From Elite Pamphleteers to Social Movement Protagonists: Antisemitic Activism in 1920s Romania

ROLAND CLARK

University of Liverpool

Introduction

Antisemitism was one of the most popular ways for educated elites to articulate Romanian national pride during the second half of the nineteenth century. Individuals from all social classes expressed antisemitic sentiments and hostility towards Jews, but sixty percent of Romanians were still illiterate in 1912 and few subscribed to the periodicals in which intellectuals complained about Jewish influence in public life.[1] A host of antisemitic social movements emerged after the war, however, populated primarily by shopkeepers, teachers, and leaseholders. The most important of these movements included the Guard of the National Conscience, the National Romanian Fascists (FNR), Romanian Action, and the National Christian Defence League (LANC). To these one could add the Veterans' Union, the Reserve Officers' Union, the Former Guards' Association, and the Human Rights League, among others. Whereas Romanian politics had formerly been the domain of a handful of elites, after the war groups such as these mobilized tens of thousands of Romanians into ultranationalist organizations.

NISE SNM

Roland Clark, 'From Elite Pamphleteers to Social Movement Protagonists: Antisemitic Activism in 1920s Romania' in: *Studies on National Movements* 4 (2019)

The sudden appearance of so many antisemitic social movements with similar grievances needs to be explained. Why did these people choose to organize through social movements rather than political parties or pressure groups, why was it antisemitism that united them, and why did it happen so soon after the war? This paper examines what it meant for individuals to identify themselves as protagonists of antisemitic social movements by tracing the creation of ultranationalist subjectivities in the context of a nationalising nation-state.[2] Charles Tilly and others have noted the strong correlation between democratic forms of government and the emergence of social movements as a popular form of contentious social action.[3] Although the electoral system remained corrupt and systematically discriminated against non-government candidates, the size of the electorate expanded dramatically following the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1918.[4] The extension of male suffrage corresponded with a vast expansion of Romanian territory. Following the First World War, the Old Kingdom of Romania – a nation-state established on the basis of the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia during the second half of the nineteenth century – incorporated areas formally ruled by the Russian and Habsburg empires and the Bulgarian state, adding roughly 8.5 million people, many of them now ethnic minorities.[5] The 'Greater Romanian' state, as it became known, began an energetic nationalizing campaign expressly aimed at establishing the hegemony of ethnic Romanians at the expense of Jews, Hungarians, Germans, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, and other minority groups.[6]

The context in which suffrage expanded grounded Romanian democracy in the *ethnos* rather than the *demos*, legitimating ethnic nationalism in public discourse and empowering individuals and groups who embraced it.[7] Antisemites adapted to the new conditions by turning from pamphleteering to mobilize larger numbers of people within social movements. Bert Unseem and Mayer N. Zald argue that whereas members of pressure groups usually occupy privileged positions within the polity, do not attempt to mobilize new constituencies, and communicate in ways that are normal

within their political systems, social movement protagonists are often people who feel excluded from political decision making, address previously unmobilized constituencies, and organize outside of the usual political channels.[8] Nationalists had established antisemitism as a master frame for nationalist organizing during the nineteenth century, and the change in the nature of the Romanian polity after the war created new opportunities for previously excluded protagonists to have their voices heard through antisemitic social movements, thus paving the way for new antisemitic voices in Greater Romania.

Dylan Riley has noted that Romanian civil society developed rapidly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through the growth of rural credit cooperatives, and argues that although the state had sponsored the cooperative movement, none of the major political parties were able to harness that growth to exercise 'intellectual and moral leadership rather than simply naked coercive power over a set of other intraclass groupings or classes.[9]' The result, Riley argues, is that by the end of the interwar period the Legion of the Archangel Michael had established fascism as a popular alternative to the ruling elite because of the latter's 'inability to articulate a national task capable of establishing a cross-class alliance and their inability to construct solid political organizations within which to pursue their class interests.'[10] Riley's focus on class causes him to dwell disproportionately on the cooperative movement, when stronger models for mobilising civil society already existed (albeit outside of the Old Kingdom) in the nationalist movements of the nineteenth century. These models formed the organizational basis for antisemitic social movements, which filled the 'vacuum' within civil society at the very beginning of the interwar period, thus consolidating the influence of ultranationalism over Romanian civil society a decade before the rise of fascism in the 1930s.

Nineteenth Century Antisemitism

Antisemitism was widespread in late nineteenth century Romania, both at a popular level and within state policies. Governments passed antisemitic legislation, intellectuals excoriated Jews in defence of Romanian culture, and peasants attacked Jewish homes and businesses. Pamphlets accusing Jews of ritual murder circulated in the Romanian principalities during the eighteenth century, Greek and Bulgarian merchants stirred up trouble for Jews in major commercial centres, and monasteries printed antisemitic literature well into the nineteenth century.[11] Jews petitioned the revolutionary councils in Bucharest, Iaşi, and Blaj for equal rights during the unrest of 1848, but the liberal nationalist revolutionaries were at first unable and – several decades later – unwilling to fulfil their initial promises to emancipate Jews.[12] A Jewish doctor named Iuliu Barasch published a pamphlet in 1861 entitled *L'émancipation des Israélites en Roumanie* (*The Emancipation of Jews in Romania*) asking Romania's new leader, Alexandru Ion Cuza, to extend civil rights to Jews.

Cuza granted Jewish emancipation in December 1865, but dissatisfied nobles overthrew Cuza four months later, replacing him with a Hohenzollern prince who came to be known as Carol I. Carol's supporters introduced a new constitution in June 1866, article 7 of which stipulated that 'only foreigners of the Christian religion are eligible to become Romanians'.[13] The following year, the Minister of the Interior, Ion C. Brătianu, ordered the police to deport any Jews who could not prove that they had clearly established occupations. His successor, Mihail Kogălniceanu, began a similar campaign in 1869 that resulted in the expulsion of 1,200 people from their homes.[14] By binding antisemitism to the Romanian national project, successive governments established antisemitism as a master frame shaping nationalist activism.[15]

The overwhelming success of antisemitism as a master frame for nationalist activism can be seen in the writings of intellectual elites during the1870s.

The writer and journalist Ioan Slavici warned that 'we cannot allow these foreigners to fall from the sky, to take control of the sources of our wealth, to ruin our language, fashion and customs, to transform our nobles into serfs and our peasants into helots; we cannot permit the Jews to hamper our natural development'.[16] Similarly, the poet Mihai Eminescu attacked Jews in numerous articles, arguing that Jews were preventing Romanian economic development because 'they are usurers and are the ones expropriating [our wealth]'. 'Accustomed to organizing quickly and easily', he wrote in 1881, 'united by racial solidarity, greed, and religion, every day they give orders in the synagogue for competing with and destroying Romanian business'.[17] Around the turn of the century, Constantin Stere, a politician who championed the economic rights of the peasantry, argued that Romanians were engaged in a 'national conflict' with the Jews. 'Arriving at a critical moment of our economic, political, and cultural development', Stere maintained, 'they formed the entire middle class in many regions, thereby preventing the normal development of the country'. Moreover, he said, 'as representatives of 'capitalism', Jews appear in reality as agents of 'vagabond' capital, commercial and financial capital which ... does not serve the progressive, creative, or 'revolutionary' function of industrial capital, but limits itself to capitalizing income without developing and organizing production'.[18] On the other side of the political spectrum, the nationalist historian Nicolae Iorga described Jews as 'pillagers' who by selling peasants alcohol 'murdered the beauty of both people and places'.[19]

The Antisemitic Press

The first expressions of organized antisemitism were influenced by developments elsewhere in Europe. Nationalist antisemitism emerged out of the German Conservative movement of the 1870s, intensifying in the wake of the economic downturn of 1873.[20] Wilhelm Marr coined the word 'antisemitism' in 1879, and he founded the *Antisemitenliga* (The League of

