

Corporatism in Interwar Romania: Overlapping Sources and Competing Varieties

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Originally shaped as an alternative to the syndical model for the representation of professional interests – and resting on the qualified rejuvenation of the guild tradition within the frame of modern social life –, the corporatist design was later appropriated by various streams of the Right as an all-encompassing political project, meant to contain the class-based divisiveness of society on the basis of vertically-branded occupational categories, thus allowing the enhanced mobilization of national energies for the sake of modernizing breakthroughs and/or expansionist endeavors. Already well-entrenched in the interwar period, the double-edge nature of the phenomenon has survived in the various contexts of post-war neo-corporatist experimentation (itself taking place both within the horizon of peripheral delayed development and in the milieu of affluent western democracies in search for elaborating more effective welfare arrangements).

1. *Romanian Corporatism: Uncovering the Double-sidedness of the Design*

The memory of the Romanian engagement with the corporatist model suffers from the association of the issues of social policy and professional representation with the syndical model alone. It is moreover basically confined to recording the theoretical pronouncements in the field delivered by M. Manoilescu, an internationally renowned local promoter of the creed, pleading for its wholesale implementation¹ (and staying close to the fascist Iron Guard in the late 1930's after starting his ideological journey, in the early 1920's, by taking part in the debates regarding the necessary adaptations of liberalism according to the conditions of delayed development), together with the ideological advocacy promoted by Manoilescu's National-Corporatist League – founded in November 1933 and functioning as a rather marginal embodiment of right-wing politics in the national context of the

time – and with the unaccomplished efforts targeted at the implementation of the vision deployed under the Carolist regime of 1938-1940².

This comes from the fact that, as forged primarily under communism, the patterns of the Romanian scholarship on the development of labor legislation and welfare institutions in the country present the process as entirely predicated on the pressures exerted by socialist and communist politics – together with those of worker trade-unionism harnessed to the same political forces – against the defining attitude of staunch opposition alternating with piecemeal and reluctant concessions displayed by the mainstream parties and by the representatives of big capital³. After communism, the legacies of such interpretative views have got conjoined with the very sparseness of the approaches to the topic such as to prevent a clarification of the interplay between the syndical and the corporatist understandings of professional representation in the context⁴.

An approach predicated on observing the essential double-sidedness of the corporatist design easily leads, however, to uncovering a large welter of Romanian engagements with the doctrine in question – themselves deeply intertwined with the dynamics of contemporary institutional forms, social structures and legal provisions –, thus allowing the meaningful contextualization of the theories hitherto treated as isolated utterances performing a role of limited importance as part of the general unfolding of right-wing discourses during the interwar period. Alongside ideological imports from the contemporary European culture of the Right, the body of corporatist theorizing and experimentation has to

be related to the grass-roots associational movements of the professional groups and to the various strands of the politics of interest representation in the field, involving a move away from the (belatedly interrupted) traditional structures of guild organization towards embracing the tenets of syndical freedom and horizontally branded syndicalist activism, followed by the attempt of curbing the divisive implications of these latter phenomena by the means of the modern corporatist design. In fact, the two stages of the process overlapped very deeply in the Romanian context. Indeed, the efforts of implementing the principles of professional individualism and associational freedom – first in the 1860's and the 1870's, and then again in the 1920's – recorded only truncated results, but not in a different fashion than those of uprooting such accomplishments and turning the way back to the corporatist model of state-supervised and (half-)mandatory professional representation (first at the turn of the century and then again starting with 1938).

When saying this, one should always think at the fact that, remembered as he is in the country almost entirely as a politician and an ideological voice of the Right⁵, the author of the book *Le siècle du corporatisme* has instead been entrenched internationally as a central reference of the theorizing targeted at conceptualizing welfare policies in post-war democracies. Indeed, the surveys of such kind of intellectual efforts repeatedly highlighted as a watershed in the field – even of a «before and after» magnitude⁶ – a 1974 article by the political scientist P. C. Schmitter, entitled «Still the Century of Corporatism?» and itself framed by privileged reference to the work of Manoilescu mentioned above⁷.



