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Continuities and Changes of Europe in Romanian National Discourse

**A thematic analysis of Romania's chiefs of state speeches,
between 1931 and 2016**

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Abstract

There are several problems when studying, as this thesis, the interplay between the concepts of Europe and of nation, in an official discourse of a state. One is that these concepts are largely seen as being in a dichotomous position. This research argues about the importance of changing the perception about the various way the concepts can relate to each other. The study considers the representations of the nation and of Europe as correlated. Consequently, the idea of Europe is modified over time according to the political culture type. The peculiarities of the case selection: Romania, as two violent regime changes, amplifies the effects of this multi faced process of conferring meanings to Europe. First, the communist regime crafted its own national narrative by mixing soviet supranational elements with a strong nationalistic rhetoric. This was done also with the use of Protochronism, a Romanian term, describing the process to ascribe, with the use of questionable data and by questionable interpretations, an idealised past to the country. Second, the post-communist elites could not decide what stance should be adopted towards pre-communist and communist regimes. The implications for the concept of Europe were discovered using a thematic analysis on 25 New Year's Eve messages of Romanians chiefs of the state, transmitted from 1931 to 2016. The results shows that the role of the concept of Europe in the Romanian public discourse was to facilitate the diffusion of the nationalistic messages and to justify internal policies. This happened surprisingly, even during the Cold War era. The technique to manipulate the meanings of Europe continued, ever since. In the context of the present wave of Euroscepticism within the EU space, the author warns about the risk of a credibility decrease of the concept of Europe for the Romanian public.

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Key words: collective memory, national narratives, Europe, communism, political culture, Romania, protochronism, New Year`s Eve Messages, official discourse

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1. Introduction:

On 31st of December, 2006, the president Traian Băsescu, made a special appearance on television to broadcast a message to the nation. Just few minutes later, Romania was about to enter the European Union. The Romanian media has been intensively covering the event during the previous weeks and had, therefore, created a climate of collective uncertainty and of high expectations. Since the collapse of communism, European membership has been a top priority for politicians. The negotiations were longer than expected. Disappointed, many Romanians felt that they are not welcome in the European club. Finally the European dream became a reality. As hinted already, Traian Băsescu marked the moment with a passionate speech: “It was hard, but we reached the end of the roadway and now we are just starting to step on a new road: the road of our freedom, the road of our joy”¹.

This quote is a sample of the dominant meaning of Europe which was symbolically constructed in Romania, after the death of the dictator, Nicolae Ceaușescu. Entering Europe was seen as an achievement. European membership was thought to improve its weak democracy. By joining the Common Market it was hoped that the economic situation of Romania will improve. This is how Europe become a symbol of national resurgence. The quote of president Băsescu illustrates how some ideas of Europe can participate at the creation of national self-images. Thus an interesting question emerged. But what were the meanings of Europe in other occasions? Was is always so plain and simple?

In this study, which focusses on Romanian public discourse, I will reconstruct this problematic and overlooked interplay, as the question regarding how the concept of Europe participated to the national discourse of Romania, deserves an answer. The reason is that any findings about the pattern occurred in conceptualisation of Europe have significant consequences. If the ideas of Europe participate to the process of narrating the nation, then this contribution should be further explained. Why? Because any meaning attached to the concept of Europe might determine public reactions from the Romanian demos. This is particularly important in Romania. At this point, the perceptions on Europe are divided based on age segments. The elder population are in majority monarchists, and pro Europeans. The middle aged Romanians identify with communism, having a sceptical attitude towards Europe. The youth generation is divided, between these camps. The poor educated are the electoral basin for the left, or centre left parties. Other Romanian youths educate themselves

¹ Traian Băsescu, 2007, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

within the European Union space. These are the reasons why, the future European cooperation, or European integration projects should consider how the concept of Europe was verbalised so far, in Romania. Doing so it will be a great tool to assess the public expectations towards Europe and the European Union.

1.2 Definition of the research problem

In this study, I intend, even from this point of departure, to move beyond presenting a simplistic dichotomy between the concepts of Europe and of nation. It would perhaps be, for the purposes of this research, appropriate to analyse the concept of Europe as a monolith, since the result would be to analyse the depiction of the nation state as an opposition to Europe. This stance is already taken by an important number of studies on Europeanisation and nationalism². This opinion is already stated by several far-right parties in Europe, also by many euro sceptics.

I imagined from the beginning that the perfect material to research this complex interrelationship will be the New Year`s Eve Messages transmitted by the Romanian heads of state, to the nation. The data is a collection of 25 New Year`s Eve Messages transmitted during 1931 and 2016, on all media channels. Highly politicised, New Year`s Eve Messages never received proper attention from scholars. They were considered to be merely a nationalistic discourse, therefore their message was considered clear and unproblematic. This vision is superficial. The New Year`s Eve messages are short summaries, yet accurate and full of substance, of the political year. Each of the New Year`s Eve messages represented for this study a photography of all major events of a given political year. A colourful illustration of the Romanian official discourse. Together, the collection of 25 New Year`s Eve messages formed a film, which accurately described the complexity of the studied phenomenon: the meanings attached to Europe in the Romanian public discourse. In this excellent film, the images of Europe and of the nation, reinforced each other, or demarcated each other. Sometimes they even overlapped. Yet they were not synonymous.

Thus, the conclusion of the study was drawn after conducting a thematic analysis on the transcripts. The coding scheme and its results are available in the first and the second

² Aryeli presents in a comparative study undertake on 63 countries the conflict between two theoretical camps. One of those, the majoritarian predict the fall of nationalism. Globalisation and Europeanisation are presented as the main arguments. Aryeli, Gal (2012): *Globalisation and the decline of national identity? An exploration across sixty-three countries*, pp 461. Moreover, Guibernau, a leading scholar on the topic of Europeanisation stated the same. See Guibernau, Montserrat (2011): *Prospects for a European Identity*, pp. 37

appendixes. The complexity of this interplay is amplified by the peculiarities of the case. Romania had three different regime types in the period I am referring to³. For this reason the official discourse suffered major alterations over time. Hence, one should expect significant differences in the manner political leaders conceptualised the link between the concepts of Europe and of the nation. Which is an obvious plus for this study.

1.3 Research Questions

This thesis is set to analyse the interrelationship of the concepts of Europe and the nation, through the speeches of the Romanians chiefs of the state, during 1931 and 2016. The main research question of this thesis is:

How has notions and ideas about Europe been used in the official discourse of Romania, as expressed in the speeches of chiefs of state, from the period 1931-2016?

However, the research problem cannot be answered without a clear understanding of all of the nuances of this multifaceted puzzle. If this study is about the interrelationship between the concepts of Europe and of nation, then the relation between them must be evaluated separately. This is why the following sub-research question will be posed:

To what extent have the concept of Europe and the nation reinforced or contradicted each other, in the speeches of chiefs of state for the period 1931-2016?

The last sub-research question considers the peculiarity of the chosen case study: Romania. Consequently, a complete set of explanations requires exploration of the breaks and continuities of the regime types, in Romania. This is the role of the next sub-research question:

How has notions and ideas about Europe been affected by the regime changes occurred between 1931 and 2016?

I will continue explaining why this study will focus on Romania, and not on other cases.

³ Understanding the peculiarities of the regime types mentioned above are highly relevant for this study. This is why all these regime types will be presented in details in a separate section, where I explained the choice of the case study.

1.4 Choice of the case study: Romania

The interrelationship between the concepts of Europe and of nation must be established and researched in order to understand its effects on public expectations and on present power constellation. I considered Romania as a perfect case to research this interplay. I will present the main reasons for this selection. All are dictated by the peculiarity of Romania's history and political culture during the last century.

The first reason is given by the discontinuities in political order. They are important as they allow a comparison between different regimes, thus a better understanding of the studied phenomenon. Romania experienced in the last century: 1) a constitutional monarchy, (1918 – 1930, then from 1940 to 1947), 2) the semi-autocratic regime of the Carol II, 1930-40) 3) the communist rule (1947 - 1989) and 4) the democratic regime, from 1989 – until now. This complicated historical situation makes Romania a special case within the EU space. There are not enough studies about how these regime discontinuities affected the official discourse, or the politics of memory. So far, most studies focused solely on each of these periods, but a diachronic perspective was overlooked. This is a limitation to the literature. Without being able to look at the full picture, one cannot observe the peculiarities of the Romania's official discourse. Similarly, there is a lack of research on how the concept of Europe was used by the Romanian politicians, during different regimes. Up to this point it is not clear how references to Europe are being received by the Romanian audience. This leads me to the third and final argument.

Under Nicolae Ceaușescu's rule (1965 -1989), Romania was the only member of the Warsaw Pact which openly opposed the invasion of Czechoslovakia⁴. After this rupture from the socialist compound policies, the *Romanian Communist Party* clearly break with the soviet historical narration. Consequently, the socialist ideology started to be impregnated with nationalist symbols⁵. Some elements were simply taken from the interwar period, other were invented, via the use of protochronism. Protochronism a Romanian term, describes the process to ascribe, with the use of questionable data and by questionable interpretations, an idealised past to the country. In other words Protochronism is the Romanian equivalent for autochonomism: the believe that particular people are indigenous to a certain place. This historical method of dealing with the past was largely used by Nicolae Ceasescu's regime

⁴ Zavatti, Francesco. 2016. *Writing history in a propaganda institute. Political power and Networks dynamics in communist Romania*, pp 43.

⁵ Zavatti, Francesco. 2016. *Writing history in a propaganda institute. Political power and Networks dynamics in communist Romania*, 224- 226.

(1965-89)⁶. This peculiarity makes my selected case different than any East European countries. The images and meaning of Europe were crucial for Romania's public discourse, being exploited and fully used. This significant situation was overlooked by the existing literature. Studies depicted Romania as "the most isolated country in Europe"⁷. As one of the socialist compound members, a socialist country with an anti-imperialist discourse. Or, Europe was always a part of the story, and its role deserves closer attention.

This case selection can also establish, and therefore fill a gap in the existing literature whether protochronism had also a clear European dimension, not being limited to nationalistic ideological purposes. All this peculiarities makes Romania a thick case to be researched.

