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***Romanian nationalism in the first post-communist
decade
(Summary)***

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Summary

The Romanian nationalism was, and it still is, a topic research that has generated and still generates controversy, both on the views of the authors who have treated this subject, as well as on the interpretations that the readers, whether informed or less informed, may have about such a topic. Moreover, in general, the nationalism is today one of the social and political phenomena which bear different approaches in studies aimed at the history of Europe in the twentieth century. And this is due to the fact that nationalist ideology still exerts a powerful attraction, especially in times of crisis. Any discussion about nationalism can be easily linked to the concept of „nation”. There are many opinions that believe that, in general, each nation develops, at least as a state of mind, its nationalism that exists as long as the nation exists.

We might think that nationalist issues in the social order - policy can be found only in certain European countries, but a closer analysis leads to the conclusion that nationalism is found both in the former communist countries of the eastern part of the continent and also in the liberal democratic countries of the West. One can also see that we can not speak of a unitary phenomenon called „nationalism”, but rather should consider various nationalisms that have emerged and developed in different historical contexts.

Thus, in general, nationalism is present (since its emergence) as a basic element of what might be called „spiritual structure of a nation”, that can not be ignored regardless of the history of that nation. Perhaps this is why in the literature, the term „nationalism” has often generated some controversy. In many cases we can find an ambivalent term, and we can distinguish between „offensive” nationalism and „defensive” nationalism, „democratic” and „antidemocratic”, „nationalism” – „new-nationalism” or „nationalism” – „ultra-nationalism” etc.

Hence may arise some questions: are nationalism and the nation two mandatory references to post-modern world, especially for Europe? or: Is there a possibility to promote a „good and decent nationalism” in a world marked today by globalization? Some approaches aimed at an „enlightened nationalism” compatible with pluralism and tolerance and based on a relationship between patriotism and civic nationalism. Such an understanding can be discussed in the future, including for Eastern Europe. For now, it

can be considered that, considering the fact that under the communist regime the Eastern European nations have been subjected to an annihilation of the national consciousness, the emergence of nationalism in Eastern Europe after 1989 was a defensive reflex to a certain type of amorphousness. Economic difficulties and political confusion after 1989 fueled nationalist extremism resurrection. This trend has resurfaced strongly in the former communist countries in the 90s, and Romania was no exception.

Moreover, any analysis of post-communist Romanian nationalism may have its limits in terms of the authors' approaches and in terms of analysis. This is why, in general, approaches of the nationalism have some potential for inaccuracy. The nationalist phenomenon is extremely complex because it has in the foreground the people (the nation) and / or the country (the homeland). That is why the limit between nationalism and patriotism, for example, is quite fragile. The Romanian case has complicated problems both because nationalism responded to a need for an existing post-communist homogeneity in the Romanian society and because Romanian nationalism had a specific typology, which was quite complex.

Starting from these premises, the aim of the paper was to analyze the evolution of nationalism in Romania in the 90s. And from this purpose have sprung a number of specific items that have been tracked across all chapters. Among these objectives we can mention:

- the analysis of the nationalism and of its main approaches,
- a presentation of a brief history of Romanian nationalism in the second half of the twentieth century,
- the analysis of the context in which Romanian nationalism developed after 1989,
- the types of postcommunist Romanian nationalism,
- the influence of nationalist parties in the Romanian society and in the political arena in the 90s,
- the nationalist manifestations in various institutions (church, army, cultural institutions, public institutions, etc.),
- the anti-nationalist manifestations in the Romanian society,
- the analysis of nationalism in relation with the pro-European discourses,
- the development of case studies on the existence of nationalism in post-communist Romanian society.

The sources used for this paper, as shown by its references, were very diverse: documents of various institutions, documents of political parties, encyclopedias, studies and articles (newspapers and magazines), internet sources, surveys of oral history, sociological researches, general or special bibliographic sources etc. There are generally two categories of papers that have considered the issue of postcommunist Romanian nationalism: the general works, where the problem was reached at least tangentially (and here we are talking especially about those works that refer to post-revolutionary history of Romania¹) and those which specifically address the issue, between them we can find the works of Tom Gallagher, Gabriel Andreescu, Andrei Roth, Lucian Boia, Eniko Magyari-Vincze, George Voicu etc. Also, between the two categories we can place another one, that of the works which devote a chapter or more on Romanian nationalism, in the context of the nationalism in general. And here are the works of authors such as Peter Sugar, Tomasz Kamusella, Paul Sabourin, Michael Shafir² etc.