King Carol II signing the Constitution on February 27, 1938

Resting on the distinction between the «statist» version of the phenomenon – paradigmatically traced back to the Romanian theorist specifically and to the inter-war fascist politics and ideology generally, but also shown as later rejuvenated in various authoritarian guises in national frameworks of the context of peripheral development – and the «societal» one – discovered as adumbrated most characteristically in the 1920's by J. M. Keynes⁸, in order to get embodied in the structures enabling an effective negotiation between capital, labor and the state obtained in postwar developed societies –, the revolutionary piece was certainly most concerned with the realities of the second sort, rapidly consecrated in its footsteps as constituting a brand of corporatist politics compatible with the basic

demands of liberal democratic life. Nevertheless, it credited Manoilescu for perceptively envisioning the long-term entrenchment of peculiar arrangements of «interest representation», that had to be placed in a different category than those pertaining to the «pluralist» model, in so far as they promoted the compression of interest groups into «a fixed set of verticalized categories each representing the interdependent functions of an organic whole», further advocating the «controlled emergence, quantitative limitation, vertical stratification and complementary interdependence» of such entities. It is to note that, in a companion piece, Schmitter implies that the central place that Manoilescu is entitled to occupy in the enterprise of reconsidering the relevance of the corporatist model does

not entail any detailed consideration of the interwar Romanian context. This is because the ideologist targeted only took over and refashioned a welter of ideas «stemming from Europe as a whole and not Romania in particular», thus serving «more as a conduit for this *Zeitgeist* toward his homeland and elsewhere in the Southern Europe and Latin American periphery, where his works circulated extensively during the 1930's, than as an important and original observer-analyst of Romania»⁹.

The story of the corporatist idea in Romania to which Manoilescu belongs was certainly nourished by the overall drive to the Right marking the society and the political system over the interwar period. We must refrain, however, from approaching it as nothing else but an integral part of this last development. Its connections outside the ideological camp in question have to be disclosed. The «statist» and authoritarian conception advanced by Manoilescu regarding the envisioned conversion of liberal parliamentarianism into corporatist politics against the background of capitalist survival – most elaborately exposed in his book *Le parti unique* of 1937¹⁰ – coexisted with inquiries sustained by the mood of political moderation and meant to discover sensible ways of accommodating the demand for a better representation of professional interests within the space of liberal constitutionalism and of harmonizing the competing claims of capital and labor.

This amounts to saying that manifestations that have to be placed under the rubric of «societal» corporatism were present in the Romanian pre-communist setting, something that somehow blurs the distinction between the two models of Schmitter's typology¹¹. The less formalized, relat-

ed and overlapping distinctions between the «western» and the «peripheral», the «liberal» and the «authoritarian», the pre-1945 and post-1945 embodiments of the phenomenon, marking the relevant domain in the field of historical understanding¹², are certainly expected to emerge as relativized by the same token. For sure, the entire endeavor is targeted at better comprehending the larger history of the politics and discourses of professional representation in changing social and political constellations.