In order to shed more light on this research area one should first explore the importance of the concept of Europe as explained by previous studies. Then, the various ways these two concepts can relate to each other should be edified through a relevant conceptual framework. Secondly, chiefs of state discourses should be interpreted in the light of the research problem. One way of doing this is with the help of a thematic analysis. The final step could be to interpret the collected data and explain and enumerate the meaning attached to the concept of Europe, in three different regimes, in Romania. These are precisely the next chapters of this study. All made with the aim of answering the thesis's research questions and explore how the concept of Europe (the dependent variable) relates with the national – narration process (the independent variable).

⁶ However, protochronism's origins are from 1870, being introduced by Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, a member of Romanian intelligentsia who advocated the independence of his nation. Protochronists assume that the ancient population who lived on Romania's territory, the Dacians, were a great civilisation which gave to the Roman Empire some emperors. Protochronists attempt to prove that the Roman Empire was created by the Dacians, this being the reason the Romanian language survived all the way from the past. An additional feature is the glorification of Zamolxe, a demigod of the Dacians, with the purpose to show that the Dacians were monotheistic. And this is the reason the local population was easily converted to Christianity by the Apostle Saint Andrew. The source is: Lucian Boia, 1997. *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească*, p 149-51, 160-161, 169.

⁷ Zavatti, Francesco. 2016. *Writing history in a propaganda institute. Political power and Networks dynamics in communist Romania*, pp 16.

2. Literature review

Since the focus of my research is fourfold in character, the presentation from below has been divided into four sections that correspond to the elements from the research problem. The first section analyses the actions undertaken for centuries by the Romanian elite to project their national culture and history as European. The second section focuses on the concept of protochronism. The third section encapsulates the communist regime attempts to de-construct the collective memory and rewrite the historiography. The fourth section scrutinises the difficulties of the post-communist regime to decide how to deal with the past. Since this study relates to a Romanian context, both regarding national representation and the meaning given to the concept of Europe, I have chosen to focus primarily on Romanian research within these fields and supplement this presentation with relevant international research.

2.1.1 The battle for Europe, fought by the Romanian elites

The crafting of a Romanian national culture started long time before the conception of the Romanian modern state, materialised in 1877. One main concern of the intelligentsia was to confer for the Romanian national identity a European dimension. At that time, the main Romanian regions, the Romanian County, Moldova and Transylvania were divided between the Ottoman, Russian and Hapsburg Empires. Therefore, the Romanian intelligentsia tried to create a national identity to be used as a reason for the liberation struggle. Establishing some European roots became crucial. If the Romanians could be labelled as Europeans, then they could be also considered as being different from the Orientals and Slavs. Thus a Romanian independent state could be justified. The process was radical and lasted centuries. The first battleground concerned the Romanian language itself. At that time, in both administration and in the Church, the Cyrillic alphabet was used. This is why the followers of the “Scoală Ardeleană” (Transylvanian School), a Romanian nationalist group, proposed since 1780, the introduction of the Latin alphabet⁸.

⁸ Pârvu Boerescu, 2014. Din istoria scrierii românești. Preliminarii teoretice. Alfabetul româno-chirilic. Vechea scriere româno-latină (1570-1830). Crearea alfabetului românesc modern. București, Editura Academiei Române, 2014.

Therefore, in 1864, after some decades of transition, the Latin alphabet was implemented at a national level, thus replaced the Cyrillic script. Romania could then claim to be European and thus non-Slavic⁹¹⁰.

European inferences on the Romanian historiography

Berget at all edited in 2008, *The meaning of Europe*. This collection of essays shows that in a variety of cases, the national master narratives were mixed with the grand European level narratives. Two examples of common elements were prominent 1) the Christian Redemption story which was replaced in the 18th century with 2) the Enlightenment story of growing freedom and advancing culture within the system of nation states¹¹. Thus, in some cases, Europe was a concept used by elites and historians to evoke the unity and the glorious ancestral heritage, as a replacement for Christendom¹²¹³. Romania was not an exception from the rule. Thus, its national narrative can be considered, as a hybrid representation.

Catherine Durandin went one step ahead, in *Révolution á la française ou á la russe: Polonais, Roumains et Russes au XIXe siècle*. Durandin studied the modernity nationalism ideas from several countries then she argued that the Romanian elites adopted the ideas of nation-hood from the French sources. Then, these core elements remained in the national narration also in the first part of the 20th century¹⁴.

⁹ Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, Institutul de Lingvistică din București, *Mic Dicționar Ortografic*, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, Ediția a II-a, 1954

¹⁰ Király, Fr, 1986. *Din istoricul ortografiei românești: secolul al XVII-lea*, Editura Universitatea din Timișoara, Facultatea de Filologie.

¹¹ Berger, Stefan. 2008. *Narrating the nation. Historiography and other Genres*. pp 2, 6

¹² Allan Megill reviews the common practices on nation narration in Europe, shows their hybridity, their lack of periodicity and claims that both European grand narratives and national master narratives are outdated and must be replaced with allegiances rooted in constitutional norms which will bring more solidarity at a national level. The source: Megill Allan. 2002. *Historical narration, identity, allegiances*. In Berger, Stefan Eriksonas, Linas Stefan and Mycock Andrew. 2008. *Narrating the Nation. Representations in History, Media and the Arts*, p 25, 27, 32.

¹³ Malmberg Mikael & Strath Bo. 2002. *The Meaning of Europe*.

¹⁴ Durandin, Catherine. 1989. *Révolution á la française ou á la russe: Polonais, Roumains et Russes au XIXe siècle* Paris: P.U.F., 1989

2.1.2 The birth of Protochronism

The Romanian context from the interwar period lead to another interesting situation. At the time the national identity was mainly built in opposition to the traditional enemies of Romania: Russia and Hungary¹⁵. After the First World War, Romania gained Transylvania, Bukovina, Banat, Maramures and Bessarabia from the Austro – Hungarian Empire. Plus Dobrudja, from Bulgaria. The regional identities were strong. So were the identities of the minorities and their irredentist tendencies¹⁶. This resulted in a lack of consensus and in divergent paths in historiography. One consequent deviation was the large usage of protochronism by the interwar intelligentsia¹⁷. Arnold Armbruster¹⁸, also shows that the aim of protochronism was to create a homogenous narration of the nation. The *Thraco-Daco-Roman* archaism, as well as the myth of Zalmoxis, a supposed God of the Thracians, were common elements in all these attempts¹⁹. This is because the idea behind was to link the Romanian nation with the great ancient European civilisations and the proto-Romanian spirituality with Christianity. One can easily observe now the European dimension of protochronism.

2.1.3 Bringing the soviet tanks on collective memory: historiography during the communist era

In this research it is claimed that the regime changes occurred in Romania represents one of the main reasons of the case selection, as the consequent discontinuities makes the study more interesting. This section will reveal the impact of the communist rule on Romanian collective memory and on the official discourse.

¹⁵ Umut Korkut, 'Nationalism versus Internationalism: The Roles of Political and Cultural Elites in Interwar and communist Romania', in *Nationalities Papers*, 34 (2/2006), 132–133.

¹⁶ Iordachi Constantin and Balázs Trencsényi. 2016. *In Search of a Usable Past: The Question of National Identity in Romanian Studies, 1990-2000. East European Politics and Societies, Vol 17, Issue 3, pp, 420.*

¹⁷ Boia Lucian. 1997. *Istorie si mit in Constiinta Românească*. Editura Humanitas. pp 320, 330

¹⁸ Adolf Armbruster, 1972. *Romanitatea românilor. Istoria unei idei*. Bucharest, Romania: Editura Enciclopedica.

¹⁹ Adolf Armbruster, *Romanitatea românilor. Istoria unei idei* (Bucharest, Romania: Editura Enciclopedica, 1972); Stefan Lemny, *Originea si cristalizarea ideii de patrie în cultura româna* (Bucharest, Romania: Minerva, 1986); Andrei Pippidi, *Tradiția politica bizantină în țările române în secolele XVI-XVIII* (Bucharest, Romania: Editura Academiei, 1983).

One point of interest for historians was the deconstruction and reinterpretation of the historical past. Michael Rura explains what kind of modifications were used. The reinterpretation was done either by corruption of historical narrative elements, by omission, by emphasis on some events, or by substitution. Rura's study demonstrates that the history written under the communist regime was not "real"²⁰. In addition, several comparative studies focused on the historiography of all Warsaw Pact's members. The researches connected the corruption of historiographies, with a supranational Soviet Influence. Four phases of the relationship between the Soviets and the socialist compound were identified: *uniformity, fracture, rupture, and diversity*.

Uniformity phase (1948–1953) started when Soviet Union imposed its hegemony in Eastern Europe. By institutionalised propaganda, the local Communist parties aimed to legitimize the Stalinist regime. In case of Romania, one illustration of history re-interpretation can be observed in the works of Mihai Roller. Roller was the chief historian appointed by the communist regime. Thus, Roller edited from 1947 to 1956, two volumes of the history of Romanians, used in schools until 1961. The books were edited with the logo of the soviet republic. The title was changed from "*The history of Romanians*" to "*The history of the Popular Republic of Romania*", to avoid any reference to the national identity²¹. The content included materials used by the communist activists while in illegality, thus different from the pre-communist regime narrative. Therefore, the Independence War from 1877, the unification between *Romania County* and *Moldova*, from 1859, the great unification of all Romanian territories from 1918, were heavily criticised. The Latinist orientation of the Romanian elite was seen as chauvinism against Slavs and Hungarians. The interwar chapter was headlined: "*The Increase in Romania's Enslavement to American, English and French Imperialism*"²². In fact, anything perceived by the new elite as compromising or in favour of alternative centres of power was deconstructed or alternated, or erased from the collective memory^{23,24}.

²⁰ Michael I. Rura. 1961. *Reinterpretation of history as a method of furthering communism in Romania*. Washington Georgetown University Press, 1961, XI.

²¹ Lucian Boia, 2009, *Germanofilii*. Editura Humanitas. P 12-13.

²² Pleșa Liviu. 2006. *Mihail Roller și Stalinizarea istoriografiei românești*. In Series Historica, Vol 10, Issue 1, The 1st of December University of Alba Iulia. Print. pp 167-69.

²³ Zavatti, Francesco. 2016. *Writing history in a propaganda institute. Political power and Networks dynamics in communist Romania*, pp 40.

²⁴ Jowitt, Kenneth. 1971. *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development: The Case of Romania, 1944-1965*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 197, p 7.

