them with the power of your soul and they will come.

The attraction is greater when the call and prayer is shared by

many. Therefore, nest meetings held around the country every Saturday will urge all legionaries to go to church the next day. Our patron is Saint Michael the Archangel. We need to have his icon in our houses and in hard times to ask his help and he will never leave us.

Point 55

The School of Suffering

Those who wish to join this fight must know beforehand that they will have to suffer. After suffering, there always comes victory. Those that know how to suffer know how to conquer. For this reason, we, the legionaries, will receive suffering with joy. Every moment of suffering is a step forward towards salvation and victory. A moment of suffering will not discourage the legionary, it will make him stronger and will toughen his soul. Those who have suffered and will continue to do so will be the true heroes of the legionary battle. The blessing of the Fatherland will spread over them and their families.



Corneliu Codreanu and Vasilu Comeru kneel down among the bones of soldiers killed during the first world war.

Part IX

The Way of Legionary Life

Legionary life is beautiful. However, it is not beautiful through riches, parties, and luxury. It is beautiful through the risks that the Legion offers, beautiful through the noble camaraderie which binds all legionaries throughout the country in a holy brotherhood of war; enlighteningly beautiful through the masculine attitude in the face of suffering. When a man enters the Legionary organization, he must know beforehand the life that awaits him and the road it will take him down. This road will pass through the Mountain of Suffering, then through the Forest of Wild Beasts, and then, at the end of that forest, through the Swamp of Despair.

Point 56

The Mountain of Suffering

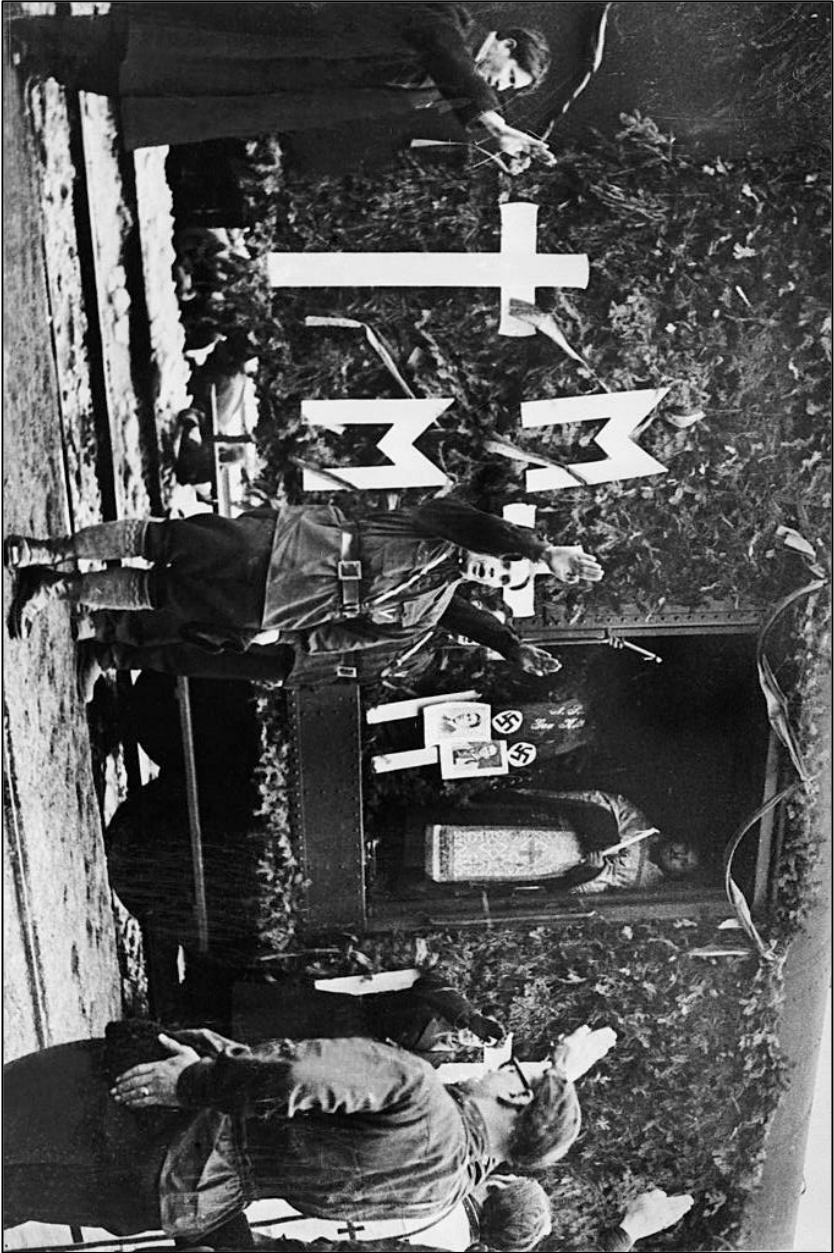
After a man has joined the Legion, with love of his country in his heart, a feast does not await him. Rather, he must take up the yoke of our savior Jesus Christ: *"Take my yoke upon you"*. And the legionary path starts to climb up a mountain which men have dubbed *The Mountain of Suffering*. At first, climbing it seems easy. But after a while, the climb becomes difficult and the suffering becomes greater. The first drops of sweat begin to drip from the legionary's forehead. And then, the unholy spirit that has snuck between the ranks of legionaries climbing the mountain asks for the first time: *"Wouldn't it be better to go back? The legionary path that we have embarked on is hard and the mountain is so large that we cannot see the end!"* But the legionary does not listen. He marches and continues his climb. After climbing the never-ending mountain for some time, the legionary begins to tire and it appears that his strength is waning. Lucky for him, the legionary runs into a mountain spring; clear as the heart of a friend. He cools himself down and washes his eyes, continuing once more

his climb on the Mountain of Suffering. He passes the halfway point and from there the mountain becomes devoid of water, grass, and shade; having only rock and rubble. When the legionary sees this, he says to himself: *"I have worked hard to get there. Help me God to get to the top."* But the evil spirit once again asks the question: *"Wouldn't it be better to turn back and abandon the love for your country? Do you not see the need to work hard if you love your country, king, nation, and land? And then what do you have to gain here? Is it not better to stay home?"* On bare rock the legionary climbs with endless faith. Now he is tired and he falls. He scrapes his hands. And for the first time from his knees, he sees himself bleeding. He rises once again like a conqueror and carries on. He is almost there, but the rock has become vertical, jagged and sharp. He is bleeding from his chest, his blood flowing on the merciless rock. Once again, an impure voice is heard: *"Is it not better to turn back?"* It seems that the legionary is pondering, but suddenly a voice shouting from the depths of a thousand years calls out: *"Onward, my children! Do not give up!"* One last effort and the conqueror reaches the ridge on the top of The Mountain of Suffering, with his Christian and Romanian soul full of happiness. *"Blessed are you when they will chase you and utter all kinds of evils against you". "And they departed, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name."* A whole book would be needed to recount the great suffering legionaries endure climbing this mountain.

Point 57

The Forest of Wild Beasts

Whoever wants to be a legionary should not believe that his trials would end here, on the top of the Mountain of Suffering. It is good for everyone to know from the beginning what awaits them and the road that they have embarked on. The second Trial: not long after the mountain, the legionary enters the forest which many call *The Forest of Wild Beasts*. From the edge of the forest, the



Legionaries saluting the bodies of two Romanians (Moța and Marin), fallen within the ranks of Franco's army, Romania, 1937.

howls of these beasts can be heard; waiting to tear apart anyone that enters. This is the second trial that the legionary must pass through. He who is fearful stays there, at the edge of the forest. He who has a brave heart enters, fights valiantly against thousands of dangers about which an entire book can and will be written later. In this fight, the legionary does not run from danger, hiding behind a tree. On the contrary, he appears there where danger is thickest. Having passed through the forest and come out alright, another trial is there waiting for him.

Point 58

The Swamp of Despair

The path begins to disappear and the legionary must cross through a swamp called *The Swamp of Despair*, because those who enter, do so in a desperate state of mind as a way to get to the end of the path. Some no longer having the courage to enter and they begin to doubt victory, because it is too far, and they fear they will never reach it. It is for this reason that many who have conquered the mountain and the forest drown in this swamp. Others go in and return, while some drown. The true legionaries however do not lose hope, but push onward through this last trial to reach the shores of glory.

Point 59

There at the end of the hard road of the three trials, begins the sweet labor, the blessed labor for the foundation of the New Romania.

Point 60

Only he who has passed the three trials, namely the mountain, the forest, and the swamp, is a true legionary. Those who have not passed through these trials cannot call themselves legionaries, despite being members of the organization, despite having a badge and paying the contribution. Those who have managed to

avoid these tests, even in 3-4 years of legionary life, who have not known or taken the exam of pain, neither the exam of manhood, nor the exam of faith, can be an able man but cannot be a legionary. The Legion's Chief does not appreciate a legionary based on his age, or popularity, meaning not after how many people he has around him, or his ability. On the contrary, he judges him based on these three trials.

Point 61

1. The Legion is against those who are fretting, kneading to obtain victories without risk or sacrifice, because they are small men and their victories are ephemeral as the foam of the seas. Where there is no risk, there is no glory.

Point 62

2. The Legion is against those who seek shallow victories by climbing the hierarchic scale at the cost of the risk and sacrifice of others.

Point 63

3. The Legion is also against those who, despite fighting, are merely driven by shallow convictions: lust for victory, passivity of a benefit, creating opportunities, and so on.

These people, when taking a victory, begin devouring it. The superior man finds greater satisfaction in the pleasures of combat and sacrifice.

Part X

Point 64

The Legionary and The Politician

The legionary and the politician—man of the parties—stand face to face. The man of parties abolishes Romania. Before him, the legionary takes a bold, proud stand. When the man of parties, the politician, countryman, or citizen entered the party, the first question they asked themselves was: “*What will I gain from this? What benefit will I get?*” Therefore, politicians win and the country collapses. When the legionary joined the Legion, he said: “*For myself, I want naught*”. But rather, he asks himself: “*What can I give, what sacrifice can I make for my country?*” The legionary says: “*A thousand years have the ancestors suffered and died for this country. A thousand years have we waited and dreamed for it. Today, after God gave it to us whole, instead of falling on our knees and worship it as a holy icon, we steal and flay it.*” In front of her, the legionary presents himself not with citizen rights, but with sacred duties. The goal of the politician is building a fortune; ours is building a blooming and powerful Fatherland. For this we will work and we will build. For this we will make a hero of each Romanian, ready for battle, ready for sacrifice, ready for death. (See *For My Legionaries*).

“Towards the unclean hearts entering the most holy house of God, I mercilessly point my sword.”

– St. Michael the Archangel

“He who knows how to die shall never be a slave.”

– Seneca

Point 65

The Legionary and The Communist

The legionary is against communism and will fight with all his

strength so that wherever the communist may nest, he will be exposed and vanish. The triumph of the communist movement in Romania would mean the following: abolishing the monarchy and the church, dismantling the family as a concept, taking away individual property, and abolishing liberty. It means dispossession of what forms our moral patrimony as humans and of any asset which one may possess, in favor of the hidden profiteers of communism which are none other than the Jews. In this communist movement, the entirety of our adversaries is gathered together, who have never and will never see Greater Romania with fair eyes. (See *For My Legionaries*)

Point 66

The Legionary and The Jew

The Jewish Question, visible in the northern half of Romania and invisible in the extent of the other half, constitutes the greatest danger that the Romanian nation has faced from the beginning of history until today. The legionary is the only one capable of solving this problem, which he faces boldly and earnestly, the solution that he will provide coming along with the resolution of other state problems that we face today with similar necessity.

Part XI

What the Legionary Believes

Point 67

The legionary believes that the state, based on the old ideology of the French Revolution, is crumbling. Across the world, there is talk of a new state. It may be very good or very evil. How will it be? It will be how we make it to be.