2. *The Corporatist Drive: Guild Legacies and Ideological Departures*

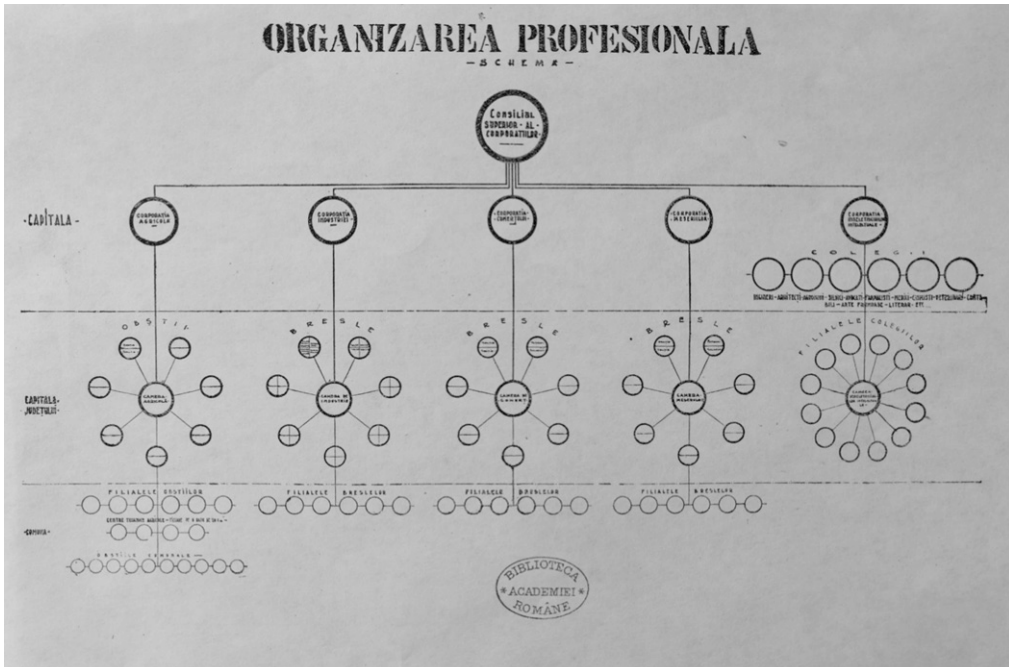
Corporatist structures set in continuity to those of the old regime society scored three successive deaths in Romania. The first one came with the formal abolition of the traditional guilds by virtue of a government decree of June 1873, at the end of a long and protracted process of decay¹³. The notion of the freedom of association was inscribed in Article 27 of the 1866 Constitution, but the adoption of ordinary legislation meant to set forth the actual conditions for the departure of associational life was much delayed. This only came when the principle of syndical freedom was entrenched by a law of May 1921¹⁴, itself following soon after the establishment of the Ministry of Labor and Social Care in March 1920. Set firmly in the paradigm of the French Waldeck-Rousseau Law of 1884 for the creation of professional associations and of its offshoot of 1901 giving a reglementation for the freedom of association in general terms¹⁵, the local piece of legislation laying down the conditions

for the creation of employer, employee and mixed syndicates – whose provisions were to be qualified by the law of legal persons of February 1924¹⁶, itself modified in April 1927 – also stood in conjunction with the vision promoted in the field by the International Labor Organization, which commissioned surveys of the local situation¹⁷ as part of its general inquiries over the patterns of professional representation across Europe¹⁸ (originally prompted by the evolutions in Hungary under the aegis of the white counterrevolution of 1919–1921¹⁹ and later taking a critical view of the corporatist restructuring of capital-labor relations in Italy, in 1926²⁰).

For sure, this entire legislative package – with the corresponding enterprise of institutional construction – largely emerged as a response to the revolutionary tide of the Left, in the footsteps of the Russian Revolution and of the social tensions created by the First World War, being also underpinned by the new constitution of 1923. Laying down the right to free association (Article 5, in continuation to the article mentioned of the previous constitutional document), this one stated – in Article 21, and by an altogether new departure from the older constitutional document – that «all factors of production are equally entitled to protection», indicating accordingly that «the state can intervene by laws in the relations between these factors, such as to prevent economic and social conflicts». Meanwhile, the state of economic decline perceived as partly produced by the dismantling of traditional professional bodies in the 1870's had been counteracted by the means of refurbished corporatist structures endowed with a public character, as patterned – by taking a leaf from German,

Austrian and Hungarian policies and legislation²¹ – first on the basis of the 1902 Law for the Organization of Professions²² (envisioning an organization of the basis of corporations with at least 50 members, being moreover targeted only to the laborers of small manufactories and leaving aside those of larger factories, together with the artisans of the villages, those working at home, and the state employees²³), and then on the grounds of the 1912 Law for the Organization of Professions, Credit and Social Insurance²⁴ (providing for the creation of guilds comprising at least 25 members integrated into corporations of at least 1000 members, while also being expressly designed to cover all categories of labor). It was for this reason that the 1921 law of the syndicates represented the second local attempt of sending to the grave the institutions of the guilds in favor of those relying entirely on the notion of free professional association.