Antisemites) in Germany that same year.[21] A Saxon politician named Alexander Pinkert organized the 'First International Anti-Jewish Congress' in Dresden in 1882, and its second congress held in Chemnitz in 1883 included delegates from Romania.[22] In 1886 the 'Universal Anti-Israelite Alliance' held two inaugural congresses; one in Bucharest and another in Craiova a few days later. Although 2,000 people attended the Craiova congress, the Bucharest meeting aimed at a more international audience; two representatives from Austria-Hungary and one from France adhered to the organization's foundational statues alongside a handful of well-known Romanian antisemites that included two senators. The 'Universal Anti-Israelite Alliance' established its headquarters in Paris even though most of its members were Romanian, and elected Edouard Drumont, the author of *La France Juive* (*Jewish France*) as its president. Its stated goal was 'to protect the natural and hereditary rights of non-Jews from Israelite pretentions'.[23] By 1887 Romania could boast a 'Romanian Antisemitic Society', a 'Romanian Antisemitic Alliance', and a 'Universal Antisemitic Alliance'.[24] The teacher and influential bureaucrat Nae Dumitrescu founded another 'Antisemitic Alliance' in Bucharest in 1895, adding to the number but not the influence of such societies.[25]

Although antisemitic social movements did not appear until after the First World War, explicitly antisemitic newspapers created 'print communities', drawing like-minded people together and making them aware of each other's existence.[26] Individuals established antisemitic newspapers to make money or to gain public office.[27] In 1892 a retired army officer named Ion Manolescu-Mladian launched *Strigătul* (*The Cry*) in Iaşi to publicize his entry into politics. His first move was to invite the presidents of fifteen guilds and community groups to a meeting where he hoped they would agree to collaborate with his project to fight Jewish commerce in the city.[28] Subsequent issues of the newspaper do not mention whether anyone came to his meeting, and the newspaper soon disappeared.

It is difficult to know how successful such publications were, but according to N. Ştefănescu, when he launched *Antisemitul* in Brăila its first issue sold out so quickly that he immediately increased its print run to 20,000 copies and arranged for national distribution.[29] Not all antisemitic newspapers did that well. After its second issue, Bucharest's *Antisemitul* had to give up selling through street vendors at all, sending copies directly to subscribers only.[30] There does not appear to have been a large antisemitic reading public at the end of the nineteenth century. Antisemitism was not always good business, as Gheorghe Roşianu discovered when he printed a forty page brochure entitled *Deşteaptă-te Române!* (*Wake Up, Romanian!*) in Focşani in 1899.[31] Roşianu was a seasonal labourer in his early thirties who often found himself unemployed during the winter. He says, 'I thought that I would have a great success, but I was bitterly deceived, for the Romanians in Focşani are all partisans of the Yids'.[32] The first publisher he went to stole his money, and then the city's notables told him that 'I am misguided if I have the audacity to write against the Yids, saying that Romanians could not live in their country if Romania was not overwhelmed by Jews, because the Yids control all of the commerce and all of the money in the country'.[33]

Other publications gradually introduced antisemitic agendas over time. Em. Al. Manoliu's *Ecoul Moldovei*, for example, was one of the most successful antisemitic newspapers of the early twentieth century, but in its first issue it defended a Jewish businessman against libel and did not begin printing antisemitic articles until its third year of publication.[34] Similarly, *Meseriaşul român* (*The Romanian Tradesman*) avoided antisemitism entirely during its first eight months and only started attacking Jews after the peasants' revolt of 1888.[35] Father Ion Moţa, whose *Libertatea* (*Liberty*) was another popular publication amongst antisemites, rarely mentioned antisemitism until 1925, when he introduced a regular rubric attacking Jewish bankers.[36] As an iconic nationalist publication in the years leading up to Transylvania's incorporation into Greater Romania, many readers took out subscriptions not only for themselves but also for others in their villages, bringing the number of subscribers up to 16,000 in 1914.[37]

The Nationalist Democratic Party

The country's first antisemitic political party was established in 1910 as *Partidul Naționalist Democrat* (the Nationalist Democratic Party). Its most prominent members were wealthy individuals already associated with antisemitic causes. Key protagonists included Colonel Ion Manolescu-Mladian, who had founded the antisemitic newspaper *Strigătul* in 1892;[38] Vasile M. Kogălniceanu, who had made his name as a spokesman for the small landlords during the 1907 peasant rebellion;[39] Ion Zelea Codreanu, who had founded the nationalist society *Munca* (Work) at Huși in 1907 and in 1910 was facing disciplinary action for encouraging high school students to wear national costumes instead of their school uniforms;[40] and Corneliu Șumuleanu, an outspoken antisemitic professor of Chemistry at the University of Iași.[41] The joint presidents of the party were Nicolae Iorga and A. C. Cuza. Both were university professors and leading spokesmen for a literary movement known as Sămănătorism. Sămănătorists cultivated an anti-liberal nationalism by promoting folk values in art and arguing against the free circulation of foreign literature and the recognition of foreign degrees.[42]

These intellectuals romanticized the peasantry, nostalgically hoping to return to an imagined age before Romania was "corrupted" by capitalism, industrialization and other foreign imports.[43] During the 1890s Iorga argued that nineteenth century Romanian politicians were concerned entirely with using their positions for personal gain.[44] Shortly after the turn of the century, another Sămănătorist, the philosopher Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, attacked what he called 'politicianism', by which he meant 'that type of political activity – or better, an elaborate abuse of political rights – through which some citizens of a state try and sometimes succeed in transforming public institutions and services … into means for promoting their personal interests'.[45] The term quickly became a catchcry for reformers and nationalists throughout the interwar period. Iorga writes in his memoirs that during this period both he and Cuza independently

concluded that Jews threatened the Romanian nation and that cultural protectionism was necessary to defend Romanian artists and writers.[46] Iorga's earlier writings accused Jews of harbouring irredentist feelings for the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Cuza believed that they were strangling Romanian culture. Whereas Iorga demanded that Jews renounce their culture, language and dress to become Romanians, Cuza wanted them out of the country entirely.[47]

From 1906 onwards Iorga and Cuza collaborated regularly on Iorga's newspaper, *Neamul românesc* (*The Romanian People*), and in 1908 they began holding public meetings to publicize the Nationalist Democratic movement, which became a formal political party two years later.[48] Most of these meetings involved speaking about the goals of the new party, but Iorga's defining moment as a nationalist demagogue came two years earlier, on 13 March 1906. That day Iorga agitated amongst university students to arrange a protest against a French-language play being performed at the National Theatre. He had attempted such protests before, always with prior approval and with little success. This particular protest got out of hand once the students started a riot, overturning trams and throwing rocks and tiles at mounted gendarmes. Iorga quickly left the scene, but the incident made him famous as a defender of Romanian culture who was willing to operate on the edges of the law. Iorga followed up on his success with a national speaking-tour.[49] Six years later some of the students involved in these protests founded the Nationalist Democratic newspaper *Unirea* (*Unification*), claiming that the 1906 riot was 'a spontaneous movement for defending unappreciated Romanian culture, [which] suddenly became an unstoppable awakening of national consciousness ... that later became the Nationalist Democratic Party'.[50]

The Nationalist Democratic program spoke about harnessing the peasantry as a political force, destroying Jewish involvement in Romanian politics, society and commerce, and strengthening Romania's international influence.[51] Once he was elected as a Nationalist Democratic deputy, Iorga

gave a lengthy speech in parliament outlining how Jews had exploited Romanians for decades and were a threat to Romanian domination of the state.[52] A propaganda poster from 1911 announced that 'the goal of the Democratic Nationalists is to give this country back to the people who worked it'.[53] By this they meant taking the country back from the 'exploiting Yids' into whose hands they said Romania had fallen.[54] Aware of his party's affinities with the radical right elsewhere in Europe, Iorga contacted the antisemitic mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger, in 1910, hoping to secure his support for the Romanian Nationalist Democrats.[55]

As Romania vacillated from 1914 to 1916 between joining the Central Powers or the Triple Entente in the First World War, most political parties were also divided on the issue. In 1916 the two Nationalist Democratic presidents definitively parted ways when Iorga declared himself in favour of an Anglo-French alliance and Cuza insisted on supporting Germany and its allies. Each man claimed to be the legitimate leader of the party, and each promoted 'Nationalist Democratic' positions through his own newspaper; Iorga in *Neamul românesc* and Cuza in *Unirea*.[56] Iorga continued to lead the Nationalist Democrats after the war, while Cuza and Codreanu ran as candidates for General Averescu's *Partidul Poporului* (People's Party), which came to power in March 1920. A month after the elections, Cuza and Codreanu renounced their affiliation with the governing People's Party and claimed to represent those Nationalist Democrats 'who have not abandoned [the Party's] doctrines'.[57]