Also, we have to say that we chose a systematic structure of this research in order to be better presented the various aspects of post-communist Romanian nationalism. We considered that such a structure (with chapters and subchapters) is required in order to have an explicit content of the paper and the conclusions to be easily understood and, where appropriate, commented. Regarding the conclusions, both the chapters' conclusions and the general conclusions, they have been made based on the analysis presented throughout the research, but also on comparative approaches (for example, the evolution of nationalist discourse or the changings of that kind of discourse from the early to the late 90s). These conclusions are intended to clarify the issues discussed in each chapter, considering the fact that we have tried in this paper an overview of the evolution of nationalism taking into account its specific characteristics and problems in the postcommunist Romania.

Regarding the structure of the paper, it includes several chapters.

In the first chapter of this thesis, *Introduction*, we presented the idea from which we started, namely to achieve a work in progress to be monitored post-communist Romanian nationalism in some areas. We started from the fact that nationalism is complex and can influence decisions in different domains: politics, economics, culture,

¹ We can give examples of such books on authors such as Vladimir Pasti, Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Vasile Stan etc. See section „General books” in *Bibliography*.

² See section „Special books” in *Bibliography*.

religion etc. We found that in Romania, as well as throughout the Central and Eastern Europe since 1989, nationalism was strong and it could be found both in the public opinion and in the discourses of the political leaders (the cases of Corneliu Vadim Tudor or Gheorghe Funar are well known). Based on these premises we tried an impartial presentation of the evolution of nationalism in Romania after 1989, including consideration of its negative effects. In this paper, several issues were raised which concerned the presence of nationalist elements in areas such as society, culture, religion or ethnic relations. Regarding the historiography of the problem, we can say that in general, the authors who have treated, in one form or another, the issue of Romanian nationalism after 1989, reached several conclusions, and one of them can be considered common to all: the post-communist Romanian nationalism was not a new element appeared after the events of 1989, but it continued, in various forms, elements of interwar nationalism and / or during Ceausescu regime.

In the chapter *Nationalism: concepts and approaches* we have presented broadly, how nationalism has been explained by some of the best known authors in the field, either Romanian (Gabriel Andreescu, Dinu Bălan, Simona Nicoară, Cristian Preda, Cătălin Turliuc, Alexandru Zub etc) or foreign (Benedict Andreson, Georges Burdeau, Richard G. Fox, Ernest Gellner, Eric J. Hobsbawm, Andre W. M. Gerrits, Ellie Kedourie, James G. Kellas, Hans Kohn, Michael Mann, Anthony D. Smith etc.). Regarding the latter, we analyzed, especially the views on this topic existing in the Anglo-Saxon or French historiographical space, while the main approaches to nationalism and explanations of its evolution come from these cultural and historiographical spaces. Even though there isn't a complete and generally accepted meaning on nationalism, today we have a perception that differs from the way in which nationalism was seen in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Thus, nationalism is considered to be a political doctrine based on an exaggerated defense of rights and national aspirations, coupled with the manifestations of excessive appreciation of all that belongs to the nation and elimination of all that is allogeneic, aiming to maintain isolation and stirring distrust and hatred between different nationalities, by xenophobia³ and chauvinism⁴. This chapter is meant to be one of explaining the concepts with which to operate the research meadow.

³ Fear and / or hatred of foreigners and the unknown.

⁴ Political attitude which consists in asserting the superiority of your on nation over others nations, coupled with manifestation of national intolerance and propagation of national exclusiveness, with the aim of inciting national enmity and hatred between nations or between nations inhabiting.

We have also found that Romanian nationalism was, and it still is, a research topic that has generated and still generates controversy, both in the opinions of the authors who have treated this subject as well as the interpretations that the reader, whether approved or less approved, can have about such a topic. The analysis of the evolution of Romanian nationalism after 1989 is a theme that can be placed within this framework of approaches that can be different and sometimes even contradictory.

