

**„BABEȘ-BOLYAI” UNIVERSITY  
CLUJ-NAPOCA  
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY  
DOCTORAL SCHOOL „HISTORY. CIVILIZATION.  
CULTURE”**

**Hypostases of Legionary Ideology in  
Interwar Romania (1927-1938)**

**DOCTORAL THESIS SUMMARY**

**Doctoral Supervisor:**

**Prof. Univ. Dr. Doru Radosav**

**Ph.D. Candidate:**

**Răzvan Ciobanu**

**2019**

## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>I. Notes on the Historiography of Fascism and the Legionary Movement</b>	<b>15</b>
<i>I.1. The Historiography of Fascism</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>I.2. The Historiography of the Legionary Movement</i>	<i>41</i>
<b>II. The Antagonistic Representations of Alterity in Legionary Ideology</b>	<b>64</b>
<i>II.1. Anti-Communism</i>	<i>65</i>
II.1.1. Activist Origins of Legionary Anti-Communism	66
II.1.2. The Anti-Communist Doctrinary Offensive of the Legionary Movement	73
II.1.3. Eschatological Layers of Legionary Anti-Communism	84
<i>II.2. Anti-Democracy</i>	<i>95</i>
II.2.1. The Anti-Democratic Theoretical Assault of the Legionary Movement	96
II.2.2. The Anti-Establishment Formulations of Legionary Ideology	106
II.2.3. The Anti-Democratic National Project of the Legionary Movement	123
<i>II.3. Anti-Semitism</i>	<i>132</i>
II.3.1. The Myth of the Universal Jewish Plot in the Legionary Historical Imaginary	133
II.3.2. The Autochthonous Setting of Legionary Anti-Semitism	148
II.3.3. The Profile of Ethnic Minorities in Legionary Ideology	170
<b>III. The Construction of Generational Identity in Legionary Ideology</b>	<b>181</b>
<i>III.1. Generational Divide</i>	<i>183</i>
III.1.1. Intergenerational Tensions in the Legionary Worldview	185
III.1.2. The Generational Component in the Conflict between the Legionary Movement and L. A. N. C.	205
III.1.3. Intragenerational Dynamics in Legionary Thought	215
<i>III.2. Generational Elite</i>	<i>221</i>
III.2.1. Generational Messianism in the Legionary Movement	222
III.2.2. The Elitist Attributes of Youth in Legionary Ideology	234
<i>III.3. Charismatic Leadership</i>	<i>246</i>
III.3.1. The Self-Referential Stance of the Legionary Charismatic Leader	248
III.3.2. Hagiographical Representations of Charismatic Authority in Legionary Ideology	254

III.3.3. The Overarching Role of the Charismatic Leader in Legionary Doctrine	265
<i>III.4. The Generational Theme between Ideology and Praxis. Case Study: The Legion of the “Archangel Michael” and the National Union of Christian Students in Romania</i>	272
<b>IV. The Structuring of the Temporal Model of Legionary Ideology</b>	<b>287</b>
<i>IV.1. Mythical Past</i>	289
IV.1.1. The Significance of the Ancestral Land of the Nation in Legionary Ideology	290
IV.1.2. The Reinterpretation of the Pre-Modern National Past through the Legionary Historical Lens	296
<i>IV.2. Disruptive Modernity</i>	317
IV.2.1. Framing the Generic Modern Project in Legionary Ideology	322
IV.2.2. The Assessment of Autochthonous Modernity from the Legionary Perspective	337
<i>IV.3. Anomic Present</i>	343
IV.3.1. The Archetype of Historical Crisis in Legionary Thought	344
IV.3.2. The Fascist Temporal Shift in the Legionary Historical Imaginary	365
<i>IV.4. Utopian Future</i>	373
IV.4.1. The Foundations of National Revolution in Legionary Ideology	374
IV.4.2. The Underpinnings of Anthropological Revolution in Legionary Ideology	393
<i>IV.5. Redemptive Transcendence</i>	402
IV.5.1. Normative Martyrly Sacrifice in Legionary Thought	407
IV.5.2. The Sacred Eschatological Scenario of the Legionary Movement	414
<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>423</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>435</b>

**Key-words:** The Legion of the Archangel Michael, generic fascism, the “new consensus”, alterity, anti-communism, anti-democracy, anti-establishment, anti-Semitism, generation, generational divide, generational elite, charismatic leadership, the National Union of Christian Students in Romania, temporality, historical imaginary, modernity, historical crisis, national revolution, anthropological revolution, transcendence.

An academic endeavor centered on the ideology of the Legion of the Archangel Michael, projecting a critical perspective upon a highly charged subject, one that has been greatly influenced by persistent intellectual controversies, as demonstrated by its historiographical reception in the course of several decades, enjoys nowadays more than ever a favorable context. Spectacular recent developments in the field of fascist studies, certainly influential for the historiography of the Legionary Movement, have created a dynamically expansive research field, a scientific sphere within which constructive and impartial contributions have become the norm, while biased, teleological accounts, either demonizing or apologetic in nature, have been gradually pushed towards the fringes. Consequently, the recalibration of the historiographical focus has opened a steady path for the intellectual undertakings that seek to fathom a phenomenon representing both a meaningful part of the Romanian national past and one of the most relevant permutations of a historical force that has shaped the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The course of the remarkable theoretical advance of fascist studies has reinforced the axiomatic principle according to which radical worldviews, regardless of their particular historical context, can only be accurately understood by thoroughly investigating their ideological layers, a firm conviction that has guided this research throughout its entire course. By acknowledging the primacy of the idea as the ultimate determining factor of radical action, the present doctoral thesis sets to examine the main components of the Legionary doctrine that were developed during the interwar era, not with the intent of assembling a definitive ideological profile of the movement (that would hardly be possible given the magnitude of its intellectual production), but for the purpose of delineating its defining ideas as formulated in their own time, by having them critically inspected, heuristically ordered and carefully inserted into a cohesive historical narrative. In that regard, the Legion of the Archangel Michael will be recognized as an integral part of the wider phenomenological context of

continental fascism (hence its denomination as the epitome of “Romanian fascism”) and the analysis will include numerous comparative references to correspondent fascist versions in other national environments. However, as the argument will show at length, the inclusion of the movement into an overarching historical framework does not contradict its integration into the broad ideological, political and cultural patterns of Romanian history.

From a chronological standpoint, framing the research within a clearly defined yet flexible interval, namely between 1927, the foundational point of the Legion of the Archangel Michael, with frequent references to the previous years when its preceding radical nationalist nuclei coalesced, and 1938, the closing chapter of Romanian democracy in the interwar era, is well justified given the thematic focus of the work. Essentially, the fundamental components of the volatile theoretical corpus of the Legionary Movement were defined between the two world wars, as the later course of the movement, from the clandestine years of monarchical authoritarianism, through the meteoric and short lived rise to government, following with the return to illegality in the course of the military dictatorship and finishing with the definitive suppression brought on by the instatement of Communism, put a certain end to the ideological advance of the phenomenon. Therefore, exploring its main intellectual coordinates within the confines of the interwar era appears as a natural choice for an accurate representation of Romanian fascism.

A noteworthy aspect to be highlighted in drawing the premises of the thesis refers to its firm theoretical grounding into the paradigmatic “new consensus” emerging in fascist studies over the last two decades, a theoretical model determinately influential for the manner in which the Legionary Movement has come to be perceived in academia. Placing the ideal of palingenesis, namely the myth of national rebirth, at the core of fascist ideology, the new consensus has inspired the thematic directions followed in the course of this analysis and it has played a major role in the process of bibliographical selection. Therefore, in consulting a wide array of secondary sources, special attention was granted to monographs, comparative studies, articles or chapters operating within the methodological and epistemological framework of this paradigm, even though such an option did not lead to alternative, complementary or contradictory views being ignored.

In gathering and covering a sizeable cluster of primary sources, adequate selection offered a significant challenge, the chosen documentary material gaining a rather

heterogeneous aspect, as pertaining to the ultimate purposes of the thesis. The wide array of collected sources, belonging to the pre-set chronological interval but frequently extended into the years that preceded the proper formation of the studied phenomenon in order to trace its far-reaching intellectual strands, incorporated: a variety of periodicals, ranging from the ephemeral radical publications that proliferated in the aftermath of the First World War to the notorious platforms of the far right, frequently intertwined with the fascist press and counting the main ideologues of the Legion of the Archangel Michael among their most active contributors, from the most representative papers of the movement itself to the publications network developed within Romanian fascism comprising national and regional journals, addressing particular social, professional and intellectual categories as well as the public at large; the programmatic theoretical writings of thinkers who assumed the task of providing the Legionary Movement with an autonomous ideological identity; memoirs presenting an underlying ideological content; letters or public addresses of noteworthy propagandistic impact; private or public correspondences of some of the most prominent members of the Legion; electoral documents, such as brochures, manifestos or party programs; parliamentary interventions of some of the Legionaries elected as representatives into the Romanian legislative branch; clandestine writings or testamentary notes, either disseminated in the interwar years or posthumously edited; political interviews granted by Legionaries to different publications; circulars, addresses or notices with an organizational character, meant for internal use within the movement; last but not least, relevant archival material consulted in the archive of the National Council for the Study of the Archives of the Securitate, sporadically referred to in the course of the argument.