The First World War

World War One significantly changed how ordinary people related to nations and states in East-Central Europe. In Germany, food shortages mobilized Berlin's population into making demands on the state and caused Germans to think of themselves as citizens rather than just as subjects.[58] In

Austria-Hungary, the war broke what tenuous bonds existed between the empire and its subjects, catalysing irredentism and producing mass movements on both the left and right.[59] Governments of the new or expanded nation-states imposed their authority wherever national indifference or strong regional identities threatened to undermine the nationalization of newly incorporated citizens.[60] The war was particularly brutal in Romania, which lost roughly twenty six percent of its soldiers and ten percent of its prewar population, not only to military actions but also to typhoid and other epidemics.[61] Industry was crippled by the war's end, the railways almost non-functional and agriculture was in such a bad state that this grain-producing country had to import grain to feed the population.[62] Most peasants had not supported the war from the start, and many Romanians rejected state-sponsored commemorations of the dead by simply not showing up.[63] Nonetheless, the World War and the Hungarian-Romanian war of 1919 did encourage more and more people to identify with the nation-state, and veterans were treated as heroes for several years to come.[64]

Once the war was over successive governments began the daunting task of restructuring the greatly expanded state. This included writing a new constitution, land redistribution, new labour laws, and new foreign policy. Greater Romania's nationalization policies gave ethnic Romanians from the Old Kingdom the possibility of pursuing careers in state institutions in unprecedented numbers, an opportunity they embraced vigorously.[65] Governments also tried to nationalize foreign-owned industry and set high quotas on the number of employees in each industry who had to be ethnically Romanian.[66] People soon discovered that although laws were now in place, businesses were slow to implement them unless forced to through strikes and court cases. Collective conflicts rose dramatically once workplace legislation was introduced in 1920, and then stabilized just as quickly, remaining relatively constant throughout the interwar period.[67]

While Romanians found their voices on the streets they also demanded change at the ballot box. The introduction of universal male suffrage in 1919 disrupted the political system so much that 83 percent of the deputies elected to parliament that year were holding public office for the first time.[68] Postwar reconstruction, nationalization policies, and new opportunities for collective organizing allowed people who had previously been excluded from the political system to feel like citizens who had a stake in the nation-state and deserved to participate in public life.

The Origins of Antisemitic Social Movements

Ultranationalist leagues and political parties sprang up all over the country once the dust settled from the Hungarian-Romanian War of 1919, drawing on networks that clearly predated the parties themselves. Many used a vocabulary that was increasingly popular amongst members of the radical right throughout Europe, blending fraternity, militarism, and religious ideas into a new ultranationalist idiom. A publican named Amos Frâncu, for example, established an ultranationalist organization in the Apuseni mountains in June 1919 known as *Frăţia de Cruce* (the Blood Brotherhood). Frâncu drew on the symbolism and language of prewar nationalist movements such as *Arcaşii lui Ştefan cel Mare* (The Archers of Stephen the Great) or *Cercetaşie* (Scouting), both of which had mobilized young people around Romanian irredentist nationalism during the final years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[69] Frâncu described the Blood Brotherhood as 'the watchman of peaceful Latin civilization at the gates of the wintry Orient'. Members sported cufflinks with white flowers, a white cross on their sleeves, and practiced sport and marksmanship. Unlike earlier nationalist movements, however, the Blood Brotherhood was explicitly antisemitic.[70]

This unique combination of antisemitism as an active political stance with the symbolism and mobilization structures of prewar nationalist movements defined a new ultranationalism that added an extremist agenda to the nation-building projects of earlier nationalist movements. By the beginning of the interwar period, ultranationalist newspapers were being financed, distributed and read by sympathetic audiences in major cities throughout the country.

Jo Freeman has argued that new social movements are likely to emerge when pre-existing lines of communication exist (such as those established by antisemitic newspapers and through the National Democratic Party), that are co-optable by people similarly placed within the polity (as happened when ordinary people identified with the nationalist agenda during the First World War), and people are either galvanized by a crisis or respond to organizing efforts by a dedicated minority.[71] Carol Iancu writes of an 'antisemitic movement' comprised of 'clergy, army officers, state functionaries, teachers and students', which emerged in the wake of the First World War in the form of 'groupings, associations, and clubs whose members were recruited among the different professions with the declared goal of combating Jews economically and of organizing systematic boycotts against them'.[72] Ultranationalists themselves spoke of an 'antisemitic movement' at the beginning of the twentieth century, but this was not an organized group with a clear leadership or hierarchy. Ultranationalists maintained social ties with each other and regularly moved in and out of various antisemitic social movements, but before the mid-1920s no single organization united them all.[73]

A substantial antisemitic student movement emerged in late 1922 – *before* the 1923 constitution was passed – arguing for the introduction of a *numerus clausus* in the universities. The student movement was a reaction to overcrowded universities that were unable to adapt to a massive increase in student numbers after the war, and emerged in unison with similar student protests throughout East-Central Europe.[74] Both inside and

outside the universities antisemites felt that the Greater Romanian state had failed to satisfy their desire to establish themselves as the dominant group within a society where power and privilege was distributed on the basis of ethnic hierarchies.

Demographics

One of the most striking elements about these antisemitic social movements was their social composition. A secret policeman in the Wallachian town of Ploieşti reported on 16 April 1924 that,

> The shopkeeper Moise Gavanescu, one of the leading agitators behind the establishment of an "Antisemitic League" in this town, is carrying out a determined and extensive propaganda campaign against the Jews among his friends and acquaintances. He is emphasizing that both the press and the economy are in their hands and that it will be impossible to lower the cost of living unless all Romanian citizens form a common front and drive out Jews completely from all businesses and factories. The aforementioned, who is a member of the Census Commission for the local "Defenders of the Fatherland" society, is also encouraging veterans to enrol in the proposed League, which will be established after the Easter holidays. The founders of the so-called "Antisemitic League", the teacher T. Raica, the shopkeeper Serbu from Câmpiei Road, the leaseholder Th. Armenopol and others, have decided not to begin until the king returns from abroad. At that time the young people will begin a series of neighbourhood gatherings and public meetings.[75]

Whereas intellectuals and politicians had dominated prewar antisemitic publishing and organizing, Gavanescu's League was led by shopkeepers, teachers, and leaseholders. Antisemitic social movements were remarkably diverse during this period. In contrast to Gavanescu's League, in Cluj *Acţiunea Românească* (Romanian Action) was established by university

professors and included lawyers, doctors, and students among its founding members.[76] It managed to attract several thousand people to its public meetings, but its activities were always limited to the region immediately surrounding Cluj.[77]

In Bucharest, an organization known as *Fascia Naționale Române* (the National Romanian Fascists, FNR) gained popularity in 1922 after fusing with the short lived *Movimento Nazionale Fascista Italo-Romeno* (Italian-Romanian National Fascist Movement). The group's leading figures included retired senior army officers, university professors, and journalists. The sociological composition of FNR in the provinces changed from city to city. In Iași, FNR was led by university students and most members were high-school students. In Târgu Ocna, a teacher named Henrietta Gabrilescu carried out FNR propaganda in nearby villages, bringing out a newspaper named *Conflictul* (*The Conflict*) to promote fascist ideology. In the eastern counties of Covurlui, Tecuci and Tutova, the most active cells were also to be found in villages instead of in the big cities. In Bukovina a retired officer, Major Urșianu, and a student named Teodosie Popescu took responsibility for FNR organizing, recruiting mainly amongst former volunteers in the Italian army. In Orăștie, both A. C. Cuza's LANC and FNR were led by Father Ion Moța, whose newspaper *Libertatea* supported any and every ultranationalist group. Most FNR members lived in the Banat, however, with its stronghold in the city of Caraș-Severin. Members came from all social classes, but here it was especially popular amongst functionaries and railway workers. Police reports from December 1924 estimate that FNR members throughout the country numbered in the tens of thousands.[78] In contrast, FNR had a solid but declining presence in Cluj – an estimated 2,000 members in 1923 that dropped to 400 in 1924.[79]

By far the largest of the antisemitic social movements was *Liga Apărării Național Creștine* (the National Christian Defence League, LANC), formed by the former Nationalist Democrat A. C. Cuza and the physiologist Nicolae Paulescu, whose antisemitic and anti-Masonic works were well known in

antisemitic circles. Before they established LANC, Cuza and Paulescu worked together with several other former Nationalist Democrats and antisemites – including Corneliu Şumuleanu, I. D. Protopopescu, Alexandru Naum, Ion Zelea Codreanu and Constanţa Ghika – to lead *Uniunea Naţională Creştină* (the National Christian Union, UNC), which they founded in May 1922. The UNC program proposed excluding Jews from state-run industries, education, the bureaucracy, and politics, as well as working to 're-capture' commerce for ethnic Romanians and to force Jews to migrate to Palestine.[80] The leaders of UNC were all respected members of Moldavian society. Several were professors at the University of Iaşi, and from 1922 onwards Cuza was president of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies.[81] Cuza dissolved UNC and established LANC in March 1923.