The phase of *fracture* (1953-1956) occurred once Stalin died. After the Soviet example the personality cult of Stalin was condemned, together with Gulag and its policies. Yet, in Romania, the communist elite remain untouched. Although the historiography was still written with Marxist- Leninist elements, the interpretation of the past was not as standardized as compared to the rest of the Communist bloc²⁵.

The rupture (1956 - 1968) emerged after the repression of the *Hungarian Revolution*, from 1956. The Romanian Workers Party had a unique tendency within the Socialist Compound. A national – communist narration started to be built, despite the fact that fully commitment to the Soviets was declared. Moreover, Romania was a fierce active partisan of the invasion of Hungary²⁶. In the same time, the Soviet historical cannon was pushed on secondary place, being replaced by nationalistic elements. This strategy led to a high level of legitimacy of the Communist regime. According to the political scientist Stelian Tănase, the initiator of this policy was Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej. Dej`s, economic and discursive strategies were meant to catch up economically with the West. The new communist political elites supported the project²⁷. An alliance between political elites and workers materialised. National-ideology was the framework resulted to legitimize Dej`s modernisation project. National – communism emerged. Since that moment the historiography became a propaganda issue²⁸. Its main elements were the nationalistic narratives, the enhancement of the party and of the nation, plus later, the cult of the leader: Nicolae Ceaușescu²⁹.

The return of Protochronism

In this section will be highlighted the use of protochronism, as implemented by the Ceaușescu`s regime.

This use of protochronism, meant to connect Romania with the external world, was under the radar of historians. One of them, Edgar Papu, argues that protochronism was “one of the dominant and defining traits of our literature in the global context”³⁰. The superiority of the nation was thus underlined. The Romanian were depicted as a stable, organised, peaceful

²⁵ Zavatti, Francesco. 2016. *Writing history in a propaganda institute. Political power and Networks dynamics in communist Romania*, pp 41

²⁶ Zavatti, Francesco. 2016. *Writing history in a propaganda institute. Political power and Networks dynamics in communist Romania*, pp 41.

²⁷ Tănase, Stelian, 1998. *Elite si societate. Guvernarea Gheorghiu-Dej, 1948-1965*. Bucharest, Romania.

²⁸ Zavatti, Francesco. 2016. *Writing history in a propaganda institute. Political power and Networks dynamics in communist Romania*, pp 43.

²⁹ Boia Lucian. 1997. *Istorie si mit in Constiința Românească*. Editura Humanitas. pp 155-157

³⁰ Papu, Edgard. 1974. *Protocronismul Romanesc, Secolul 20*. 5–6, 8–11. Papu, Edgard. 1977. *Din clasicii noștri. Contribuții la ideea unui protocronism romanesc*, Editura Eminescu, București

civilisation. A civilisation which developed basically all major inventions of the world, starting with Traian`s Vuia aeroplane³¹. This technique was also used in the Soviet Union, although on a smaller scale.

In fact, this study will also offer further evidence regarding the use of protochronism by the dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu. The novelty is that I will be able to demonstrate this with the help of so far overlooked material: the New Year`s Eve speeches addressed to the nation. Thus, I hope to contribute to the existing literature on the topic and to offer more evidence on how protochronism was used in the process of nation. Also in relation with the concept of Europe³².

2.1.4 Caught on a crossroad: collective memory as projected by the post-communist regime

The fourth part of this section is dedicated to a major dilemma which the Romania`s post-communist elites faced. In order to craft a credible national narrative they were supposed to build a bridge to the past. Yet, a unitary stance towards two opposite regimes: the pre-war monarchy and the controversial but fresh communist legacy, could not be founded. Thus, the lack of consensus in relation with the previous two regimes is the main characteristic of the post – communist Romanian historiography. Two ideological camps emerged. The post 1989 autochthonism camp used elements from the Orthodox ideology to convey their narratives. Opposed to this neo-traditionalist stance, was the “Westernisers” camp³³.

Simona Mitroiu addressed this issue in: “*Recuperative memory in Romanian post-Communist society*”. Analysing relevant data from oral testimonies, autobiographical writings, literary works, and cinema, Mitroiu argues that the role of recuperative memory of post-communist Romania was supposed to fulfil two aims. The first was to facilitate the

³¹ Cristea Darie. 2004. *Sociologia vieții intelectuale în perioada postbelică – dezbateri asupra chestiunii protocronismului*. Pp 96

³² King, G – Keohane, Robert O. – Verba, Sydney, 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry*. Princeton University Press. Print pp 17.

³³ Iordachi Constantin and Balázs Trencsényi. 2016. *In Search of a Usable Past: The Question of National Identity in Romanian Studies, 1990-2000. East European Politics and Societies, Vol 17, Issue 3, pp, 421 - 423*

process of coming to terms with the past³⁴. The second was to provide the material necessary to sustain a viable politics of memory. Because the politics of memory was never a priority in the country, the results were ambiguous. The past was in did reconstructed, but only to some extent. The crimes of the communism were not fully addressed³⁵. Criminal prosecution of officials went slow. The reasons were two: an important number of ex-communist elite works in the administrative apparatus, then the lack of commitment from the civil society.

The result was that the Romanian society did not really make peace with the past. The individuals are still divided on how to interpret communism³⁶.

In this study I intend to bring further evidence on this subject³⁷. I will do so by adding to the existing knowledge the assumption that the origins of this dispute are to be found in the ideological stances of the post-communist leaders of Romania³⁸.

Section summary

This section aimed to trace previous research connected with the main topics of this study, as derived from the research problem. Thus, was observed how Romania positioned itself in relation to the idea of Europe. The inquiry also addressed the regime discontinuities and their effect on the Romanian historiography and Romanian collective memory.

Thus, the start was given by summarizing the efforts done by the Romanian intelligentsia to position the Romanian history and culture in a European context. Hence, it was revealed that Romania had lasting efforts of labelling itself as European. The main purpose was to demarcate itself from the Slavic world. This was done mainly through language regulations. Due to its complexity and its salience, scholars offered special attention to the communist era. The findings revealed this regime unique method to deal with the collective memory. Thus, the communists decided to combine the soviet supranational narration with nationalistic elements. This was accomplished by manipulating the national narratives, or by using

³⁴ Mitroiu Simona. 2016. *Recuperative memory in Romanian post-Communist*, pp 765

³⁵ Zavatti, Francesco. 2016. *Writing history in a propaganda institute. Political power and Networks dynamics in communist Romania*, pp 2.

³⁶ Mitroiu Simona. 2016. *Recuperative memory in Romanian post-Communist*, pp 765-766

³⁷ Mitroiu Simona. 2016. *Recuperative memory in Romanian post-Communist*, pp 765-766

³⁸ King, G – Keohane, Robert O. – Verba, Sydney, 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry*. Princeton University Press. Print pp 17

elements of protochronism. The existing literature also stressed the lack of a unitary approach of the Romanian elites towards the selection of past events. The main ideological divide regards the stance towards the communism. However, this study will address this hybridity of historiography from another angle, unexplored yet by the literature: the Romanian political leaders stance on this issue. By revealing how the concept of Europe was depicted over time by chiefs of state I hope to add more academic knowledge on the topic³⁹.

2.2.1 The full list of chiefs of state included in this study

Carol 2 (8th of June 1930 – 6th of September 1940) Carol 2 of Romania was the inheritor of King Ferdinand, of Romania, yet abdicated in 1924. Carol was replaced by his son, Mihai I, then at the age of seven. The young king was ruling with the help of a regency Council. Later, in 1930, Carol 2 of Romania returned and he accomplished a coup d'état to re-gain the power. Carol's rule was characterized by a long serial of corruption facts, conducted by his personal camarilla. Then, 1938 the king forbidden all political parties, thus becoming an authoritarian monarch⁴⁰. This severe lack of legitimacy ended in 1940. Immediately after Romania lost one third of its territory, as the result of the Ribbentrop – Molotov pact, Carol 2 he was forced to abdicate and replaced with his son, Mihai I. He died in 1953, while being in exile, in Estoril, Portugal.

Mihai I was the last King of Romania (20 of July, 1927 – 8 of June 1930 – together with a Regency Council, then from 6th of September 1940 to 30th of December 1947). During his rule, the country lost the Second World War and the monarchy was replaced with a communist regime. The king was considered to be too young and unexperienced to govern on those difficult times: the Second World War, the internal political crisis, then the communist take-over. Mihai I signed the controversial decree from 23rd of August 1944 establishing that Romania will no longer fight with the camp lead by Germany, instead will join the Soviet Union. The idea behind was to obtain better peace conditions. This never happened. Since that moment, the Soviet representatives were de facto leaders of Romania. After December

³⁹ King, G – Keohane, Robert O. – Verba, Sydney, 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry*. Princeton University Press. Print pp 17

⁴⁰ Coposu, Corneliu. 2014 (ed) *File dintr-un jurnal interzis. 1936-1947, 1953, 1967-1983*, ediție îngrijită de Doina Alexandru (București: Editura Vremea. Pp 50-54

1947, the Soviet occupation was established de jure. Mihai I of Romania was forced to leave the country.

Ioan Constantin Parhon (30th of December 1947- 12th of June 1952) was a neuropsychiatrist, endocrinologist, plus a communist militant. Parhon was highly educated, being the author of over 400 titles in medical science and in politics. In 1947, Parhon was appointed as the first ruler of Communist Romania. Parhon resigned from the office in 1952, dedicating his rest of the life to scientific research⁴¹.

Dr Petru Groza (12th of June 1952 - 7th of January 1958) was a lawyer and a politician. Groza started his political carrier in the *Romanian National Party*, one of the historical conservative parties of Romania. The politician was elected as a *Deputy* in Romanian Parliament (second chamber) from 1919 to 1926. Later, Petru Groza became the leader of a small left – wing party: *The Ploughmen Party*, an organisation placed under the umbrella of the Soviet Communist Party. In 1945, Groza was appointed as a prime minister then, in 1952 as the president of the nation. Groza stayed in office until his death, in 1958.

Ioan Gheorghe Maurer (11 of January 1958 – 21st of March 1961) was a lawyer. From this position, Maurer helped the communist party members in their trials conducted by the pre-communist regime. Being influential amongst the Romanian communist elite, the politician was installed as the president of Romania. Although his rule was short, Maurer remained an significant member of the communist elite. Maurer later supported Nicolae Ceaușescu in his road to the top of the Communist Party⁴².

Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej (21st of March 1961 – 19th of March 1965) was a railway electrician and a communist activist. Dej was imprisoned several times for illegal activities related to the communist underground movement. While imprisoned Dej was elected as the chief of the Romanian Communists. Dej notoriously introduced the nationalist dogma in the

⁴¹ Niculae, et al. 1994. *Doctrina țărănistă în România. Antologie de texte ("Peasant doctrine in Romania. Collected Texts")*, Editura Noua Alternativă, Social Theory Institute of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1994

⁴² Tănase, Stelian, 1991 *Societatea civilă românească și violența*. ("Romanian Civil Society and Violence"), in *Agora*, issue 3/IV, July–September 1991

Romanian culture and historiography. Gheorghiu Dej openly opposed the plans of Nikita Khrushchev to reduce economy of Romania at being only an agrarian country. Instead, Dej decided to transform Romania in an industrial power. Dej died in 1965, after a liver cancer. The communist folklore considers that he was irradiated after the Soviet orders after a visit in Warsaw, as a consequence of opposing Khrushchev⁴³.

Nicolae Ceaușescu (9th of December 1915 – 22nd of December 1989) was the last communist president of Romania⁴⁴. The dictator continued the nationalist dogma of Gheorghiu-Dej. Highly uneducated, illiterate, Ceaușescu joined the underground communist movement when he was a teenager. In 1933, Young Ceaușescu was imprisoned for the first time at the age of 15, for street fighting, after a communist strike. In 1943, in a prison from Targu Jiu, Ceaușescu meets Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, becoming his protégée. Once the communist rule was established, Ceaușescu became state secretary at the ministry of Agriculture, being in charge with the forced collectivisation⁴⁵. As president, Ceaușescu, openly opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Thus, the dictator became an ally of the US President Richard Nixon. Consequently, Romania was accepted in GATT organisation. The country was also allowed to collaborate with the International Monetary Fund and to have economic relations with the European Community⁴⁶. The dictator was not so efficient in internal policies. His rule was marked by severe rationalisation of supplies, of heat and food. Most of the Romanian apartments were supplied only 2 hours with warm water, and this only in the winter. Electricity supplies were also short, most apartments using candle lights. Ceausescu was removed from the office in December 1989, after a Revolution. The ex-president died being shoot after a summary trial, by a military execution squad, at Targoviste, near Bucharest.

Ion Iliescu (22nd of December 1918- 17th of October 1996, 10th of December 2000- 21st of December 2004). The politician was educated in Bucharest and in Moscow as an engineer in fluid mechanics. Iliescu was a member of the communist party, then the chief of the Central

⁴³ Nicolescu, Nicolae C. .2006. *Enciclopedia șefilor de guvern ai României (1862-2006)*, București: Editura Meronia, pp. 140-153

⁴⁴ Romania had one more chief of state, between Dej and Ceaușescu. This was Chivu Stoica who ruled the country between march and December 1965. However, he was not included in this list, has he did not transmitted any New Year's Eve Message.

⁴⁵ Gruia, Cătălin 2007. *Viata lui Nicolae Ceausescu*, in *National Geographic Romania*. November 2007, pp: 42, 50, 60

⁴⁶ Sweeney, John. 1991. *The Life and Evil Times of Nicolae Ceaușescu*. Hutchinson.

Committee of Propaganda. Iliescu was considered as the natural inheritor of Ceaușescu. Therefore, Iliescu was marginalised and relegated to secondary positions⁴⁷. At the time of the Revolution from December 1989, Iliescu was the leader of the *National Salvation Front*, an ad-hoc movement born during the protests. Iliescu became the president of Romania *de facto* since December 1989 and *de jure* after the elections from May 1990. In June 1990 Iliescu ordered the first Mineriad, from a total of three. Hundreds of casualties resulted⁴⁸. This action, together with his communist past severely reduced his legitimacy and popularity. Iliescu is now the honorific president of the *Romanian Social Democratic Party*, the inheritor of the *National Salvation Front*.

Emil Constantinescu (17th of November 1916- 10th of December 2000). Constantinescu became politician in the 90`s, when he joined “*Alianța Civică*”, a centre-right political party. In 1996 Constantinescu became the president of Romania, after a race against Ion Iliescu. Constantinescu was elected with a large majority, yet he is the only president of Romania, who did not obtain the second mandate. This happened mainly because his promises of reformation and privatisation were not fully accomplished. Thus, at the end of his rule the state still owned 80 % of the economy. After his rule Constantinescu returned as a teacher, at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Geology.

Traian Băseșcu (21st of December 1916- 21st of December 2014). During the communist rule, Băseșcu served as a captain on Romanian commercial ships. The ex-sailor, started his political career as a member of *National Salvation Front*, Ion Iliescu`s Party. In 1991, Băseșcu became Minister of Transport. In 2000, he was elected as Mayor of Bucharest. In 2004 he became the president of Romania. Under his presidential mandate Romania joined the European Union. Băseșcu, opted for a categorical anti-Russia, pro-US and pro-NATO political stance. Moreover, Băseșcu was an advocate of the Union with the Republic of

⁴⁷ New York Times. 1989. *Upheaval in the East, a rising star, a man who could become Rumania`s leader*. Last retrieved on 4th of may 2017, from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/12/24/world/upheaval-in-the-east-a-rising-star-a-man-who-could-become-rumania-s-leader.html>

⁴⁸ The Romanian Mineriads were a series of six violent demonstrations, from 1990, to 1999, conducted by the miners from the Jiu basin, in Bucharest. The most violent one was in June 1990, when the president Ion Iliescu asked for help from miners` union to spread the student demonstration against his regime. Hundreds of casualties were reported. In September 1991 same miners unions riot against the PM and the government which later resigned. In January- February 1999 was the last Mineriad. Tens of thousands of miners marched in Bucharest to protest against the reduction of governmental subsidies. On their way they crushed the police forces. A truce was made, the miners stopped their advance and later their leader Miron Cosma was sentenced to 18 years of prison. An ongoing investigation against the Romanian institutions is under making at CEDO, after the appeals from the victims families.

Moldova. Under his mandate all of the Moldavian citizens received the Romanian citizenship, consequently the EU citizenship. The ex-president is still in political life of Romania, as a leader of “*Popular Movement Union*” but with low trust from the electorate.

Klaus Iohannis (21st of December 2014 - ?). The president of Romania was educated as a physics high-school teacher. As his name hints, Iohannis is from the German minority, being a Transylvanian Saxon, a community which settled in Transylvania in the 12th century . Iohannis is the leader of the *Romanian Liberal Party*. Before he became a president Iohannis was the mayor of Sibiu, a town from the centre of Transylvania. Under his mandate, Sibiu became a great tourist attraction and the European capital of Culture, in 2007. Iohannis is the very first Romanian president who has no ties with the Romanian Communist Party, or communism.

3. Theoretical Framework

This section aims to make explicit various assumptions that I have made in my research and to specify my understanding of the most central concepts or notions that I deploy in this study. Hence, the focus here is not to give exhaustive accounts of these matters. But rather to illustrate how they emerged, in the light of this research peculiarities and challenges. Also, to explain why I have chosen these concepts and theories and not others. The first part position this study in the field of collective memory and explains that the stance towards the past is conditioned by the type of political culture. The second part focuses on the theoretical relation between the concepts of Europe and of nation. Since these two concepts should not be seen as being in a dichotomous relation, both terms are described in the last part.

3.1.1 How the past is being institutionalised

As explained in the formulation of the research problem and elsewhere, this study is set to analyse the interrelationship between the concepts of Europe and the nation, in the official discourse, through the speeches of the Romanians chiefs of the state`, during 1931 and 2016. In other words, the study is about the interplay between the past and the present, in a socio-

cultural context. This is precisely the focus of the concept of *collective memory*, which investigates phenomena as individual acts of remembering, in a social context such as national myths formation⁴⁹.

Some amount of our knowledge, of our social capital, as Bourdieu put it⁵⁰, is inherited, through generations⁵¹. In fact, the human memory have few strata. The first relates to our biological memory, things that once happened affected our feelings, or views, or stances about a given issue. The second strata of memory, the collective memory is associated with media narrations, practices that social groups engage in their search for a common past. Or with institutions dedicated to the making of collective memory⁵². These are the collective memory artefacts. Few relevant empirical examples should provide further clarification. Some collective memory artefacts are media narrations of the past wars, states choices for national days, for the national anthem, mass ceremonies, commemorations, or history textbooks. How these artefacts are being seen by the people depends inter alia, on the top-down meaning given to history. Possibilities are, *celebrating, debating, or forgetting*⁵³. The first one can be seen more often in nationalistic collective identities, where the set of values contain links with ethnicity, tradition, cultural heritage⁵⁴⁵⁵.

⁴⁹ Erll, A. & Nünning, A. 2010. *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*. Berlin-De Gruyter.

⁵⁰ Bourdieu, P. and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. p. 119.

⁵¹ Bourdieu, Pierre 1990. *Structures, habitus, practices*. In P. Bourdieu, *The logic of practice* pp. 52-79

⁵² Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, vol. 1, *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, London-New York: Verso, 1994, p.7.

⁵³ Karlsson, Klas-Göran, "The Uses of History and the Third Wave of Europeanisation", In: Sniegon Tomas, *Vanished History. The Holocaust in Czech and Slovak Historical Culture*. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books 2014

⁵⁴ Eriksen, T. H. 1991. *Ethnicity and nationalism*. In: "Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 263-278".

Published by: Sage Publications. 264-266.

⁵⁵ Bloom, William (1993). *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations*. Cambridge University Press

3.1.2 History is being used, as it confers power to political elites

This is precisely the reason why collective memories are under the risk of being manipulated by political elites. Because collective memory can be an important tool to initiate and to control the process of collective identity making, hence the demos. Collective memory is a tool to legitimize political elites to a demos.

The process of creating a collective memory is done by 1) controlling to which events from the past do people relate, so 2) they can comprehend the present, and 3) make expectations regarding the future⁵⁶. But, the context of significance, or in other words the social environment affects the way we understand the past⁵⁷. For example, in Romania new elites came in power after the end of the World War 2. They had opposite ideologies, as compared with the regime they replaced. Therefore they were forced to build different collective memories, so they can justify their policies and gain legitimacy. The reproduction of the past, as observable in Romania's chiefs of state speeches must be weighed against this context.