Given the overall quantity of Legionary intellectual production, a holistic perspective was avoided as an unviable choice, since it presented the risk of derailing the endeavor from its particular goals, therefore a more selective approach being preferred, one that operated with a limited echelon of ideological representatives, whose contributions were examined *in extenso*. Bringing up biographical elements only insofar as they were relevant in the contextualization of ideological projections, this cast of characters was selected based on a series of relevant factors indicating their status as figures with an essential contribution for the development of the Legionary theoretical corpus, the criteria varying from their hierarchical position within the internal ranking system of the organization to the quality of their

ideological input. Among those selected are early representatives and late adherents to the movement, members of the central structures and influential territorial leaders, politically and socially active militants and intellectuals assuming a prevalent theoretical role, moderates or radicals depending on the topics under scrutiny etc.

As far as the structure of the thesis is concerned, it comprises three main segments, successively explored, incorporating various ideological elements regarded as defining the Legionary worldview. Preceding the proper examination of the doctrine of Romanian fascism, the first chapter consists of a historiographical study, highlighting the landmarks of a protean intellectual field and clarifying the theoretical framework, from the conceptual inventory to the methodological options employed. Firstly, this historiographical section provides a systematic retrospective of the various critical projections on fascism as the phenomenon came under scrutiny along several decades, beginning with its own time and ending with contemporary research. Secondly, significant attention is awarded to the inclusion of the historiography of the Legionary Movement into the sphere of fascist studies, tracing its course from the lasting challenges of totalitarian domination under half a century of Communist rule, following with the intellectual transformations inherent to the democratic transition and culminating with the firm connection to the paradigmatic “new consensus” structured in Western academia.

Opening the proper ideological analysis, the first thematic section of the thesis, comprising the second chapter, expounds the defining negations of Legionary ideology, distinguishing between the dominant stances of antagonism structured in the development of a radical worldview whose core palingenetic ideal implied an uncompromising hostility towards various expressions of alterity perceived as situated outside the national body. The argument follows three main leads, corresponding to the most important negative references denounced by the Legionary Movement, namely: the ideological level, represented by anti-Communism, an orientation that fluctuated from the militant activism galvanized by the specter of pandemic Bolshevik revolution in the aftermath of the First World War, going through the fierce ideological offensive aiming to delegitimize Communism on theoretical grounds, then culminating in the final interwar years with the eschatological infusion of Legionary anti-Communism, that drew from the polarization of a continent headed towards the next global conflagration and interpreted the rise of the extremes through fascist apocalyptic lenses; the

political level, equated with the anti-democratic ethos that determined the uncompromising repudiation of the Enlightenment intellectual tradition through polemical campaigns targeting the various historical manifestations of democracy, the focus of the intransigent anti-pluralist spirit of the Legion on the autochthonous political class, as well as the structuring of a totalitarian national project advanced as an alternative to the democratic order depicted as condemned to violent destruction; finally, the ethnic level, identified with the epitome of the xenophobic and annihilationist stance of the Legionary Movement, particularly its visceral anti-Semitism, whose facets included the programmatic dissemination of the myth of the universal Jewish plot, defined in the Manichean fascist worldview in terms of a millenarian conflict fought in the realm of immanence and transcendence alike, the transposition of this phantasmagoric conspiracy to the particular case of interwar Romania through the description of a complex set of punitive mechanisms, with clear genocidal overtones, projected as mobilizing instruments against the obsessive “Jewish threat” represented as a foreign invasion, and the creation, in the same theoretical progression of ethnic cleansing moving from social persecution to physical suppression, of a discriminatory regime assigned to all minorities based on their ethnical affiliation.

Following an analytical segment exclusively dedicated to negative formulations, the second part of the thesis, comprising the third chapter, will tackle the positive self-definition of the studied phenomenon through the constant reinforcement of the generational marker, since the Legionary Movement represented itself, like all fascist permutations, as a juvenile force carrying the mission of regenerating the national body. The significance of the generational component will be compartmentalized into several autonomous, yet interdependent facets, namely: the theme of generational divide, fostered by the ideological antithesis between an “old” world belonging to a stagnant gerontocracy and a new order assigned to the innovative force of radical youth, a stark contrast amplified through theoretical interventions dedicated to the various layers of the denounced generational separation, to the adaptation of the conflict between generations to proximal ideological and political circumstances in order to reaffirm the role of the Legion in the internal context, and to the juxtaposition of intergenerational and intragenerational tensions, meant to consolidate this exclusive delimitation of the new fascist generation; the self-perception of the latter as the predestined elite corps of the Romanian nation, an avant-garde of the national community



invested with the sacred mission of remaking the collective historical destiny by taking advantage of its own purportedly exceptional attributes, varying from its constructive zeal to its call for unlimited rule; the projection of the messianic savior, rising from the ranks of the radical generational elite, portrayed, in accordance with the main tenets of fascist charismatic authority, as a providential figure of national history, a character embodied by the “Captain” of the Legionary Movement, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, whose mythical portrait was assembled through his self-referential interventions, through the hagiographical contributions belonging to the main ideologues of his movement, as well as through the theoretical works that integrated his image into the Legionary corpus; finally, the material transposition of the generational theme, examined through a case study dedicated to the manner in which the Legion of the Archangel Michael subordinated the National Union of Christian Students in Romania to its own devices in the mid-1930s, thus turning it into a mobilization instrument serving the cause of fascism.

The last of the central ideological themes explored throughout the thesis, scrutinized in the course of the fourth chapter, outlines the manner in which the Legionary Movement reframed historical temporality through the lens of its original *Weltanschauung*. In approaching such a revealing theme for the scope of the transformative goals embedded into the palingenetic aspirations of Romanian fascism, the argument implements a sequential theoretical instrument, devised for the heuristic purpose of unveiling the main stages of the chronological projection developed by the Legion, with the resulting scheme consisting of five intertwined phases: the mythical past, described as the idyllic primordial state of national genesis and early evolution, containing within itself the original identity markers of the nation, such as its sacred ancestral territory or its foundational historical experiences that determined the ascendant trajectory of a national community regarded as possessing an exceptional destiny, as well as a divine mandate, a missionary calling claimed by the Legionary Movement in the name of the entire nation; the disruptive modernity, ideologically concocted as antagonistic to the previous stage, an epoch of abyssal decadence, a sharp decline allegedly reflected in the framework of generic modernity founded on the pillars of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, both blamed for the universal imposition of a deeply dysfunctional Western modern canon, as well as in the various autochthonous structures of modernity perceived as fateful counterfeits of the national substance, mimetic transfers of

allogeneic components, irreconcilably foreign to the destiny of the Romanian nation; the anomic present, interpreted as a historical interstice undermined by its provisional nature, isolated between an already collapsed old world and a not yet built new order, observed through the prism of the crisis archetype identified in symptomatic instances in the internal context of interwar Romania, yet simultaneously understood as a timely period on account of a grandiose fascist temporal shift, inaugurating the foundations of a new era; the utopian future, a virtual stretch imagined as definitively surmounting the previous degenerative condition, an age where all regenerative metamorphoses conceived in revolutionary terms, involving the radical reconstruction of the collective national body as well as the total remaking of individual anthropological units into a new human type, would eventually be fulfilled; finally, the redemptive transcendence, marking a definitive break with the diachronic order of history and the continuation of collective national life in the superior realm of transcendence, a momentous point of communal salvation coming as a denouement of Legionary eschatology, brought on by a strive towards martyrdom that profoundly illustrated the thanatophilia of Romanian fascism, a providential expiation ideologically framed as compatible with the infallible dogma of Christianity.

Conclusively, within the thematic alignments sketched above, the radical plans elaborated by the Legion of the Archangel Michael for the Romanian nation will be explored by emphasizing the solely destructive purposes of the phenomenon, concentrated in the hostility shown towards those categories labeled as undesirable and projected outside the holistically defined national monolith, by highlighting the positive self-representations of the movement as the creative source of novel, revitalizing and regenerative identity structures, and finally, by highlighting the restructuring aspirations driving the reconfiguration of historical time itself, culminating with the projection of the palingenetic myth beyond the realm of immanent historical reality.

## Selective Bibliography

### Archival Sources

Arhiva Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (ACNSAS), Fond Documentar: D 08912, D 011821, D 012964, D 012056, D 012761, D 013653.

### Periodicals

*Apărarea Națională*, 1925-1927.

*Axa*, 1932-1933.

*Brațul de Fier*, 1935-1937.

*Buletin legionar*, 1937.

*Buna Vestire*, 1937-1938.

*Calendarul*, 1932-1933.

*Conștiința*, 1919-1920.

*Cuvântul*, 1933-1934, 1938.

*Cuvântul Argeșului*, 1935-1937.

*Cuvântul Nou*, 1936.

*Cuvântul Studentesc*, 1923-1924, 1926-1927, 1931-1933, 1935-1937.

*Dacia Nouă*, 1922-1923.

*Decembrie*, 1937-1938.

*Dreapta*, 1931-1932.

*Flori de Crin*, 1935-1936.

*Garda*, 1932-1933.

*Garda Basarabiei*, 1932.

*Garda de Fier*, 1931.

*Garda Moldovei*, 1932-1933.

*Gândirea*, 1921-1938.

*Glasul Strămoșesc*, 1936-1937.

*Iconar*, 1935-1937.