Point 68

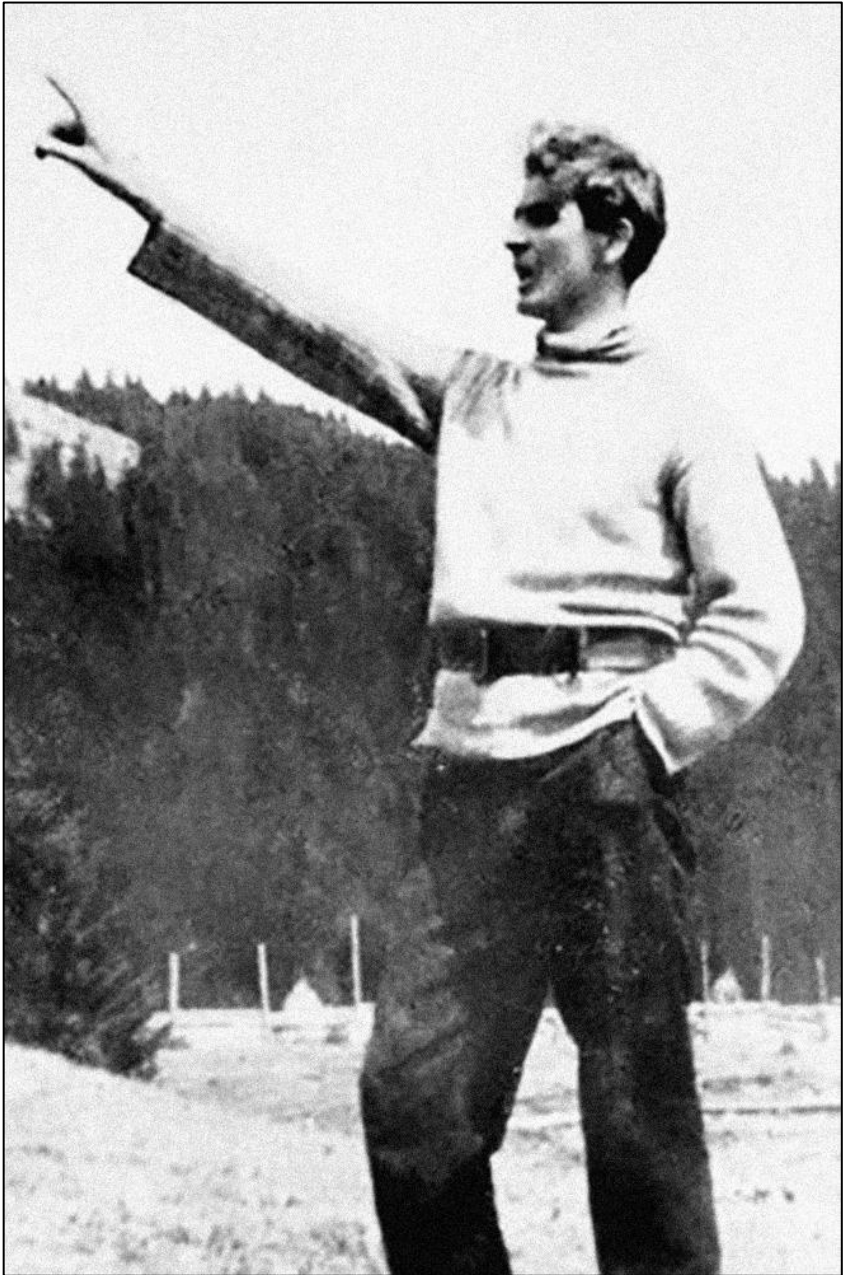
The new state, however, will not be based only upon theoretical concepts of constitutional right. The new state implies, firstly, as an indispensable condition, a new kind of man. A new state, with people of old sins, cannot be conceived. The state is but a simple coat which covers the body of a nation. We may be able to create a new, expensively luxurious coat, but it will be useless if it covers an exhausted body, ruined by moral and physical gangrenes.

Point 69

The new man or nation implies a large renewal of mind, a great revolution of the soul applied to an entire nation, an opposition to the spiritual direction of today and a categorical offensive against this direction.

Point 70

With this new man, all virtues of the human soul must manifest; all the qualities of our race. With this new man, all defects and impulses towards evil must be slain. This type of hero must be a warrior so he can impose his power through combat. This type of hero, in a social sense, must be incapable to exploit the work of another after victory. This type of hero must a hero of



Corneliu Codreanu on Mount Rarau.

labor; the giant creator of his country through diligence, made from everything good that the Romanian kin has gathered for thousands of years. This is the new man we are waiting for; this hero, this giant. Upon him, the new state will truly rely on, the Romania of tomorrow. The Legionary Movement, before being a political, theoretical, financial, economical etc. movement, is a spiritual school in which if a man were to enroll, he will come out a hero.

Point 71

Is it possible for this great renewal of our Romanian nation to come? It is coming. We can feel it. After the long night of ages, today, between these borders, the Romanian nation looks up towards sunrise; awaiting the hour of its resurrection as a nation. Is it possible for the millenary unrest to stop at a simple matter of form: a state union of all Romanians? Can you not feel how the great rebirth of our Romanian nation seethes from the depths?

Point 72

The youth shall have an overbearing role in this resurrection. Destiny summons them to do their part on the scene of history. Can the people of old not understand us? They cannot comprehend us because they cannot hear the hallowed call of destiny. Only we can hear it. Only we can grasp its meaning because it is addressed to us only.

Point 73

There has never been and there will never be laws, sieges, or bayonets that can stop the destiny of a nation from unfolding.

Point 74

On its own, this great resurrection will create a new offensive of the nation in all fields. This offensive, helped and sustained by laws, will restore the Romanian nation within its rights of which it was stripped in a thousand years of injustice and oppression.

Point 74 bis

Receiving the Legion's Chief

In every city, the Legion's Chief will be welcomed and accompanied at all times by legionaries that have been injured in the first line, legionaries that have been persecuted in the second line, legionary fighters in the third line, and friends of the Legion in the fourth line. Different legionary commanders will always handle the distribution in the previously mentioned order.

Part XII

Circular P.

Point 75

The Regime of Parliamentary Legionaries

The Assembly of the Senate and the heads of political legionary units has fixed the regime of parliamentary legionaries on the day of January 5th, 1933, at Focsani. This regime has been applied by the Legion's Chief in his first parliament and has been applied to the 4 parliamentarians.

I. Per Diem

1. Legionary MPs (members of parliament) are MPs because of the struggle and the moral and material sacrifices of all legionaries in this country.
2. The Per Diem does not belong to them, it belongs to the Legion. It grants each MP the strict necessities for a modest living.

The reason is that it is unfair for the MP to create a better financial situation for himself while his comrades lead a precarious life by the day. What a miserable painting it would be if some of us would thrive in luxury while others, injured in battle, would live a life of overbearing misery.

3. Monetary expenses will never return and neither does the health of those who have suffered for the Legion nor the life of those who died for it. These are sacrifices and sacrifices cannot be returned. The legionary dogma dictates that: the amount of sacrifices made determines victory. Our glory is the glory of the sacrifice we make.
4. Being an MP is neither a purpose nor a goal. We must go forward towards victory. As parliamentarians, we can only prepare for victory. Therefore, the funds coming from the Per Diem will be used to endow the Legion with everything

it needs for battle: newspapers, brochures, automobiles, etc. In 1933, parliamentarians had a wage of 10,000 lei a month for the first two months and 8,000 lei after.

5. The legionary leadership of state conception. He who cannot live with his sum, on his own, will live with the other parliamentarians in the legionary barracks. This is how the future legionary parliament will be. The leaders of our country are meant to stand tall even in its days of misery. The misery of our country cannot be cleansed with an extravagant parliamentary wage of 30,000 lei per month. In the legionary MP's attitude today, he prepares the day of tomorrow, proving that we can truly be architects of our future.

II. The legionary parliament no longer belongs to itself. It will be available to the Legion at any time, either day or night. It is unacceptable for a parliamentarian to be elected and then be busy seeking personal gains or be occupied with various other issues. For the time I have been given the weapon of parliament in hand, I will fire with it. If I cannot fire, I will not take it. If I have taken it and I cannot use it with proficiency in service to the Legion, I shall pass it to one who is capable of using it to its fullest potential.

A member of the Parliament must:

1. Speak in the Parliament;
2. Attend conferences and meetings every time the Legion's Chief asks him to.

One who truly loves the Legion must take note of this aspect upon asking to take the weapon of a parliamentary position and the honor of using it towards the victory of the Legion.

Doubling the Candidates No. 1

After the Legion's Chief proposed it, the Assembly also established the doubling of candidates, meaning: in case one of the list passes, the top of the list will take the job for three months, after

which they will resign to make room for number two. Number two will be fixed from the Center and chosen from all of our organization's intellectual categories. The exception to this law represents the counties that have absolute majority. If absolute majority is obtained in a county, the elected parliamentarians remain full time and do not change. The advantages of the system are:

- a) An encouragement and satisfaction for the legionary county leader who labors;
- b) The imperative necessity of the Legion to send the most capable assets for the parliamentary struggle;
- c) Creating and training a large number of legionary militants;
- d) The possibility that a MP can engage in a short but intense activity to dedicate all his labor to the Legion, without neglecting his domestic obligations.

County leaders, driven strictly by their longing for the total victory of the Legion, will explain this law to the candidates and will take a written declaration from them in the sense that they have become aware of the *Circular F* and fully understand to carry out its dispositions.

Legionary parliamentarians live in Bucharest, Imprimeriei street, number 3.

Legion's Chief, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu.

Point 76

What is the Committee of 1000?

A committee of 1000 has been established. Every member is obliged to donate 25 lei a month or 50 if they will so, all for a year. This sum is used to pay press fees and for the acquisition of items needed by the Legion. Today, this committee is abolished. Its role has been taken over by the "Friends of the Legionaries" Association, having the following committee: Dr. Corneliu Șumuleanu, professor at Iasi University, Saulescu street; Professor Priest Duminiță Ionescu, Bucharest, Leon Vodă street, number 4; Mrs. Zoe

Sturza, Bucharest I, Crețulescu street, number 8; Mrs. Maria Beiu Palade, Bucharest, Muntenescu avenue, number 11, tel: 4.33.26.; Dr. Eugen Chirnoaga, Professor at the Polytechnic School of Bucharest, Arh. Ștefan Burcus alley, number 12 Bucharest; Dr. Ing. Eugen Ionică, Bucharest, Francmasona 7, tel: 4.77.52.; Grigore T. Coandă, Bucharest, Bolintineanu street, number 5, tel: 4.33.03. Anyone who sympathizes with the legionary movement and is willing to help, can become a member of our association by requesting information from one of the people mentioned above.

Point 77

The central cashier of the legionary organization is situated in General Cantucazino's house at Gutenberg, street 3, in Bucharest. For any concern, the money will be sent to this address.

Point 78

"Libertatea", Popular Sheet, Spiritual Director Ion I. Moța

It belongs to the heiress family of Ion I. Moța. Annual subscription is 120 lei, 60 lei for half, and 30 lei for a quarter. Address of the administration for subscriptions and complaints: Bucharest, Calea Victoriei, number 63. Redaction's address for articles: Priest Ion Moța, Orăștie, Hunedoara County.

Point 79

Agent Provocateurs

Many spies come by our organization. Some are agents of the police. Invite them in to show them that you do not have anything secret. However, if one among the legionaries is found who would sell himself for money and become a traitor to the Legion, he will be punished today, tomorrow, in a year, or in two years. The greatest disgrace of our organization is to find spies in our midst. There are others who pose as legionaries and go around different organizations to steal from them, demand compensation, or collect money. Some of them succeed in getting their

hands on a letter of commendation or a membership card. Search them thoroughly. Hand them over to the police. At the last moment, I found out that a police agent, not knowing what information to give about the Legion, informed *Siguranța Națională** that legionaries want to shoot different prefects. Another one made up a secret cipher in which different institutes in the capital were mentioned. We need no cipher. This is an infamous invention. Let the entire police come. What we have to say we say loud and up-front. If you hear such infamies, or read them in Jewish sheets (like there were two years ago in “Adevărul”, “Dimineața” and “Lupta”,†) know from the first hour that they are cunning ploys for which we will address the authorities.

Point 80

Assessment Record (Obsolete)

The Legion

County: [...]

Nest: [...]

The undersigned, residing in [...], county [...], convinced of the danger that threatens the existence of our homeland, we bind ourselves together under oath and swear to fight for the triumph of the Legion.

We have established in a nest of legionaries which we have named Nest [...]

* Siguranța Națională (Homeland Safety), otherwise known as "Siguranța", which is Romanian for "The Safety", was the Romanian Secret Service of that time, which during the communist regime became "The People's Security" otherwise known as "Securitatea", which is Romanian for "The Security". After the revolution, The People's Security was again restructured into "Serviciul Român de Informații" (SRI), which is Romanian for "The Romanian Information Service". Today, SRI is still operative, along with SIE, SPP, STS, DGIA, DOS internally and SIE (Serviciul Roman de Informatii Externe/ The Romanian External Information Service) externally, totaling 7 secret services that are known to the public.

† “Adevărul”, “Dimineața” and “Lupta” are Jewish newspapers, translated in English they would read “The Truth”, “The Morning”, “The Struggle”.

The number of nest members is: [...] (maximum of 13)

The Nest's Leader: [...]

The Correspondent: [...]

The Cashier: [...]

The Courier: [...]

We bind before God and men to gather around our leaders, obey and execute their orders with utmost precision, to try to embed in our people, as thorough as we can, the holy spirit of labor, of honesty, of sacrifice and justice. In a word, we intend to make true legionaries out of everyone we come in contact with. We believe in God and in the triumph of the Legion, we believe in a new Romania that we wish to conquer under the name of nationalism and on the path of the Church of Christ, within the boundaries of our laws.

1. We have started the activity.
2. We will hold meetings every week.
3. We will subscribe to the *Pământul Strămoșesc* magazine, which we will read at the nest meetings.
4. We will strengthen in our legionary faith.
5. We will unite like brothers and will not allow any division among us.
6. We will immediately start to establish new nests in our village and the neighboring villages.
7. All these will we achieve through our holy faith and regardless of how many hardships and sufferings we go through, we will be victorious.
8. Romania, in its entirety, will become legionary.

Long live the Legion!

Long live the Captain!

Motto

The heart cries painfully in us

Of misfortune and needs

Cried out eyes look into the sunset

And await clemency.

*Our mountains hold gold,
We beg from door to door
Our harvests are golden
We are dying in debt.*

*Woe is us and us again
We retreat as the crab,
Poverty follows us,
And for days prepare us.*

*As such we all hold a name,
We all have a fate in the world.
For justice and country,
A soul fights in us all.*

*Let us, Romanians, awaken
And suffer no longer
For those who hate us
Have no human soul.*

*Let us walk down the hill
To halt the enemy's march.
From the bread, from the salt
And to route him over the border.*

*Let us put sentries
Under the sun and stars
And in hideouts and beyond
Thieves in the cellars, the loot returned.*

*Let us for those who betray,
Theft in administration
And thieves on the long march
Give them the gallows.*

*Where one is our command
In needs and in pains*

Where there are many the strength rises

And the enemy suffers.