The analysis of the first decade of post-communist Romanian nationalism can not disregard how nationalist phenomenon was present in the Romanian society and politics before 1989, during the Ceausescu regime. This is why the chapter *The nationalism of Ceausescu regime - a previous to the postcommunist nationalism* is the chapter in which is presented a evolution of nationalism, and its main themes, before 1989, especially since some of those themes were repeated in the Romanian public space between 1990-2000. Considering the fact that there is a fairly extensive bibliography on the Ceausescu regime, and hence on the communist nationalism, we tried to present some of the most important existing approaches in the literature on nationalism, the themes and conclusions on such approaches. In general, the authors who have studied the period of Nicolae Ceausescu considered that Ceausescu inherited a nationalist line from his predecessor, Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, which was given new connotations. We can say, without fear of error, that, during Nicolae Ceausescu's regime, nationalism was a domestic and foreign policy issue and it was taken from the previous period and it was amended according to the official ideology. It is generally considered that nationalist issues were noted in various fields: economics, foreign policy, education, relations with minorities, historical research, maintenance of the personality cult etc. Another important aspect was that it has been emphasized the relationship between the communist ideology and the nationalist elements promoted by the communist regime in Bucharest. Nationalism was an excellent tool for the communist regime to legitimize its authority in front of the people, and get their support. We have, also, found that the problems created by Romanian nationalism were not limited to the fall of Ceausescu, because nationalism has survived (in various forms) after 1989. Some of the specific elements of communist nationalism, or the interwar nationalism, were present quite strong in cultural, social, political and economic situation in post-communist Romania, with negative effects on the country's progress towards a stronger democracy.

In the chapter called *The Romanian post-communist society and the models of nationalism* we tried to analyse a few themes: how nationalism existed in public in the 90s, which were the main nationalist themes in the public speech, the presence of nationalism in different areas such as economy, politics, culture etc. We commented on how Romania was a country in constant transformation and hoping to find a proper way of development during the first decade of post-communism. And we realised that the communist period had very important consequences on how nationalism evolved after 1990. The analysts⁵ talked about that Romanian society was marked by the development of nationalism, on a background dominated by various aspects: the fragility of the political life and of the system of parliamentary democracy, the relatively low civics of an important part of the population, people's limited confidence in state institutions and political parties, internal and external constraints, major options of Romanians for the nationalist messages etc. The analysis determined in this chapter, different types of nationalisms (differentiated even geographical) and the spaces of the Romanian society where nationalism was popular: former Securitate „patriots” reserve officers, uncompetitive intellectuals, former party activists. There are presented even the aspects that targeted economic nationalism and various slogans: stopping the selling of economic factories, renationalisation of the major economic enterprises, mandatory provision of labor „so that nobody can complain that wants to work and has no where to do it”, return to the national-communist economic model, banning the sale of land to foreigners, „the defense” against the aliens who, under the guise of investments in the economy, would come to „colonize” Romania, a massive intervention of the state in the economy to protect the disadvantaged social categories, rethinking privatization, promotion of investments made by the Romanians only, repatriation of Romanian capital deposited in foreign banks etc. The analysis took, also, into consideration how nationalist leaders were reported to nationalist themes and how they were aware of everything that could better be used for electoral purposes, considering that fact that Romanians often felt neglected, or even used by politicians. In those circumstances, nationalism offered to disoriented social groups a socio-political structure in which to be able to find themselves and disengage in some way from daily life, which was often quite harsh.

⁵ *Apud* Constantin Schifrneț, *Europeneizarea societății românești și mass-media*, Editura Comunicare.ro, București, 2011, p. 32.