UNC members apparently moved seamlessly into LANC. We can get a sense of the size and social composition of the early LANC by looking at who was receiving its newspapers. Until Cuza's old Nationalist Democrat newspaper *Unirea* reappeared in March 1924, the LANC's official newspaper was *Naţionalistul* (*The Nationalist*), owned by a wealthy engineer from Iaşi named Gheorghe Bejan. At the time that *Unirea* took over, *Naţionalistul* was printing 4,000 copies per issue, most of which were sent through the post or delivered in person by Bejan to villages in Bessarabia, Bukovina and Moldavia.[82] By 1926, a local LANC newspaper from Buzău called *Deşteaptă-te creştine!* (*Wake Up, Christian!*) had a circulation of 5,500 copies per issue.[83] More people read newspapers than were members – one activist reported in 1926 that most of his acquaintances sympathized with LANC's antisemitism but still voted for the National Liberal party.[84]

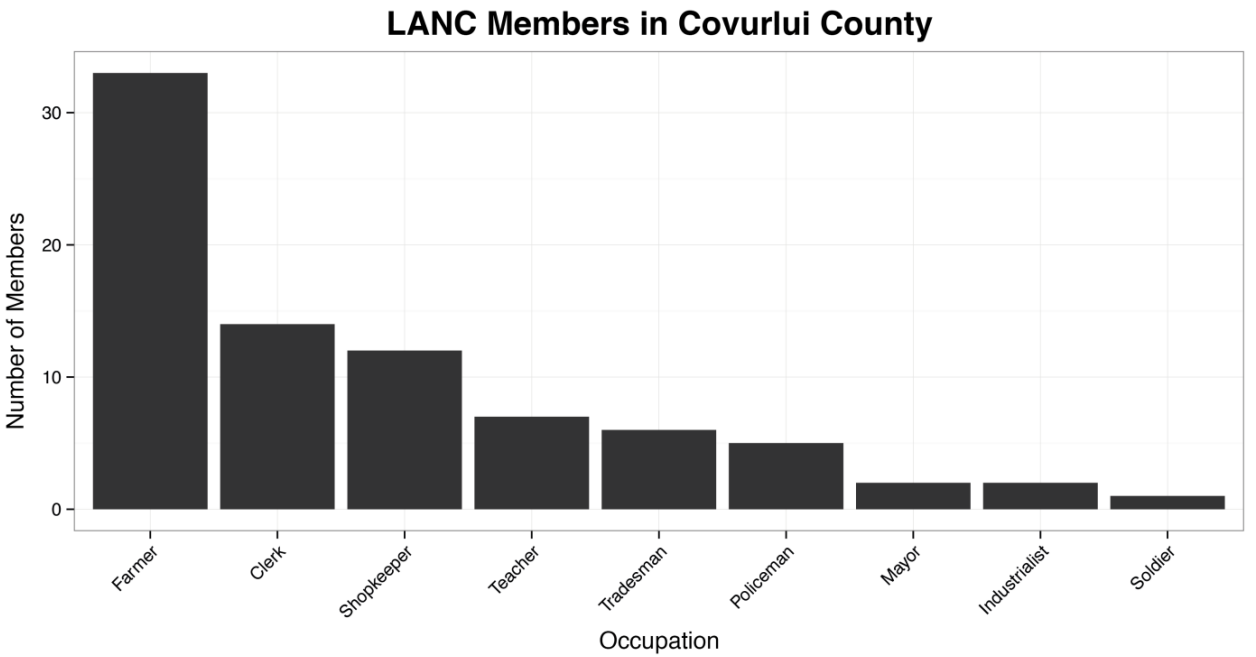

Figure 1: LANC Members in Covurlui County, 1924.[85]

Membership numbers also grew. The number of members in Covurlui county increased from 170 at the inaugural meeting in August 1922 to 353 in September 1923.[86] The secret police obtained the distribution list of LANC's newspaper in Covurlui county in 1924, *Fraţia creştină* (*Christian Brotherhood*). Of the 787 people receiving the newspaper, 402 were LANC members, 40 were paid subscribers, 68 received honorary subscriptions, and 204 were local priests, teachers or lawyers who received free copies of the newspaper. 82 of the members had their occupations listed, giving us a hint of what LANC looked like in Covurlui county, one of the organization's strongholds.

Farmers (*plugari*) are heavily represented in this sample because all of these people came from small towns and villages.[87] We can supplement this list with another from January 1924, which names 257 LANC members in Galaţi, the largest city in Covurlui county. Occupations are not reported for most members on this list either, but the 68 which we do know about confirm the importance of clerks, shopkeepers and tradesmen to the early LANC.

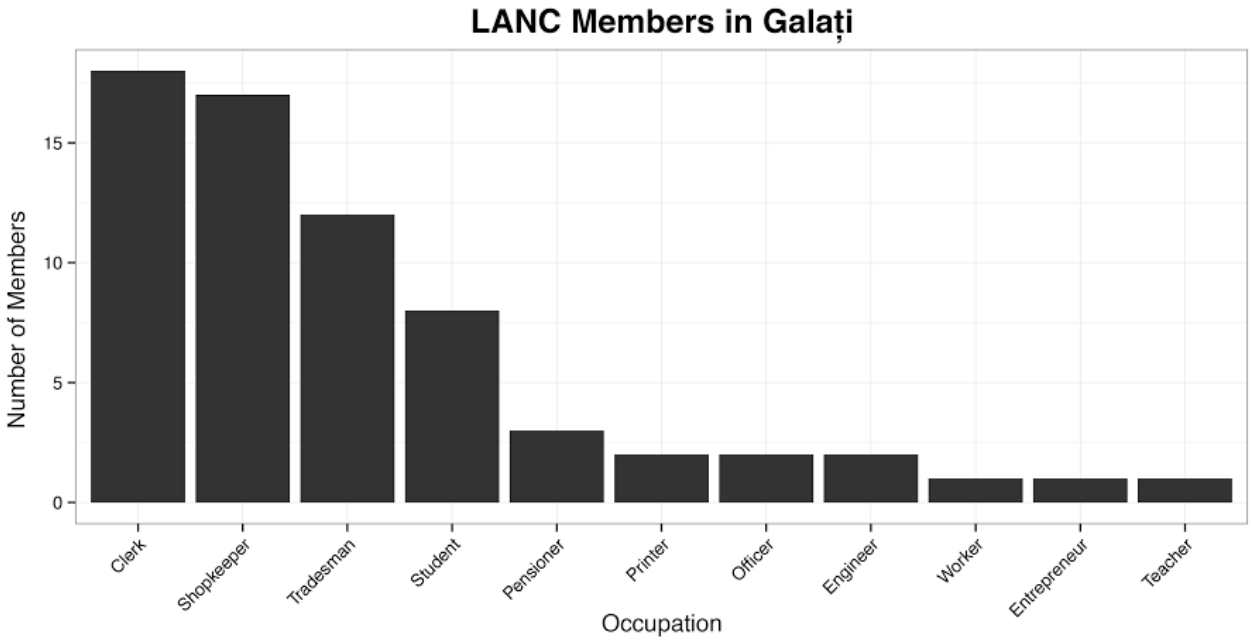

Figure 2: LANC Members in Galaţi, January 1924.[88]

Unlike Romanian Action or the student movement, LANC was not confined to the universities. Drawing support from both the villages and the cities, LANC activists made a conscious effort to reach out to rural intellectuals

such as teachers and priests, even going so far as to send them free copies of its publications. By June 1923 twenty villages (*comune*) in Bălţi county alone had already established LANC committees.[89] As did most ultranationalist groups of the early 1920s, LANC actively courted women and sometimes had local branches run by female leaders. Even though women were involved at all levels of the organization, LANC writers usually stereotyped them as mothers instead of encouraging them to be activists and mocked the idea of a political party run by women.[90] Regardless of class or gender, protagonists shared a common understanding of themselves as political actors and of the state as an institution that should be serving their interests. This political subjectivity mobilized them into organizations that articulated their grievances in the public sphere.