*Învierea*, 1933.  
*Legionarii*, 1930-1932.  
*Libertatea*, 1922-1937.  
*Lumea Nouă*, 1932-1938.  
*Omul Nou*, 1936-1938.  
*Pământul Strămoșesc*, 1927-1929, 1932-1933.  
*Părerii Studențești*, 1931-1932.  
*Porunca Vremii*, 1932-1938.  
*Rânduiala*, 1935, 1937-1938.  
*Revista Mea*, 1935-1936.  
*România Creștină*, 1935-1938.  
*Sânzana*, 1937-1938.  
*Vestitorii*, 1936.  
*Vlașca Legionară*, 1933.  
*Vremea*, 1928-1938.

### **Primary Sources**

*Adevărul în procesul lui Corneliu Zelea Codreanu: maiu 1938*, f. e., București, 1938.  
*Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail. Garda de Fier. Programul și caracterul general*, Tipografia și Librăria Gh. N. Vlădescu, Câmpulung, 1931.  
*Memoriul studenților dela Galata către Majestatea Sa Regele*, Tipografia „Libertatea”, Orăștie, 1925.  
*Memoriu adresat tuturor țărilor cu privire la situația românilor și jidanilor din România*, Tipografia „Libertatea”, Orăștie, 1928.  
*Protocoalele Înțelepților Sionului*, Tiparul și Editura Libertatea, Orăștie, 1923.  
Banea, Ion, *Portul național*, Tipografia Cooperativă „Trecerea Munților Carpați”, Iași, 1928.  
Banea, Ion, *Cauzele mișcării din Maramureș*, Tipografia Cooperativă „Trecerea Munților Carpați”, Iași, 1930.  
Banea, Ion, *Note din închisoare. Însemnările unui student*, Institutul de Arte Grafice „Tătărași”, Iași, 1931.

Banea, Ion, *Legiferările anti-veneriene la noi și-n alte țări, din punctul de vedere medical și juridic*, Institutul de Arte Grafice „Presa Bună”, Iași, 1934.

Banea, Ion, *Rânduri către generația noastră*, Tipografia Gheorghe Ghili, Cluj, 1935.

Banea, Ion, *Căpitanul*, ediția a II-a, Editura „Totul pentru Țară”, Sibiu, 1937.

Banea, Ion, *Ce este și ce vrea mișcarea legionară. Cărticică pentru săteni*, Editura „Curierul”, Sibiu, 1937.

Bernea, Ernest, *Cartea Căpitanilor*, Tipografia „Bucovina” I. E. Torouțiu, București, 1937.

Bernea, Ernest, *Gânduri pentru țară nouă*, Tipografia „Bucovina” I. E. Torouțiu, București, 1937.

Bernea, Ernest, *Stil legionar*, Tipografia „Bucovina” I. E. Torouțiu, București, 1937.

Cantacuzino, Alexandru, „Între lumea legionară și lumea comunistă” [1935], în Cantacuzino, Alexandru, *Opere complete*, Editura Antet XX Press, Filipeștii de Târg, Prahova, f. a.

Cantacuzino, Alexandru, *Cum suntem*, Editura Curierul, Sibiu, 1937.

Cantacuzino, Alexandru, *Românul de mâine. Româanismul nostru*, Tiparul Românesc, București, 1937.

Cantacuzino, Alexandru, *Pentru Christos*, Tiparul Românesc, București, 1937.

Christescu, Vasile, *Viața economică a Daciei Romane (contribuții la o reconstituire istorică)*, Tipografia „Artistică” P. Mitu, Pitești, 1929.

Christescu, Vasile, *Istoria militară a Daciei Romane*, Fundația Regele Carol I, București, 1937.

Georgescu, Corneliu, *Un om și o acțiune*, Tipografia Poporului, Sibiu, 1925.

Georgescu, Corneliu, *Vremuri de restriște*, Tipografia „Libertatea”, Orăștie, 1925.

Gyr, Radu, *Studentimea și idealul spiritual*, Tipografia I. N. Copuzeanu, București, 1935.

Gyr, Radu, *Femeia în eroismul spiritual, moral și național*, ediția a II-a, Editura „Cetățuia Legionară”, București, 1937.

Marin, Vasile, *Fascismul: organizarea constituțională a statului corporativ*, Serviciul și Editura Colportajului Legionar, București, 1932.

Marin, Vasile, *Crez de generație*, ediția a IV-a, Colecția „Europa” München, Karlsfeld, 1977 [1937].

Marin, Vasile, *Cuvinte pentru studenți*, Tipografia I. Copuzeanu, București, 1937.

Moța, Ion I., *Liga Națiunilor. Idealul, viciile și primejdia ei*, Institutul de Arte Grafice „Bica”, București, 1930.

Motza, Jean, *La Sécurité Juridique dans la Société des Nations*, Imprimerie „Bucovina”, Bucarest, 1932.

Moța, Ion I., *Correspondența cu Welt-Dienst (1934-1936)*, Colecția „Europa” München, München, 2000.

Moța, Ion I., *Cranii de lemn: Articole 1922-1936*, ediția a III-a, Editura „Totul pentru Țară”, București, 1937.

Moța, Ion I., *Scrisoare către «Tineretul cuminte». O. E. T. R., Străjeri și Străjerițe, Șoimi și Șoimane, Premilitari, Cercetași și Cercetașe, f. e.*, București, 1937.

Moța, Ion I., *Prezent!*, Tipografia „Bucovina” I. E. Torouțiu, București, 1937.

Moța, Ion I., *Testamentul lui Ion I. Moța*, ediția a IV-a, Editura Sânziana, București, 2007 [1937].

Polihroniade, Mihail, *Tabăra de muncă*, Tipografia Ziarului „Universul”, București, 1936.

Polihroniade, Mihail; Tell, Alexandru-Christian, *Domnia lui Carol I. Vol. I, 1866-1877*, Editura Vreimea, București, 1937.

Polihroniade, Mihail, *Tineretul și politica externă*, Tipografia „Bucovina”, I. E. Torouțiu, București, 1938.

Zelea Codreanu, Corneliu, *Scrisori studențești din închisoare. Văcărești, 9 octombrie 1923-30 martie 1924*, Tipografia „Libertatea”, Orăștie, 1925.

Zelea Codreanu, Corneliu, *Cuvântare la mesaj. Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu în numele Gărzii de Fier*, Tipografia și Librăria Gh. N. Vlădescu, Câmpulung-Muscel, 1932.

Zelea Codreanu, Corneliu, *Cărticica șefului de cuib*, ediția a XV-a, Editura Fundației Culturale Buna Vestire, București, 2008 [1933].

Zelea Codreanu, Corneliu, *Însemnări*, Editura Pământul Strămoșesc, Freising, 1963 [1934].

Zelea Codreanu, Corneliu, *Pentru legionari*, ediția a II-a, Editura „Totul pentru Țară”, Sibiu, 1936.

Zelea Codreanu, Corneliu, *Circulări și manifeste. 1927-1938*, ediția a V-a, Colecția „Europa” München, München, 1981.

Zelea Codreanu, Corneliu, *Însemnări de la Jilava*, ediția a V-a, Editura Majadahonda, București, 1995 [1938].

## Secondary sources: books, doctoral theses

Adamson, Walter L., *Avant-Garde Florence. From Modernism to Fascism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge și Londra, 1993.

Alcalde, Ángel, *War Veterans and Fascism in Interwar Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge și New York, 2017.

Alexandrescu, Sorin, *Paradoxul român*, Editura Univers, București, 1998.

Alexandrescu, Sorin, *Privind înapoi, modernitatea*, Editura Univers, București, 1999.

Antliff, Mark, *Avant-Garde Fascism. The Mobilization of Myth, Art, and Culture in France, 1909-1939*, Duke University Press, Durham și Londra, 2007.

Antoși, Sorin, *Civitas imaginalis. Istorie și utopie în cultura română*, ediția a II-a, Editura Polirom, Iași, 1999.

Arendt, Hannah, *Originile totalitarismului*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1994.

Bauman, Zygmunt, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1990.

Bauman, Zygmunt, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991.

Bauman, Zygmunt, *Liquid Modernity*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000.

Bănică, Mirela, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română, stat și societate în anii 1930*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2007.

Ben-Ghiat, Ruth, *Fascist Modernities. Italy, 1922-1945*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles și Londra, 2001.

Benjamin, Walter, *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge și Londra, 2008.

Biliuță, Ionuț Florin, *The Archangel's Consecrated Servants. An Inquiry in the Relationship between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Iron Guard (1930-1941)*, teză de doctorat, Central European University, Budapesta, 2013.

Bozdoghină, Horia, *Antisemitismul lui A.C. Cuza în politica românească*, Editura Curtea Veche, București, 2012.

Bucur, Maria, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 2002.

Burleigh, Michael, *The Third Reich: A New History*, Pan Books, Londra, 2001.