– Valeriu Dugan, countryman from Bucovina

Members' signature follows (a maximum of 13)

Legionary

- Never do something you will be ashamed of the next day, and if you do, you shall assume full responsibility.
- When you face an obstacle, you shall vault over it and never give up. Never get discouraged and never lose resilience. Try again, a third time, always. There is no such thing as "never". The legionary overcomes.
- If politics is a business for politicians, for the legionary it is a religion.
- Never say "I do not wish to serve the Legion because I dislike a certain leader, he is not good enough". In the Legion, nobody is leader forever. There may be one today, another tomorrow and the day after tomorrow it may be yourself if through your work, your unwavering faith, your ability will you deserve it, and one day a better one shall find his way to the top.
- Never forget that those things that can make us legionaries lose our way are quarrels and segregation in each nest or between nests.
- Never forget that once a legionary takes on the coat of legionary leader, everyone must heed his calls.

There are many elements in different villages that have done much for the Legion through their labor, sacrifice and dedication, elite souls who stand out in the legionary battle, proving abnegation, courage, devotion, discipline and unwavering faith. These can leave their village associations to be named "Councilor of the Legion's Chief". For this purpose, on the day of legionary victory, they will be moved to the capital, with their families and all. From this great legionary struggle, a new Romanian aristocracy shall



At a demonstration in Romania, members of the Iron Guard sing their national anthem after listening to a speech by Horia Sima.

emerge. In its career, it will not focus upon money, wealth or clothing, but on spiritual qualities and virtue; it will be an aristocracy of virtue. The aristocracy that resulted from fraud or selling one's country will fall. If gold is tempered by fire, the fires of legionary battles will temper the true moral elite of the Romanian nation.

- If you are a man of sin and the soul calls for justice, baptize yourself now. Although have the decency to keep yourself on the second line.

Our movement shall prevail. Do not dare to think that under legionary regime you can live from dealings, bribes or interventions.

A Request

Comrade,

1. When you depart, pour me water, oil and check the gasoline and the screws.
2. Do not drive me too fast otherwise you shall kill me too soon and I will not be able to serve the Legion.
3. Along the way, occasionally stop and check my wheels, steering and engine.
4. After a journey, take care of me, wash me, oil me.
5. Comrades, stop overloading me, tamper with mercy for I can carry you to victory.

Your truck.

Point 81

Nine Legionary Commandments

1. The legionary does not get involved in polemic with anybody.
2. The legionary despises the political world and he does not chat with it.
3. The legionary sows the good seed in the clean souls of the people.
4. The legionary asks himself in every moment: *"What good have*

I done for Legionary Romania?"

5. In his war, the legionary marks sinners for the day of tomorrow.
6. The legionary starts every task with thought of God and thanks Him after achieving his goal.
7. The legionary is disciplined through his own will and conscience.
8. The legionary fears only God, sin and the moment when his physical or spiritual powers will take him out of the fight.
9. The legionary loves death, because his blood will serve as cement for the foundation of Legionary Romania.

(From the newspaper G.d.F. of Bessarabia)

Point 81 bis

The Three Covenants of a Legionary

The legionary does not take vows. He makes 3 covenants.

The first covenant, in the presence of the nest leader and comrades; it shows the desire to become a legionary.

The second covenant is made after 2-3 years of fighting, in the presence of the county leader, the entire leadership, in a group of 50 minimum, with a solemn ceremony.

The third covenant is made in the presence of the Legion's Chief after 4-5 years of fighting. The old dust pouch covenant, published in the brochure.

The First Covenant

In the middle of the nest, with the right arm raised and holding the canvas of the small flag tightly:

Comrades,

- 1) In front of the nest leader and yourselves, with my hand on this flag, I declare my wish to become a legionary.
- 2) I know the three tests I need to take: suffering, peril and faith.
- 3) I will be with you in good times and bad times. You can

thus count on my heart and my arm.

- 4) I will be disciplined on my own free will, convinced that discipline is the fundamental law of every organization.
- 5) I will avoid speaking behind the backs of my comrades or criticizing the orders and dispositions received, these things will lead to misunderstanding, hardship in life, disunion.
- 6) From the first moment, I want to declare: I do not want anything for myself, I am not and will not look to make a profit off the back of the movement nor to create opportunities for myself. I stand at my post with what is entrusted unto me as long as my Leader will believe I can be of some use.
- 7) I will not do anything to dishonor myself or the movement.
- 8) I will always be fair and will act with much goodwill towards all.
- 9) I will, however, be proud in harsh times, in the face of the enemy.
- 10) If I make a mistake, I will receive punishment with serenity. I know that when the legionary makes a mistake he must pay: he answers, he does not run from responsibility.

This is my covenant before you and before this small flag of our nest.

The Second Covenant

It is held in front of the county political leader, in exquisite solemnity.

Comrades, I have travelled a long road in legionary life. Thus, I know all the duties, all the hardships. I now feel ready to become a legionary. I bind myself in front of our leader and yourselves, to fight for the triumph of Legionary Romania, in which I believe as I do in the light of my eyes. God grant us His blessing. All repeat this in loud voices after the county leader.

The Third Covenant

It is still the old covenant with the *dust pouch* (see Point 83) in front of the Legion's Chief.

Part XIII

Point 82

Brief History of the Legion

On Friday, June 24th 1927, at the birthday of St. John the Baptist, the Legion of Archangel Michael was established from the initiative of Corneliu Z. Codreanu, Ionel I. Moța, Ilie Gârneață, Radu Mironovici, and all imprisoned comrades; named after the icon of St. Michael the Archangel which found on the left door of the Văcărești prison church; the protective icon that we had in all prisons, in all our struggles, and in all our hours of suffering.

We were so few and poor that we were not only targeted by the arrows of irony shot by others, but we were ourselves terrified by our poverty. Nevertheless, our faith wavered not one moment. We did never had second doubts. It seems as if God deliberately gathered us so poor because He wanted to show that, in the Legionary victory, matter did not play any part. From the first moment, we have had the clear vision of our final victory and I have assumed the whole responsibility of command. From there on out, we faced hardships, perils, and countless risks, but this vision of victory never left me for a second. From the first day, we were joined by the current legionaries. All of them possessing the same strong faith in their eyes: Hristache Solomon, Al. Ventonic, Nicolai Totu, Ion Banea, Ing. Clime, Ing. Blănaru, Victor Silaghi, Jean Bordeianu, Dumitru Ifrim, Andrei Ionescu, Mile Lefter, Spiru Peceli, Gh. Potolea, etc., and the first patronage, Gen. Dr. Macridescu.

On August 1st 1927, Pământul Strămoșesc first appears in Libertății typography, at Orăștie, with great help from the father Ion Moța and the youths from F.d.C. Focșani, with Traian Cotigă, V. Chirulescu, and F.d.C Dunărea with Tocu, the mother Pamfilia Ciolac, father Isihie Antohi, Erhan, and Dănilleanu.



Saint Michael the Archangel.

On November 8th (Saint Archangel Michael, first Covenant). The following made the covenant: Corneliu Z. Codreanu, Ioan I. Moța, Ilie Gârneață, Corneliu Georgescu, Radu Mironovici, Inginer Clime, Hristache Solomon, Mile Lefter, Ioan Banea, Victor Silaghi, Nicolai Totu, Al. Ventonic, Dtru. Ifrim, Pantilimon Statache, Ghiță Antonescu, Guriță Ștefăniu, Emil Eremeiu, Jean Bordeianu, M. Ciobanu, Marius Pop, Mișu Crișan, Popa Butnaru, Budeiu, Tănăsachi, Ștefan Budeci, and Paul Mihăilescu (deserter).

On February 19th 1928, after two months of effort, we bought a pick-up truck named Căprioara Legiunii (Legion's Deer) with 234,000 lei. In the summer, for the maintaining of the movement and for the payment of the truck, we worked at the brick yard (120,000 bricks) and on the field (one hectare), despite the mockery of the cuzists. After that, we were trading vegetables from our garden with the truck and we were selling them to monasteries: Agapia, Văratec. We were silently moving forward with our movement.

On December 15th 1929, the first legionary political meeting took place in T. Berești and afterwards in Valea Horincei, Covorului county. New fighters were joining: Tănase Antohi, Dumitru Cristian, V. and N. Bogatu, Chiculiță, Bâgu, Hasan, Bourceanu, then from Foltești, Pralea family.

On December 25th 1929: Turda Ludoș, with Amos Nechita, Victor Moga, Colceri, Damian, etc. Amancei Bănică.

On January 27th and February 3rd 1930, great gatherings at Cahul took place. Mr. Ioan Zelea Codreanu intervenes, Stefan Moraru, Moș Cosa, Gârneț, Trifan Vlahu (dead), etc.

Summer 1930. The march ban in Basarabia. The arresting. Acquittal.

On November 8th 1930. Constitution of the Legionary Senate. Mistery Professor univ. Traian Brăileanu, Cernăuți; Gen. Dr. I. Macridescu; Professor Ion Zelea Codreanu; father Partenie Matei, vicar, Bucharest; Cristache Solomon, great land owner. Focșani; Col. Inv. Paul Cambureanu; Ion Ciocârlan, writer; Al. Zissu, great

land owner, Bucharest; Spiru Peceli, invalid comrade, Galati; Ioan Butnaru, landowner Iași; Guriță Ștefaniu, land owner. The list goes on until the hundredth member.

On January 1st 1931, the arrest of Corneliu Z. Codreanu, Banea, Totu, Amos happened. They were acquitted after 77 days of arrest by the Tribunal, *Curtea de Apel, Casatie*.

On June 1st 1931, we participated for the first time in elections in 17 counties. We gathered 34,000 votes. We failed. August 31st, partial elections in Neamț, Nuțu Eșanu helped. The legionaries defeat all Romanian parties with 11,000 votes. April 27th 1932, partial elections at Tutova. For the second time, after hard, but glorious battles, the legionaries defeat all the parties from Romania.

July 17th 1932, general elections. The legionaries fight in 36 regions, obtaining 79,000 votes, 4 mandates. The legionary deputies in parliament: quiet attitude and measured. They are fighting for the propagation of our organization in the country. The legionary movement is spreading. We own 17 papers with a circulation of 35,000, one writing press, 2 automobiles. In the eve of buying another

3. We are striving forward with conviction during these hard times, towards the bright destiny of our Fatherland, uncovered in the face of all sacrifices made by over a thousand legionaries.

Point 83

The Covenant of the First Legionaries

In the morning of November 8th 1927, we gathered at our headquarters; all legionaries from Iași and a few who labored to come from other places. We were not great in numbers but were strong in our unwavering faith in God and His support, strong in our conviction and stubbornness to stand immovable in the face of any tempest, strong through our complete detachment of worldly concerns, act which is manifested through the desire, the delight of courageous disunion with the world, thus serving the

cause of our people and the purpose of the cross.

This is the note of those who awaited the hour of the covenant to form the joyous first assault wave of the Legion with impatience. And anybody can imagine that there cannot be another note, when in our midst, covered with white clothes like in the times of wrath, they were gathered united, Ion I. Moța, Ilie Gârneață, Radu Mironovici and Corneliu Georgescu, those who wandered the prisons and carried the whole weight of the national movement for 5 years.

The Prayer

At 10 o'clock, we all left in national garment, with headpiece, a large swastika close to the heart, in column formation, headed to *Biserica Sfântul Spiridon**. There was performed a prayer for the remembrance of Ștefan Voievod, Domnul Moldovei, Mihai Viteazul, Mircea Ion Vodă, Horia, Cloșca and Crișan, Avram Iancu, Domnul Tudor, Regele Ferdinand and the commemoration of all the voivodes and soldiers who fell on the battlefield for the defense of the Romanian Fatherland against the enemy invasions.

The Solemnity of Making the Covenant

Marching, singing the Legion's hymn, we returned to the dorm. There the covenant of the first legionaries took place in loving solemnity.

The Ancestral Land

This solemn ceremony began with mixing dust brought from Mihai Viteazu's grave from Turda, with the dust from Moldova, from Războieni, where Ștefan Cel Mare had the hardest battle and from all places where our ancestors' blood had mixed with the dirt, in dreadful battles, thus sanctifying it. When the packet of soil was opened, before being poured on the table, the letter was read from the one who brought or sent it.

* Saint Spiridon Church.

Dust from Turda

Letter: *"Brothers! I have delivered to you the soil you have requested me. Upon the provenance I assure you, because I have taken it personally and picked it up from Mihai Viteazul's grave, I brought it and packed it."*

Turda, September 18th 1927, Isac Mocanu,
Professor at Turda Highschool.

Dust from Războieni

Letter: *"The Undersigned Corneliu Georgescu, lawyer, was personally at Războieni (Neamț County) where I took soil from around the monument built on the battlefield where 10,000 strong soldiers of Ștefan cel Mare gave their blood for the Fatherland."*

November 7th 1927, Corneliu Georgescu.

What does history say about the battle of Războieni (1476)? On the place of the battle, Ștefan raised a church with the inscription: "In the year 1476 the strong Mohamed arose, Turkish emperor with all his might and Basarab Voievod, with all the basarabean country and they arrived here on the place called *Râul Alb** [...] where we did great war with them in the month of July and with the will of God, the Christians were defeated by the pagans and there fell a great many of the Moldovian host." (Istoria Românilor by Floru, page 184-185).