It was Pierre Nora who offered further details⁵⁸. The historian coined the concept of *lieux de mémoire*⁵⁹. The term explains that localization of memory can be categorised as an ideological action, an action sometimes linked to the nation-state building. In other words, history can be used 1) in order to foster a collective identity, or 2) to legitimise different internal and external policies, or ideological stances resulted from the political culture type⁶⁰.

The process is done after a specific plot, determined by the type of political culture

The degree societies might accept regime's policies might vary due to specific factors as historical development, or political cultures. By political cultures, I understand the "set of attitudes beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and which

⁵⁶ Sniegom Tomas, Vanished History. The Holocaust in Czech and Slovak Historical Culture. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books 2014

⁵⁷ Zerubavel, Eviatar; Time Maps: Collective Memory and the social shape of the Past, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 283.

⁵⁸ Den Boer, P. Loci Memoriae- Lieux de mémoire in *Cultural Memory Studies*, New York, 2008, p.21.

⁵⁹ Müller Jan-Werner 2002. *The power of memory the memory of power and the power over memory*. Pp 17

⁶⁰ Müller Jan-Werner 2002. *The power of memory the memory of power and the power over memory*. Pp9

provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system”⁶¹. Thus, depending on the types of regime, there are different types of explanations, or sets of reasons, given for those policies. This is the basis of which the society members tag the political regime as being acceptable, or not⁶².

From several existent typologies of political cultures, the most relevant for this study location, Romania is the one coined by political scientist William Stewart. From Stewart’s eight political cultures, few were detectable in this research.

A *Tory corporatist political culture* assumes that the group needs are more important than individual desires. Tradition is the justification of the tory culture. The immediate family connections form its basis⁶³. The corporatist culture takes cooperation as far more important than competition. *Leninist socialists* like other socialists, take rationality as the justification for their culture. They strongly believe that the rich hide the truth from the poor. Moreover, they want to level the social inequalities and perpetuate paradigms which support their own interests. Class cleansing is one example. While they reject a social hierarchy, the government itself is rigidly hierarchical⁶⁴. *The classical liberal political culture* is based in rationality. This culture considers the individual as the basic unit of society and is a mild competitive ideology⁶⁵. All these political cultures were observable in Romanian history⁶⁶.

Nevertheless, this study is not only about the politics of memory, or the use of history. As stated already, this thesis concerns the interrelationship between the concepts of Europe and nation. The next part of this section analyses this connection.

⁶¹ International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York: Macmillan, 1968, Vol. 12, p. 218

⁶² *Why the Study of Political Legitimacy Needs More Realism. RECON Online Working Paper Series*(15), p. 4

⁶³ While acknowledging that these type are not pure, neither permanent, I will consider this type of culture as being the existent one at the start of the rule of Carol 2 of Romania.

⁶⁴ Of course, I mean here the Communist rule period from 1947 until 1989. Its sequences were explained in the literature review section.

⁶⁵ The post-communist regime after 1989 marked a return to classical liberalism.

⁶⁶ Stewart, William S. 2005. *Understanding Politics: The Cultures of Societies and the Structures of Governments*. Chandler and Sharp Publications in Political Science.

3.1.3 Discourses on Europe and on the nation: are they really dichotomous?

Collective memory matters politically in ways that affect both domestic politics and foreign policy orientation⁶⁷. Each collective whether a small social group or a nation is constituted in terms of itself depiction. Hence, each collective will attempt to correlate that depiction with its perceptions of the outside world. In this situation, for political elites in search for legitimacy, sometimes it is easier to modify the depiction of the outside, than to change the domestic description⁶⁸. Consequently, discourses on outside world, must be considered as multi-layered, with the deeper strata influencing the one above it. The first layer contains constellations of nation and state. The second layer concerns the set of relations between these images and the collective's conceptualisation of Europe⁶⁹. The last strata is the collective's specific conceptualisations on Europe⁷⁰. Once the public received these depictions, individuals form some perceptions about the subject of the discourse.

A consequence of one's use of perceptions can be the stereotypes. The stereotypes are resistant to change and they last long time in the collective memory. The stereotypes are introduced in the collective memory by the power holders and serves their interests⁷¹. Stereotypes contains one-sided representations in the interests of the order, security. Stereotypes are more present in homogenous societies. Stereotypes can be active, or dormant - previously active in a given society, yet retrievable from the collective memory⁷².

An useful distinction for my study is the one between 1) *auto-stereotypes*, more optimistic images of the Self and 2) *xeno-stereotypes*, broad images of the *other*, often full of negative connotations⁷³. Nevertheless, auto and xeno-stereotypes can potentially even reinforce each-other. For some national narrations, Europe has conveyed meanings of both *Us* and the

⁶⁷ Waever Ole. 2001. *Discourse on Europe*. In: Waever Ole, and Hansen L, (eds) "Between Nation and Europe: the Nordic States and the EU".

⁶⁸ Waever Ole. 2001. *Discourse on Europe*. In Waever Ole, and Hansen L, (eds) "Between Nation and Europe: the Nordic States and the EU".

⁶⁹ Waever Ole. 2001. *Discourse on Europe*. In: Waever Ole, and Hansen L, (eds) "Between Nation and Europe: the Nordic States and the EU".

⁷⁰ Neumann Iver. 2002. *From the USSR to Gorbachev to Putin*, p194

⁷¹ Pardo Sharon. 2015. *Normative Power Europe Meets Israel: Perceptions and Realities* pp 42, 43

⁷² Pardo Sharon. 2015. *Normative Power Europe Meets Israel: Perceptions and Realities*

⁷³ Pardo Sharon. 2015. *Normative Power Europe Meets Israel: Perceptions and Realities* 43

Other^{74 75}. This is precisely the reason why the concepts of Europe and of the nation should not be seen positioned necessarily as separate, as opposite, as dichotomous. Instead, they might reinforce, they might overlap, or demarcate each other⁷⁶.

3.1.4 The concept of Europe

Europe did not exist, in an essentialist sense in official discourses. Europe was for a long period only an “imagined” narrative construction with a huge interpretative power.⁷⁷ Hence, the concept of Europe became a discourse of political power on how to define and classify Europe on frontiers and limits, on similarities and differences. The meanings of Europe are all context bounded, are political and used by the states at some well-established moments⁷⁸. For example, at the start of the 20th century when several European nations-states, such as Romania break from the old Empires, the idea of Europe started to be a mobilising metaphor. Same happened but also after the collapse of the communism. How? By references in the public discourse to the Greek and Roman heritage, or to Christianity. Or, as established in the chapter dedicated to the earlier researches, by the use of Protochronism. Same was done by references to progress, Enlightenment, Progress, and science. The concept of Europe was never a stable object but influenced by contextual historical relations and fields of power⁷⁹. This resulted in a pattern of mutual support and reinforcement, opposition and demarcation, between the concepts of Europe and of nation^{80 81}. This leads the discussion towards the next theoretical assumption of this chapter.

⁷⁴ Malmberg of Mikael and Strath Bo. 2002. *The National Meanings of Europe*. In Malmberg of Mikael and Strath Bo, the Meaning of Europe (2002). London, Berg, p 23.

⁷⁵ Malmberg of Mikael and Strath Bo. 2002. *The National Meanings of Europe*, 23.

⁷⁶ Malmberg of Mikael and Strath Bo. 2002. *The National Meanings of Europe*, 23, 24

⁷⁷ Malmberg of Mikael and Strath Bo. 2002. *The National Meanings of Europe*, p: 3

⁷⁸ Malmberg of Mikael and Strath Bo. 2002. *The National Meanings of Europe*, p: 6

⁷⁹ Malmberg of Mikael and Strath Bo. 2002. *The National Meanings of Europe*, p: 6.

⁸⁰ Malmberg of Mikael and Strath Bo. 2002. *The National Meanings of Europe*, p: 9

⁸¹ Malmberg of Mikael and Strath Bo. 2002. *The National Meanings of Europe*, p: 9-11.

3.1.5 National identity

National identity, is one of the existent types of collective identities and was considered by Hobsbawm an invented practice, accomplished by the recreation of past traditions⁸². Once created, each of the nations manufactured historical narratives meant to build continuity with a convenient past. Convenient means a past which could justify contemporary policies⁸³. But the enterprise is not necessarily successful⁸⁴. This is because this sense of a shared past is the glue that forges the notion of national collective identity. Consequently, the verbal behaviour of the political elites is also affected.

Thus, in the case of discourses diffused to large audiences, the communicator must stay as close as possible to the cultural myths known by that audiences. This is because any deviation might cause a decrease of legitimacy or even public disorder⁸⁵. This is relevant, as Romania experienced two regime changes. As their ideologies were dissimilar, the strategies to legitimize themselves deserves closer attention. The post-communist legacy had another important consequence for Romania.

One of Eastern Europe peculiarities: Top – down, institutionalised nationalism

Roger Brubaker was the first to research this phenomenon. Once the Soviet system collapsed, all states under Moscow's umbrella were forced to re-enter the national collective identity making again. Since the old, supranational socialist ideology became unusable, the new states adapted to the geo-political situation. The main challenge was to accommodate in the same time the independency of their nations with the claims of large communities created artificially by the Soviet borders relocation. Thus, East European *nationalism* became “an institutionalised event”. Brubaker identifies three types of institutionalised nationalism resulted from this geo-political situation. First is *nationalising nationalism* – claims made in the name of an ethnic heterogeneous population to monopolize the power within a state. The second part of triad is the *homeland nationalism* – the trans-border obligation to monitor the

⁸² Hobsbawm, E and Ranger, T. *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p.1.

⁸³ Halbwachs M., *On Collective Memory*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992. p. 224.

⁸⁴ Halbwachs, M., *On Collective Memory*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992.p. 57-66.

⁸⁵ Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. *Verbal Behaviour and Politics*. University of Illinois Press. Chicago, p 82, 91

condition, the welfare and the wellbeing of ethnonational kin from another states, which are considered to be threaten by the nationalising nationalism. The third type is the *national minorities*, which are often positioned between the forces of the other two types of nationalism⁸⁶. Of course the best known European example will be the territory of ex-Yugoslavia. Yet, some empirical examples from Romania are more relevant for this study. The *nationalising nationalism* will be the state` attempts to claim political power in the name of the Romanian nations. The *Homeland nationalism* can be observed as in Brubaker example by looking upon the kin ethnics from Moldova. The Romanian minorities from Ukraine, Moldova, Serbia or other EU states will be examples of minorities or *stateless nationalism*⁸⁷.