- Butaru, Lucian T., *Rasism românesc. Componenta rasială a discursului antisemit din România până la Al Doilea Război Mondial*, Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.
- Chioveanu, Mihai, *Fețele fascismului: Politică, ideologie și scrisul istoric în secolul XX*, Editura Universității din București, București, 2005.
- Clark, Roland, *European Fascists and Local Activists: Romania's Legion of the Archangel Michael (1922-1938)*, teză de doctorat, University of Pittsburgh, 2012.
- Clark, Roland, *Sfântă tinerețe legionară. Activismul fascist în România interbelică*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2015.
- Dogan, Mattei, *Sociologie politică. Opere alese*, Editura Alternative, București, 1999.
- Eisenstadt, S.N., *Fundamentalism, Sectarianism, and Revolution. The Jacobin Dimension of Modernity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999.
- Drace-Francis, Alex, *The Making of Modern Romanian Culture. Literacy and the Development of National Identity*, Tauris Academic Studies, Londra, 2006.
- Eisenstadt, S.N., *Fundamentalism, Sectarianism, and Revolution. The Jacobin Dimension of Modernity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999.
- Eksteins, Modris, *Rites of Spring. The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*, Mariner Books, New York, 2000.
- Escu Müller, Carmen, *Evaluări ale opiniei publice românești asupra fascismului italian (1922-1943)*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.
- Esposito, Fernando, *Fascism, Aviation and Mythical Modernity*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2015.
- Falasca-Zamponi, Simonetta, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles și Oxford, 1997.
- Finchelstein, Federico, *Transatlantic Fascism. Ideology, Violence, and the Sacred in Argentina and Italy, 1919-1945*, Duke University Press, Durham și Londra, 2010.
- Fogu, Claudio, *The Historic Imaginary. Politics of History in Fascist Italy*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2003.
- Friedrich, Carl J.; Brzezinski, Zbigniew K., *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, ediția a II-a, Praeger Publishers, Londra și New York, 1966.



- Gentile, Emilio, *The Struggle for Modernity: Nationalism, Futurism, and Fascism*, Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut, 2003.
- Georgescu, Vlad, *Politică și istorie. Cazul comuniștilor români (1944-1977)*, Editura Humanitas, București, 2008.
- Gramsci, Antonio, *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*, International Publishers, New York, 1971.
- Gregor, A. James, *Marxism, Fascism & Totalitarianism. Chapters in the Intellectual History of Radicalism*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2009.
- Griffin, Roger, *The Nature of Fascism*, Routledge, Londra și New York, 1993.
- Griffin, Roger, *Modernism and Fascism. The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2007.
- Griffin, Roger, *Terrorist's Creed. Fanatical Violence and the Human Need for Meaning*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2012.
- Heinen, Armin, *Legiunea „Arhanghelului Mihail”. Mișcare socială și organizație politică: o contribuție la problema fascismului internațional*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1999.
- Herf, Jeffrey, *Reactionary Modernism. Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984.
- Ingrao, Christian, *Believe and Destroy. Intellectuals in the SS War Machine*, Polity Press, Malden, 2013.
- Juergensmeyer, Mark, *Terror in the Mind of God. The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles și Londra, 2000.
- Kallis, Aristotle A., *Nazi Propaganda and the Second World War*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005.
- Kallis, Aristotle, *Genocide and Fascism. The Eliminationist Drive in Fascist Europe*, Routledge, New York și Londra, 2009.
- Kallis, Aristotle, *The Third Rome. The Making of a Fascist Capital, 1922-1943*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2014.
- Kermode, Frank, *The Sense of an Ending. Studies in the Theory of Fiction with a New Epilogue*, ediția a III-a, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000.
- Kershaw, Ian, *Hitler*, Editura Meteor Press, București, 2014.

- Koselleck, Reinhart, *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2004.
- Livezeanu, Irina, *Cultură și naționalism în România Mare. 1918-1930*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1998.
- Maner, Hans-Christian, *Parlamentarismul în România (1930-1940)*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2004.
- Mann, Michael, *Fascists*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2004.
- Mosse, George L., *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1990.
- Müller, Florin, *Societate – ideologie – dictaturi*, Editura Universității din București, București, 2014.
- Müller, Florin, *Metamorfoze ale politicului românesc 1938-1944*, ediția a II-a, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2015.
- Nagy-Talavera, Nicholas M., *O istorie a fascismului în Ungaria și România*, Editura Hasefer, București, 1996.
- Nolte, Ernst, *Fascismul în epoca sa: Action française, fascismul italian, național-socialismul*, Editura Vivaldi, București, 2009.
- Oișteanu, Andrei, *Inventing the Jew. Antisemitic Stereotypes in Romanian and Other Central-East European Cultures*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln și Londra, 2009.
- Ornea, Zigu, *Anii Treizeci. Extrema dreaptă românească*, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, București, 1996.
- Osborne, Peter, *The Politics of Time. Modernity and the Avant-Garde*, Verso, Londra, 1995.
- Paxton, Robert O., *The Anatomy of Fascism*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2004.
- Payne, Stanley G., *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945*, Routledge, New York, 1996.
- Payne, Stanley G., *The Spanish Civil War*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2012.
- Pellicani, Luciano, *Revolutionary Apocalypse: Ideological Roots of Terrorism*, Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut, 2003.
- Ponzio, Alessio, *Shaping the New Man. Youth Training Regimes in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 2015.
- Redles, David, *Hitler's Millennial Reich. Apocalyptic Belief and the Search for Salvation*, New York University Press, New York și Londra, 2005.

- Roberts, David D., *Fascist Interactions. Proposals for a New Approach to Fascism and Its Era, 1919-1945*, Berghen Books, New York, 2016.
- Rusu, Mihai Stelian, *Memoria națională românească. Facerea și prefacerile discursive ale trecutului național*, Institutul European, Iași, 2015.
- Sandu, Traian, *Istoria Gărzii de Fier. Un fascism românesc*, Editura Cartier, Chișinău, 2019.
- Săndulescu, Valentin, *Revolutionizing Romania from the Right: The Regenerative Project of the Romanian Legionary Movement and its Failure (1927-1937)*, teză de doctorat, Central European University, Budapesta, 2010.
- Schmitt, Oliver Jens, *Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. Ascensiunea și căderea „Căpitanului”*, Editura Humanitas, București, 2017.
- Sdrobiș, Dragoș, *Limitele meritocrației într-o societate agrară. Șomaj intelectual și radicalizare politică a tineretului în România interbelică*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2015.
- Smith, Anthony D., *National Identity*, Penguin Books, Londra, 1991.
- Smith, Anthony D., *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism. A Cultural Approach*, Routledge, New York și Londra, 2009.
- Sternhell, Zeev; Sznajder, Mario; Asheri, Maria, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology. From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1994.
- Theweleit, Klaus, *Male Fantasies. Volume One: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, ediția a V-a, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2003.
- Theweleit, Klaus, *Male Fantasies. Volume Two: Psychoanalyzing the White Terror*, ediția a IV-a, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2003.
- Turda, Marius, *Eugenism și modernitate. Națiune, rasă și biopolitică în Europa (1870-1950)*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2014.
- Veiga, Francisco, *Istoria Gărzii de Fier 1919-1941. Mistica ultranaționalismului*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1995.
- Voegelin, Eric, *Religiile politice*, Editura Humanitas, București, 2010.
- Volovici, Leon, *Ideologia naționalistă și problema evreiască. Eseu despre formele antisemitismului intelectual în România anilor '30*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1995.
- Yeomans, Rory, *Visions of Annihilation. The Ustasha Regime and the Cultural Politics of Fascism, 1941-1945*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 2013.

Waddington, Lorna, *Hitler's Crusade. Bolshevism and the Myth of the International Jewish Conspiracy*, I. B. Tauris, Londra și New York, 2007.

Weber, Max, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles și Londra, 1978.

Weber, Max, *Politica, o vocație și o profesie*, Editura Anima, București, 1992.

Wohl, Robert, *The Generation of 1914*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1979.

### **Secondary Sources: Articles, Book Chapters**

Ablovatski, Eliza, „The 1919 Central European Revolutions and the Judeo-Bolshevik Myth”, în *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, vol. 17, nr. 3, 2010.

Adamson, Walter L., „Fascism and Political Religion in Italy: A Reassessment”, în *Contemporary European History*, vol. 23, nr. 1, februarie 2014.

Alexandrescu, Sorin, „Towards a Modern Theory of Romanian Nationalism in the Interwar Period”, în *Nation and National Ideology. Past, Present and Prospects*, The Center for the History of the Imaginary and New Europe College, București, 2002.

Alexandrescu, Sorin, „Modernism și anti-modernism: Din nou cazul românesc”, în Antohi, Sorin (coord.), *Modernism și antimodernism. Noi perspective interdisciplinare*, Editura Cuvântul, București, 2008.

Antliff, Mark, „Fascism, Modernism and Modernity”, în *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 84, nr. 1, martie 2002.

Barbu, Zeev, „Psycho-Historical and Sociological Perspectives on the Iron Guard, the Fascist Movement of Romania”, în Larsen, Stein Ugelvik; Hagtvet, Bernt; Mykleburst, Jan Peter (eds.), *Who Were the Fascists. Social Roots of European Fascism*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1980.

Bauerkämper, Arnd, „A New Consensus? Recent Research on Fascism in Europe, 1918-1945”, în *History Compass*, vol. 4, nr. 3, 2006.

Bauerkämper, Arnd, „Transnational Fascism: Cross-Border Relations between Regimes and Movements in Europe, 1922-1939”, în *East Central Europe*, vol. 37, 2010.

Ben-Ghiat, Ruth, „Italian Fascism and the Aesthetics of the ‘Third Way’”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 31, nr. 2, aprilie 1996.