Grievances and Frames

The grievances of the antisemitic social movements were as diverse as their membership, and although all shared antisemitic ultranationalism as a master frame, they mobilized around quite different causes. In August 1919, the plumber Constantin Pancu established *Garda Conştiinţei Naţionale* (the Guard of the National Conscience) in Iaşi to defend his country from its Bolshevik enemies. Although they promised to work towards their goals 'peacefully and not through terror or by imposing foreign points of view', Pancu's supporters drew on military metaphors about 'defence' and 'standing guard'. The First World War was not over, they said, because Bolshevism was still threatening Romania and had to be actively resisted.[91] The Guard called its agenda 'national-Christian socialism', which it said involved preventing communist propaganda, economic speculation and administrative corruption, as well as promoting workers' rights and women's suffrage.[92]

Also situating themselves within a post-war context, FNR members described their organization as 'a voluntary national group … working to strengthen and raise the moral and material situation of the Romanian people and to retain unblemished the situation won by Romania through its sacrifices in the Great War'.[93] Although fascists emphasized the Romanian nature of their movement, they were clearly inspired by the rise of Benito Mussolini's Fascist Party in Italy.[94] As with Pancu's Guard, fascist fears about communism and 'politicianism' were more important than antisemitism, although they saw all three as being different faces of the same enemy.[95] The problem, they said, was not just the number of foreigners but the dependent relationship that Romanian elites had with 'foreign' capital: 'Romania today is in many ways similar to what it was during the Phanariot era. Then, *as now*, rich men, aristocrats and scholars were on the side of foreigners'.[96] They exposed how the National Bank rested in the hands of a couple of individuals, and emphasized the corruption of leading politicians.[97] Leaders bickered about whether their primary focus should be antisemitism or anti-Bolshevism, and were concerned that their party should not be confused with the hooliganism of antisemitic students that was paralyzing universities at the time.[98]

Fascists promised to overcome politicianism through a radical reorganization of the state. They proposed forming vast corporations that would govern factories, the railways, the postal service and other major enterprises before beginning an expansive public works project to increase the roads and railway systems, to build irrigation canals, and to further exploit Romania's oil supplies. They promised to guarantee private property while nationalizing all landed estates larger than 100 hectares, to simplify the taxation system and to cut the number of state functionaries by a third. At the same time they spoke about the need to expand the schooling system and to overcome illiteracy. All of this, fascists claimed in 1923, could be done 'within a year, maximum two', during which they would restore 'order, honesty and equilibrium' to the country.[99]

In the northern city of Cluj, the leaders of Romanian Action dedicated themselves to 'reducing the economic, cultural and political power of foreigners, especially Jews, to a just proportion', and to opposing Romanians who, 'fallen prey to unjustifiable pessimism or excessive egotism, dishonour Romanians through their work and actions and prevent the economic and moral renewal of our country'.[100]

Meanwhile, the former National Democrat A. C. Cuza discovered Christian antisemitism, something his collaborator Nicolae Paulescu had been preaching for many years. Paulescu deduced philosophical laws about 'social instincts' and 'human conflicts' from the study of biology, and used them to argue that Christian morality was based on ethical principles derived from nature.[101] Acknowledging that he was a heretic, Cuza said that his religion was based on 'logic', which he believed proved that Jesus had preached 'the end of satanic Judaism' and that Christ's 'true fight' had been 'against the Yids'.[102] Cuza argued that the Orthodox Church had misunderstood Jesus, and called on it to follow Jesus by embracing antisemitism. Despite the diversity of their grievances, all of these movements agreed that Jews posed a serious threat to Romanian privilege within the nation-state and protagonists identified themselves as loyal citizens who were doing their patriotic duty.

Repertoires

Whereas peasants had participated in local, episodic protests and riots to articulate their grievances during the nineteenth century, postwar antisemites drew on repertoires developed by Romanian nationalist movements of the past. Such repertoires identified them with a patriotic tradition that had culminated in Greater Romania and gave them a way of communicating that people recognized as appropriate for unrepresented but righteous political actors.[103] The feminist unions of the nineteenth

century mobilized women around nationalist causes by founding schools, running orphanages, and holding cultural gatherings to promote Romanian culture.[104] A major literary organization, *Asociația Transilvană pentru Literatura Română și Cultura Poporului Român* (the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People, ASTRA) disguised its irredentist aims by awarding scholarships to needy students, building up a Romanian library, sponsoring craft exhibitions and publishing its own journal, *Transilvania*.[105] As time went on, it extended its activities into literacy education, brochures and lectures on topical issues, and farmers' associations.[106] Similarly, the Archers promoted literacy education, accountancy courses, temperance campaigns and Romanian libraries, although it remained primarily a youth organization focused on fitness, discipline and pre-military training.[107] Inside the Old Kingdom, *Liga Culturală pentru Unitatea Românilor de Pretutindeni* (the Cultural League for the Unity of Romanians Everywhere) agitated for the expansion of Romanian territory through reading rooms and libraries, publishing, holding lectures and patriotic gatherings, and by celebrating the anniversaries of events of national importance.[108] The new antisemites drew on all of these repertoires while also developing some of their own.

In a climate of growing unionisation and industrial action, members of the Guard of the National Conscience formed 'nationalist unions' to represent the interests of nationalist workers. They negotiated with private employers side by side with the socialist unions, although the two types of unions quickly fell into conflict.[109] The Guard's newspaper, *Conștiința* (*The Conscience*), frequently reported on workers or tradesmen who were assaulted by communists, making ultranationalists out to be victims of violent radicals.[110] Guardists also acted as strikebreakers. Iași had become a regional centre for the railways in 1919, resulting in a sudden influx of new workers for whom there was not sufficient accommodation or funds for salaries. Dissatisfaction with poor working conditions created a sizeable protest movement led by socialist workers that eventually brought the country's railways to a halt.[111] Refusing to participate in a major strike at

the railway factories in 1920, leaders of the Guard, accompanied by students, university professors, and a crowd of 2,000 people, marched through Iaşi and planted two Romanian flags on the factory walls in order to demonstrate their control of the premises and the weakness of the socialist unions.[112]

In contrast to the new class-based way of imagining social solidarities, Pancu's Guard invited people from any class or confession to join.[113] Initially a small group made up of tradesmen, workers, priests, functionaries, and students, within eight months the weekly meetings had become so well-attended that Guardists had to move to local cinemas and a nearby gymnasium.[114] They held public meetings in villages, factories, and on the streets of Iaşi with sympathetic audiences.[115] Romania's national socialists supported feminist groups in Moldavia, and female members wrote that women had an obligation to join the nationalist struggle alongside men.[116] They invited other women to form reading circles where they would read the Guard's newspaper as well as *Foaea gospodinelor* (*The Housekeeper's Sheet*) a feminist review directed by Valentina Focşa from Piaţra Neamţ.[117]

The Guard was a family-friendly organization, holding balls and cultural evenings where high school students recited poetry or performed athletic displays.[118] Deciding that Iaşi needed a meeting-hall specifically for use by Romanians, the Guard announced that it wished to build a 'national house' in the city where people could hold weddings, engagements, balls and other parties.[119] As part of its social program it established a job-placement service for tradesmen and workers.[120] It was also well connected with civil society, explicitly asking local community groups to send delegates to represent them within the Guard. Thirty groups gave positive responses almost immediately, including clerical organizations, workers' unions, tradesmen's guilds, popular banks, and veterans associations, all of whom were willing to publicly associate themselves with the Guard's program.[121] One printer in Iaşi, M. M. Bogdan, printed the first issue of *Conştiinţa* for free and regularly advertised in its pages.[122] The Guard's social agenda was far

broader than simply excluding Jews from Romanian society. In this respect, the Guard had much more in common with groups like ASTRA, the Cultural League, the feminist unions, or the Archers than with any of the prewar antisemitic organizations.