3.2 Methodology

This section specifies the research methods applied in this research project and relates them to the project`s aim and research questions. The section begins by outlining the chosen method for data analysis. This is followed by a presentation of the data, the data collection procedure and the coding of the empirical data. The final sub-section presents the limitations of this study.

3.2.1 Thematic analysis

The focus of this study is on interpreting the Romanians chiefs of state messages from 1931 to 2016. Hence, was considered a narrative form of analysis as being the most suitable. This is because to solve the research problem I was required to extract the meaning of the speeches. Thus, in order to interpret the data, I opted for a thematic analysis. The selection considered that I need to stay in the field of qualitative research. Thus, was dismissed other qualitative methods, as being inadequate. For example, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was rejected as the meanings of my texts would not be revealed by knowing how many times a topic was verbalised⁸⁸.

⁸⁶ Brubaker Rogers, 1996. *Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe*. Cambridge University Press, p7

⁸⁷ Brubaker Rogers, 1996. *Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe*. Cambridge University Press, p 50

⁸⁸ Morgan, A. 2010. Discourse analysis: An overview for the Neophyte Researcher. *Journal of Health and Social Care Improvement*. Vol. 1. Pp 4.

Instead, with this method, I could focus on *what* was being said⁸⁹. As the name hint, thematic analysis enables extraction of key themes from the researched material. Thus, thematic analysis allows to bring forth the patterns of interaction between the topics and subtopics of selected data. These are the reasons, why this analysis method fits the paradigm I chose, also the empirical assumptions.

24 speeches of Romanians chiefs of state were used for this thematic coding. The idea behind was to analyse the themes, assuming that after this step, a framework of the speeches will emerge, This is because framing works by producing salient themes, descriptions and concepts⁹⁰. The transcripts, translated from Romanian in English, varied in length from one to seven pages. All copies are saved to be handed by request. Some are the original documents, as well as all related material.

In order to extract the relevant text for analysis, I created a coding scheme consisting of codes made from initial readings of the texts. I have looked after repetitions, metaphors and analogies, transitions, missing data, differences and similarities, and theory related material⁹². By *repetitions* I refer to reoccurring themes and topics.⁹⁴ I could identify as themes of repetition: *solidarity, nationalism, or unity*. These were the topics that were discussed multiple times, in all the speeches.

By *metaphors and analogies* I refer to how the political leaders use parables to express their messages. The use of metaphors is likely to represent politician's thoughts and experiences and it is used because of assuming shared reference points⁹⁵. For example, Carol 2 of Romania described in 1937, the external situation by using the metaphor "black clouds on the horizon". The king was trying to explain the imminence of another world war.

By "*differences and similarities*" I mean that I observed how themes were discussed in different ways, to see if and how discourses differ⁹⁶. By doing so I could highlight how discourses from different political regimes, made by diverse chiefs of state can be related to each other.

⁸⁹ Bryman, Alan. (2012). *Social Research Methods, 4th edition*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK. Pp 527

⁹⁰ Ritchie, J., Spencer, L. & O'Connor, W. 2003. 'Carrying out Qualitative Analysis'. In: Ritchie, J. & Lewis, J. (eds.). 2003. *Qualitative Research Practice – A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. London: SAGE Publications. Pp 220

⁹¹ Bryman, Alan. (2012). *Social Research Methods, 4th edition*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK. Pp 576

⁹² Ryan, G. W. & Bernard, H. R. 2003. Techniques to identify themes. *Field methods*, 15(1),

⁹³ Bryman, Alan. (2012). *Social Research Methods, 4th edition*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK. Pp 580

⁹⁴ Ryan, G. W. & Bernard, H. R. 2003. Techniques to identify themes. *Field methods*, 15(1), pp 89

⁹⁵ Ryan, G. W. & Bernard, H. R. 2003. Techniques to identify themes. *Field methods*, 15(1), pp 90

⁹⁶ Ryan, G. W. & Bernard, H. R. 2003. Techniques to identify themes. *Field methods*, 15(1), pp 91

Theory related material includes relating to the theoretical chapter in this thesis (See Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework)⁹⁷.

The final set of codes, resulted after respecting these rules, is displayed in the table from the second appendix. Thereafter, the codes were divided and compiled into several categories that shared some commonality in the issues that they address. This is how I came up with an initial set of 78 sub-themes. All of them are available to the reader in the third appendix, where can be also observed the pattern of interaction between these sub-themes. By sorting them and categorizing the sub-themes by relevant issues, I could then identify 19 salient themes. Later, through a process of categorization based on common grounds and by creation of a thematic network, larger themes were selected (See Appendix 1, and Appendix 2). The final themes are: 1) *Context of nationalistic rhetoric*, 2) *Communist type of nationalism*, 3) *Bridge over the past?* 4) *Homeland nationalism* 5) *Linking Europe with the nation*, 6) *The meanings of Europe*. After this, I tried to form a hierarchy between these themes, in order to understand their pattern of interaction⁹⁸. Hence, the content of each themes were paired, then I looked back at the codes which were problematic to draft, as they belonged to more than one sub-theme. The networks discovered, the hierarchy and the patterns observed in those themes interactions are explained and detailed in the analysis section.

3.2.2 Choice of texts

This study is about the interrelationship of the concepts of Europe and of the nation, through the speeches of the Romanians chiefs of the state`, during 1931 and 2016. The research also address the topic of collective memory, as it is set to offer a diachronic perspective on the Romanian official discourse. Thus, I considered political speeches of the Romanian heads of the state as relevant for my problem area. Thus, I selected the speeches addressed by the Romanians heads of state to the nation, in the New Year`s Eve, hereinafter the NYE speeches. But why?

The choice considered that most of political relevant knowledge of a person comes from verbal description of events, rather than from direct experience⁹⁹¹⁰⁰. Together with

⁹⁷ Ryan, G. W. & Bernard, H. R. 2003. Techniques to identify themes. *Field methods*, pp 93

⁹⁸ Ryan, G. W. & Bernard, H. R. 2003. Techniques to identify themes. *Field methods*, 15(1),pp 89

⁹⁹ Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. *Verbal Behaviour and Politics*. University on Illinois Press. Chicago, p , 210.

¹⁰⁰ Müller Jan-Werner 2002. *The power of memory the memory of power and the power over memory*. Pp 21

pictures, verbal descriptions are the only source through one can know events happened in past and their occurrences in the future. There is no empirical referent for the verbal world¹⁰¹. Therefore verbal messages of politicians are the best source to make inferences about the researched topics¹⁰²: the interrelationship between the concepts of Europe and of nation in the official discourse of this new EU member. Moreover, this study has the ambition to offer a diachronic perspective of the researched topics. The NYE speeches are one of the very few political traditions kept intact in Romania, after two violent regime changes in the past century. Thus, with this data I was able to cover a long and relevant time frame.

Another reason concerns the audience of the political messages. Each political communication is tailored after its own audience measurements. In the case of my study, the audience is the Romanian nation itself. This makes the data highly relevant. The NYE messages have a unique reaching rate to the target audience, being disseminated by all possible media means¹⁰³. The size of the audience, together with the moment of the message transmission are the most important factors of data selection for majority of scholars¹⁰⁴.

During the communist rule, the New Year`s Eve Messages (NYE) were considered so important, that the exiled king of Romania, Mihai I, transmitted similar messages to the nation. The speeches were broadcasted from Munich, Germany, via Europa Liberă (Free Europe) - a radio station sponsored by the US government and responsible with anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda.

There is another reason which makes data suitable for studies regarding collective memory and historical narratives, as this research. In the case of messages transmitted to such large audiences, the communicator must stay as close as possible to the cultural myths known by his audience. This is because any deviation might cause public disorder, or at least a decrease of legitimacy¹⁰⁵. Thus, selected data shows again its relevancy for the interpretation of national representation of Romania¹⁰⁶.

As they are similar in structure, these messages are easier to be interpreted without the risk of biased analysis. Why? The frequency and the recurrence of themes are easier to be traced. Moreover, being so know for the audiences, the discourses are harder to be falsified¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰¹ Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. *Verbal Behaviour and Politics*. University on Illinois Press. Chicago, p , 210.

¹⁰² Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. *Verbal Behaviour and Politics*. University on Illinois Press. Chicago, p 180, 210.

¹⁰³ Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. *Verbal Behaviour and Politics*. University on Illinois Press. Chicago, p 210.

¹⁰⁴ Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. *Verbal Behaviour and Politics*. University on Illinois Press. Chicago, p, 210, 211

¹⁰⁵ Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. *Verbal Behaviour and Politics*. University on Illinois Press. Chicago, p 181.

¹⁰⁶ Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. *Verbal Behaviour and Politics*. University on Illinois Press. Chicago, p 82, 91

¹⁰⁷ Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. *Verbal Behaviour and Politics*. University on Illinois Press. Chicago, p 92,95, 97-98, 210-212.

As my study covers nine decades, speeches communicated for different audiences would have been less reliable evidence for me.

At this point I will present the sources of my data. The speeches from 1931 until 1940 are from the National Archives of Romania. Some transcripts are edited by the King Carol 2 of Romania. Thus, minor hand written corrections of the words, were placed on the original paper. All were visible and easy to be read. In this edited form were disseminated to the public. The messages from 1940 until 1947 are from *Monitorul Oficial*. This is Romania's official public record, where information published is verified and certified as fact. The speeches from 1947 to 1989 are from the printed archive of *Scânteia*, the official newspaper of the Communist era. All selected speeches are identical to messages published by all media channels. This fact was verified carefully. The speeches from 1989 until 2016 are received from the Romanian Presidency Office. All documents are written in the Romanian language, which is my native language, so their meaning could be easily identified. The selection of the materials followed the next rules. 1) I started from the interwar period, when this tradition was initiated and I stopped at the last NYE message, from December 2016. 2) I choose messages from each Romanian chief of state and from each type of Romanian political regime, 3) messages from important historical moments were included in the selection.