Dust from Sarmisegetuza

It was then gathered and poured.

Letter: Declaration: "We the undersigned attest that in the day of 17th October 1927, we visited the dig sites of the Costești fort, of Sarmisegetuza stronghold and we took soil from there and different parts of the stronghold, especially from one of the uncovered rooms which burned at the time of the assault, reason why the clods of earth are red, signifying the plentiful blood spilled there.

This fortress was commanded by Decebal's brother-in-law and it's fall to the Romans dislodged Sarmisegetuza's defense system

* The White River.

which fell permanently after that.”

Ion I. Moța, Corneliu Georgescu.

What does history say about Decebal's battle (Istoria Românilor by Floru, page 38-39): “The despair and fury, hatred and cruelty of the Dacians were merged with bravery that defends the Fatherlands' soil and leaves the conqueror only a pile of ashes and ruins, On Traian's column there are seen Dacian women how they torment Roman soldiers. Some of them have their hands and feet bound, naked are burned with lit torches.

From the relief interpretations of Traian's column it results that the fate of the war stagnated between Dacians and Romans, until art, science and numbers triumphed.

The king (Decebal) sneaked off on a mountain pass to gather the dispersed army and fight to the end, while the greatest of his subjects, pileati, chose to die in the capital, which was no longer theirs. Gathered around a big poisonous vessel, they choose death over life without liberty.

And he tried again the luck of the armies, until he was surrounded from all sides and ready to fall with his two sons in the hands of the Roman hunters, he pierced himself with his sword, leaving the winners only a body...”

Dust from Călugăreni

Dirt was then poured Călugăreni, where Mihai Viteazul rushed himself into the fray, charging with his white horse through the heart of the Turkish army, with hatchet in hand, crushing their host and putting them on the run. Here, at Călugăreni, was the greatest victory of Mihai over the Ottomans.

Letter: *“I went by train up to Mihai Bravu and from there by cart 15 kilometers through the woods, I had great support from the priest Laurențiu from Călugăreni, who led me to the battle sight, to “Dâmb”, as is the saying. From there I took the dust.”*

Ștefan Anastasescu, 8th October 1927,
București, str. Șerban Vodă, 43.

Dust from Podul Înalt

Letter: *"I took this dirt from Căutăturești commune (Podul Înalt), județul Vaslui, the place where Ștefan cel Mare fought the Turks."*

Plutonier Rotaru, Regiment 25 Infantry.

What does history write? ...Ștefan had a great army, unlike anyone else under Romanian flag, until King Carol, 40,000 Moldavians, most of them peasants. The Ottoman army was 120,000 strong. The place of the battlefield was near Vaslui county. The day of the fight, after some historical sources, would be on the 6th of January 1475, Ștefan does not mention it, he just writes *near Epiphany* meaning around 6th January. Here was the greatest victory of Ștefan cel Mare. "Although it was not a surprise battle, nor won without heavy losses, because the Turks turned against Ștefan, who lost many Moldovians. Though, at one point, the battle seemed lost without the intervention of Ștefan, who jumped himself in the middle of the Turks and smashed their wings through the mighty power of God."

On the day of January 25th Ștefan wrote to all the princes, that he was attacked by 120,000 Turks, helped by Basarab, but on the Epiphany *"I have triumphed and crushed them under my feet and all of them did I put to the sharp edge of my sword."*

Ștefan was without mercy. Like fate, he cut, impaled, rejected the ransom however great it was: *"what were they doing in my poor country, if they are so rich?"* To thank God, Ștefan and all his victorious hosts fasted three days with bread and water, this is how they bound themselves in the days of the invasion. Then came days of joy. (Istoria Românilor by Floru, page 181-182).

Dust from Suceava, Cetatea Neamțului, Hotin and Soroca

Then was dirt brought from these strongholds and locations of glory of the Romanians and was spilled over the white sheet of the table, on top with the other dust. This was after reading the letter from legionary Budei who brought the dust with his own hand. Dust from the place where Horia was stretched on the



Ștefan cel Mare.

wheel. Then the package was then opened with dust from Alba Iulia, sent by the teacher Iordache Popa, with the following lines: *"This dirt is filled with the blood of Horia the hero. Taken from the place named Curci, where the roads splits Alba Iulia – Pâclisa, from the road Cetate-Gară. Here was Horia stretched on the wheel by the Hungarians."*

Iordache Popa, teacher, Comrade Drâmbar,
p.u. Alba Iulia, 29th October 1927.

Dust from the grave of Avram Iancu

The package was opened by Petru Popa, teacher, commune Ribicioara p.u. Baia de Criș, containing 1 kilogram of soil from the grave of the hero Iancu. A second package was opened, brought from the same grave by mister Ion I. Moța and was also spilled over the other dirt.

Dust from the Hill at Roșcani

Such was where the host of Ioan Ioan Vodă cel Cumplit died of thirst, brought by Miss Constantinescu Ileana – a student. The dust was then brought back from the honorable fields of the last war: the dust from Jiu, where horrible battles were fought.

Letter: *"We left from Craiova by train from Valea Jiului to Filiași, from there, after the information we had and with what was given by the natives, we walked uphill 7 kilometers, to the places where the battles of Pesteana and Tântăreni occurred. From there, from the corner of my county, where Dolj, Gorj and Mehedinți meet, we took dust from Jiului waterfront, from the forest and other places, to be certain that I had enough dust watered with blood in my sack."*

Iuliu Stănescu, student,
commune Mărășani, (Dolj county).

Dust from Mărășești and Mărăști

Letter: *"In the basket, I sent 2 bags of white cloth with soil from Răzoare, where the battles from 6th August 1917 took place. Then a bag with soil from Mărăști, from two points, where regiments 2 Vânători*

and 30 Infanterie Muşcel were decimated."

Hristache Solomon, Focşani
(B-dul Lascăr Catargiu, 22).

Dust from Oituz and Casin

Declaration: *"The undersigned noted bellow, state that the soil taken by Mr. Butnaru, clerk in Iaşi, is taken from the following locations: Valea Manciuşului, Grozeşti-Sticlărie, Măgura-Casinului, Casin, the place where the harshest battles were fought between Germans, Hungarians and Romanians. I. Butnaru, P. Plopeanu, Oneşti, T. Mocanu, Răjula, I. Gh. Buzatu, D.R. Casin, Osudveanu, Grozeşti."*

Dust from Prunaru

Such was where the dreadful Romanian cavalry charge took place, all dying to the last man.

Letter: *"The soil is right from where a hero stabbed in the heart was buried."*

Preot Theodor N. Iancu,
Prunaru, Vlasca county.

Dust from Turtucaia

Such was where many thousands of Romanians fell, painting the soil red with their blood.

Letter: *"I immediately left for Turtucaia and I went west of the city, where I took the soil, right from the keep that was exchanged tens of times from one hand to another. This keep today is desolate and the soil was taken from a grave, where the remains of some soldiers were unearthed and where today there are bones. Accept our soil drenched with the blood of our people."*

Sandu Snagoveanu,
comrade Uzumgeorman.

The dust from the vicar father of Turtucaia was added.

Our hearts were filled with an ageless breath facing the dust of our fathers and ancestors, sleeping with weapon in hand and face towards the enemy on the honorable battlefield, from the fallen

soldiers of Decebal who fell in the ruins of Sarmisegetuza to the ones shattered by the cannons of Mărăsești and Turtucaia.

Then two legionaries approached and started to mix this dust with sanctity, while the others, with raised hand saluting, were signing the hymn of The Legion with all the power of their hearts.

Sculați români la luptă, bate ora

Din urmă pentru neamul românesc, etc.

(Arise Romanians, to battle, the hour is nigh

The final hour for the Romanian Nation, etc.)

That moment was so moving and exalting that nobody could resist shedding a tear from the corner of their eyes: In this song, there was the cry of our pain, the pain of the Romanian people from today, directed to our ancestors and the brave Romanians who, for 2000 years, lived on these lands. It was the call for courage itself.

The Bag of Dust - The Talisman of the Legionary

With the dust mixed thusly, lots of bags were filled, one given to each man, after the covenant, to be worn around the neck. Ion Moța took the covenant of Corneliu Codreanu, afterwards he was given the dust bag, after that Corneliu Codreanu took the covenant of Ion Moța and the others.

This covenant was made of five questions and answers:

1. *Do you bind yourself to renounce all your personal interests and desires, for the Justice of The Fatherland?*

Answer: Yes!

2. *Admitting that the Jewish rulership over us brings spiritual and national death, do you, brother, bind with us to fight for the defense, cleansing and liberation of the ancestral land?*

Answer: Yes!

3. *In this fight will you serve the Legion of The Archangel Michael?*

Answer: Yes!

4. *Will you wear this soil with devotion around your neck?*

Answer: Yes!

5. *And you will not leave us?*

Answer: I will not leave!

After each man individually passed through these questions and answered them, he received the leather bag tied to a silk string. The gathering started at 1:30 pm. After 3 o'clock, the counsel began. It was presided over by the oldest of the legionaries present, Mr. Cristache Solomon from Focşani. The counsel lasted until 18:30 pm after which the following statement was read:

1. The Legion affirms that above all personal interests stands The Fatherland with its needs.
2. In the service to this Fatherland, defiled by foreigners, all children of the Romanian Land must dash, with their soul and their arms.
3. The Legion stands with the one who considers himself a soldier, calling him under her(Romania's) flag to the defense of the ancestral land.
4. Romania for the Romanians. For Jews, Palestine. Justice for the Romanians and death for traitors.

Long live the soldier's heart in us!

Long live, may the New Romania blossom!

This is how the day of Saint Archangel Michael and Gavril ended. As we held the holy soil of our fatherland close to our heart like an amulet, we felt the heroic blood flow through our veins.

Point 84

First Legionary Program Point

Small programmatic literature. The summary of the legionary program was published in another brochure, we give you here just a few guidelines.

If anyone ask you, tell him that it is: THE OATH FOR PUNISHMENT.

On the second day after legionary victory the *EXCEPTIONAL TRIBUNAL* will be made, which will bring before it and will trial for betrayal of The Fatherland:

- a) All those who plundered public funds:
- b) All those who received bribes to ease business:
- c) All those who broke the fundamental laws of the country, in doing so they persecuted, imprisoned, struck against legionaries or their family. Irrespective of their roles, whether as gendarmes or ministers, no one shall evade this judgment.

They were too confident that Romania is their estate, that the laws were made to be trampled on by them and that we are the serfs on this estate, and we were to be beaten by their whip.

The Romanian nation, conscious of her rights, will start a new life through the *WORK OF LEGAL PUNISHMENT*. We are waiting and expecting this hour. Without this *HOUR OF PUNISHMENT*, it's not possible to rebuild this country.

The nest leaders will make detailed and very precise reports of all the crimes committed, forwarding them to the Legion's Chief.

Point 85

The Speech by the Legion's Chief in the Country's Parliament.

After the Official Monitor of December 3rd 1931

Mr. Deputy Corneliu Zelea Codreanu has the honor: "Mr. President, esteemed deputies, I am the youngest among you and I represent a youthful movement. I arose through my own strengths, without anyone's support."

"I believe that the current leaders of Greater Romania will tire listening to me too, as one that is a representative of the younger generation, the struggling generation, a generation about which a lot has been said, a martyred generation, I may say a crucified generation even. I think that it would be best for the honored chamber to have a little good will in listening to us too, because I reckon that today the leaders should know what is the struggle, what are the opinions and what is the political orientation of the

generation that, with or without your will, must inherit the benches on which you sit.

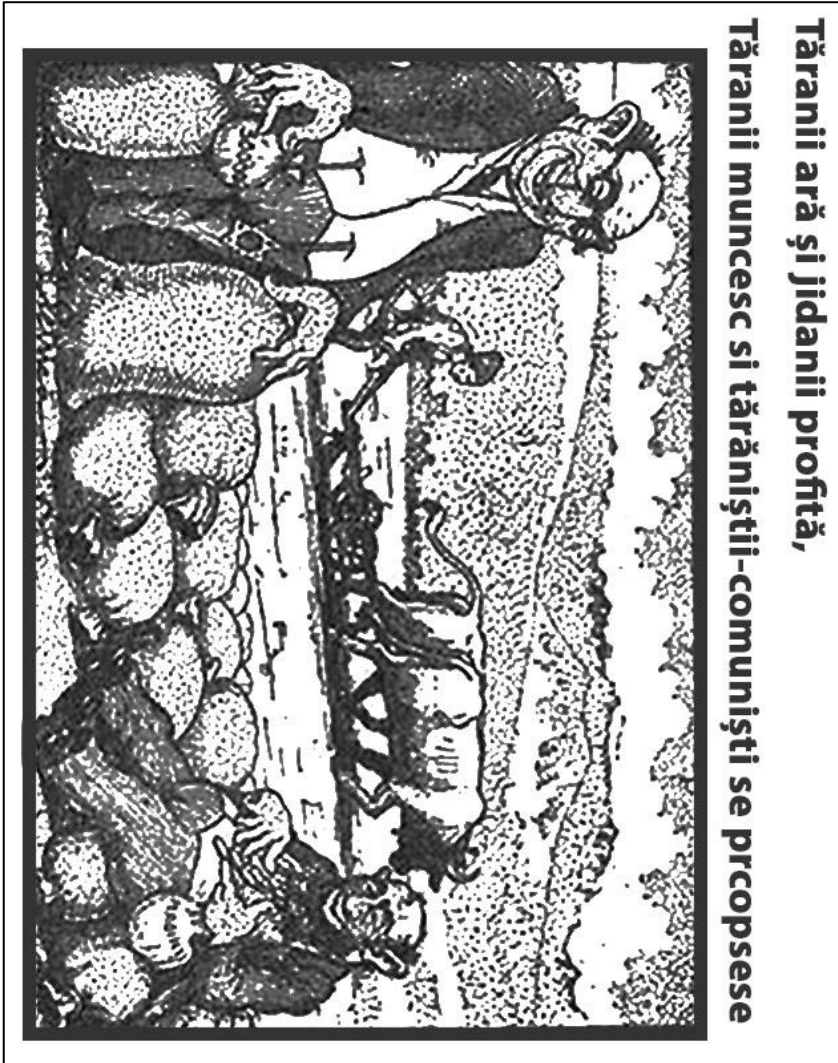
In any case I need to state from the beginning that we are not a generation like you know from reading a certain press. We do not seek anything other than defending our Sacred Homeland, the Country that is threatened by the tempest's gusts, the Country of our parents and the warm nest of those who come after us. And to set the cardinal points, in short, I can say: there is no immoral generation, there is no ungodly one, not one republican or anti-monarchist. I set these points in God, Country, King, Family, Property and Army, which can guarantee the existence of the Romanian State.