Also adopting repertoires familiar from nineteenth century nationalist movements, Romanian Action began by holding public meetings in Cluj and in five nearby cities and organizing a joint congress with FNR in May.[123] They announced a series of weekly 'cultural lectures' on topics such as nationalism, pseudo-democracy, alcoholism, syphilis, and national hygiene, before the government banned these and other meetings, and gendarmes barricaded the entrance to the lecture halls.[124] Censors also banned the organization's fortnightly newspaper, *Acţiunea românească* (*Romanian Action*) in December 1924 after only four issues. The editors responded by launching a new newspaper in January 1925 called *Calendarul românesc* (*Romanian Calendar*), and then *România întregită* (*United Romania*) in February, with the same format and from the same press. All three newspapers were adorned with swastikas and attacked Romanian Jews while ignoring the city's substantial Hungarian population. They printed translations and lengthy reviews of antisemitic works from France and the United States, reproduced antisemitic texts from the nineteenth century, and reports on ultranationalist activism throughout Romania. Romanian Action newspapers also included articles about alcoholism, biopolitics, and the Romanian Orthodox Church, all issues of interest to the ultranationalist community at large.

By far the most creative and broad-based of the antisemitic social movements was LANC, which worked to undermine Jewish finance by establishing independent funding sources for ethnic Romanians. Sometimes members contributed funds directly to build churches, fund propaganda, or for other charity projects, but one could buy shares in *Societatea Apărarea Națională* (the National Defence Society) from banks throughout the country.[125] LANC repeatedly attempted to organize boycotts

of Jewish stores, using a catch-phrase that had been circulating in Romania for over fifty years – 'Not even a needle from the Yids!'[126] Antisemites claimed that Jewish businessmen sold products under fake brand names or using dishonest scales.[127] Regional newspapers printed lists of approved Romanian businesses, as well as publicizing which local businesses were owned by Jews.[128] They also included regular columns on corruption scandals surrounding Jews and other local elites who were not antisemites.[129] Nationalist organizations had established credit institutions for Romanian peasants in Transylvania beginning in 1872 and in the Old Kingdom from 1881 onwards. The number of rural banks increased dramatically in popularity after the turn of the century, and they were consistently associated with a move to improve the economic standing of Romanians vis-à-vis other ethnic groups.[130] LANC organs were avid supporters of such banks and of the village cooperative movement in general.[131] In 1926 LANC established its own bank using the properties of several important landholders as collateral. The bank reported significant profits in its first year of operation, and sought the backing of *Banca Națională a României* (the Romanian National Bank, BNR) to allow it to extend affordable credit to approved customers.[132] Cuza also drew heavily on the pageantry of Romanian Orthodoxy by holding church services as part of LANC meetings and forcing priests to bless LANC flags.[133] In keeping with repertoires developed by nineteenth century nationalist movements, LANC gatherings included performances from choirs, artists and dancers that celebrated Romanian folk culture.[134]

People learned about LANC from public meetings, from conversations with friends, and from brochures that members distributed on trains, stuck onto government vehicles, and posted on the walls of council offices by state officials.[135] LANC newspapers sold small lapel swastikas so that members could advertise their allegiance to the movement.[136] Members even gave out LANC pamphlets at the gates of the Metropolitan residence in Iași. This attempt to attract priests backfired when the Patriarch himself received one of Cuza's pamphlets in which he wrote that Romanian Orthodoxy had been

'judaized' because it used the Old Testament. The Patriarch became very upset and promised to issue a circular warning priests not to associate themselves with the movement.[137] Undeterred, LANC continued to criticize the Church hierarchy's ties to the major political parties and its refusal to align itself with ultranationalist politics.[138]

By 1926 LANC had effectively absorbed most of the other antisemitic social movements. Romanian Action and *Partidul Social-Creştin* (the Social Christian Party) from Gherla, merged with LANC in May 1925, forming a new organization called *Acţiunea Naţională Creştină* (National Christian Action). The new organization launched *Înfraţirea românească* (*Romanian Brotherhood*) to replace the older Romanian Action newspapers.[139] Five months later, the leaders of National Christian Action met in Bucharest with representatives of FNR and LANC, and officially merged all three organizations into the now-hegemonic LANC.[140] After the merger, some of Romanian Action's leading members, including Iuliu Moldovan and Iuliu Haţieganu, turned their energies towards ASTRA, where they promoted eugenics, physical education and biopolitics with a nationalist emphasis, thus returning to the prewar organizations that had established social movement repertoires in the postwar period.[141]

Conclusion

Scott Hunt, Robert Benford, and David Snow distinguish three major 'identity fields' that contribute to the dynamics of collective action: protagonists, antagonists, and audiences. 'Protagonists', they write, are people who 'advocate or sympathize with movement values, beliefs, goals, and practices, or are the beneficiaries of movement action'.[142] Protagonist identities proliferated following the First World War, in part because the Romanian state took an antagonistic stance towards organized antisemitism and because new, potentially sympathetic and newly

empowered audiences emerged for antisemites to dialogue with. More importantly, however, antisemitic movements attracted people who had previously been either disempowered within the Romanian polity or subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The war, the creation of Greater Romania, and the extension of male suffrage convinced them that the nation-state should represent their interests and that if they pressured it then it could mediate between nationalist Romanians, Jews, and Bolsheviks. The liberal institutions enshrined in the constitution and demanded by the minorities treaties meant that the state was not wholly amenable to exclusionary antisemitism, however, forcing social movement protagonists to adopt repertoires developed during the nineteenth century by nationalist movements fighting for Romanian rights within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Politicians and intellectuals had established antisemitism as a respectable master frame of Romanian nationalism during the nineteenth century but organized antisemitism had never become popular before the First World War because the majority of the population was excluded from political participation. Antisemites adapted to the postwar conditions by tying a host of grievances – labour disputes, anti-Bolshevism, anti-corruption, and the economic problems of ethnic Romanians – to the master frame of antisemitic nationalism. The widespread belief that Jews controlled the economy and the government meant that antisemitism proved an effective way for social movement protagonists to articulate their economic and political grievances. They lacked rights and their voices were ignored because the Jews refused to give up their power, the argument ran, and the new political conditions created an ideal opportunity for remedying this situation. Entire sections of society gained their political voices for the first time through the frame of antisemitism. Unfortunately, by tying their political futures to a hierarchical, exclusionary, and violent ideology they ultimately drove their country into a war that left them subject to a brutal Soviet-sponsored regime that denied them the very rights they had entered politics to gain.

Endnotes

[1] A. Drace-Francis, *The Making of Modern Romanian Culture: Literacy and the Development of Romanian National Identity* (London, 2006) 143-195; L. Boia, *'Germanofilii': Elita intelectuală românească în anii primului război mondial* (Bucharest, 2010) 53.
[2] On nationalizing states, see R. Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge, 1996).
[3] C. Tilly, *Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650-2000* (Cambridge, 2004) 7-8.
[4] S. Radu, *Electoratul din România în anii democraţiei parlamentare (1919-1937)* (Iaşi, 2004).
[5] K. Hitchins, *Rumania 1866-1947* (Oxford, 1994) 290.
[6] I. Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation-Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1995).
[7] I am indebted to Michael Mann for the contrast between *ethnos* and *demos* as two different ways of conceiving of democratic systems. M. Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (New York, 2005) 55-69.
[8] B. Useem and M. N. Zald, 'From Pressure Group to Social Movement: Efforts to Promote Use of Nuclear Power', in: M. N. Zald and J. D. McCarthy (eds.), *Social Movements in an Organizational Society: Collected Essays* (New Brunswick, 2003) 273-288.
[9] D. Riley, *The Civic Foundations of Fascism in Europe: Italy, Spain, and Romania, 1870-1945* (Baltimore, 2010) 14.
[10] Ibid. 16.
[11] C. Iancu, *Les Juifs en Roumanie (1866-1919): De l'Exclusion à l'Emancipation* (Provence, 1978) 44-45.
[12] C. Iordachi, 'The Unyielding Boundaries of Citizenship: The Emancipation of 'Non-Citizens in Romania, 1866-1918', *European Review of History,* 8/2 (2001)157-186; R. Cârstocea, 'Uneasy Twins? The Entangled Histories of Jewish Emancipation and Anti-Semitism in Romania and Hungary, 1866-1913', *Slovo* 21/2 (2009) 64-85.
[13] V. Neumann, *Istoria evreilor din România: Studii documentare şi teoretice* (Timişoara, 1996) 169.