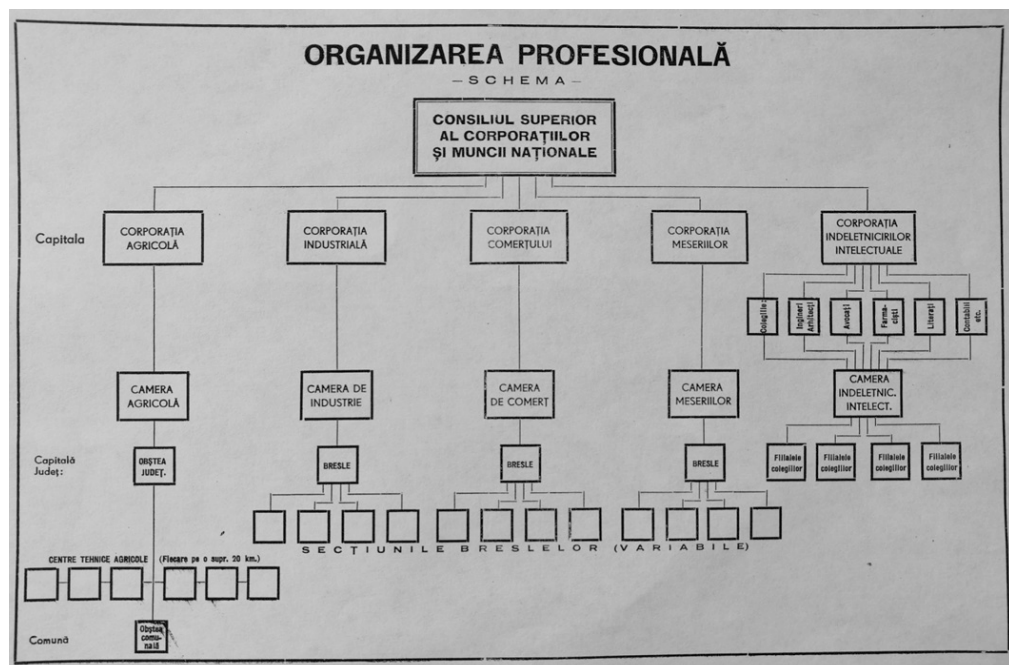
It was necessary, nevertheless, for a third attempt of the sort to come later, in 1933, all throughout the intervening period the institutions of professional representation created under the new regulations having to coexist with structures of the other variety. Thus, in the new provinces of Transylvania and Bukovina there continued to stay in place bodies that had been created within the horizon of Hungarian and Austrian laws dating from 1884, respectively 1907, while in Old Kingdom Romania the guilds and corporations established in the framework of the 1912 law exhibited an agonising survival, the first of them performing responsibilities of professional training and the latter continuing to administer social insurance at the grass roots (with the supervision of this activity originally granted to a Cen-



Plan for the corporatist restructuring of the state devised by a commission of the Ministry of Labor and Social Care in 1942

tral House of Professions, Credit and Social Insurance placed under the authority of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry before being shifted to the Ministry of Labor)²⁵. In Bessarabia, the specific conditions of legislative vacuum required the rapid extension of the 1912 regulation, by the means of a law adopted in September 1923²⁶. The confusing situation was only drawn to an end with a decision for the dissolution of the guilds issued by the Ministry of Labor in July 1933²⁷, after the nation-wide unification of the systems of social insurance under the cover of the same ministerial department in April 1933²⁸, itself predated by creation of the Chambers of Labor – now able to adjudicate for themselves the mission of professional education –, in 1932²⁹.

Despite the undeniable line of continuity stretching from Manoilescu's defense of statist «neoliberalism» in the early 1920's³⁰, through his later elaboration of the tenets of economic protectionism towards the end of the decade³¹, up to his appeal to the corporatist political design as a means for the mobilization of national energies and for attaining the objective of economic closure in the 1930's, one cannot identify any significant involvement of him with the theory of corporatism before the moment April 1932, when his journal «Lumea nouă» was inaugurated with this program³². Otherwise, advocacies for corporatism made by straight reference to the Italian model first appeared in Romania in the newspapers «Cuvântul» – in



Plan for the corporatist restructuring of the state devised by a commission of the Ministry of Labor and Social Care in 1944

1926, with the corporatist system presented as «conducive to a victory in the war of economic restoration currently fought in Italy»³³, thus occupying a place «in between the school of bare individualism and non-interventionism and the one of collectivism and statist interventionism»³⁴ —, then «Curentul» — in 1928, with the statement that «the present century can only be dominated by the corporatist economy, in the same way as the previous one was dominated by the capitalist one»³⁵ — and «Calendarul» — from its inception in January 1932, under the directorship of the influential traditionalist theorist N. Crainic and searching for a «new form of public life» that could «only arise from replacing

the state of the parties with the state of the guilds»³⁶.