The problem of Bessarabia, the problem of „the brothers beyond the Prut” and different nationalist obsessions on Transylvania, are the major issues that are treated in the chapter *Two sensitive topics: Bessarabia and Transylvania*. Transylvanian question was related to the relations between the Romanian majority population and ethnic Hungarian minority and Romania’s relations with Hungary. On the other hand, the relations between Romania and Republic of Moldova and the Bessarabians were some other important topics in Romania’s political and social order in the 90s. Those were themes that were almost always at the boundary between nationalist approaches and patriotic approaches. We have, also, discussed those elements that took into consideration a different approach, in Bessarabia and Romania, of the character of the population, the language of the area and its possible future and the exploitation of the subject by the nationalists. The analysis shows how most sensitive topics on Transylvania and Bessarabia were present in the postcommunist nationalist discourse. Thus, it has been taken into account investigation of the subject by the nationalists, handling feelings’ and fears’ from the past (some of them from the interwar period, and others from the communist regime: the Hungarians were seen as undermining, aggressive, hostile and their purpose was breaking Transylvania within Romania). Unfortunately, the success of Romanian nationalist parties (for example Romania Mare Party) was based on some inappropriate requirements of the political representatives of the Hungarian community and we refer here specifically to UDMR.

The next chapter, naturally, is the one called *Majority and minority – „Hungarian question” and „Roma problem”*, in which we made a presentation of the relationships between the Romanian majority and minorities in general, and especially between Romanians and the two main ethnic minorities (Hungarians and Roma). We also took into consideration how different authors from different fields (history, journalism, political science, sociology, etc.) have addressed these topics and presented their visions for the future on this topic. In a country (Romania), which since 1990 had over 10% of citizens belonging to national minorities, nationalist temptations and xenophobia existed at various levels of society, and there were certain situations including ethnic conflicts. Also, in various public appearances, some nationalist politicians have tended to blame ethnic minorities for adverse events or periods in the history of the country and for the difficulties that Romania had in the 90s. And in the context of blame, Hungarians, Roma (and Jews) were minorities most often attacked. This aspect was also based on some

perceptions on minorities, existing in the Romanian society in the first post-communist decade. For example, some polls⁶ showed that among people that Romanians would want as neighbors (ie, persons in close proximity and to relate daily) Hungarians occupied a share of 66%, Jews - 65% and Roma by 27%. However, generally in Romania in the first post-communist decade occurred different relationships based rather on ethnicist attitude, an attitude that occurred in specific forms both the majority populations and in the minority. In this context, the situation of the two main national minorities of Romania in the first post-communist decade was different. The Hungarians were an ethnic community who knew how to promote its national identity and how to ask for its rights. On the other hand, the Roma people were an ethnic community which had first to solve the problems faced by majority of its members: poverty, a precarious state of culture and civilization, a health situation in the acceptable limit, problems with delinquency etc. Therefore, the Romanian majority population were reported differently in the two ethnic minorities and the ethnic issues had individually, their specificity. The situation was influenced by a common reality in Romania in the 90s (especially in the first part of the decade): the nationalists used the anti-minority speech as a source of legitimacy (especially in political competition), but they managed quite well to promote the idea that the Romanian nation was of those who had „Romanian blood”. Hence arose much of discriminatory attitudes in a certain part of Romanian society against Roma and Hungarian. However, especially towards the end of the first post-communist decade, it was found that Romanian society tended increasingly to European models on the situation of minorities, and approaches to this problem were the most diverse. If nationalists were clearly stated against the promotion of minority rights, there were, also, democratic visions. Some of these visions were considered futuristic, but, in time, some of the ideas were applied.

Intellectuals - Culture - Nationalism, as the title indicates, is the chapter in which we addressed the question whether nationalism existed in the post-communist Romanian culture. For this part of the work we have chosen, as main sources, different publications in which appeared articles with nationalist ideas, and books written by authors with nationalist opinions. We haven't omitted the disputes between Romanian intellectuals on the subject of nationalism, or concerning multiculturalism and education in minority

⁶ *Barometrul de opinie publică FSD - Noiembrie 2000*, Centrul de Sociologie Urbană și Regională – CURS, București, 2000, p. 40.