[14] Iancu, *Les Juifs en Roumanie*, 69-70, 95.
[15] D. A. Snow and R. D. Benford, 'Master Frames and Cycles of Protest', in: A. D. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* (New Haven, 1992) 133-155; R. Cârstocea, 'Anti-Semitism in Romania: Historical Legacies, Contemporary Challenges', *ECMI Working Paper*, 81, 2014.
[16] I. Slavici, *'Soll' şi 'Haben': Cestiunea Ovreilor din România* (1878), quoted in: Iancu, *Les Juifs en Roumanie*, 212.
[17] M. Eminescu, *Chestiunea evreiască* (Bucharest, 2000) 24, 157.
[18] C. Stere, *Social-democratism sau poporanism?* (Galaţi, 1996) 143, 157, 158, 161.
[19] *Sămănătorul*, 11/9/1905, reprinted in: Iorga, *O luptă literară - articole din Sămănătorul*, vol. 2 (Vălenii de Munte, 1916) 85.
[20] P. G. J. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (New York, 1964) 76-89.
[21] W. Brustein, *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust* (Cambridge, MA, 2003) 130-131.
[22] Pulzer, *Rise of Political Anti-Semitism*, 103-104.
[23] Iancu, *Les Juifs en Roumanie*, 220-222; *Congrès de Bucarest, Août-Septembre 1886 pour la Foundation d'une Alliance Anti-Isràelite Universelle: Statutes* (Bucharest, 1886) 4.
[24] *Antisemitul* (Brăila), 17/8/1887.
[25] Iancu, *Les Juifs en Roumanie*, 222-224.
[26] S. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge, 2011) 60ff.
[27] For example, see the career of Pavel Cruşevan in Chişinău. I. Colesnic, *Basarabia necunoscută*, vol. 3 (Chişinău, 2000) 28-41.
[28] *Strigătul,* 19/1/1892.
[29] *Antisemitul* (Brăila), 28/7/1906. By way of comparison, that same year the now famous literary journal *Sămănătorul* struggled to sell more than 500 copies a week. Z. Ornea, *Sămănătorismul* (Bucharest, 1970) 69.
[30] *Antisemitul* (Bucharest), 17/8/1887.
[31] G. Roşianu, *Deşteaptă-te Române!* (Focşani, 1899).
[32] G. Roşianu, *Emigrarea Ovreilor din România* (Focşani, 1901) 6, 15-22.

[33] Roşianu, *Emigrarea Ovreilor*, 5-6; G. Roşianu, *Păţania lui Gheorghe Roşianu în Focşani* (Focşani, 1914) 13-14.
[34] *Ecoul Moldovei*, 15/9/1890. The first antisemitic article appeared on 7/1/1893.
[35] *Meseriaşul român*, 1/05/1888. Earlier articles about the revolt did not mention Jews as a cause of peasant dissatisfaction.
[36] I. Moţa, *42 de ani de gazetărie* (Orăştie, 1935) 78.
[37] Moţa, *42 de ani*, 46; *Libertatea,* 12-25/11/1915.
[38] *Strigătul,* 19/1/1892.
[39] Eidelberg, *Great Rumanian Peasant Revolt*, 155-189.
[40] *Neamul românesc*, 18/1/1907, 6/4/1910, 3/5/1910.
[41] Manu & Bozdoghină, *Polemica Paulescu*, 147.
[42] Ornea, *Sămănătorismul* 167-188.
[43] Ibid. 128-164.
[44] N. Iorga, *Opinions pernicieuses d'un mauvais patriote: articles de critique et d'histoire, publiés dans l'Independance Roumaine* (Bucharest, 1900) 61-158; N. Iorga, *Cuvinte adevărate* (Bucharest, 1904) 32-37, 304-311.
[45] C. Rădulescu-Motru, *Cultura română şi politicianismul* (Bucharest, 1904) 3. See also Nicolae Iorga, *Tulburările bisericeşti şi politicianismul (1909-11)* (Vălenii de Munte, 1911).
[46] N. Iorga, *O viaţa de om aşa cum a fost* (Bucharest, 1984) 205.
[47] N. Iorga, *Cuvinte adevărate* (Bucharest, 1904) 177-264; Cuza, *Naţionalitatea în arta*, 1-12, 230-246.
[48] M. Opriţescu, *Partidul Naţionalist Democrat condus de Nicolae Iorga (1910-1938)* (Bucharest, 2000) 25-32.
[49] Ornea, *Sămănătorismul*, 190-196; Iorga, *Viaţa de om*, 281-284.
[50] *Unirea*, 1/1/1912.
[51] H. Bozdoghină, *Nicolae Iorga şi Partidul Naţionalist Democrat în viaţa politică a României* (Sibiu, 2007) 70-75.
[52] N. Iorga, *Problema Evreiască la cameră, o interpelare* (Vălenii de Munte, 1910).
[53] Opriţescu, *Partidul Naţionalist Democrat*, p. 51.
[54] *Neamul românesc*, 5/12/1908.
[55] Iorga, *Viaţa de om*, 307.
[56] Bozdoghină, *Nicolae Iorga*, 57-61.

[57] I. Scurtu (ed.), *Totalitarismul de dreapta în România: origini, manifestări, evoluţie, 1919-1927* (Bucharest, 1996) 203-206.
[58] P. Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis* (Cambridge, MA, 1998); B. Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill, 2000).
[59] M. Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge, 2004); J. Wasserman, *Black Vienna: The Radical Right in the Red City, 1918-1938* (Ithaca, 2014) 30-46.
[60] Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*; J. King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948* (Princeton, 2002) 153-168; T. Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948* (Ithaca, 2008) 106-141.
[61] M. Bucur, *Heroes and Victims: Remembering War in Twentieth Century Romania* (Bloomington, 2009) 51-52.
[62] Hitchins, *Rumania*, 291.
[63] Boia, *'Germanofilii'*, p. 52; Bucur, *Heroes and Victims*,109, 140.
[64] V. Gheorghiu, *Memorii: Martorul Orei 25* (Bucharest, 1999); G. I. Mihăescu, *Donna Alba* (Bucharest, 1968).
[65] Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, p. 8.
[66] M. Pearton, *Oil and the Romanian State* (Oxford, 1971) 109, 117.
[67] C. Ştefănescu, 'Munca în viaţa economică', in: D. Gusti (ed.), *Enciclopedia României*, vol. 3 (Bucharest, 1939) 81.
[68] Radu, *Electoratul*, 73.
[69] F. V. Doboş, *Arcaşii: Gânduri şi fapte din ţara de sus, 1905-1940* (Cernăuţi, 1940); *O scoală de împuternicire: Cercetaşii* (Bucharest, 1916).
[70] 'Statut de organizare a Frăţiei de Cruce', 29/06/1919, in: I. Scurtu (ed.), *Totalitarismul de dreapta în România: origini, manifestări, evoluţie, 1919-1927* (Bucharest, 1996) 181-185; A. Heinen, *Legiunea "Arhanghelul Mihail": Mişcare socială şi organizaţie politică* (Bucharest, 2006) 98.
[71] J. Freeman, 'On the Origins of Social Movements', in: J. Freeman and V. Johnson (eds.), *Waves of Protest: Social Movements Since the Sixties* (Lanham, 1999) 8.
[72] Iancu, *Les Juifs en Roumanie*, 220.
[73] *Naţionalistul*, 3/09/1922.