D. V. G. Ispir: "For this you can be alongside us."

D. Corneliu Zelea Codreanu: "Mister deputies, this generation is considered an anti-Semitic generation. I wish that you know that I haven't come here to shout: down with the kikes, as I believe that nobody has done before. However, I did notice one thing, that every time the problem of Romanian nationalism came up, you received it with humor and turned it from a problem that is of unparalleled tragedy into a comical situation."

D. V. G. Ispir: "At least for this part of the chamber, this thing is not accurate."

D. Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu: "I, sirs, will bring up this problem in a few lines, for I am the leader of a small movement and I need to develop my view-points. I have been to Maramureș, in Maramureș which is the cradle of our founding Voivodes, those of the Moldavians – the people of Maramureș being Stephen the Great and Holy, the lord of Moldavia's ancestors. And there, on the occasion of a court case I had in Satu-Mare and at which Professor Cătuneanu assisted, an old man with white hair came and said in front of the court what I am telling you now: "We the people of Maramureș, are a noble vine and we had our own lands and our own mountains. Up until 1847 we were owners. In 1848, when I was a child, the first Jews came to our village."



A poster of the Iron Guard from 1930's Romania called: "The peasants are plowing the fields and the Jews make a profit. The peasants work and the communists are lining their pockets."

“Here I need to make a commentary. I do not use the word Jew as to insult someone. I use Jew, as this is what I think they are called and – I find it curious – that they are the only nation that flees from its name. For me, this population, on my country’s land – I ask that everybody believes me – that when I have my consciousness firm that they attack and look for a place on our own territory, for me, I ask you to believe me, a battle on life and death has begun and I am not in the mood to make jokes or insult someone. For me it is clear and precise: intelligent or unintelligent, parasitic or non-parasitic, moral or immoral, this population is an enemy population here on my country’s land. And I understand to fight against it with all the means that my mind, my law and my Romanian right allow me.”

“So, gentlemen, that old man was telling me: “Here, in 1848, the first Jews came, that our parents, seeing them ragged and hungry, out of mercy, let them reside at the limit of our lands. Today in 1930, we lost 60 of the 62 mountains. We Romanians have only two mountains, the rest of the 60 being under the ownership of Jews. Today we have retreated and reside in poverty, without bread, at the limit of their property.”

“Well, this situation in Maramures extends in Bucovina as well; this situation extends over Moldova where churches are closing, where altars are being collapsed. And I ask you, all of you: What becomes of a nation whose altars are being destroyed?”

“Our commerce has been brought on bedded knees. At our place, in ancient Bârlad, in the Bârlad which used to export goods to Poland under Stefan the Great, and who used to export from Cetatea Albă even to Constantinople and Alexandria ... at our place only one Romanian manufacturing trader remains.”

“Well, gentlemen, this problem cannot be neglected and no one can say that it is not a dominant problem of modern Romanian politics. The exact same thing that happened with the Red Skins in North America is happening to us. We find ourselves in

the face of a foreign invasion and we have all the right and duty to defend the Fatherland. I am not interested in who comes and who is – it seems to me a curious thing, that when the enemies came to steal our land, with weapon in hand, we were all transfixed in the trenches, with weapon in hand, and today when the weapon is replaced by money and when *they* are capable, with money, to buy out our country, then is there no one left at our place to protest?"

"Behold, gentlemen, how this problem is seen.

"You know very well that the Red Skins of North America have slowly disappeared in the face of the Anglo-Saxon invasion. Today, the entire Europe regrets and mourns them, for they were good people, but it is said "what can we do, others were stronger!"

"Gentlemen, I dread to think that at one point in time, Europe will mourn us and our descendants."

"As for our struggling youth, which as I've told you was crucified for this idea, because I come here after two years of unjust prison, well, I tell you gentlemen, what do you want these youths to do, who have been hit by all official leaders until now? Do you wish for us to one day pack our bags and leave the country, to other lands, to win our bread and find a refuge of free, national livelihood? We do not ask much. We only ask one thing; let us be here, on this land, under the blessing of the bones of our parents."

"Sirs, I am sorry that in this answer to the Message, absolutely nothing can be seen for us, not even a flicker of hope and no pre-occupation of the leaders of this country upon the problem exposed above."

"Gentlemen, I'll leave this problem and come back to another problem of great importance: the problem of misery. In this box, I've brought some pieces of bread which are from Maramureş and from the mountains of Neamţ county, for you to see what type of bread our Maramureşan and Muntean Romanian eats. Today, when the world complains of over-production of grain, everyone

attributes to the crisis the fact that grain is sold with one leu per kilogram, behold what bread these people eat!"

(Mister Depute Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu presents a piece of blackened bread to the Assembly).

"Our heart must contort from the pain and I believe any people of Europe, seeing this image of misery in which the Romanian kin lives, would lament us. I have brought these pieces of bread, wrapped and placed in this box, on purpose, for you to see in how much artificiality and in how much foil of civilization is this Romanian misery dressed in. With sorrow I deposit it on the ministerial bench and would ask the honored government to have it at its disposal for anyone who is in the mood to make jokes on the back of the Romanian nation, first of all let him see what there is to eat."

"Gentlemen, in the face of this misery that encompasses the entire country, I will ask you: what is the government's defense system against this ever-growing march of misery?"

"Gentlemen Deputies, for me it is clear, the Government comes with two theories: 1) The sentimental theory of sacrifice. 2) The economic theory of conversion."

"As for the theory of sacrifice, I also am one of those who admit it, however I will state an immovable principle: neither you, nor anyone else has the right to ask for the scarce coin of the honest man until the coin stolen by robbers who fleeced this country is returned to the treasury of the state."

"As for the other theory, that of conversion, I support it. This, however, is not medicine. Medicine is that which kills the cause of the disease, meaning the microbe. Conversion is an oxygen balloon that the honored government administrates to the dying national economy."

"I support the conversion project and I will vote for it, however I am telling you: I am waiting to see other solutions and especially those categorical solutions that are demanded for the misfortunes of our times."

“Gentlemen deputies, the third point, upon which I will say a few words, is the question of parties and the question of democracy.”

“Esteemed deputies, almost the entire primary objective of the discussions regarding this answer to the Message was: are we against the abolishing of parties or for the abolishing of parties? In this case, I tell you my point of view! Who is he that should decide the abolishing or non-abolishing of parties? Can you abolish or establish them? No! The one who must decide is the people, is the starving and naked country. In that moment, when they will have to decide, the people will see if they must abolish or not. In any case I tell you that the people do not love political parties. This is a precise thing and you, in a democratic regime, cannot remain at the head of the state against the will of the people. This is also precise.”

“There is another question. Someone said: parties are not born out of improvisation; they are the result of evolution. Yes, I too support this theory and I apply the law of evolution to parties. Parties, like all things of this world, are born, develop and die. I think that the parties are not in their superior form of perfection to have won the right to immortality.”

“There is another question, of external nature. You see too well that the entire public opinion of Europe is heading towards these two extremes, like mill stones, that will slowly grind all parties.”

“Gentlemen, gaze into Europe. There are two powerful extremes: the extreme right and the extreme left, which are hardening: at one point one of these will win. Well, I ask you gentlemen, especially you who’ve bowed before Europe all the time and trembled at the first gust of wind: in a Europe in which one of the extremes will win, can you resist the current of this Europe? As for our orientation, if the question is choosing one of these two extremes, we are among those who do not think that the sun rises from Moscow, or Rome. We believe that our parents, our ancestors, who brought us on this earth; their bones, at least once in a

thousand years send us good advice, a good idea, in our heavy and painful hours.”

“In fact, gentlemen, on the parties: our generation - looking from the outside - ascertains:

1. That a political party is an anonymous society of exploitation of the universal vote;
2. That all parties are democratic, because they use the universal vote in the same way;
3. That they neglect the interests of the people and the fatherland, satisfying only the specific interest of party members; that democracy is irresponsible, lacking the power of sanction, that all parties commit injustices, some overtly against each other, no one is applying sanctions against their men because it would mean losing members, neither against their adversaries, because they in turn own their injustices.”

“And in this question, allow me to grab your attention upon the frauds that were committed since the war, all of which remained unsanctioned; fraud with black alcohol of 12 billion; fraud of brass from railroads of 900 million; the soviet fish; the soviet galoshes; the forests of Neamț County; the forests of Bucovina etc., and after a brief count, the sum of the frauds committed on the territory of this country, since the war, reaches the number of 50 billion lei.”

“Democracy, seen from the outside, gives us the impression of a vast complicity in misdeed: conclusion: democracy is incapable of authority. And another thing - I will serve you a question that many of you will not like - I ask you to tolerate us to be severe, out and out in all that interests us, be it the Romanian Nation, be it honesty. I hereby declare that democracy is put in the service of the great international finance or international Jewry.”

(Interruptions, noise)

“Gentlemen, the proof. I came here with a list that will upset you, however I tell you not to resent me because I cannot be silent in this matter, it is about what is known as the portfolio from

Blank banc.”

“Allow me to read to you - because each of you appear here. I have obtained the list, perhaps not whole:

Mr. Brandsch, sub-secretary of state, 110,000.

Mr. Carol Davilla, 4,677,000.

Mr. Eug. Goga, agricultural mortgage claim, lei 6,200,000.

Mr. Al. Otetelesanu: “There is a mortgage on Mrs Eugen Goga’s land.”

Mr. N. Lahovary: “Mr. Davila is not the one to owe, the Peasant Bank is.

It is not the same, please rectify.” (Interruptions, noise).

Mr. Corneliu Z. Codreanu: “Alright gentlemen, I am not saying it isn’t rotten, they will pay, but the money is lent. (interruptions). Gentlemen, will they be paid or not, I don’t know, but I tell you one thing: There is the obligation that someone who borrows money from such finance has, to satisfy it when he is in the government, to support it when in opposition or in any case not to hit it when it needs to be hit.” (Applause from many benches).

Mr. Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu: “Onwards: Mr. Iunian 407,000; Mr. Madgearu 401,000; mr. Filipescu 1,265,000; Mr. Mihail Popovici 1,519,000; Mr. Raducanu 3,450,000 (exclamations from the majority bench); Raducanu Banc from Tecuci 10,000,000; Mr. Pangal 3,800,000; Mr. Titulescu 19,000,000; and they say, I could not know for sure, that Mr. Argetoianu would figure here with 19,000,000.”

Voices from the majority bench: “They say!”

Mr. Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu: “I am telling you what I was able to discover.” (Interruptions, noise.) “There are others too.”

“Gentlemen, I do not accuse, saying that the given money were bribes or tips, no! Anyway, this money was taken and now it is about seeing what was done there, they do not have total freedom to come and take categorical measures against this bank.”

“Sirs, deputies, if sacrifices are asked for draining this country, can we not consent to the sacrifice which should be made in

draining the Blank bank, because the wedding she made in Paris, where they say she spent 50 million lei, and for other things." (*Exclamations, interruptions*).

"Gentlemen, consequently, we come up with a few practical solutions bearing the note of youth:

"WE DEMAND the introduction of the death penalty, exclusively for the fraudulent manipulators of public funds." (*Applause from many benches*).

Mr. V.G. Ispir: "Mister Codreanu, you call yourself a Christian and bearer of the Christian idea. Let me - a professor of theology - remind you that supporting this idea is anti-Christian." (*Applause*).

Mr. Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu: "Mister professor, allow me to tell you: when the question is whether I choose between death, the disappearance of my country and that of the robber, I prefer the death of the robber and am a better Christian if I do not permit the robber to destroy my country and bring it to its end." (*Applause from many benches*).

"WE DEMAND the revision and confiscation of the fortunes of those that fleeced their poor country." (*Shouts of "Bravo!"*)

"WE DEMAND the calling to account of the politicians that have been proven to have worked against the country, supporting fraudulent private dealings." (*Applauses from many benches*).

"WE DEMAND the future obstruction of political persons that have been proven to have worked against the country, supporting fraudulent private dealings." (*Applauses from many benches*).

"WE DEMAND the future obstruction of political persons to take part in administration councils of various banks and institutions." (*Applauses from more benches*).

"WE DEMAND the ejection of the droves of merciless exploiters who came to this land to exploit the riches of the soil and the labor of our arms."