languages (especially Hungarian). As we saw, a subject as attractive as nationalism, could not be out of the attention of Romanian intellectuals after 1989, the question of nationalism being treated in various aspects. Whether it was about literature, historiography, sociology, economics and so on, the topic has been widely debated and even real controversy arose. For example, as Laurențiu Ulici⁷ showed one of these controversies arose around terms „national” and „European”, being presented different positions taken by Romanian intellectuals and considerations of their polemic. With the nationalist approaches being quite different, this controversy could be categorized as one between groups like „indigenists” and „Europeanists”. Analyzing the problem over the years, Dinu Balan⁸ found that these types of debates had their origins in a poor distinction between „national identity” (considered to be beneficial, legitimate, aimed on preserving national character) and „nationalism” (labeled as undemocratic and characterized by ethnocentrism, xenophobia and the trend towards ethnic power). Subjects of nationalist approaches were found in culture, education, historiography etc., while the Romanian society was not ready for a civic-liberal approach to ethno-cultural relations, but was, rather, a society oriented to ethnocentrism⁹. However, most Romanian intellectuals were already aware, at the end of the first post-communist decade, that the acceptance and promotion of multiculturalism represented an essential condition of Romania’s cultural, economic and political integration in Europe. Also, gradually, Romanians began to understand that the attitude towards their countrymen, minorities, but also to other Europeans, may be part of the national identity.

The next chapter is *Romanian Orthodox Church - between „The National Church” and „A Nationalist Church”*. It is one of the most significant chapters and it is based on research of published sources (particulary Romanian Orthodox Church publications). In this chapter we tried to see how nationalism could be found in the BOR (Romanian Orthodox Church) in the first post-communist decade, and we discussed on several key issues, such as: analyzing the relations of the Church with the socio-political

⁷ Laurențiu Ulici, „Național și european – addenda la o polemică”, în Gabriel Andreescu (coord.), *Naționaliști, antinaționaliști... O polemică în publicistica românească*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 1996, p. 73.

⁸ Dinu Bălan, „Etnie, etnicitate, națiune și naționalism: câteva precizări terminologice”, în *Codrul Cosminului*, nr. 12, 2006, Universitatea „Ștefan cel Mare”, Suceava, p. 103.

⁹ Andrei Roth considered that ethnocentric vision claims to defend the national cultural specificity of any external influences that can distort it. In reality, says Roth, a national culture can not be considered „pure”. No national culture was created in an autarchic style, without regard to other cultures and „purity” of a national culture is a fiction not very different from the nationalist fiction of „purity of blood”. (Andrei Roth, *Naționalism sau democratism?*, Editura Pro Europa, Târgu Mureș, 1999, p. 245).

space, focusing on nationalist political spectrum; examining how that nationalism has influenced, or not, the contacts of Romanian Orthodox Church with other Churches; identifying sources of legitimation of the Romanian Orthodox Church as the „national church” etc. After the fall of communism, the Romanian Orthodox Church came to the attention of many important authors, as an institution of great importance, and some analyzes on it’s evolution were sometimes impregnated by prejudices. The reason was that, in general, everything related to religion as inseparable part of individual and collective identity, becomes, in time, debatable and contestable. Different changes after 1989 have made the Church to experience problems and challenges. The church and the army occupied the first two places in the top Romanians’ trust and the church was in pole position. In the hierarchy of the Romanian Orthodox Church were discussed both the idea of returning to interwar structures and the activity of the Church in the new socio-political context. The relations with the orthodox Romanians in Bessarabia were intensified; even more, the Romanian Patriarch took a very important decision: he supported the reactivation, in 1992, of the former Orthodox Metropolitan of Chisinau, under the jurisdiction of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church. In June 1992 the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church canonized some saints who were considered „Romanian national saints”: pious monks (Herman of Dobrogea, John of Prislop, Daniil the Hermit of Voroneț) and Stephen the Great (a medieval Moldavian prince). In this chapter we analyzed different nationalist manifestations and events in the Romanian Orthodox Church in the 90s. We have described some of the approaches of orthodox hierarchs, religious organizations or publications on the identification of „Romanism” with the orthodoxy and the strained relations between the Orthodox and the Greek Catholics. The Orthodox nationalism was different by the political nationalism (a chauvinist and even hysterical in some cases) and it used a decent speech that appreciated freedom of conscience, calling for certain values (victimized during the communist regime) and intersected with major motivations of religious experience. This type of orthodox nationalism was sometimes authoritarian, it used a subtle propaganda and it was based more on elements pertaining to the irrational and sentimental.