[74] D. Sdrobiș, *Limitele meritocrație într-o societate agrară: Șomaj intellectual și radicalizare politică a tineretului în România intebelică* (Iași, 2015); R. Fritz, G. Rossoliński-Liebe, & J. Starek (eds.), *Alma Mater Antisemitica: Akademisches Milieu, Juden und Antisemitismus an den Universitäten zwischen 1918 und 1939* (Vienna, 2016).
[75] Bucharest, Romanian National Archives (hereafter, ANIC), Fond Direcția Generală a Poliției (hereafter, DGP), Dosar 16/1923, f. 8.
[76] *Acțiunea românească*, 1/11/1924.
[77] *Ogorul nostru*, 3/03/1924.
[78] ANIC, Fond DGP, Dosar 36/1923, f. 9-10, 16-21. Another report from 1924 gives much lower numbers, emphasizing that most FNR members had already joined the LANC by this time. ANIC, Fond DGP, Dosar 49/1924, f. 135-140.
[79] ANIC, Fond DGP, Dosar 49/1924, f. 135-140.
[80] 'Programul Uniunei Naționale Creștine', United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Henceforth: USHMM), Fond Ministerul de Interne – Diverse (Henceforth: MI-D), Reel #133, Dosar 4/1922, f. 7-8.
[81] L. Volovici, *Nationalist Ideology and Antisemitism: The Case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 1930s* (Oxford, 1991) 27.
[82] ANIC, Fond DGP, Dosar 16/1923, f. 50.
[83] *Deșteaptă-te creștine!,* 12/12/1926.
[84] *Buzduganul*, 5/09/1926.
[85] ANIC, Fond DGP, Dosar 16/1923, 34-45.
[86] *Frația creștină*, 21/10/1923.
[87] *Plugari* were literally people who owned a plough (*plug*). The word does not carry the same connotations that 'farmers' has in Western Europe.
[88] ANIC, Fond DGP, Dosar 16/1923, f. 2-4bis.
[89] *Naționalistul*, 8/06/1923.
[90] *Frația creștină*, 26/11/1923; *Apărarea națională* (Arad), 19/08/1928, 10/04/1929; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Fond Ministerul de Interne – Diverse, Reel #135, Dosar 2/1926, f. 46-47.
[91] *Conștiința*, 30/08/1919, 9/02/1920.
[92] *Conștiința*, 30/08/1919, 18/09/1919, 5/01/1920, 9/02/1920.
[93] ANIC, Fond DGP, Dosar 49/1924, f. 55-62.

[94] FNR was particularly sensitive to accusations that it was a foreign political import from Italy. *Fascismul*, 1/08/1923, 15/08/1923. The Italian influence was nonetheless clear in FNR publications. *Fascismul*, 1/09/1923, 15/09/1923.
[95] For examples of fascist antisemitism, see *Fascismul*, 15/09/1923 and *Fasciştii constructivi,* 20/12/1923. On anti-Bolshevism, see *Fascismul*, 1/07/1923.
[96] *Fascismul*, 15/07/1923.
[97] *Fascismul*, 1/09/1923; *Fasciştii constructivi*, 20/10/1923.
[98] *Adevărul*, 12/09/1923.
[99] *Fascismul*, 15/06/1923.
[100] *Acţiunea românească*, 1/11/1924.
[101] See Paulescu's articles in *Dascălul*, 11/1909 – 06/1910.
[102] A. C. Cuza, *Învăţătura lui Isus: Judaismul şi teologia creştină* (Iaşi, 1925) 11, 23.
[103] C. Tilly, 'Contentious Repertoires in Great Britain, 1758-1834', *Social Science History* 17 (1983): 253-80.
[104] S. Stiger, *Asociaţionism şi emancipare în Transilvania până la primul război mondial* (Arad, 2001).
[105] K. Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andreiu Şaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873* (Cambridge, MA, 1977) 255-256.
[106] E. Hulea, *Astra: istoric, organizare, activitate, statute şi regulamente* (Sibiu, 1944) 7.
[107] F. V. Doboş, *Arcaşii: Gânduri şi fapte din ţara de sus, 1905-1940* (Cernăuţi, 1940) 106-108.
[108] V. Crăciun, *Liga Culturală pentru Unitatea Românilor de Pretutindeni: 1890-1948, 1989-2003* (Bucharest, 2003) 25-26.
[109] *Conştiinţa*, 9/02/1920, 23/02/1920, 1/03/1920.
[110] *Conştiinţa*, 3/11/1919; Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *Pentru legionari* (Bucharest, 1940) 21.
[111] I. Mitican, *Un veac prin gara Iaşi* (Galaţi, 1983) 128-136; R. Cârstocea, 'Students Don the Green Shirt: The Roots of Romanian Fascism in the Antisemitic Student Movements of the 1920s', in R. Fritz, G. Rossoliński-Liebe, & J. Starek (eds.), *Alma Mater Antisemitica: Akademisches Milieu, Juden und Antisemitismus an den Universitäten zwischen 1918 und 1939* (Vienna, 2016) 39-66 (46-47).

[112] *Conştiinţa*, 3/05/1920, 14/06/1920, 21/06/1920; Codreanu, *Pentru legionari*, 21-23.
[113] *Conştiinţa*, 30/08/1919.
[114] *Conştiinţa*, 30/08/1919, 22/03/1920. Codreanu says that there were roughly twenty people in attendance at the first meeting he attended in Fall 1919 but that eventually this number grew to 10,000. Codreanu, *Pentru legionari*, 20. If Codreanu's higher figure is accurate, this would mean that 16 percent of the ethnic Romanians in Iaşi attended Guardist meetings.
[115] *Conştiinţa*, 16/02/1920.
[116] *Conştiinţa*, 30/08/1919, 15/12/1919, 5/01/1920.
[117] *Conştiinţa*, 19/01/1920.
[118] *Conştiinţa*, 30/08/1919, 24/11/1919, 14/06/1920, 21/06/1920.
[119] *Conştiinţa*, 5/01/1920.
[120] *Conştiinţa*, 19/04/1920.
[121] *Conştiinţa*, 30/08/1919, 18/09/1919.
[122] *Conştiinţa*, 30/08/1919.
[123] ANIC, Fond DGP, Dosar 49/1924, f. 11; *Acţiunea românească*, 1/11/1924.
[124] *Acţiunea românească*, 15/11/1924.
[125] *Fraţia creştină*, 21/10/1923; *Deşteaptă-te creştine!* 22/05/1927; USHMM, Fond MI-D, Reel #133, Dosar 4/1922, f. 19.
[126] *Buzduganul*, 5/09/1926.
[127] *Fraţia creştină*, 17-24/06/1923.
[128] *Ogorul nostru*, 3/03/1924; *Lancea*, 1/11/1925; *Chemarea*, 25/12/1925; *Sabia lui Traian*, 13/12/1930.
[129] Lancea, 1/09/1925; *Naţionalistul*, 28/01/1926; *Deşteaptă-te creştine!*, 6/02/1927; *Sabia lui Traian*, 1/11/1930.
[130] Hitchins, *Rumania*, 174-176; V. Mureşan, 'Modernitate şi arhaism în lumea năsăudeană în secolul al XIX-lea şi începutul secolului XX', *Revista Bistriţei*, 18 (2004): 353-364.
[131] *Deşteaptă-te creştine!*, 6/08/1926, 12/12/1926; *Apărarea naţională* (Arad), 10/06/1928.
[132] *Apărarea naţională* (Iaşi), 6/05/1928; *Apărarea naţională* (Arad), 8/07/1928.

[133] 'Actul de constituire al LANC' and 'SSI Nota privind constituirea LANC'; in: Scurtu (ed.), *Totalitarismul,* 311-313.
[134] *Unirea* (Craiova), 1-15/03/1926; USHMM, Fond MI-D, Reel #135, Dosar 2/1926, f. 46.
[135] *Buzduganul*, 5/09/1926; ANIC, Fond DGP, Dosar 36/1923, f. 1; USHMM, Fond MI-D, Reel #133, Dosar 2/1922, f. 6.
[136] *Unirea* (Craiova), 1-15/10/1925.
[137] USHMM, Fond MI-D, Reel #133, Dosar 2/1922, f. 57.
[138] *Naționalistul*, 21/01/1926.
[139] *Înfrățirea Românească*, 1/05/1925.
[140] *Înfrățirea Românească*, 1/10/1925.
[141] Moga, *Astra*, 216-232; A. Morariu and D. Almășanu, *Iuliu Haţieganu şi ideea educaţiei fizice în România* (Bucharest, n.d.); M. Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania* (Pittsburgh, 2002) 26-36, 209-212.
[142] S. A. Hunt, R. D. Benford, & D. A. Snow, 'Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities', in: E. Laraña, H. Johnston, & J. R. Gusfield (eds.), *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity* (Philadelphia, 1994) 185-208 (186).