Pleadings for corporatism with a right-wing cast were also advanced before the moment 1932 from within the movement of the professional associations of the small entrepreneurs and artisans, as well as of the white-collar social segments. This was the case of the journal «Gazeta meseriilor», initiated in October 1929 and giving voice to a movement of the petty industrialists and traders which revolved around the corporatist bodies lingering after 1921, originally underscoring the prevailing paradox of the intermingling between the two types of institutions of professional representation³⁷, in order to then turn — starting with July 1930 — to an open rejection of syndi-

cal policies as venues of social divisiveness, further demanding a return to the old wisdom of the guilds, delivering a convocation for a congress meant to rejuvenate them and reporting on the creation of a General Confederation of the Guilds, in September 1930³⁸.

Emerging at the same juncture there also stood the General Confederation of Professional Associations, dominated by white-collar constituencies, led by I. D. Enescu – the president of the Society of Romanian Architects –, founded in June 1930 but drawing upon an informal movement articulated in 1929. Issuing its periodical «*Drum nou*» in October 1930, it departed from the previous movement in so far as it brought together organizations shaped according to the 1921 legislative vision, nevertheless going farther on the path of corporatist argumentation, thus conceiving of professional affiliation as a means to get «crystallized and consecrated the organic realities, liberated by all parasitism», by taking in view that «the nation can only obtain its definitive and complete expression through corporatism»³⁹. It could benefit in the beginning from the support of the General Union of the Small Entrepreneurs and Craftsmen of Greater Romania, functioning since 1921 on the basis of a special law, itself staying at odds with the provisions of the law of syndicates but nevertheless placed in opposition to the interest groups gathered around «*Gazeta meseriilor*» and playing the role of a vacillating promoter of corporatism with its periodical «*Glasul micii industrii*», launched in March 1922⁴⁰. Dismantled in 1934, the organization of Enescu had as a longer running offshoot the Confederation of the Associations of Intellectual Profes-

sionals, initiated in February 1933⁴¹ and offering a venue for corporatist pleading up to the late 1930's⁴². It also constituted the matrix from within which the first political organization legitimated by a corporatist program emerged: the Citizens Block for the Salvation of the Country, created in June 1932 under the leadership of the schoolteacher G. Forțu⁴³ and gradually propelled towards a cohabitation with the Iron Guard (in the same fashion as Enescu was to join the National Christian Party upon its very foundation, in 1935).

We can find Enescu even more deeply involved than Manoilescu in the corporatist experiments of the royal dictatorship⁴⁴ – started with the constitution of February 1938 which provided (in Article 61) for the organization of the electoral body on the basis of occupational categories – namely «agriculture and manual labor», respectively «commerce and industry» and «intellectual occupations» –, continued with the government decree for the organization of the guilds issued in October of the same year⁴⁵ and leading to the unfulfilled legislative project of July 1939 meant to broaden upon the conception of the latter, thus erecting the full legal framework required for the actual functioning of the guild system⁴⁶. The activities of the sort continued in the guise of the attempts of refurbishing the corporatist politics under general Antonescu⁴⁷ (taking place after the abrogation of the 1938 decree by another one, of December 1940⁴⁸, and the indefinite postponement of the issue by virtue of the wartime organization of labor, in October 1941⁴⁹).

3. *Corporatist Authoritarianism: Strong and Mild Varieties Intertwined*

Just two months before the elections of December 1937 that were to pave the way for the installation of the royal dictatorship with corporatist constitutional credentials, «*Revista de studii sociologice și muncitorești*» – founded in July 1933 and benefiting from the support of the acting minister of Labor, D. R. Ioanițescu, as well as of the former occupants of the same position G. Trancu-Iași and N. Lupu – published the discourse delivered by the leader of the Romanian delegation to the Second International Congress of Social Policy held at Paris, earlier in July. The author was the specialist in labor legislation M. I. Barasch – consecrated in the country and abroad over the previous decade⁵⁰ –, who maintained that syndical freedom continued to stay as «a fundamental principle of the international labor legislation, whose suppression could only be seen as an attack upon the very foundations of the International Labor Organization»⁵¹.