- Betts, Paul, „The New Fascination with Fascism: The Case of Nazi Modernism”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 37, nr. 4, octombrie 2002.
- Biliuță, Ionuț Florin, „Secular versus Religious Nationalism in 19th-20th Century Romania. Stirring the Debating About the Essence of Romanian Nationalism”, în *New Europe College Yearbook*, 2010-2011.
- Blinkhorn, Martin, „Allies, Rivals or Antagonists? Fascists and Conservatives in Modern Europe”, în Blinkhorn, Martin (ed.), *Fascists and Conservatives. The Radical Right and the Establishment in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Routledge, Londra și New York, 2003.
- Böhler, Jochen, „Enduring Violence: The Postwar Struggle in East-Central Europe, 1917-1921”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 50, nr. 1, 2015.
- Brustein, William; Ronnkvist, Amy, „The Roots of Anti-Semitism: Romania before the Holocaust”, în *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 4, nr. 2, 2002.
- Burrin, Philippe, „Charisma and Radicalism in the Nazi Regime”, în Rousso, Henry (ed.), *Stalinism and Nazism: History and Memory Compared*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln și Londra, 2004.
- Burleigh, Michael, „National Socialism as a Political Religion”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 1, nr. 2, toamna 2000.
- Casquete, Jesús, „Martyr Construction and the Politics of Death in National Socialism”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 10, nr. 3-4, septembrie-decembrie 2009.
- Călinescu, Matei, „Modernity, Modernism, Modernization: Variations on Modern Themes”, în *Symplokē*, vol. 1, nr. 1, iarna 1993.
- Cârstocea, Raul, „Anti-Semitism in Romania: Historical Legacies, Contemporary Challenges”, în *ECMI Working Paper*, nr. 81, octombrie 2014.
- Cârstocea, Raul, „Breaking the Teeth of Time: Mythical Time and the «Terror of History» in the Rhetoric of the Legionary Movement in Interwar Romania”, în *Journal of Modern European History*, vol. 13, nr. 1, 2015.
- Cârstocea, Raul, „Building a Fascist Romania: Voluntary Work Camps as Mobilisation Strategies of the Legionary Movement in Interwar Romania”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 6, nr. 2, 2017.
- Cârstocea, Raul, „Native Fascists, Transnational Anti-Semites: The International Activity of Legionary Leader Ion I. Moța”, în Bauerkämper, Arnd; Rossoliński-Liebe, Grzegorz (eds.),

*Fascism without Borders. Transnational Connections and Cooperation between Movements and Regimes in Europe from 1918 to 1945*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2017.

Cercel, Cosmin Sebastian, „The ‘Right’ Side of the Law. State of Siege and the Rise of Fascism in Interwar Romania”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 2, nr. 2, 2013.

Chioveanu, Mihai, „În căutarea fascismului generic”, în *Sfera Politicii*, an 11, nr. 104, 2003.

Chioveanu, Mihai, „Religious Politics and Politics of Religion in 1930s Romania: the «Redemptive» Hyper-Nationalism of the Legion of «Archangel Michael»”, în *Studia Hebraica*, vol. 6, 2006.

Chioveanu, Mihai, „Arhanghelul acestei lumi. Legionarismul ca religie politică”, în *Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. VII, nr. 3, 2007.

Clark, Roland, „Nationalism, Ethnotheology, and Mysticism in Interwar Romania”, în *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian & East European Studies*, nr. 2002, septembrie 2009.

Clark, Roland, „Conflict and Everyday Life at the Legionary Cultural Centre in Iași (1924-1938)”, în *Archiva Moldaviae*, vol. III, 2011.

Clark, Roland, „Anti-Masonry as Political Protest: Fascists and Freemasons in Interwar Romania”, în *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 46, nr. 1, 2012.

Clark, Roland, „Collective Singing in Romanian Fascism”, în *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 10, nr. 2, 2013.

Clark, Roland, „Re-amintirea lui Codreanu: virtuți fasciste maligne la închisoarea de la Aiud (1964)”, în *Caietele CNSAS*, anul VIII, nr. 2 (16), 2015.

Clark, Roland, „Claiming Ethnic Privilege: Aromanian Immigrants and Romanian Fascist Politics”, în *Contemporary European History*, vol. 24, nr. 1, 2015.

Clark, Roland, „The Saliency of «New Man» Rhetoric in Romanian Fascist Movements, 1922-44”, în Dagnino, Jorge; Feldman, Matthew; Stocker, Paul (eds.), *The “New Men” in Radical Right Ideology and Practice, 1919-45*, Bloomsbury, Londra și New York, 2018.

Costa Pinto, António, „European Fascism: The Unfinished Handbook”, în *Contemporary European History*, vol. 21, nr. 2, mai 2012.

Costa Pinto, António; Kallis, Aristotle, „Embracing Complexity and Transnational Dynamics: The Diffusion of Fascism and the Hybridization of Dictatorships in Inter-War Europe”, în

Costa Pinto, António; Kallis, Aristotle (eds.), *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorships in Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2014.

Dagnino, Jorge, „The Myth of the New Man in Italian Fascist Ideology”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 5, nr. 2, 2016.

Dagnino, Jorge; Feldman, Matthew; Stocker, Paul, „Building Illiberal Subjects”, în Dagnino, Jorge; Feldman, Matthew; Stocker, Paul (eds.), *The “New Men” in Radical Right Ideology and Practice, 1919-45*, Bloomsbury, Londra și New York, 2018.

De Grand, Alexander, „Griffin’s New Consensus: A Bit Too Minimal?”, în Griffin, Roger; Loh, Werner; Umland, Andreas (eds.), *Fascism Past and Present, West and East. An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right*, Ibidem Verlag, Stuttgart, 2006.

Dickinson, Edward Ross, „Biopolitics, Fascism, Democracy: Some Reflections on Our Discourse About «Modernity»”, în *Central European History*, vol. 37, nr. 1, 2004.

Dinu, Radu Harald, „The Legionary Movement between «Political Religion» and «Collective Effervescence»”, în *Arhivele Totalitarismului*, an XVI, nr. 60-61, 3-4/2008.

Eatwell, Roger, „On Defining the ‘Fascist Minimum’: The Centrality of Ideology”, în *Journal of Political Ideology*, vol. 1, nr. 3, 1996.

Eatwell, Roger, „Reflections on Fascism and Religion”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 4, nr. 3, 2003.

Eatwell, Roger, „Introduction: New Styles of Dictatorship and Leadership in Interwar Europe”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 7, nr. 2, iunie 2006.

Eatwell, Roger, „The Concept and Theory of Charismatic Leadership”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 7, nr. 2, iunie 2006.

Eatwell, Roger, „The Nature of Fascism: Or Essentialism by Another Name?”, în Griffin, Roger; Loh, Werner; Umland, Andreas (eds.), *Fascism Past and Present, West and East. An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right*, Ibidem Verlag, Stuttgart, 2006.

Eatwell, Roger, „Ideology, Propaganda, Violence and the Rise of Fascism”, în Costa Pinto, António (ed.), *Rethinking the Nature of Fascism. Comparative Perspectives*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2011.

Eco, Umberto, „Ur-Fascism”, în *The New York Review of Books*, 22 iunie 1995.



Edele, Mark; Gerwarth, Robert, „The Limits of Demobilization: Global Perspectives on the Aftermath of the Great War”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 50, nr. 1, 2015.

Eisenstadt, S.N., „Multiple Modernities”, în *Daedalus*, vol. 129, nr. 1, iarna 2000.

Esposito, Fernando; Reichardt, Sven, „Revolution and Eternity. Introductory Remarks on Fascist Temporalities”, în *Journal of Modern European History*, vol. 13, nr. 1, 2015.

Feldman, Matthew; Turda, Marius, „«Clerical Fascism» in Interwar Europe: An Introduction”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 8, nr. 2, iunie 2007.

Fritzsche, Peter, „Nazi Modern”, în *Modernism/Modernity*, vol. 3, nr. 1, 1996.

Fritzsche, Peter, „Fascism and Illiberalism”, în Griffin, Roger; Loh, Werner; Umland, Andreas (eds.), *Fascism Past and Present, West and East. An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right*, Ibidem Verlag, Stuttgart, 2006.

Fogu, Claudio, „Fascism and Historic Representation: The 1932 Garibaldian Celebrations”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 31, nr. 2, aprilie 1996.

Fogu, Claudio, „*Il Duce Taumaturgo*: Modernist Rhetorics in Fascist Representations of History”, în *Representations*, nr. 57, iarna 1997.

Fogu, Claudio, „Actualism and the Fascist Historic Imaginary”, în *History and Theory*, vol. 42, mai 2003.

Fogu, Claudio, „The Fascist Stylisation of Time”, în *Journal of Modern European History*, vol. 13, nr. 1, 2015.

Frusetta, James; Glonț, Anca, „Interwar Fascism and the post-1989 Radical Right: Ideology, Opportunism and Historical Legacy in Bulgaria and Romania”, în *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 42, 2009.

Gentile, Emilio, „Fascism as Political Religion”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 25, nr. 2-3, mai-iunie 1990.

Gentile, Emilio; Mallett, Robert, „The Sacralisation of Politics: Definitions, Interpretations and Reflections on the Question of Secular Religion and Totalitarianism”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 1, nr. 1, vara 2000.

Gentile, Emilio, „Fascism, Totalitarianism and Political Religion: Definition and Critical Reflections on Criticism of an Interpretation”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 5, nr. 3, iarna 2004.



Gentile, Emilio, „Political Religion: A Concept and its Critics – A Critical Survey”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 6, nr. 1, iunie 2005.

Gerwarth, Robert, „The Central European Counter-Revolution: Paramilitary Violence in Germany, Austria and Hungary after the Great War”, în *Past & Present*, nr. 200, august 2008.

Gerwarth, Robert; Horne, John, „Vectors of Violence: Paramilitarism in Europe after the Great War, 1917-1923”, în *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 83, nr. 3, septembrie 2011.