The chapter *The New-legionarism* presents the reader two very important issues. The first one refers to what was the new-legionarism and to an interesting aspect of nationalism in the first poscomunism decade: a recurrence of nationalist groups that had, as a model, the Legion of the Archangel Michael from the interwar period. Generally

speaking, those kind of nationalist groups were considered to be the new legionars. Some of them were self-declared as the successors of the Legionary Movement and promoted principles promoted by Legionary Movement's leader, Corneliu Codreanu. However, some new legionar groups received support from abroad from old followers of the interwar Legion, or from some old legionars that had different businesses in Romania. The second aspect is considering the attempts to rehabilitate the interwar Iron Guard (the Legion of the Archangel Michael). Those attempts were made since 1990 in various publications, books and public appearances of new-legionars or postcommunist nationalist leaders. Although some new-legionarian groups gained popularity (especially among youth) and made some political projects (with nationalist and even anti-Semitic ideas), some authors¹⁰ considered that the postcommunist new-legionarism was „anemic” and that it pretty much summed specific actions that corresponded more to civil society organizations. Even though some of the groups considered to be new-legionars after 1990, were not so politically powerful (as the Iron Guard in the interwar period), they have found legal ways for their activity and had publications. Some of their members constantly published in various magazines with nationalistic ties and have been very visible in the public space.

In the tenth chapter, *European spirit and nationalism in Romania in the 90s*, we addressed issues related to different aspects, such as: how much nationalism represented an obstacle to Romania on the road to the Euro-Atlantic structures, the Romanians' perceptions about the West and the duality Romanian nationalism – European spirit. Different authors showed that the European values, very much discussed since 1990, were not compatible with specific elements of the period before 1989, such as a totalitarian subordination of society to the state, or of the individual to society¹¹. After 1990, in the Romanian society it had been discussed the idea that freedom of choice and the rule of democracy and European values should be more important than any „-ism” (communism, extremism, nationalism, etc.), considered to be narrow and arbitrary. Approaching the West was, however, complicated by domestic issues such as nationalism, given that, especially during election campaigns, political leaders (whether

¹⁰ Dan Pavel, „Neolegionarismul și reînvierea societății civile”, în <http://www.corectnews.com/politics/opinii/neolegionarismul-si-reinvierea-societatii-civile>; access time: 25.11.2010.

¹¹ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Europa Centrală și de Est în ciclul tranziției*, Editura Diogene, București, 1995, p. 62-63.

in power or in opposition) have used the election weapons represented by populism and nationalism and have not given the impression that they wanted to eliminate too soon, from their speech, specific elements from nationalist demagogy. Given that the Romanian perception of the West was very diverse, the analysis took into account the anti-Western options that were spread among the people in various forms. The anti-Western ideas fueled nationalist appetites of political parties and institutions and Romania was presented as a victim of international conspiracy and the most important enemies were the Hungarians and the Jews. Ruxandra Trandafiroiu commented the anti-Western attitudes of the Romanians in the first half of the 90s and she showed that those attitudes were rooted in some „myths” that poisoned the collective mentality of Romanians¹²: „Europe despised Romanians, considering them to be nationalists and incapable of democracy”; „Romanian governments were incompetent and did not pursue the national interest”; „there was a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy, or a Western Catholic conspiracy, against Romania”; „Westerners were envious of the glorious past of the Romanians” etc. Also, an important role regraded to the options on Euro-Atlantic integration of Romania had the Orthodox nationalism. However, we can say that, gradually, the integration into the European Union became an important goal for Romanians. Romania’s relationship with the EU has been seen by some analysts both in terms of reforms and by analyzing the transformation of Romanian society in general. Especially since 2000, almost never had been questioned „if” Romania becomes a member of the European Union, but „when” that was going to happen. Even if in some cases Romanians’ attitudes on European integration still kept a dose of anti-Western nationalism, both in the political sphere and in the public sphere Romanians talked about the European integration, considered to be both a vision and a challenge.

The next part of the paper is the one that includes two case studies. Those studies are specifically aimed on how one of the most important nationalist publications after 1990, the magazine „Romania Mare” („The Great Romania”), reflected „the Hebrew problem” and the personality of Marshal Antonescu, in the first post-communist decade.