This involved a starker rejection of the drive towards corporatist structures of professional representation than the opinions expressed in the general report presented in the framework of the same manifestation by J. B. de La Gressaye, the French president of the congress. In accordance with his earlier pronouncements supporting, in a broad social Catholic vein, the design of «free syndicates enveloped in organized corporations»⁵², the latter author argued that the design of mere «separate syndicates for the employers and the employee» did not provide a solid basis for the development of social relations in the new conditions of economic life, therefore de-

manding the unification of «the elements of the entire professional body in public and mandatory corporations headed by authorities entrusted with jurisdictional and administrative responsibilities»⁵³. The Romanian contributor, otherwise, qualified his case by reverting to the slight corporatist trappings of the Romanian system which he approved as necessary adjustments of modern democracy to the requirement of giving an institutionalized expression on a permanent basis to the interests of professional groups (in continuation to other interventions by him on the topic⁵⁴).

The privileged focus of this kind of theorizing was the provision contained in article 70 of the 1923 constitution – reinforced by the electoral law of March 1926 and sometimes mentioned as a threshold in the evolution of constitutional thinking in the country⁵⁵ – regarding the special representation of the state-sponsored, public institutions of the professional chambers in the Senate. In place for a long time when becoming an object of constitutional debates, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry had first been envisioned by a law of May 1864 – in continuation to failed projects with the same target of 1959 and 1861 –, being conceived as public institutions with consultative functions set at the time alongside the Ministry of Internal Affairs, of Agriculture and of Public Works⁵⁶. They only started to be actually created in January 1868, when the Bucharest one – originally providing for only a commercial section, with no representation of the industrial branch – came into existence⁵⁷, and started to emerge throughout the Old Kingdom in the footsteps of a new law adopted in May 1886⁵⁸, which broadened their electoral basis such as to comprise the tax-pay-

ing craftsmen (*patentari*) pertaining to all the four existing categories (instead of only the members of the upper two ones as layed down in the previous legal document), moreover now appropriately placing them in correlation with the newly founded Ministry of Commerce and Industry. It was this last arrangement which was extended into Bessarabia by means of a law adopted in Greater Romania in October 1918, followed by the actual structuring of the Kishinev chamber in May 1919. A national congress of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry then took place at Constanța in September 1922, with the participation of the institutions of this category functioning in Transylvania and Bucovina, on the basis of Hungarian and Austrian laws, both of them dating from 1868 (the developments of the sort starting in both provinces earlier, by virtue of a regulation introduced in 1850) and a unified legal framework in the field was patterned at the same juncture with the constitutional and electoral regulations mentioned above, in June 1925 (later to be revised in February 1929)⁵⁹.

This constitutional devise looked forward as well to the creation of the Chambers of Agriculture – which were to be installed in 1925⁶⁰ – and those of Labor – an objective fulfilled in 1932, as already said –, with the chambers as a general category featuring very prominently in the debates of the kind, being thus invoked in the same vein in «*Drum nou*»⁶¹, in «*Gazeta meseriilor*»⁶² (rebranded in 1933 under the title of «*Gazeta meseriilor și asigurărilor sociale*») or in «*Gazeta muncii*»⁶³ (a companion of the latter periodical published over a short span in 1933–1934). The searches for a broader theory conceived to offer a solid rationale for combining polit-

ical representation and professional representation was set in train at the same moment, exhibiting most conspicuously the journal «*Revista de drept public*» and the figure of the jurist I. V. Gruia (this one explaining here how «abstract political sovereignty, inorganic and indivisible, has to be replaced by the sovereignty of economic and professional bodies»⁶⁴, in order to get later converted into a supporter of corporatism with contributions in «*Drum nou*» and «*Calendarul*»⁶⁵ and to militate for this stance up into the period of the royal dictatorship⁶⁶). It was precisely this devise that eventually allowed M. Manoilescu to serve as a senator from the part of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry from 1932 to 1937 (after serving as the director of their Union in 1929–1930).