"WE DEMAND that the Romanian territory be declared an inalienable and imprescriptible property of the Romanian Nation."

A voice from the benches of the National Peasant Party: *It is!*
Mr. Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu: "Not for the Romanian Nation it isn't."

"WE DEMAND the sending to work of all electoral agents and establishing a unique commandment that the entire Romanian Breath obeys in one thought and one soul."

"If at this point in time the leaders of the country are hindered in taking full measures because of the Constitution or the laws in effect, then we are of the opinion that the Lawmaking Bodies should dissolve, that the call should be made and the Constituent Assembly gathered, so that the people designate he who will be called to take all necessary measures for the salvation of Romania." (*Applauses from many benches*).

Point 86

*The Speech by the Legion's Chief in the Country's Parliament.
After the Official Monitor of November 1933*

"Therefore, we expect a new regime, another system, which will come after the weight and the multitude of sin will crush this one. It must correlate to the following needs in order of urgency:"

1. The abolition of these fruitless and expensive discussions of the democratic parliamentarism from which the light never shone and from which the heroic conviction to face the perils of these harsh times cannot emerge.
2. To be replaced by order, to gather in one place all the dispersed energies of the people, clenched in the brotherly fight, to discipline them, to replenish the lost morale, to instill faith in the destiny of the Romanian people and lead them on the paths of this destiny.
3. To declare war on misery and general poverty, putting the good to work and to temperance, sending the parasitical elements to work by force, which play the sluggard role in the hive of the state, all the slothful, who watch the coffee shop tables from dawn till dusk, the bored ones who wander the

streets, all the electoral agents from city halls, prefect's offices, ministries, the democratic ideologues who wish to keep cheap discourses.

4. To abolish all that is parasitism on the worn-out body of the country, to raise up, organize and stimulate the creative energies of the people.
5. To abolish dishonesty and confiscate the riches of the guilty, bringing the stolen money back to the state coffers, to the last dime.
6. To take charge of the large destitute mass, for better or for worse, to eat of the same brown bread and the same poor meal that the downtrodden worker eats. That in these harsh times, moral filth, unequal treatment harms much more than material filth. Some live in luxury, with champagne and caviar and others don't even have polenta, under the people-loving democratic regime.
7. To make justice to the Romanian in his own country. To heal his deep wounds. To right the secular wrongs which he endured during the long times of foreign rulership.
8. To defend Romania from the peril represented by the ever-growing Jewish invasion.
9. To end the existence of the failed democratic state established on the wrong ideology of the French revolution.
To bring about that epochal deed of reformed courage which completely and definitively casts away the system of false abstractions and political philosophy of this revolution.
A great historical epoch dies and, in her place, it's time to establish the foundation for a new epoch. An epoch of returning to the national realities, giving the nation the real notion of natural society, of individuals of the same race, not the judicial meaning of the citizen which allows the mass of invading foreigners who will conquer and oppress us to automatize their transformation in Romanians.
10. To raise from the ground up the new ethnic national state, to

be based upon national culture, family and worker corporations.

Point 87

The Program and the Soul

I refrained from presenting a full program. The major lines are crossed and known (naturally with the risk of being stolen). The programs are based upon national realities and if there are realities that stay, there are many of those that change from day to day.

A program cannot be a combination of theories gathered from the clouds. It must be based on the realities that hurt, realities of our Romanian people. There are wounds that need to be healed. Are you looking for programs? They are to be found on the lips of the masses. You would be better off searching for people. Because in one night anybody can write a program, and there is no need for them in the country. But there is a need for people and wills to fulfill them. There are movements that need no program; they live from the speculation of different problems that appear in life. For example: usury. They devour this and then they die if another prey is not found.

There are others that do have a program. And there are some who have much more than a program, they have a doctrine, they have a religion. It is something of a superior soul, that gathers in a mysterious way the thousands of people determined to create another fate. If the man of program or doctrine is serving the program with any interest, legionaries are the people of great faith for which they are always ready to sacrifice themselves.

Upon this faith will they serve to the end.

However beautiful and complete might seem the program of the lupists, peasant partyists, liberals, you can be sure that no lupist is ready to die for the lupist program, no georgist for theirs and so on.

That is why I put more stock on men gathered around the basis

of great faiths, who will not leave you until death.

Our legionary movement has the character of a spiritual school. It tends to light up unsuspected faiths, it tends to transform, to revolutionize the Romanian soul.

Shout in every direction that evil, misery, ruin, come from the soul. The soul is the cardinal point upon which must be worked. The soul of the individual and the soul of the masses.

A lie are all the new programs and social systems pompously displayed to the people, if in their shadow remains the same robber's soul, the same consciousness devoid of duty, the same breath of betrayal of all that is Romanian, the same debauchery, the same act of waste and luxury.

Call the soul of the people to a new life. Do not seek electoral success if they do not mean at the same time the triumph of the organized forces of the renewed soul.

Programs, what do you mean? Do you believe the we cannot drain swamps? Can we not gather the energies from mountains and electrify the country? Can we not build Romanian cities? Can we not make it so our fields quadruple their yield? Can we not, on our rich soil, ensure the bread of every Romanian? Can we not make laws that ensure the good functioning of a state mechanism appropriate for our time and national particularity? Can we not make five-year plans? Can we not raise here in the top of the Carpathians a nation that will shine like a beacon in the middle of Europe? And which to be the expression of the genius of our Romanian people? We can.

But the big mistake of many political persons was that of showing their plans in detail before being put in the situation of fulfilling them. We also have pocket programs. They are studied ceaselessly, but are kept for their time. If people ask what will you do? Tell them that wonder-making people can achieve many things. For now, our program is:

1. Achieve strength.
2. Maneuver that strength in such a way that it will prevail over

all enemy forces.

3. And then we apply those mentioned programmatical measures. Our ways are legal. In any case, the details, might them be tactics or programs, are part of the operational secret of fighting forces.

Point 88

From the Manifest "A Ruin"

There is no man who has eyes but does not see that this rich country has become a ruin. The ruin of the peasant's household, the ruin of the village (a handful of poor fellows who lament), the ruin of the commune, the ruin of the county, the ruin of the widowed mountains, the ruin of the derelict fields that no longer gives anything to the poor ploughman, the ruin of the state budget, the ruin of the country.

And above all these ruins, stretched along the Romanian soil, a band of scoundrels, a band of imbeciles, a band of thieves without shame built palaces in defiance to the country, slapping injury to the pain of your suffering, Romanian peasant. Never was there seen in the world a more revolting picture, more painful and more brazen.

Above the millions of households which are destroyed, over the millions of souls crying in poverty, the brigand palace is mockingly raised by the plunderer of country. Who is he? Search him through the estranged cities and you will find him. He is the former dodger from 1916. He is the hero of the 100 km from the back of the front or the traitor of country and brothers; he is the enriched by war, the business man, he is the profiteer of the blood you spilled, drop by drop, from your deep wounds.

When you came to 1918, you have praised the man, seeing him fat, well dressed, and you were in rags; from then onwards he took you under his lease, and you fell under his rule with the country you have made on the battlefields. How would you have wanted the poor country to become when a Stere, sentenced to

death for high treason and then forgiven, is now a party leader in Romania, when a Socor, sentenced and demoted for treason, is a parliamentarian and chairman of a newspaper and are leading the Romanian politics? When so many dodgers are ruling the state affairs?

I have raised a flag. Against them, against those who have ruined the country, against the hordes of foreigners and the alienated who sucked even the marrow from our bones, I have raised a flag.

When I left under its shadow, I asked for the blessing of the soldiers who fell on the battlefield for Greater Romania and I called upon all those still alive after those grave battles.

This vengeful flag won at Neamț against the politician cohort. This flag crushed them at Tutova. This flag was sanctified in two battles, we bear it from one end of the country to the other. It emboldens our comrades and terrifies our adversaries. We named ourselves legionaries. We, the servants of this flag, did not bind ourselves together to steal this country, we did not bind ourselves together to gather partisans and give them the bones of our country to gnaw upon. We bound ourselves together to stay poor until the grave, we will be impoverished, even those who are rich, but we have bound ourselves together to triumph. To win and to avenge. We stand ready to sacrifice, all of us ready to die. This is who we, the legionaries, are.

In vain and wrongfully were we confounded by some villagers and townsfolk, believing we are fighting to win and please them, to give them the country to eat. Well, no!

Point 89

To Those Bearing the New Spirit

Legionaries,

The speakers of the old parties, wander again through villages asking for your help to be able to remake themselves. Under their rule, the Romanian spirit everywhere was brought into poverty

and made to kneel before the stranger who barely just arrived. The great meanings of the Fatherland are abandoned. Our politicized world now only sees the party interest, for whose triumph it sacrifices the very future of our people, every day and every hour.

Our mountain forests are collapsing in the hands of the foreigners. The heart suffers in the Moti* and Maramueseni, forgotten by everybody. The neglected Romanian workers are filling the rows of the communist Jews. The Romanian trade is without protection, on bedded knees in unfair fights with the stranger. In the ranks of our glorious army, the dissolvent germ and corruptor of consciousness is penetrating deeper and higher than ever before. And heavy hours are to be expected in the future. If we will be called sometime to the great international exam, who will defend our country's soil and the glory of our flag?

The Romanian peasant is selling his product under cost. The brokers multiplied and are flooding us. The coffee shops are filled with loan sharks and brokers. They are multiplying in the detriment of the working people. The people are despoiled. The Romanian, sunken in debts, has become a modern slave to the kike banker.

The country, divided in parties which are tearing each other apart, is unraveling before our eyes. The leadership of the old parties is not a strong leadership and it does not have the least nationalist direction, the least sway and encouragement of the Romanian element that is holding on its shoulders the life of the country for centuries.

Legionaries,

In the face of this situation, and before the condemned petty politics might rebuild themselves, I pulled the sword and raised

* Moti are people living in the Apuseni Mountains of Transylvania, a though people who earn their living by woodworking. Wood is their main source of income. When this book was written, there was a state-backed Jewish takeover of the forests from Maramuresi and Apuseni Mountains, leaving the natives with the scraps after Jews exploited the top-quality wood.

the new flag of the ages. You can feel it in the air, more acutely, the need for other principles for moral political life. The depoliticization of the country is a commandment of the age. In the place of the old parties, the need for a renewal is being sensed. In place of the parties always leaning towards foreigners, the politics of independence and encouragement of the Romanian spirit upholder of country.

Tell those that come again to grab your hand, that their age is over. "All these speakers can perish". From now on only a single voice will you need to listen to, mysterious and impenetrable like God: the call off the fatherland. This voice you must hear with all your soul. Obey it in one soul.

Romanians,

When your voice and volition will declare victory, Romania will be reborn. It will blossom. Your children will blossom in it like peonies. The foreigner will respect it. The enemy will fear it.

Soldiers of the Legion of Saint Michael!

When you will be granted by God to build this new Romania, from Nistru till Tisa, the nation will receive you with endless applause on the stage of history, from your chest of steel, let the cry of battle and of victory be heard: Long live Romanian Romania! Long live The Legion!

Point 90

Manifest of Professor Cristescu (A Model for Manifests)

Romanians from the county of Vlasca!

A new and determined movement, led by the creed of a Romanian made deed, of sacrifice and honor in the state governance, understood the calling from the whole nation's revolting cry of pain.

For this country, deceived by a band of profiteers and plunderer politicians, threatened and humiliated in her businesses by all foreigners and alienated people, the Legion comes today as a movement of momentum and youth, of enthusiasm and soldierly

discipline.

Under the shield of our ancestral religion, it calls to action for the coronation of a new life of honor and justice. Led by the son of Moldavia, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, who is facing persecution and endures suffering, it fights ceaselessly for the redemption of our nation and for the triumph of justice.

Under his order I took the leadership of the Legion in this county to do my holy duty as Romanian, to call in this organization those who are left with their ancestral hearth and are determined to fight in the spirit of sacrifice beside us for the victory of the Romanian spirit and of justice.

Vlasceni Romanians!

Intellectuals, merchants, ploughmen and workers, understand the commandment of this age and enroll in the Legion.

Professor Vasile Cristescu.

Point 91

The Cuzists

Comrades,

You will never forget that these men called "cuzists" have unremittingly mocked our sufferings for 10 years.