Gerwarth, Robert; Horne, John, „Bolshevism as Fantasy: Fear of Revolution and Counter-Revolutionary Violence, 1917-1923”, în Gerwarth, Robert; Horne, John (eds.), *War in Peace. Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012.

Gerwarth, Robert „Fighting the Red Beast: Counter-Revolutionary Violence in the Defeated States of Central Europe”, în Gerwarth, Robert; Horne, John (eds.), *War in Peace. Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012.

Goodfellow, Samuel Huston, „Fascism as a Transnational Movement: The Case of Inter-War Alsace”, în *Contemporary European History*, vol. 22, nr. 1, februarie 2013.

Gregor, A. James, „Fascism, Marxism and Some Considerations Concerning Classification”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 3, nr. 2, toamna 2002.

Griffin, Roger, „The Sacred Synthesis: the Ideological Cohesion of Fascist Cultural Policy”, în *Modern Italy*, vol. 3, nr. 1, 1998.

Griffin, Roger, „Revolution from the Right. Fascism”, în Parker, David (ed.), *Revolutions and Revolutionary Tradition in the West 1560-1991*, Routledge, New York și Londra, 2000.

Griffin, Roger, „The Reclamation of Fascist Culture”, în *European History Quarterly*, vol. 31, nr. 4, 2001.

Griffin, Roger, „The Primacy of Culture: The Current Growth (Or Manufacture) of Consensus within Fascist Studies”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 37, nr. 1, ianuarie 2002.

Griffin, Roger, „The Palingenetic Political Community: Rethinking the Legitimation of Totalitarian Regimes in Inter-War Europe”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 3, nr. 3, iarna 2002.

Griffin, Roger, „From Slime Mould to Rhizome: an Introduction to the Groupuscular Right”, în *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 37, nr. 1, 2003.

Griffin, Roger, „The Concept that Came Out of the Cold: the Progressive Historicization of Generic Fascism and its New Relevance to Teaching Twentieth-Century History”, în *History Compass*, vol. 1, 2003.

Griffin, Roger, „Shattering Crystals: The Role of ‘Dream Time’ in Extreme Right-Wing Political Violence”, în *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 15, nr. 1, primăvara 2003.

Griffin, Roger, „Introduction: God’s Counterfeiters? Investigating the Triad of Fascism, Totalitarianism and (Political) Religion”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 5, nr. 3, iarna 2004.

Griffin, Roger, „Cloister or Cluster? The Implications of Emilio Gentile’s Ecumenical Theory of Political Religion for the Study of Extremism”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 6, nr. 1, iunie 2005.

Griffin, Roger, „Ideology and Culture”, în *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 11, nr. 1, februarie 2006.

Griffin, Roger, „*Da capo, con meno brio*: Towards a More Useful Conceptualization of Generic Fascism”, în Griffin, Roger; Loh, Werner; Umland, Andreas (eds.), *Fascism Past and Present, West and East. An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right*, Ibidem Verlag, Stuttgart, 2006.

Griffin, Roger, „Grey Cats, Blue Cows, and Wide Awake Groundhogs: Notes Towards the Development of a «Deliberative Ethos» in Fascist Studies”, în Griffin, Roger; Loh, Werner; Umland, Andreas (eds.), *Fascism Past and Present, West and East. An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right*, Ibidem Verlag, Stuttgart, 2006.

Griffin, Roger, „The «Holy Storm»: «Clerical Fascism» through the Lens of Modernism”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 8, nr. 2, iunie 2007.

Griffin, Roger, „Tunnel Visions and Mysterious Trees: Modernist Projects of National and Racial Regeneration, 1880-1939”, în Turda, Marius; Weindling, Paul J. (eds.), *Blood and Homeland. Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, Central European University Press, Budapesta, 2007.

Griffin, Roger, „Modernity, Modernism, and Fascism. A «Mazeway Resynthesis»”, în *Modernism/Modernity*, vol. 15, nr. 1, ianuarie 2008.

Griffin, Roger, „‘I am no longer human. I am a Titan. A god!’: The Fascist Quest to Regenerate Time”, în Feldman, Matthew (ed.), *A Fascist Century. Essays by Roger Griffin*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008.

Griffin, Roger, „Modernity under the New Order. The Fascist Project for Managing the Future”, în Feldman, Matthew (ed.), *A Fascist Century. Essays by Roger Griffin*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008.

Griffin, Roger, „Exploding the Continuum of History: A Non-Marxist’s Marxist Model of Fascism’s Revolutionary Dynamics”, în Feldman, Matthew (ed.), *A Fascist Century. Essays by Roger Griffin*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008.

Griffin, Roger, „Hooked Crosses and Forking Paths. The Fascist Dynamics of the Third Reich”, în Feldman, Matthew (ed.), *A Fascist Century. Essays by Roger Griffin*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008.

Griffin, Roger, „Europe for the Europeans. Fascist Myths of the European New Order 1922-1992”, în Feldman, Matthew (ed.), *A Fascist Century. Essays by Roger Griffin*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008.

Griffin, Roger, „The Multiplication of Man. Futurism’s Technolatry Viewed through the Lens of Modernism”, în Berghaus, Günther (ed.), *Futurism and the Technological Imagination*, Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2009.

Griffin, Roger, „Fascism and Culture: A Mosse-Centric Meta-Narrative (or How Fascist Studies Reinvented the Wheel)”, în Costa Pinto, António (ed.), *Rethinking the Nature of Fascism. Comparative Perspectives*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2011.

Griffin, Roger, „Studying Fascism in a Postfascist Age. From New Consensus to New Wave?”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 1, nr. 1, 2012.

Griffin, Roger, „Bio-nomic Man (and Woman): Fantasies of Anthropological Revolution as a Reaction to Modernity’s Nomic Crisis”, în Turda, Marius (ed.), *Crafting Humans: From Genesis to Eugenics and Beyond*, V&R Unipress, Göttingen, 2013.

Griffin, Roger, „Fixing Solutions: Fascist Temporalities as Remedies for Liquid Modernities”, în *Journal of Modern European History*, vol. 13, nr. 1, 2015.

Griffin, Roger, „Decentering Comparative Fascist Studies”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 4, nr. 2, 2015.

Griffin, Roger, „Fascism’s Modernist Revolution: A New Paradigm for the Study of Right-wing Dictatorships”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 5, nr. 2, 2016.

Haynes, Rebecca Ann, „The Romanian Legionary Movement. Popular Orthodoxy and the Cult of Death”, în Anton, Mioara; Anghel, Florin; Popa, Cosmin (coord.), *Hegemoniile trecutului. Evoluții românești și europene*, Editura Curtea Veche, București, 2006.

Haynes, Rebecca, „Work Camps, Commerce and the Education of the ‘New Man’ in the Romanian Legionary Movement”, în *The Historical Journal*, vol. 51, nr. 4, decembrie 2008.

Iordachi, Constantin, „The Unyielding Boundaries of Citizenship: The Emancipation of ‘Non-Citizens’ in Romania, 1866-1918”, în *European Review of History*, vol. 8, nr. 2, 2001.

Iordachi, Constantin; Trencsényi, Balázs, „In Search of a Usable Past: The Question of National Identity in Romanian Studies, 1990-2000”, în *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 17, nr. 3, 2003.

Iordachi, Constantin, „Charisma, Religion, and Ideology: Romania’s Interwar Legion of the Archangel Michael”, în Lampe, John; Mazower, Mark (eds.), *Ideologies and National Identities. The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, Central European University Press, Budapesta, 2004.

Iordachi, Constantin, „Fascism in Interwar East Central and Southeastern Europe: Toward a New Transnational Research Agenda”, în *East Central Europe*, vol. 37, 2010.

Iordachi, Constantin, „Fascism, violență și purificare. Spre o nouă agendă de cercetare”, în Iordachi, Constantin (ed.), *Fascismul european 1918-1945. Ideologie, experimente totalitare și religii politice*, Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, Cluj-Napoca, 2014.

Iordachi, Constantin, „Fascism, totalitarism și religii politice. Noi definiții comparative”, în Iordachi, Constantin (ed.), *Fascismul european 1918-1945. Ideologie, experimente totalitare și religii politice*, Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, Cluj-Napoca, 2014.

Iordachi, Constantin, „De la credința naționalistă la credința legionară. Palingenezie romantică, militarism și fascism în România modernă”, în Iordachi, Constantin (ed.), *Fascismul european 1918-1945. Ideologie, experimente totalitare și religii politice*, Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, Cluj-Napoca, 2014.

Iordachi, Constantin, „Fascism in Southeastern Europe. A Comparison between Romania's Legion of the Archangel Michael and the Croatian Ustaša”, în Daskalov, Roumen; Mishkova, Diana (eds.), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans. Volume Two: Transfers of Political Ideologies and Institutions*, Brill, Leiden, 2014.

Iordachi, Constantin, „A Continuum of Dictatorships: Hybrid Totalitarian Experiments in Romania, 1937-1944”, în Costa Pinto, António; Kallis, Aristotle (eds.), *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorships in Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2014.

Iordachi, Constantin; Sciarrino, Blasco, „War Veterans, Demobilization and Political Activism: Greater Romania in Comparison”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 6, nr. 1, 2017.

Jackson, Paul, „A Case Study in Fascist Ideological Production: Corneliu Codreanu's *For My Legionaries (The Iron Guard)*”, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „G. Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca*, tom XLV, 2006.

Jackson, Paul, „‘Union or Death!’: Gavrilo Princip, Young Bosnia and the Role of ‘Sacred Time’ in the Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 7, nr. 1, martie 2006.