It is to note, otherwise, that the official pronouncements of the state-sponsored institutions of professional representation in favor of the gradual drive from syndical freedom to corporatist solutions were rather sparse by comparison with the advocacies emanating from outside their headquarters. One can only point as most significant to a series of interventions given in 1938, when the official bulletin of the Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry gives a statement on the topic as a reaction to the February constitution, reproducing the Articles 31, 61, 62, 63 and 99 of the document together with a fragment from a declaration issued by the prime minister, Patriarch M. Cristea – with the occasion of submitting the constitutional act for plebiscitary consultation – that celebrates the principle of professional representation by opposition to party-based politics⁶⁷. G. Christodorescu, the director of the Union, takes the opportunity for offering in the same issue of

the periodical an overview of the development of the chambers from their inception in 1864, also referring to broader aspects of the evolution scored by the legal representation of economic interests⁶⁸. Instead of deepening the problem, however, the following two issues of the journal are content with placing it in the most general possible comparative and theoretical framework, thus reproducing fragments dealing with the history of «professionalist doctrines» – starting with Saint-Simon – from a French book on the theory of modern government⁶⁹.

A revealing vindication of the vision presiding over the legislative provisions adopted in the 1920's for the representation of professional interests in Romania is given at the end of the decade in two short books authored by E. Gruia – the wife of I. V. Gruia – and drawing on a doctoral dissertation of 1928 dealing with the topic of «the democratic state and political revolutionary syndicalism». One of them is merely content to accepting the emerging wisdom about the «undeniable interconnection established between democracy and the professional association»⁷⁰. The other one addresses the «ideology of syndicalism», confining the legitimate use of the syndical organizations to the domain of the «economic representation» of the professions – and describing the professional association as «the instrument by which democracy is grounded on realities» –, however rejecting by the same token the politicization of the phenomenon as «leading to the division of [social] forces, to antagonism and destruction», moreover depicting the «ideology of corporatist syndicalism» employed by the Italian fascist state as an outgrowth of the revolutionary interpreta-

tion of syndicalism and maintaining that «an ineradicable antagonism exists between democracy and the corporation»⁷¹. Somehow confusingly, a review of the latter book published in «Curentul» in 1930 can underscore – against the prevailing orientation of the periodical, described above – the democratic cast of the work and its departure from the tenets of revolutionary syndicalism⁷².

Alongside the chambers, another privileged reference of the same kind of reflections was represented by the rudimentary structures for institutionalized state arbitration between capital and labor, first created in the shape of a Higher Council of Labor – envisioned to function alongside the Ministry of Labor and set out in April 1927, as part of the first (failed) attempt to establish the Chambers of Labor –, and then again in the form of a Higher Economic Council – functioning alongside the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and constituted in April 1936, by virtue of a law for the general reorganization of the entire welter of professional chambers (following their numerical reduction in 1934). It is significant how this later device was extolled by G. Mladenatz, a critic of corporatist policies pertaining to the rival movement of cooperativism, as a testimony for the prevalence at the time of «a powerful tendency towards the establishment of mandatory professional organization»⁷³. Otherwise, it is to underscore that all such developments were not able to prevent leading representatives of legal theory from presenting the Carolist regime as «introducing for the first time the category of the profession in [the Romanian] constitutional system, placing it at the basis of the electoral organization»⁷⁴.

Writing in 1940 in the journal of jurisprudence «Pandectele române», M. Barasch takes a farewell from «the parliamentary regime of yesterday, which the masses used to see as the moral expression of democracy but which does not comply any more with the needs of contemporary life», allowing that «freedom of association, hitherto considered as an intangible dogma, has been meanwhile redefined in all countries of the West» and accordingly subscribing to the fact that «the law [for the organization of the guilds], elaborated by the minister Mihai Ralea under the guidance of H.M. King Carol II, replaces the obsolete conception of absolute freedom with that of disciplined freedom»⁷⁵. The minister invoked had himself explained in the preamble of the document in question that «the old law of the syndicates exhibited the natural humanitarian hopes [...] of the prevailing optimism following the war», in order to then clarify the problem as follows:

«Nowadays, we are faced, instead, with a new global landscape. [...] Nowadays, the entire collectivization of life, the robust assertion of the national principle, [...] came to require a new type of organization, at the level of the entire world and within our country as well»⁷⁶. It is important to stress that such instances of accommodation with the increasing mood of conformity shaped around the politics of right-wing nationalist authoritarianism which stamped itself upon the public space at the time do not invalidate the qualifications advanced above regarding the difference between the strong and the mild understandings of the corporatist design in the Romanian context and their implications for a broader historical and comparative interpretation of the phenomenon.