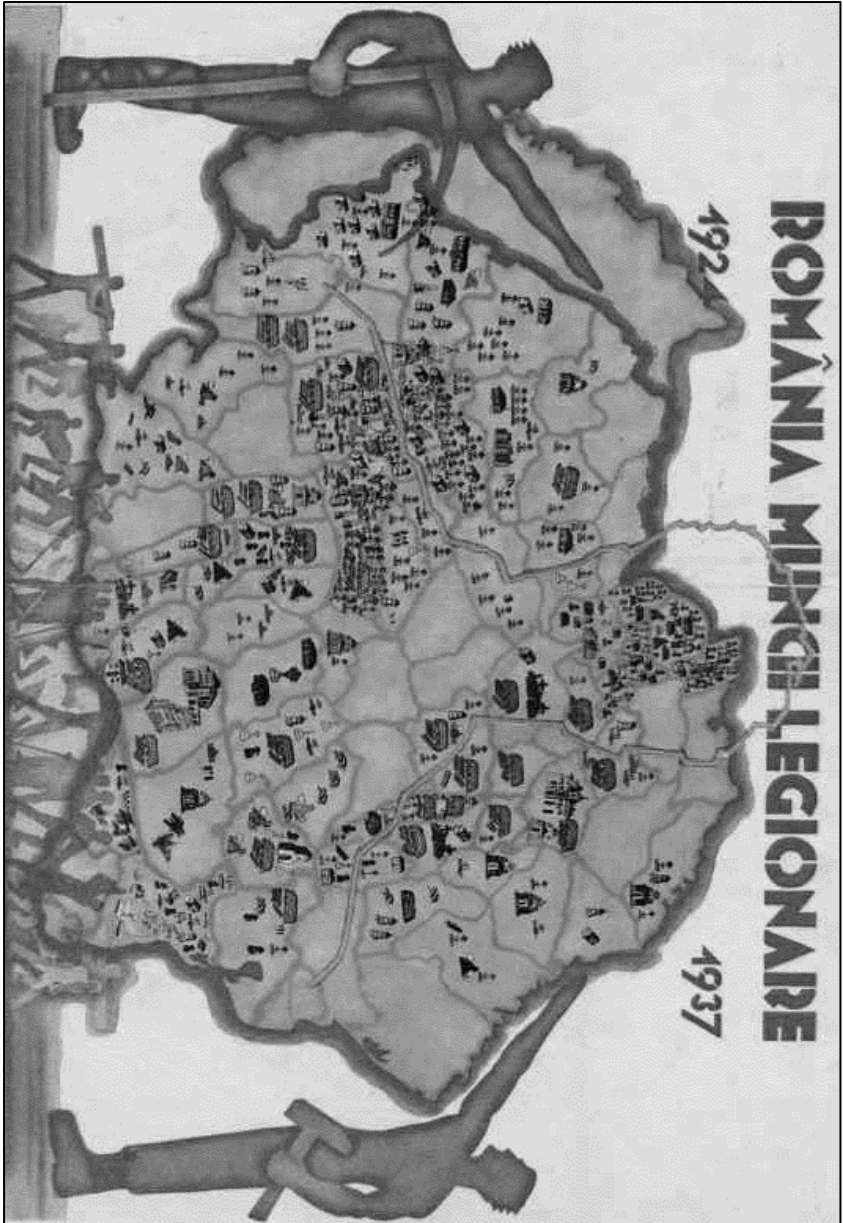
On our backs - the children of yore and of prisons and of all hard times - they have risen, the next day spitting on our cheek, bruised by enemies so many times.

Point 92

Articles from the Laws of the Country that the Agents of the Public Authority, Who Oppose the Legion's Propaganda, Abusing Power, (Mayors, Gendarmes, Policemen, etc.) Must Be Made Aware Of

On Infractions

Art. 187 penal code: It is NOT counted as infraction: imposed act or authorized by law, if it is executed within its conditions, act that was perpetrated by the competent body in virtue of a work order, if this order is given in the legal forms by the competent



"Romania – The Work of Legionaries" – Map displaying the fruit of the work of the legionary camps: cathedrals, churches, monastery restorations, hermitages, dormitories, shelters for the poor and other accomplishments.

authority and if it has no visible illegal character. When the execution of a work order represents an infraction, the superior who gave the order is punished as the author of the infraction, along with the one who executed the order.

Arrests

Art. 11 from the Constitution: Individual freedom is guaranteed. No one can be detained or arrested, unless in the power of a motivated court order, which must be communicated on the moment of the arrest or at the latest time 24 hours after the detainment or arrest.

Art. 254 Penal Code: The court order must be emitted by the instructional judge, the public minister or the courts, in case the law gives them this right, aside from the right to detention for research, accorded to the officers of the judicial police in the interest of first searches.

Art. 207 Penal Code: The detention for research cannot last for more than 24 hours, when someone was detained for research for more than 24 hours, the officer of judicial police who detained him is penalized with correctional prison from 1 to 3 years, correctional interdiction from 1 to 3 years.

Art. 272 combined with 245 from the Penal Code: The public clerk who, usurping an attribute or abusing his legal power, or exceeding the limits of his competency, or neglecting or violating the formalities prescribed by law or straying in any other way from the duties inherent to his position, arrests, detains or retains someone or orders this to be done, commits the felony of illegal arrest and is punishable with correctional prison from 1 to 3 years and correctional interdiction from 1 to 3 years.

Searches

Art. 11 from the Constitution: No one can be searched, unless in the cases and forms provided by laws.

Art. 13 from the Constitution: The residence is inviolable. Visiting the residence can only be done by the competent authorities

in the cases provided by law and according to the forms prescribed by it.

Art. 242 Penal Procedure: If the defendant is detained, any search of his residence is done in the presence of an attorney or proctorial, or if not possible, in the presence of a family member. When the search is done by a judicial police officer, who is not a magistrate, the assistance of two witnesses is mandatory. If the defendant is free, he is called to witness the search, without prior notification.

Art. 249 Penal Procedure: Outside crime and misdemeanor, no search can be conducted from 8 pm to 6 am, in the interior of a house, against the will of he who lives there, only if conducted by the instructional judge in person.

Art. 499 penal code: The public clerk who exceeds the limits of his competence, or who, abusing his power without respecting the formalities imposed by laws, enters or remains within the residence of a person, or in the business place, or on fenced property against the will of he who lives there, or who has the right to use them, commits the felony of breaching of the residence and is punishable with 6 months to 2 years of prison. If on this occasion the residence is also searched or if there is another arbitrary act, the punishment is correctional prison from 1-3 years and a fine of 2000-5000 lei. The tentative is also punished.

Art. 40 from the law of the organization of rural gendarmerie: Acts that could infringe or restrict individual freedom cannot be fulfilled unless based on a written order, released by an authorized authority.

Art. 39 from the law of the organization of rural gendarmerie: At the request of the injured party, the gendarme is obliged to release a certificate copy of the order he received.

Electoral

Art. 12 Electoral law: Romanian citizens will exercise their right to vote based on the elector certificates that are released according to the electoral lists.

Art. 24 Electoral law: Any citizen can address complaints to the president of the electoral bureau of the county against those who are responsible to release his elector certificate and who intentionally refuse to release it. The president, receiving the complaint, will order the release of the certificate and those responsible for its release are bound by law to conform.

Art. 115 Electoral law: Those who influenced the vote of an elector through blows or violence or made him abstain from the vote are punishable with prison from 1 to 3 months and a fine of 500-2000 lei.

Art. 120 Electoral law: Electoral publications and manifests that do not contain slander or instigations against order and the safety or the state cannot be restricted from being displayed on the streets and in public squares. Those who destroy them on purpose will be punished with a fine of 500-2000 lei.

Art. 122 Electoral Law: In case the public minister does not take initiative, 20 electors have the right to intend and sustain public action for the punishing of the felonies committed during the elections.

Art. 232 Penal Code: He who, through violence or threats, prevents a citizen from exercising his political or citizen rights is punishable with simple detention for 3 months up to a year as well as correctional interdiction from 1 to 2 years.

Art. 235 Penal Code: He who, through any means, prevents the free exercising of electoral right, or who forges the works or documents for preparation and execution of electoral operations or of acknowledgement of the result, commits the felony of electoral fraud and is punishable with correctional prison from 1 to 3 months. If the act is committed by a person charged with managing, supervising or assisting the electoral operation, the punishment is correctional prison from 6 months to 2 years and correctional interdiction from 1 to 3 years. The penal action can be set in motion by a number of 20 electors, if it has not been set in motion by the injured party or public ministry.

Refusal of Service

Art. 234 Penal Code: The public clerk who unjustly refuses, omits or delays the fulfilling of an act which he is obliged to fulfill by virtue of his position or service, commits the felony of refusal of service and is punishable with correctional prison from 6 months to one year and a fine of 2000-500 lei.

Abuse of Power

Art. 245 Penal Code: The public clerk who, usurping an attribute of his position or abusing his legal power or exceeding the limits of his competence, or ignoring or violating the formalities prescribed by law, or diverting himself in any other way from the duties inherent to his position commits an act which the law does not consider an infraction, but in the purpose of unjustly procuring something for someone, a favor, or to cause a prejudice in any way, commits the felony of abuse of power and is punishable with prison from 6 months to 2 years and correctional interdiction from 1 to 3 years. The same punishment is applicable when the act is committed with the purpose of unjustly constraining a person to do, omit or suffer something. The tentative is also punishable.

Abuse of Authority

Art. 246 Penal Code: The public clerk who, without a just reason, makes use of armed force, because this act would not constitute a graver infraction or following it another graver infraction wouldn't take place, commits the felony of abuse of authority and is punishable with correctional prison from 1 to 3 years and correctional interdiction from 1 to 3 years.

Abusive Behaviour

Art. 248 Penal Code: The public clerk who, when exercising his function, addresses abusive words to a person or makes use of violence against a person, because the act would not constitute a graver infraction, commits the felony of abusive behavior and is punishable with correctional prison from 1 to 3 months.

Violation of Secrecy

Art. 502 Penal Code: He who steals or suppresses a closed or open correspondence or any other writing, which is not addressed to him, commits the felony of correspondence theft and is punishable with correctional prison from one month to a year, and when he divulges the contents towards procuring a material benefit or causing material or moral prejudice to another, the punishment is correctional prison from 1 to 3 years and a fine from 2000 to 3000 lei.

Art. 503 Penal Code: He who obtains or uses a telegraphic communication or telephonic conversation in a fraudulent manner commits the felony of fraudulent interception of telegraphic or telephonic communication and is punishable with correctional prison from 1 to 5 months. When the offender divulges the telegraphic or telephonic communication with the purpose of obtaining a material benefit or creates a moral or material prejudice to another, the punishment is correctional prison from 6 months to 2 years.

Art. 504 Penal Code: When the above felony is committed by public clerks, the punishment is increased up to 2 years.

So: the public clerk does either what the law commands him, either what his superior commands him. When he executes an order that the law issues, that order must be carried out in the boundaries of the law, with the formalities it requires and when he carries out an order of service given by his superior, that order must have been issued within the forms permitted by law, to have been issued by a superior who had the right to issue it and not be contrary to the law; as for he who receives the order, he must have the right to carry it out.

If based on an order of service, the subordinate commits a crime or felony, both he and the superior who issued the order are punished.

Individual liberty is guaranteed by the Constitution. Any act that infringes this liberty cannot be carried out unless based on a

written order, regardless of which authority issues the order. When a gendarme carries out an order which deprives a man of his freedom (arrest, residence search), if this man requests it, the gendarme is obliged to immediately release a certificate copy of the order he carries out.

The constitution of the country stipulates that no one be arrested unless based on a judicial warrant, this warrant must be shown to the arrested, even in the moment of arrest or at the most 24 hours after the arrest (according to Art. 11 of the Constitution).

The penal code demands that the arrest warrant be issued by the instructional judge, or prosecutor, or a court.

The law gives officers of the judicial police (prosecutor, instructional judge, rural wheel judge, commissar, post chief) the right to detain the accused, for research purposes, but this detainment must not exceed 24 hours or the officer of judicial police who arrested him will be punished according to Art. 207 of the Penal Code.

When a public clerk arrests someone or orders the arrest of someone without the law giving him the right to make arrests, or even when he has this right, if he arrests someone based on his personal whim, without considering the formalities required by law, he will be punished according to Art. 272 Penal Code, for illegal arrest.

So, when an agent of the public force comes to arrest you, ask him in what quality he does so and ask to see the written order. The Constitution says that nobody can be searched, unless in the cases stipulated by law and only within the forms shown by the law (art. 11 from the Constitution).

The domicile is inviolable. No visitation of the residence can be conducted unless by the rightful authorities, only in the cases shown by law and only within the formalities required by law. Authorities who have this right are: officers of judicial police (instructional judges, prosecutors, judges of rural wheels, commissar, post chief) and cannot make residence searches unless with a

written authorization from the instructional judge.

So, if he whose residence is being searched is arrested, the residence cannot be searched unless in his presence or a man empowered by him, or at least a member of his family. When the search is done by a commissar or a post chief, two witnesses must be present. If the accused is free, he must be called to assist the search (art. 208 Penal Procedure, art. 247, 249 pr. Gen).

Residence searches cannot be made between 8 pm and 6 am, unless in the case of murder or wrongdoing. The instructional judge can do it at any time (art. 249 pr. Pen.).

When a public clerk enters the residence or yard of a person who lives there, against his will, abusing his power without having any authorization, he will be punished according to art. 499 Penal Code, for violation of the domicile. And if on this occasion the residence was also searched, or the resident insulted or hit, the clerk will have increased punishment (art. 499 Penal Code). All Romanian citizens registered on the electoral lists have the right to vote. Any legionary who is 21 years old has a duty to register on the electoral lists. If your elector card is not given to you, complain immediately to the president of the county electoral bureau.

Electoral manifests can be posted at any time on streets and in public squares, not only during the elections. All legionaries must know that the ordinances through which county prefects forbid this are illegal.

He who destroys electoral posters will be punished according to Art. 120 from the electoral law. He who prevents a citizen from voting will be punished according to Art. 232 Penal Code. No one can vote more than once or he will be punished according to Art. 235 Penal Code, 20 electors will be able to kvetch to the Prosecutor's Office.

If a legionary forwards a petition to an authority requesting an investigation and the ones responsible to resolve the petition do not wish to do so, or forbid its resolution, to display spite against

us, the legionary must know that if the public clerk is reported, he will be punished according to art. 243 from the Penal Code.

The authorities often commit abuses of power especially against legionaries, unlawful deeds committed by authorities that do not have the legal power to do them, either to bring a benefit to someone close to them, or to bring prejudice to a legionary.