Regarding the first topic, we can say that the magazine „Romania Mare” had a clear anti-Semitic attitudes in the last decade of the twentieth century. The nationalism

¹² Ruxandra Trandafiroiu, „Integration and Nationalism – a Symbolic Reconfiguration of Europe”, în Ovidiu Pecican (ed.), *Romania and the European Integration*, European Studies Foundation Publishing House, Cluj Napoca, 1999, p. 136-137.

and the ultra-nationalism, the xenophobia, the anti-West spirit and, especially, anti-Americanism and the chauvinism contributed greatly to this situation. Jews were often portrayed as conspirators, as the embodiment and source of evil, they standing behind many anti-Romanian actions promoted both at home and especially abroad, especially in the West. Even though in Romania in the 90s, Jews were almost gone (in the 2002 census were identified only 5785 Hebrews, ie a rate of 0.026% of the total population), the antisemitic attitude of the „Romania Mare” magazine can be explained by a continuous negative perception of the Jew in the Romanian society, but also by a latent antisemitism, currently still in Romanian society after 1989.

As for the second subject, we can say that the homage to various personalities of Romanian history was a form of nationalism of the magazine „Romania Mare” in the last decade of the twentieth century. Thus, in its pages were devoted considerable space on commemoration of these figures, either when it was a round number of years since their most significant accomplishments, or when there were days related to their birth or death. Given the strict personality of Marshal Ion Antonescu, during the 90s (and even after 2000), the newspaper „Romania Mare” presented Ion Antonescu as a national hero and exonerated him of charges of war criminal. The PRM’s publication highlighted positive aspects of Marshal Antonescu attitude towards Hebrew. Thus, „Romania Mare” often pulled out that Antonescu supported Jewish emigration to Palestine and that he had a protective policy towards the Hebrew minority and the fact that the closing of the camps in Transnistria contributed to Jews’ salvation, helping them not to fall into the hands of the Germans. On the other hand, it has been forgotten that in Transnistria over 80% of the Jews were exterminated or were killed by diseases or starvation. Thus, we can say that the presentation of Marshal Ion Antonescu by the „Romania Mare” magazine as a national hero was overshadowed by that of a war criminal, as Marshall was the one and the other. Probably one of the best explanations of how it was perceived Marshal Ion Antonescu, was given by Lucian Boia: „It depends on what balance we weigh. We are used to all that is «national» (national ideology, national heroes) to have only positive connotations; nation, however, justified wars, and the exclusion of «others». The equivocal condition of Marshal Antonescu corresponds to the equivocal condition of the national project, sometimes pushed to its extreme limits”¹³.

¹³ Lucian Boia, Lucian Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească*, Editura Humanitas, București, 2005, p. 9.

At the end of the paper, in its last part, we considered essential to have a chapter of *Conclusions* for the entire research. Thus, we found that in Romania, in the 90s, manifestations of nationalism were relatively numerous. The followers of nationalism were found in all generations and in all walks of life, professional or educational. Through its association with an anti-Western and anti-democratic spirit, nationalism proved to be a perversion of national consciousness and nationalists, though stated that they were to serve the „national interest”, often rather undermined, by their actions, this interest. Not infrequently, both in society and political discourse, the line between patriotism and nationalism, for example, was quite elusive. This is due to the distortion of patriotism during the communist regime. Should not be overlooked that in the post-communist Romanian society distinctive perception of nationalism to patriotism was not widespread, and the temptation to place nationalism and patriotism at the same level it was quite common. Both of them were about the past, geared towards historical myths and political models that could not be found in a society where democracy (oriented to present and future) began to emerge more strongly. On the other hand, the Romanian society of the early '90s was very limited not only material, but also civic and moral. And in the political configuration of the post-communist Romania, nationalism was one of the defining marks of politico-ideological extremist movements, whether of the left (such as the Great Romania Party - PRM) or right (as were groups with new-legionary origin). Thus, nationalism was adopted by several overtly and explicitly nationalist parties (of which the best known were PUNR and PRM), and a number of parties and organizations deemed as new legionarian that never managed to get into parliament. However, the attraction of nationalism evolved differently and it reflected the dissatisfaction and frustration generated by social hardships due to the transition. Finally, nationalism expressed the Romanian society's need to find a solution to limit the social and economic shocks caused by the transition from communist totalitarianism (which had tracks in the post-communist tendencies to preserve some old structures) to the Western model of democracy (to which Romania had to move).

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