3.2.3 Limitations of the Data

This study was conducted by using secondary data, in a form of political leader's speeches. Moreover, the research focused solely to New Year's Eve Messages addressed to the Romanian nation from 1931, to 2016. Consequently, the data collected can be confined to some limits. Hence, I do not intend to generalise the findings beyond the researched material, or to other countries, or to different categories of research. Although the collected material is not carried out on a large scale, the result, nevertheless, shows a clear and accurate account of the researched social phenomenon: the interplay between the concept of Europe and the national narration. One research` goal is to offer to the scientific world new hypotheses for future researches. One last reflections concerns my role on the study in general and on the thematic analysis in particular. I am acknowledging that personal interests influences the perspectives I had in the study. Same can be said about the analysis section, as themes do not emerge by their own. Moreover, I also acknowledge that that my gender, my nationality, my political stance, my educational background, did not influenced the research process. Instead, this was simply what drove me to do the research.

4. Results

The results of the study, aimed to resolve the research questions, are presented below. The presentation is divided into four sections. The first section briefly summarises the most important steps conducted in the analysis process.

The second section presents how was Romania represented in the official discourse.. The third section presents the elements which constituted the links between the concepts of Europe and of nation. Finally, the fourth section presents the variety of meanings attached to Europe from 1931 to 2016. Hence, an effort has been made to present the results of the thematic analysis in aggregation rather than one by one in order to stress how these themes should be regarded as coherent and inter-related.

4.1 What Do the Chiefs of State Say: Thematic Analysis of New Year`s Eve Messages from 1931, to 2016

This chapter contains the evidence gathered to study how the concepts of Europe and of nation interrelated, in the official discourse of a new European Union member: Romania. My data consisted of 24 speeches, made by 11 Romanian chiefs of state, from 1931, until 2016. The 25th. speech although is transcribed, it was transmitted only to the Diaspora members. Therefore it was not included in this section, only in the general data collection. Six final themes were identified as relevant. The method is detailed in the methodology section. The coding scheme is displayed in the appendices. Therefore, the analysis can be replicated and its validity proven. The themes were: 1) *Context of nationalistic rhetoric*, 2) *Communist type of nationalism*, 3) *Bridge over the past?* 4) *Homeland nationalism* 5) *Linking Europe with the nation*, 6) *The meanings of Europe*. Special attention was given to explain how the codes within the themes overlap, also to explain the hierarchy of these themes.

4.2 Representations of the nation in the Romanian official discourse

This theme contains the representations of the nation as they were made by the Romanian chiefs of the state from 1931 to 2016. The content is influenced by the multitude of regime discontinuities.

While reading the codes within this theme a question occurred. Why Romania`s leaders build in the manner they did, the representations of the nation?

The first motive behind the use of the concept of nation is mundane. As the country entered the economic crisis from the 1930`s, the King was to announce austerity measures. A variety of references to nationalism, or faith followed¹⁰⁸. Three years later, the situation worsened. The famine from Romania (1931-33) was not as severe as the Ukrainian Holodomour, yet an economic burden.

Appealing at country`s moral values was seen as a cure:

„The post-war crisis, followed by the moments with easy wins, succeeded by hard times, as the one from now had totally devaluated the mentalities. We will have to revalue the mentalities back (...). We must put back at its place honesty. Ethics is not for fun, is a thing from the soul. It`s a basic thing and through the return of a honest behaviour the behaviour of all country could be improved¹⁰⁹”

Carol 2 of Romania, 1934.

As seen, for the King, the group, or the country is represented as being more important than the individual. This is a great sample of the *tory corporatist political culture*, as described in the theoretical framework¹¹⁰.

Since the love for the country and homeland wellbeing were important and accepted by the political culture from that times, the King decided to link his name with the nation. Especially since the external situation was depicted as “black clouds, at the horizon¹¹¹”:

„I have once stated that my nation` joy, is my happiness, that my nation`s wishes are mine desires. Today, in these moments of new life for Romania, these words are more alive, than ever¹¹²”.

Carol 2 of Romania, 1937

These quotations must be interpreted in the next key. A common technique in political leader`s verbal messages is to first announce some fears, some threats to the nation. Then are presented some solutions to that threat. This is an established pattern especially in crisis

¹⁰⁸ Carol 2, 1931, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁰⁹ Carol 2, 1934 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹¹⁰ Stewart, William S. 2005. *Understanding Politics: The Cultures of Societies and the Structures of Governments*. Chandler and Sharp Publications in Political Science.

¹¹¹ Carol 2, 1936 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹¹² Carol 2, 1937 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

situations¹¹³. Another element in the public discourse from the royalist era was to depict the Romanian nation as ever-lasting, as time-resistant, a peaceful nation positioned in the middle of great Empires interests.

“Disregarding on how hard these moments might appear to some, we must look at our past, to see the truth from the tale: “The Romanian don` t die”. Let`s then strengthen our hearts and watch the future with hope and trust”. ¹¹⁴ **Carol 2 of Romania, 1937**

Another way to depict the nation was to refer to the Christian heritage. References to God, Christianity, or Christian values, were done also in other speeches from the pre-war period¹¹⁵.

Representations of the nation during the communist regime

This theme reconstructs the formation of a hybrid, also an unusual national narrative, formed with the merge of socialist elements with nationalistic components. The analysed data revealed foremost supranational elements and components from the socialist ideology. For example: the *new society* – sub-theme, socialist celebrations, multicultural elements, or the salience of the working class. All are combined with celebrations from the pre-communist regime, an infusion of protochronism elements, plus an abundance of references to independency of Romania. This will be illustrated with evidence from the transcripts.

The Soviet supranational element was easy to be observed. I will display an example. The speech was done in 1959, by Gheorghe Maurer. In his message, the president celebrates 15 years from the “liberation” of Romania:

“We are at the end of a year of fruitful work, of astonishing realisations in the economic sector also regarding the socio-cultural development of our republic. Through all the country, new factories were opened, new apartment buildings were constructed new construction yards were inaugurated. The national wealth increased. New cultural creations are enriching the heritage of our socialist culture. The working people has evaluated, with the occasion of 15 years of celebration of the liberation of our country *its wonderful realisations, expressed for the development of economy and culture, for the advance of our country on the socialist road*. As a

¹¹³ Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. Verbal Behaviour and Politics. University on Illinois Press. Chicago, p , 185

¹¹⁴ Carol 2, 1937 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹¹⁵ Carol 2, 1935 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

result of the measures undertaken by the party and the government, the living standards of the population are now higher¹¹⁶.

Ion Gheorghe Maurer, 1959

The *Leninist – Socialism* political culture paradigms can be clearly inferred from this surrealist description¹¹⁷. A part of this ideology was the *new man* soviet doctrine, which involved the change of everything: the culture, the old traditions and of the class relations. However, the full picture, was more complicated. Both internally and externally, as the transcripts pointed out. I refer here to the “brotherly cooperation” occurred also at the supranational level, with “our big friend, the Soviet Union”¹¹⁸.

In the speech from 1959, was also observed a detailed description of the bi-polar global order, shared between the Western camp and the socialist compound¹¹⁹. The discourse did not included any wishes for the Romanians, or Romania. Only for the party and for the popular republic¹²⁰. This finding match perfectly the assumptions of Lucian Boia about the anti-nationalistic enterprises of the Soviets, from the 50`s¹²¹.

During Nicolae Ceausescu`s rule, another element was juxtaposed on this narration. The communist celebrations were paired with celebrations from the old regime, one example being the celebration of 100 years from the Romanian independence, from 9th of May 1877, at a package with the establishment of the first socialist republic¹²². The inclusion of the European elements coincided with both the break from the Soviet narration and with the implementation of nationalistic elements into the national narrative.

As Ceausescu break with the Soviet influence, nationalism rose. Thus, Ceaușescu added four new features to the national narrative. The first: an avalanche of references to “self-determination¹²³”, “principle of non-inference in internal affairs¹²⁴”, “independency¹²⁵”, “sovereignty¹²⁶”, “unity¹²⁷” and “solidarity¹²⁸”. The second: protochronism narrative elements,

¹¹⁶ Ioan Gheorghe Maurer 1959, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁷ Stewart, William S. 2005. *Understanding Politics: The Cultures of Societies and the Structures of Governments*. Chandler and Sharp Publications in Political Science.

¹¹⁸ Dr Petru Groza, 1957 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹¹⁹ Ioan Gheorghe Maurer, 1959 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹²⁰ Ioan Gheorghe Maurer, 1959 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹²¹ Lucian Boia, 2009, *Germanofilii*. Editura Humanitas. P 12-13.

¹²² Nicolae Ceaușescu 1977, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹²³ Nicolae Ceaușescu 1968, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹²⁴ Nicolae Ceaușescu 1968, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation.

¹²⁵ Nicolae Ceaușescu 1983, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation.

¹²⁶ Nicolae Ceaușescu 1968, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹²⁷ Nicolae Ceaușescu, 1977, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹²⁸ Dr Petru Groza, 1957 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

to enhance the superiority of the Romanian nation¹²⁹. The third element was extracted and reused from the Carol 2 of Romania discourse's panel: the "leader is the state rhetoric"^{130 131}. The fourth: the re-introduction of the concept of Europe.

One more time, the elements from the political culture type Leninism, are heavily represented¹³².

This complex combination of elements lead to a situation where the national narrative of Romania, while still moving fast on the "road of socialism", started from having only supranational and exported anti-national elements and ended up like this:

" (...)All these accomplishments are a strong proof of the rightness of the Party policy, the realism and the mobilisation characteristic of our plans and programmes, of socialist development. They illustrate the wonderful creational force of the nation, which, being free and master of its destiny act in fully unity for the progress and the blossoming of the Socialist Romania, for the strengthening of its independency and its sovereignty¹³³".

Nicolae Ceausescu 1983

Representations of the nation during the post-communist regime

This theme is about the reoccurrence of some elements from the national narrative which were used in pre-communist and communist regime, then revitalised by the new ruling elites. The name of the theme, one justified by its content is "Bridge over the past". While re-visiting all the codes within this theme I had to ask myself. "OK. But which past was considered by the head of the state?." One will soon understand the reasons of my inquiry.

The motif of *everlasting Romanian nation*, was the first to return in the transcripts. It needed a more than a half century.

¹²⁹ Nicolae Ceaușescu 1983, the New Year's Eve Speech, addressed to the nation.

¹³⁰ Nicolae Ceaușescu 1968, the New Year's Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹³¹ Nicolae Ceaușescu 1983, the New Year's Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹³² Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. Verbal Behaviour and Politics. University on Illinois Press. Chicago, p 232-33.