Jackson, Paul, „The International Fascist Congresses”, în Blamires, Cyprian P.; Jackson, Paul (eds.), *World Fascism. A Historical Encyclopedia*, ABC Clio, Santa Barbara, California, 2006.

Janos, Andrew C., „Modernization and Decay in Historical Perspective. The Case of Romania”, în Jowitt, Kenneth (ed.), *Social Change in Romania, 1860-1940. A Debate in a European Nation*, Institute of International Studies, Berkeley, 1978.

Kallis, Aristotle A., „The «Regime-Model» of Fascism: A Typology”, în *European History Quarterly*, vol. 30, nr. 1, 2000.

Kallis, Aristotle A., „«Fascism», «Para-fascism» and «Fascistization»: On the Similarities of Three Conceptual Categories”, în *European History Quarterly*, vol. 33, nr. 2, 2003.

Kallis, Aristotle A., „Studying Inter-war Fascism in Epochal and Diachronic Terms: Ideological Production, Political Experience and the Quest for «Consensus»”, în *European History Quarterly*, vol. 34, nr. 1, 2004.

Kallis, Aristotle A., „Fascism, ‘Charisma’ and ‘Charismatisation’: Weber's Model of ‘Charismatic Domination’ and Interwar European Fascism”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 7, nr. 1, martie 2006.

Kallis, Aristotle A., „On «Rebirth», «Consensus», Swords and Other (Academic) Weapons...”, în Griffin, Roger; Loh, Werner; Umland, Andreas (eds.), *Fascism Past and Present, West and East. An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right*, Ibidem Verlag, Stuttgart, 2006.

Kallis, Aristotle A., „Racial Politics and Biomedical Totalitarianism in Interwar Europe”, în Turda, Marius; Weindling, Paul J. (eds.), *Blood and Homeland. Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, Central European University Press, Budapesta, 2007.

Kallis, Aristotle, „Fascism, ‘Licence’ and Genocide: From the Chimera of Rebirth to the Authorization of Mass Murder”, în Costa Pinto, António (ed.), *Rethinking the Nature of Fascism. Comparative Perspectives*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2011.

Kallis, Aristotle, „The ‘Fascist Effect’: On the Dynamics of Political Hybridization in Inter-War Europe”, în Costa Pinto, António; Kallis, Aristotle (eds.), *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorships in Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2014.

Kallis, Aristotle, „When Fascism Became Mainstream: The Challenge of Extremism in Times of Crisis”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 4, nr. 1, 2015.

Kallis, Aristotle, „From CAUR to EUR: Italian Fascism, the ‘Myth of Rome’ and the Pursuit of International Primacy”, în *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 50, nr. 4-5, 2016.

Kallis, Aristotle, „The Fascist New Order, Violence, and Creative Destruction”, în Bauerkämper, Arnd; Rossoliński-Liebe, Grzegorz (eds.), *Fascism without Borders. Transnational Connections and Cooperation between Movements and Regimes in Europe from 1918 to 1945*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2017.

Kalman, Samuel, „Faisceau Visions of Physical and Moral Transformation and the Cult of Youth in Inter-war France”, în *European History Quarterly*, vol. 33, nr. 3, 2003.

Kershaw, Ian, „Hitler and the Uniqueness of Nazism”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 39, nr. 2, 2004.

Korkut, Umut, „Nationalism versus Internationalism: the Roles of Political and Cultural Elites in Interwar and Communist Romania”, în *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 34, nr. 2, 2006.

Lambert, Peter, „Heroisation and Demonisation in the Third Reich: The Consensus-building Value of a Nazi Pantheon of Heroes”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 8, nr. 3-4, septembrie-decembrie 2007.



- Lepsius, M. Rainer, „The Model of Charismatic Leadership and its Applicability to the Rule of Adolf Hitler”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 7, nr. 2, iunie 2006.
- Leuștean, Lucian N., „«For the Glory of Romanians»: Orthodoxy and Nationalism in Greater Romania, 1918-1945”, în *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 35, nr. 4, septembrie 2007.
- Lim, Jie-Hyun, „Victimhood Nationalism and History Reconciliation in East Asia”, în *History Compass*, vol. 8, nr. 1, 2010.
- Linehan, Thomas, „The British Union of Fascists as a Totalitarian Movement and Political Religion”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 5, nr. 3, iarna 2004.
- Linz, Juan J. „The Religious Use of Politics and/or the Political Use of Religion. Ersatz Ideology versus Ersatz Religion”, în Maier, Hans (ed.), *Totalitarianism and Political Religions. Volume I: Concepts for the Comparison of Dictatorships*, Routledge, Londra și New York, 1996.
- Livezeanu, Irina, „After the Great Union: Generational Tensions, Intellectuals, Modernism, and Ethnicity in Interwar Romania”, în *Nation and National Ideology. Past, Present and Prospects*, The Center for the History of the Imaginary and New Europe College, București, 2002.
- Livezeanu, Irina, „Fascists and Conservatives in Romania: Two Generations of Nationalists”, în Blinkhorn, Martin (ed.), *Fascists and Conservatives. The Radical Right and the Establishment in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Routledge, Londra și New York, 2003.
- Luzzatto, Sergio, „The Political Culture of Fascist Italy”, în *Contemporary European History*, vol. 8, nr. 2, 1999.
- Maier, Hans, „Concepts for the Comparison of Dictatorships. «Totalitarianism» and «Political Religions»”, în Maier, Hans (ed.), *Totalitarianism and Political Religions. Volume I: Concepts for the Comparison of Dictatorships*, Routledge, Londra și New York, 1996.
- Maier, Hans, „Political Religions and their Images: Soviet Communism, Italian Fascism and German National Socialism”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 7, nr. 3, septembrie 2006.
- Mees, Bernard, „Hitler and *Germanentum*”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 39, nr. 2, 2004.

Mennen, Kristian, „‘Milksops’ and ‘Bemedalled Old Men’: War Veterans and the War Youth Generation in the Weimar Republic”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 7, nr. 1, 2017.

Melograni, Piero, „The Cult of the Duce in Mussolini's Italy”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 11, nr. 4, octombrie 1976.

Messerschmidt, Manfred, „The Wehrmacht and the Volksgemeinschaft”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 18, nr. 4, octombrie 1983.

Miljan, Goran, „From Obscure Beginnings to State ‘Resurrection’: Ideas and Practices of the Ustaša Organization”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 5, nr. 1, 2016.

Moro, Renato, „Religion and Politics in the Time of Secularisation: The Sacralisation of Politics and Politicisation of Religion”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 6, nr. 1, iunie 2005.

Mosse, George L., „National Cemeteries and National Revival: The Cult of Fallen Soldiers in Germany”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 14, 1979.

Mosse, George L., „Two World Wars and the Myth of the War Experience”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 21, nr. 4, octombrie 1986.

Mosse, George L., „Fascism and the French Revolution”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 24, nr. 1, ianuarie 1989.

Müller, Florin, „Fascismul și comunismul în România interbelică – tipuri de modernizare revoluționară”, în *Revista de științe politice și relații internaționale*, tom IV, nr. 3, 2007.

Nastasă, Lucian, „Antisemitismul universitar în România (1919-1939). Studiu introductiv”, în Nastasă, Lucian (ed.), *Antisemitismul universitar în România (1919-1939). Mărturii documentare*, Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale și Editura Kriterion, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.

Nelis, Jan, „Constructing Fascist Identity: Benito Mussolini and the Myth of «Romanità»”, în *The Classical World*, vol. 100, nr. 4, vara 2007.

Nelis, Jan, „Back to the Future. Italian Fascist Representations of the Roman Past”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 3, nr. 1, 2014.

Patel, Kiran Klaus; Reichardt, Sven, „The Dark Side of Transnationalism. Social Engineering and Nazism, 1930s-40s”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 51, nr. 1, 2016.



Payne, Stanley G., „Fascism and Communism”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 1, nr. 3, iarna 2000.

Payne, Stanley G., „On the Heuristic Value of the Concept of Political Religion and its Application”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 6, nr. 2, septembrie 2005.

Payne, Stanley G., „Commentary on Roger Griffin’s «Fascism’s New Faces»”, în Griffin, Roger; Loh, Werner; Umland, Andreas (eds.), *Fascism Past and Present, West and East. An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right*, Ibidem Verlag, Stuttgart, 2006.

Pârâianu, Răzvan, „Culturalist Nationalism and Anti-Semitism in Fin-de-Siècle Romania”, în Turda, Marius; Weindling, Paul J. (eds.), *Blood and Homeland. Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, Central European University Press, Budapesta, 2007.

Petrescu, Cristina; Petrescu, Dragoș, „Mastering vs. Coming to Terms with the Past: A Critical Analysis of Post-Communist Romanian Historiography”, în Antohi, Sorin; Trencsényi, Balázs; Apor, Péter (eds.), *Narratives Unbound. Historical Studies in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, Central European University Press, Budapesta și New York, 2007.

Platon, Mircea, „The Iron Guard and the ‘Modern State’. Iron Guard Leaders Vasile Marin and Ion I. Moța, and the ‘New European Order’”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 1, nr. 2, 2012.

Pollard, John, „«Clerical Fascism»: Context, Overview and Conclusion”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 8, nr. 2, iunie 2007.

Pollard, John, „Fascism and Religion”, în Costa Pinto, António (ed.), *Rethinking the Nature of Fascism. Comparative Perspectives*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2011.