These abuses are punishable according to art. 245 of the Penal Code. Legionaries must not allow themselves to be trampled on. If a public clerk or authority (ex. Prefect of county or other) makes use of armed force without a valid reason, it is punishable according to art. 246 of the Penal Code. The public clerk must behave respectfully with those he is bound to serve. If while exercising his position he insults or strikes those he is bound to serve, he is punishable according to art. 248 of the Penal Code.

Secrecy of letters is guaranteed by the Constitution.

No one is allowed to open the closed letter of another or read the opened ones because he is punishable according to art. 502 of the Penal Code. It so happens that good-for-nothings from the government, or authorities, open letters, even recommended and addressed to legionaries, invoking censorship or state of siege as reason.

Legionaries must know that these are stark abuses and that no law in the world gives someone the right to open the letters of another or to stop newspapers and publications that are sent to legionaries by mail, or to sneakily listen and sell the telephonic conversations of legionaries.

Central Legionary Legal Department.

Point 93

Poem of the Nest Leader

*Hear out in the mountains, a voice of horns resounds
And everything around you, deeply it struggles!
Raise your head and get up
Thee who are raised in the old school,*

*And confidently enter in the ranks
For those who wish our country to be taken
Have lost themselves in swarms of locusts
And have made our borders narrower.
If you find yourself on a backwater
On plains, on hills or in deep valleys,
In fields which stretch further than the eye can see,
Do not hesitate to listen to the calling.
In the Legion, we're by the thousand
Men, strong youths and even children
In our chest and everyone's
The same longing boils:
The Ancestral Land girded by the Nistru.
From Tisa to ancient Istru
With all its endless treasures
Shall be ours and ours alone...
Hear me, are you pleased, I wonder,
That all the sacrifices of those who have died
Shall disperse like smoke in the wind?
Can your heart withstand it,
To see your kin in deathly poverty
Whereas foreigners -carried- by a foul wind-
Sovereigns of everything silver and golden
Wallow in wealth and satisfied to the neck
In fairs with palaces
Defiantly lit?
Rise right now, Romanian,
And step into the ranks of the Legion
And feel the thrill of holy determination
And the blessing of those from the grave!*

5th March 1933 Petre C. Stefan,
peasant Leader of the Balcesti – Arges Group.

This brochure is the fundamental law of the Legion, the only

law that the organization officially employs. All that has appeared before it is abolished.

Comrades, I have written this manual to everyone's understanding. Now let's get to work.

THE LEGION'S CHIEF

THE OATH OF THE LEGIONARIES MOȚA AND MARIN

I SWEAR before God,

Before your holy sacrifice for Christ and for the Legion.

To tear from me the worldly joys,

To pluck myself from humanly love,

And for the resurrection of my nation,

At any moment,

To stand ready for death.

I SWEAR!

The Oath of the Legionary Staff

Beloved comrades!

Whenever I was put in front of a legionary sacrifice, I told myself: How awful would it be if a winning caste would be built upon the supreme, holy sacrifice of our comrades, and for that caste, doors towards a life of business, of fantastic deals, of theft, of gluttony, of the exploitation of others would be opened. Thus, some have died so that others could get rich and live a comfy and salacious life!

Behold, now God has brought us here, in front of the greatest sacrifice that the Legionary Movement could give. Let us put the heart, forehead and body of Moța and of his comrade Marin as foundation of the Romanian Nation. Foundation over the centuries for the future Romanian magnifications. Let us put, therefore, on Moța and Marin, the basis of the future Romanian elite, who will be called to make of this nation that which our mind barely dares to dream.

You who represent the first beginnings of this elite, do bind yourselves through oath, that you will behave in such a way as to be the true healthy beginning of the future Romanian elite, that

you will defend the entire Legionary Movement, so that it does not stray on ways of business, of luxury, of wealthy living, of immorality, of satisfaction of personal ambitions or vainglorious desires.

You will swear that you've understood, thus there is no more doubt in your conscience that Ion Moța and Vasile Marin have not made their great sacrifice so that some of us today or tomorrow could indulge ourselves with luxurious goods and revel over their graves. They have not died so we can take our place in the palace of the caste of exploiters, continuing the exploitation of the country and of the work of others, continuing the life of dealings, of luxury, of promiscuity.

In this case, the Romanian crowds, through our victory, would change only the firm of the exploiters and our country would tense all its tired muscles to endure a new category of vampires that suck its blood, us.

Oh! MOȚA, you have not died for this. You've made your sacrifice for the nation. That is why you will swear that you've understood that being legionary elite, in our language, does not mean only fighting to win, but it means: Permanently sacrificing in service to the nation, that the idea of elite is tied with the idea of sacrifice, of poverty, of harsh and severe living, that where self-sacrifice ceases, there the legionary elite ceases to be.

We will therefore swear to pass this covenant on to our successors, to come and take the oath at the grave of Moța and Marin, on the following essential conditions of the elite, which we ourselves do swear:

1. To live in poverty, killing in ourselves the lusts of material enrichment.
2. To live a hard life and to severely banish luxury and indulgence.
3. To remove any attempt at the exploitation of man by man.
4. To permanently sacrifice for the country.
5. To defend the Legionary Movement with all our strength

against anything that could lead it towards compromises or disrepute; or against anything that could lower even its highest moral standard.

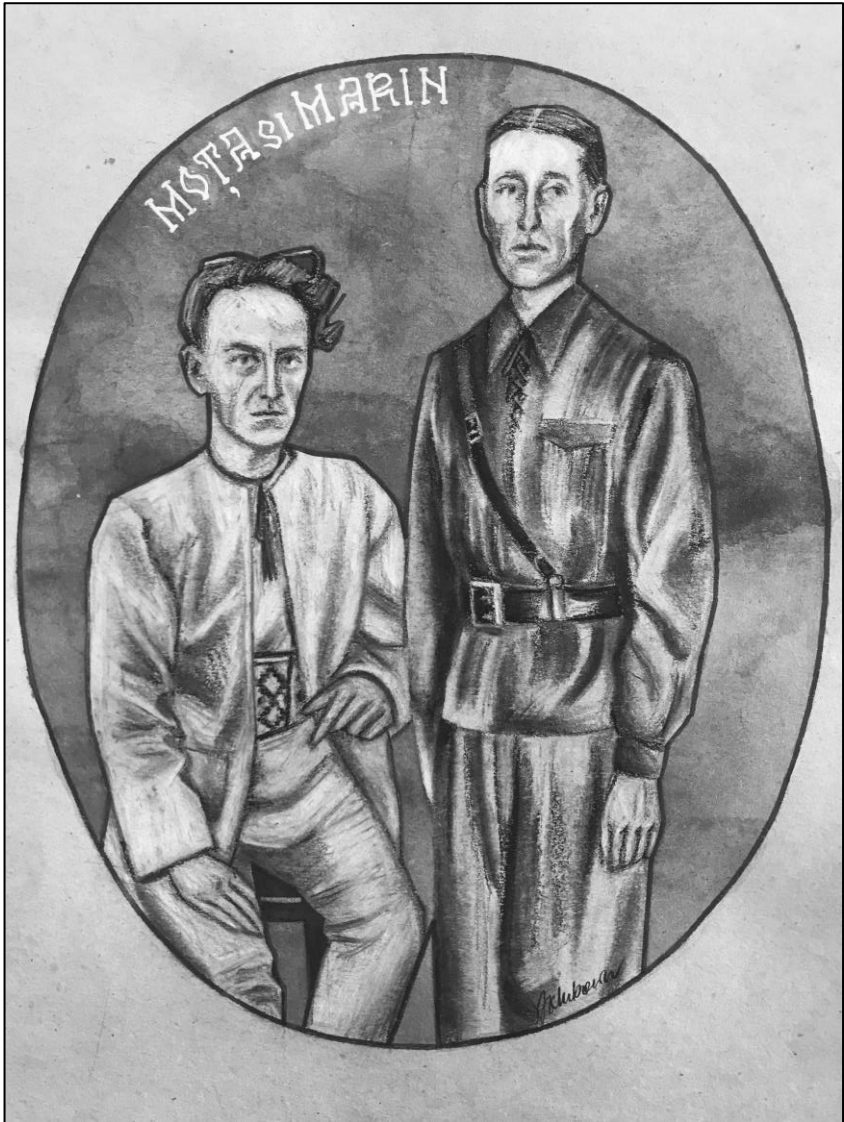
MOȚA AND MARIN,
WE SWEAR

Bucuresti 12th Februarie 1937.

The Ten Commandments

That a legionary must keep, not to stray from his glorious path in these days of darkness, of satanic temptation. So that the entire world knows that we are legionaries and we remain legionaries forever and ever.

1. **DO NOT BELIEVE** any kind of information, news, opinions about the Legionary Movement, read in any sheet, even if it seems nationalist, or whispered by agents, or even by men of good faith. The legionary only believes the order and word of his chief. If this word does not come, then it means that nothing has changed and the legionary silently goes forward on his path.
2. **DISCERN WELL** who stands before you. Weigh the man justly whether when he is an enemy who seeks to trick you, or a stupid friend, who got tricked beforehand by the enemy.
3. **GUARD YOURSELF** from the stranger who spurs you to do something, like from a great misfortune. He has a hidden interest and seeks to fulfill it through you, or to compromise yourself in front of the other legionaries. The legionary only acts upon orders or from his own initiative.
4. **IF** someone wants to lure you or buy you: spit in his eye. Legionaries are neither stupid, nor for sale.
5. **RUN** from those who offer gifts. Do not take anything.
6. **DEPART** from those who flatter you with praise.
7. **WHERE** you are only three legionaries, live like brothers among you; unity, unity and again unity. Sacrifice everything, trample over yourself with all your lusts and with all selfish-



Ion Moța and Vasile Marin.

- ness within you for this unity. She, UNITY, will grant us victory.
8. DO NOT SPEAK ILL of your comrades. Do not snitch on them. Do not whisper and do not permit being whispered to.
 9. DO NOT BE AFRAID if you do not receive orders, news, answers to letters; or if it seems to you that the fight is stagnating. Do not be alarmed, do not think it tragic, for God is above us and your leaders know the good road and know what they want.
 10. IN YOUR SOLITUDE pray to God, in the name of our dead, so that He helps us suffer all blows unto the end of suffering and unto the great resurrection and legionary victory.

March 1935 Corneliu Zelea Codreanu

The "Friends of the Legionaries" Association

Statutes!

Behold the statutes of the association.

"We took initiative to establish a connection between those who have not become and cannot become legionaries.

"There are many who have been with this movement in spirit, but could not enroll either because they were public clerks, had private businesses, either because they were merchants or industrialists confined by many hardships in their professions, either because their character is in such a way built that they could not completely integrate in the severe spirituality of this movement.

"Still there is a large part of Romanians from this country who recognize that these young men deserve a helping hand on the front that they freeze on, fighting for the nation.

"Gaze in all directions; countries like Italy, Belgium and Germany who are resurrected to new life and from victory to victory cleave new paths under the sun.

"Only we, only we Romanians, do sit. We watch, indifferently, every convulsion of our youth and believe in every slander hurled against it.

"A question tears our heart: Are we, this nation, destined only

to fail? Can we not give a great Romanian victory to the world?

"These thoughts made us navigate towards a sort of discreet association of aid to the youth, entitled "Friends of the Legionaries".

The Decision of the Legionary Command

We have presented ourselves to the leadership of the legionary movement, from where we received the following answer:

"We receive your proposal with joy. It will be of real help towards victory.

"This proposal, however, resolves another issue.

"Around us we have; friends, indifferents and enemies. We would consider it a disaster, if tomorrow, when the horn of victory will sound over the Romanian land, those who've been true friends of the nation would be discarded with disdain, and those who've been our enemies or have remained indifferent until the hour of victory, would be charged with innumerable rewards like heroes of the last hour. This sad painting haunts us for a long time. For if this would happen on the second day following victory, the entire legionary work would crumble.

"That is why your proposal is a saving grace: on its basis, we will be able to recognize those who've been friends in dire times, those who've been indifferent to all the trials of this nation and those who've hated us with spite.

"We are after no act of revenge, rather we feel the necessity to create a feeling of responsibility amidst this Romanian nation.

Each will have to answer for his attitude. A nation willing to have all opinions, all attitudes, all changes and all compromise cannot live in the world."

Those Who Cannot Be Allowed to Join

Therefore, the Legionary Movement's chain of command has approved this initiative, however on three conditions:

We allow those Christian friends from any party, movement or social category. We are interested neither in the social class, nor

the political group they are a part of and in which they can remain in the future. We never allow the friendship of:

- A) Those who have attacked us with villainy and had an infamous attitude.
- B) Those who proved themselves, through their interactions with us, to be men without character.
- C) Those who've not been fair, gathering wealth from dirty dealings or taking for themselves public money.

Anyone, therefore, can enter this world of Legionary Friends, aside from these three categories.

Requirements for Enlisting

After this reply, we have agreed on the following directives:

1. Legionary friends help legionaries materially and morally, each after their own strength, monthly or annually.
2. They are wholly outside the legionary organization; whose internal laws are much harsher.
3. They don't know each other and never hold meetings.
4. They cannot be known either by legionaries.
5. The first meeting of these people will take place on the day of Victory. Then they will be gathered and named by the Legion's Chief, they will be known to legionaries and celebrated by the entire breath.
6. They own a number and a password.
7. They will be correctly informed, on time, about all important legionary issues.

Credits



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