¹ M. Manoilescu, *Le siècle du corporatisme: doctrine du corporatisme integral et pur*, Paris, Félix Alcan, 1934.

² Old, but still authoritative is A.G. Savu, *Dictatura regală*, București, Ed. Politică, 1970. A recent approach at C. Iordachi, *Mihail Manoilescu and the Debate and Practice of Corporatism in Romania*, in A. Costa Pinto, F. Finchestein (edited by), *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Europe and Latin America: Crossing Borders*, London, Routledge, 2019, pp. 65–94.

³ N. Petreanu, I. Ceașescu (coord.), *Mișcarea muncitorească și legislația muncii în România, 1864–1944*, București, Ed. Științifică, 1972; E. Bold et al., *Concesii și restricții în legislația muncii din România, 1920–1940*, Iași, Universitatea «Alexandru Ioan Cuza», 1980; F. Dragne et al., *Mișcarea sindicală din România*, București, Ed. Politică, 1981.

⁴ N. Jurca, *Istoria social-democrației din România*, București, Ed. Științifică, 1994; I. Marinescu, *Politica socială interbelică în România. Relațiile dintre muncă și capital*, București, Ed. Tehnică, 1995; C. Avram, R. Radu, *Evoluția istorică a reglementărilor privind relațiile de muncă în România*, in «Arhivele Olteniei», n. 22, 2008 (n. s.), pp. 181–204.

⁵ Most authoritatively in Z. Ornea, *Anii treizeci. Extrema dreaptă românească*, București, Ed. Fundației Culturale Române, 1995, pp. 265–285.

⁶ W. Streeck, L. Kenworthy, *Theories and Practices of Neo-corporatism*, in T. Janoski et al. (edited by), *Handbook of Political Sociology. States, Civil Society and Globalization*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 441–460.

⁷ P.C. Schmitter, *Still the Century of Corporatism?*, in «The Review of Politics», vol. 36, 1974, n. 1, pp. 85–131.

⁸ J.M. Keynes, *The End of Laissez Faire*, in *Essays in Persuasion*, New York, Norton, 1963, pp. 312–323.

⁹ P.C. Schmitter, *Reflections on Mihail Manoilescu and the Political Consequences of Delayed-Dependent Development on the Periphery of Western Europe*, in K. Jowitt

- (edited by), *Social Change in Romania, 1860-1940. A Debate on Development in a European Nation*, Berkeley, University of California, Institute of International Studies, 1978, p. 119.
- ¹⁰ M. Manoilescu, *Le parti unique. Institution politique des régimes nouveaux*, Paris, Les Œuvres Françaises, 1937.
 - ¹¹ L. Panitch, *The Development of Corporatism in Liberal Democracies*, in «Comparative Political Studies», vol. 10, 1977, n. 1, pp. 61-90; G. Lehmann, *Liberal Corporatism and Party Government*, in «Comparative Political Studies», cit., pp. 91-126.
 - ¹² P.J. Williamson, *Corporatism in Perspective: an Introductory Guide to Corporatist Theory*, London, Sage Publications, 1989; J.L. Cardoso, P. Mendoça, *Corporatism and Beyond: an Assessment of Recent Literature*, ICS Working Papers 1, 2012; E. Hartmann, P.F. Kjaer (edited by), *The Evolution of Intermediary Institutions in Europe. From Corporatism to Governance*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
 - ¹³ E. Pavlescu, *Economia breslelor în Moldova*, București, Fundația Regele Carol I, 1939; V. Diculescu, *Bresle, negustori și meseriași în Tara Românească, 1830-1848*, București, Ed. Academiei R.S.R., 1973.
 - ¹⁴ *Lege asupra sindicatelor profesionale*, in «Monitorul oficial», n. 41, May 26, 1921, pp. 1419-1425.
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