Reichardt, Sven, „Violence and Consensus in Fascism”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 1, nr. 1, 2012.

Reichardt, Sven, „Violence and Community: A Micro-Study on Nazi Storm Troopers”, în *Central European History*, vol. 46, nr. 2, 2013.

Rizescu, Victor, „Subverting the Canon: Oligarchic Politics and Modernizing Optimism in Pre-Communist Romania”, în *New Europe College Yearbook*, 2002-2003.

Roberts, David D., „How Not to Think about Fascism and Ideology, Intellectual Antecedents and Historical Meaning”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 35, nr. 2, aprilie 2000.

Roberts, David D.; De Grand, Alexander; Antliff, Mark; Linehan, Thomas, „Comments on Roger Griffin, ‘«The Primacy of Culture»: The Current Growth (Or Manufacture) of Consensus within Fascist Studies’”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 37, nr. 1, aprilie 2002.

Roberts, David D., „Myth, Style, Substance and the Totalitarian Dynamic in Fascist Italy”, în *Contemporary European History*, vol. 16, nr. 1, februarie 2007.

Roberts, David D., „Fascism, Modernism and the Quest for an Alternative Modernity”, în *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 43, nr. 1, 2009.

Roberts, David D., „‘Political Religion’ and the Totalitarian Departures of Inter-War Europe: On the Uses and Disadvantages of an Analytical Category”, în *Contemporary European History*, vol. 18, nr. 4, noiembrie 2009.

Roberts, David D., „Fascism and the Framework for Interactive Political Innovation during the Era of the Two World Wars”, în Costa Pinto, António; Kallis, Aristotle (eds.), *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorships in Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2014.

Rusu, Mihai Stelian, „Domesticating Viragos. The Politics of Womanhood in the Romanian Legionary Movement”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 5, nr. 2, 2016.

Rusu, Mihai Stelian, „The Sacralization of Martyric Death in Romanian Legionary Movement: Self-sacrificial Patriotism, Vicarious Atonement, and Thanatic Nationalism”, în *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, vol. 17, nr. 2-3, 2016.

Săndulescu, Valentin, „Fascism and its Quest for the «New Man»: The Case of the Romanian Legionary Movement”, în *Studia Hebraica*, vol. 4, 2004.

Săndulescu, Valentin, „On the Ideological Characteristics of the Romanian Legionary Movement: A Synthetic Account”, în *Studia Universitatis Petru Maior. Series Historia*, vol. 5, 2005.

Săndulescu, Valentin, „Sacralised Politics in Action: the February 1937 Burial of the Romanian Legionary Leaders Ion Moța and Vasile Marin”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 8, nr. 2, iunie 2007.

Săndulescu, Valentin, „«Sămânța aruncată de diavol»: presa legionară și construirea imaginii inamicilor politici (1927-1937)”, în *Studia Universitatis Petru Maior. Series Historia*, vol. 7, 2007.

Săndulescu, Valentin, „«Taming the Body»: Preliminary Considerations Regarding the Legionary Work Camps System (1933-1937)”, în *Historical Yearbook*, vol. 5, 2008.

Săndulescu, Valentin, „Modernism și fascism: repere ale unei evoluții istoriografice”, în Antohi, Sorin (coord.), *Modernism și antimodernism. Noi perspective interdisciplinare*, Editura Cuvântul, București, 2008.

Săndulescu, Valentin, „«Taming the Spirit»: Notes on the Shaping of the Legionary «New Man»”, în Sandu, Traian (ed.), *Vers un profil convergent des fascismes? “Nouveau consensus” et religion politique en Europe centrale*, L’Harmattan, Cahiers de la Nouvelle Europe, Paris, 2010.

Săndulescu, Valentin, „Note privind extremismul de dreapta în România Mare: clarificări doctrinare și practici politice”, în *Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană. Serie nouă*, vol. XII, 2013.

Săndulescu, Valentin, „Generation, Regeneration, and Discourses of Identity in the Intellectual Foundations of Romanian Fascism: The Case of the Axa Group”, în Mishkova, Diana; Trencsényi, Balázs; Jalava, Marja (eds.), *‘Regimes of Historicity’ in Southeastern and Northern Europe, 1890-1945: Discourses of Identity and Temporality*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2014.

Schmitt, Oliver Jens, „«Un puternic curent» la sate: mecanismele mobilizării politice ale mișcării legionare în lumea rurală 1933-1937. O primă schiță a unei istorii sociale a Gărzii de Fier”, în *Revista Arhivelor*, nr. 1, 2011.

Schmitt, Oliver Jens, „Sfântă tinerețe legionară. Cântecul ca mijloc și esență a mobilizării politice de extremă dreaptă în România interbelică”, în *Archiva Moldaviae*, vol. III, 2011.

Schmitt, Oliver Jens, „Approaching the Social History of Romanian Fascism. The Legionaries of Vâlcea County in the Interwar Period”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 3, nr. 2, 2014.

Schmitt, Oliver Jens, „Clerul ortodox și extrema dreaptă în România interbelică”, în *Archiva Moldaviae*, vol. VIII, 2016.

Sdrobiș, Dragoș, „Național și naționalism în educația românească interbelică (1918-1939)”, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „G. Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca*, tom L, 2011.

Soucy, Robert J., „French Fascism and the Croix de Feu: A Dissenting Interpretation”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 26, nr. 1, ianuarie 1991.

Steigmann-Gall, Richard, „Nazism and the Revival of Political Religion Theory”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 5, nr. 3, iarna 2004.

Steigmann-Gall, Richard, „The Nazis’ «Positive Christianity»: a Variety of «Clerical Fascism»?”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 8, nr. 2, iunie 2007.

Stoica, Dragoș, „Do Modern Radicals Believe in Their Mythologies? A Comparison between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Legion of the Archangel Michael in the Light of Four Political Mythologies”, în *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, vol. 15, nr. 1, 2014.

Stone, Marla; Chamedes, Giuliana, „Naming the Enemy: Anti-communism in Transnational Perspective”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 53, nr. 1, 2018.

Stowers, Stanley, „The Concepts of «Religion», «Political Religion» and the Study of Nazism”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 42, nr. 1, ianuarie 2007.

Turda, Marius, „New Perspectives on Romanian Fascism: Themes and Options”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 6, nr. 1, iunie 2005.

Turda, Marius, „The Nation as Object: Race, Blood, and Biopolitics in Interwar Romania”, în *Slavic Review*, vol. 66, nr. 3, toamna 2007.

Turda, Marius, „«Fascismul clerical» în România”, studiu introductiv la Bănică, Mirel, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română, stat și societate în anii 1930*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2007.

Turda, Marius; Weindling, Paul J., „Eugenics, Race and Nation in Central and Southeast Europe: A Historiographic Overview”, în Turda, Marius; Weindling, Paul J. (eds.), *Blood and Homeland. Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, Central European University Press, Budapesta, 2007.

Turda, Marius, „Politics, Religion, Gender, and Historiography: Eastern European Perspectives”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 9, nr. 1, martie 2008.

Turda, Marius, „Conservative Palingenesis and Cultural Modernism in Early Twentieth-century Romania”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 9, nr. 4, decembrie 2008.

Turda, Marius, „Crafting a Healthy Nation: European Eugenics in Historical Context”, în Turda, Marius (ed.), *Crafting Humans: From Genesis to Eugenics and Beyond*, V&R Unipress, Göttingen, 2013.

Umland, Andreas, „Diachronic and Cross-Cultural Comparison: Toward a Better Understanding of International Fascism”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 1, nr. 1, 2012.

Ustorf, Werner, „The Missiological Roots of the Concept of ‘Political Religion’”, în Griffin, Roger; Mallett, Robert; Tortorice, John (eds.), *The Sacred in Twentieth-Century Politics. Essays in Honor of Professor Stanley G. Payne*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008.

van Meurs, Wim, „The Wall in Fascism Studies”, în *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 1, nr. 1, 2012.

Verdery, Katherine, „National Ideology and National Character in Interwar Romania”, în Banac, Ivo; Verdery, Katherine (eds.), *National Character and National Ideology in Interwar Eastern Europe*, Yale Center for International and Area Studies, New Haven, 1995.

Vondung, Klaus, „National Socialism as a Political Religion: Potentials and Limits of an Analytical Concept”, în *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 6, nr. 1, iunie 2005.

Wanrooij, Bruno, „The Rise and Fall of Italian Fascism as a Generational Revolt”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 22, nr. 3, iulie 1987.

Weber, Eugen, „The Men of the Archangel”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 1, nr. 1, 1966.

Weber, Eugen, „Revolution? Counterrevolution? What Revolution?”, în *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 9, nr. 2, aprilie 1974.

Webster, Alexander F. C., „The Romanian Legionary Movement. An Orthodox Christian Assessement of Anti-Semitism”, în *The Carl Beck Papers and East European Studies*, nr. 502, februarie 1986.

Welch, David, „Manufacturing a Consensus: Nazi Propaganda and the Building of a ‘National Community’ (*Volksgemeinschaft*)”, în *Contemporary European History*, vol. 2, nr. 1, martie 1993.

Wolff, Noga, „Exploiting Nationalism in Order to Repudiate Democracy: The Case of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany”, în *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 20, nr. 1, 2015.

Yeomans, Rory, „Cults of Death and Fantasies of Annihilation: The Croatian Ustasha Movement in Power, 1941-1945”, în *Central Europe*, vol. 3, nr. 2, noiembrie 2005.