¹³³ Nicolae Ceaușescu 1983, the New Year's Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

“It has been said, rightly, that we, Romanians, have had to face, during this millennium, a history determined mostly by the needs of resistance against the great empires from our neighbouring.”¹³⁴. **Emil Constantinescu, 1999**

Similarly, the national narrative retrieved back the *patriotic duty symbolic*.

“I do believe that all of us we must bear in mind that the love of country means patriotism. And that patriotism is a part of our solidarity with the country in which we are living, with the country which we are loving”¹³⁵ **Traian Băsescu, 2010**

While reading the transcripts it was evident already, that the state leaders tried to retrieve some of the symbolic already existent in the Romanian collective memory.

Yet, with two regimes behind them, one a democratic monarchy, the second a communist rule the problem they faced was: to which past should they refer? The ideology of their parties was the selection factor. Some chiefs of state, retrieved some elements from the communism era. Other chiefs of state they went further, in the past, as their political ideology was different
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The Christianity versus rationality debate

The ideological differences caused another debate amongst the Romanian chief of state. This was whether to refer to the Christian roots of the Romanians, or not. First references were made by Carol 2 of Romania, in 1937. His son, Mihai I of Romania continued this discourse¹⁴⁰¹⁴¹. During the communist regime Christian symbols disappeared from the official discourse. The socialist rule implemented the *Leninist socialism political culture*. An ideology which was based on appeals to rationality and thus introduced the new man ideology. However, the Christian symbols were later rescued from the past. As mentioned, this was ideologically driven. This is one relevant example:

¹³⁴ Emil Constantinescu, 1999, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹³⁵ Traian Băsescu, 2010, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹³⁶ Ion Iliescu, 1989, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹³⁷ Emil Constantinescu, 1999, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹³⁸ Traian Băsescu, 2010, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹³⁹ Klaus Ionannis, 2014, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁴⁰ Mihai I, 1946, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁴¹ Carol 2, 1937 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

“Patriotism is not a word in the wind, is worthy and noble to believe in your country by working for it and, when it needs, to die for it. Faith is not an idle talk, but the law that unites us and that uplifts us. History has given us moments of faith and hope, including, not least important, the moment from this year when the visit of the Pope opened wide after a millennium of separation, the gate of reconciliation between the Christians of Europe. God has chosen our country and our old Christian people for this great first step towards the Christian reconciliation.”

Emil Constantinescu, 1999¹⁴²

The author, Emil Constantinescu was the leader of a centre-right party, “Alianța națională”. Its ideology is composed by traditionalist and Christian elements. These quotes also confirms the correlation reported in the existent literature. The concepts of *nation* and of *Christianism* are directly linked, because, as religion, the nations are described using similar metaphors, and practices, with the help of similar cults and myths¹⁴³. Europe and Christianity replaced each other often in national narratives¹⁴⁴.

However, not all of the post-communist kept this narration¹⁴⁵. It was again, rather a matter of ideology. Ion Iliescu never referred to Christianity in his speeches. A unitary approach to relate back to the pre-war narrations could not be observed.

The debate pro or against communism

The most important point of tension observed was how to refer to communism. Shall Romanians forget it, for sake of cohesion at the level of society? Shall they blame it, in order to legitimise some foreign policies¹⁴⁶? There was not a clear answer.

In December 1989, the Romanian nation started a revolution against the communist rule and against the totalitarian regime of Ceaușescu. Millions of people joined. Thousands of casualties were reported. The full number of victims is still unknown. As a result of this revolution, on 25th of December 1989, Nicolae Ceaușescu and his wife were shoot, by a military execution squad, after a summary trial. Five days later, his successor, Ion Iliescu

¹⁴² Emil Constantinescu, 1999 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁴³ Lorenz Chris. 2008. *Drawing the line: “Scientific” history between myth making and myth breaking*. pp 45

¹⁴⁴ Malmborg of Mikael and Strath Bo. 2002. *The National Meanings of Europe*, p: 1,4-5, 13.

¹⁴⁵ Berger, Stefan. 2008. *Narrating the nation. Historiography and other Genres*. In Berger Stefan, et all: *Narrating the nation. Representations in History Media and Arts*. pp 6

¹⁴⁶ Berger, Stefan. 2008. *Narrating the nation. Historiography and other Genres*. In Berger Stefan, et all: *Narrating the nation. Representations in History Media and Arts*. pp 29, 30.

addressed the first message to the nation. The discourse praised the revolution, the courage and heroism of the victims and strongly criticized “the dictatorial regime lead by Ceaușescu” . Not even once the words *communism*, or *socialism*, or a synonym were used¹⁴⁷. Two years later, Ion Iliescu, depicted as negative for Romania the collapse of the Soviets and of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, (the socialist compound’s version of the Common European Market)¹⁴⁸. This stance was not embraced by the next chiefs of state.

In 1999, president Constantinescu considered as a national priority the implementation of the *Lustration Law*¹⁴⁹. This was a policy meant to prevent members from the Communist party to occupy public positions in administration¹⁵⁰. The stance taken by Emil Constantinescu is labelled in the relevant academic literature as *the purge*. Its goal was the administrative disqualification of all the people connected with the communist regime.

However, Romania quickly abandoned the anti-communist stance. This was because the leaders realised that most of active population lived during the communist era. They were educated at that time, thus, at least some of them, identified to that political ideology. Those people also had the right to vote. In addition, many ex-communists bureaucrats occupy important positions in administration, plus in the economic and political elite¹⁵¹. Not least, the transition towards democracy and towards economic liberalism was marked with corruption, poor laws and huge popular dissatisfaction. Going against these facts, could potentially cause further societal division. The solution was to close the eyes until the problem will disappear. Or, as Lavinia Stan, a researcher on the topic put it, “very few have systematically avoided confronting the past the way Romania has”¹⁵². The ambiguity of the situation was remarked by historians. Thus, Catherine Durandin has noted that the Romanian government was still endorsing the official commemorations of the communist regime. Meanwhile, the history articles published in the newspapers of the opposition focused on the national heritage from the monarchy period and on denunciations of Stalinist crimes. Both themes were used

¹⁴⁷ Ion Iliescu, 1989, the New Year’s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁴⁸ Ion Iliescu, 1991, the New Year’s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁴⁹ “Lustration” have its roots in the Latin language meaning: “ritual purification” or “illumination”

¹⁵⁰ Emil Constantinescu, 1999 the New Year’s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁵¹ Mitroiu Simona. 2016: *Recuperative memory in Romanian post-Communist Society*. Pp 756-6.

¹⁵² Stan, Lavinia, (ed). 2009. *Transitional Justice in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. Reckoning with the Communist Past*. London: Routledge.

substantially in criticism against the government. This determined Durandin to conclude that: 'la force de l'histoire est fait de la feblesse du politique'¹⁵³.

The third way is adopted

The solution to these conflicts was also interesting. The last two Romanian presidents, Traian Băsescu and Klaus Iohannis dismissed both paths. None advocated communism, but neither blame it. A softer narrative was adopted. As the empirical evidence suggest, this third way was not assumed by coincidence. Since a disagreement concerning the way Romanians should look at the past exists - this means that there is a severe lack of societal cohesion in Romania¹⁵⁴. The empirical facts strongly confirm the theories. The parliamentary elections from 2016, had a turnout of 39.49%¹⁵⁵. Few months later, a gigantic manifestation with a presence of 150.000 persons took place against the newly elected social democrat government¹⁵⁶. These facts were not singular in the past three decades.

To sum up, the main characteristic of this theme was the changing nature, the fluidity of the Romanian national narrative. Accordingly, in the case of Romania, two different master narratives existed before the installation of the post-communist regime. Above these contradictory representations of Romania was placed a third one, based on several concurrent stories. Some were similar elements extracted from the past and interpreted differently. Other elements were new. As is the case of the *homeland nationalism*. A top-down, institutionalised, type of nationalism. The next theme is dedicated to it.

The substance of Romania`s contemporary official discourse: homeland nationalism

This theme was tagged with a name derived from Rogers Brubaker`s theoretical inserts about nationalism in Eastern Europe. This was decided because the similarities between the data and Brubaker`s assumptions were remarkable. References to Romanians

¹⁵³ The translation will be: 'The strength of history is made by the weakness of politics'. Durandin Catherine. 'Roumanie, retour a l'histoire et revisions' *Relations internationals* (67/1991): 295–298.

¹⁵⁴ Berger, Stefan. 2008. *Narrating the nation. Historiography and other Genres*. In Berger Stefan, et all:

Narrating the nation. Representations in History Media and Arts. pp 3

¹⁵⁵ The source is Romanian Central Electoral Office. Retrieved on 1st of may 2017, from: <http://prezentatbec.ro/>

¹⁵⁶ The Telegraph. 2017. Romanian Minister quits as hundreds of thousands took the streets. Retrieved on 1st of may 2017, from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/02/02/romanian-minister-quits-hundreds-thousands-take-streets-bucharest/>. .

from abroad the borders, played an important role in the messages diffused after December 1989.

One example regards the citizens of Republic of Moldova. Before the Second World War, this territory belonged to Romania. With a population of 3 million people, from which 82% are Romanian ethnics, “The brothers from across the Prut River”¹⁵⁷ received a special attention, as the transcript reveals. Moldova was selected also by Brubaker as a case in his study about nationalism. For the Moldavian minority, the Romanian state represents the “homeland nationalism”¹⁵⁸. As mentioned in the section dedicated to the theory, *homeland nationalism* means the trans-border obligation to monitor the condition, the welfare and the wellbeing of ethnonational folks from another states, which are considered to be threaten by the *nationalising nationalism*¹⁵⁹.

The process is highly institutionalised and for Romania, the re-unification with Moldova is still a primary foreign policy goal. For example, president Traian Băsescu granted all Moldavian citizens with at least one Romanian grandparent the Romanian citizenship. Consequently, also the European citizenship was offered. 450.000 Moldavians claimed this right¹⁶⁰.

Thus one can see that, *homeland nationalism* became the most important element in the national narration of Romania. In 1996, president Ion Iliescu transmitted one New Year’s Eve message to the Romanian nation and another one solely for the Romanian Diaspora. The transcript is available as the rest of the data. The politician urged the Diaspora members to be more active in the political life of Romania:

“I hope that in the coming year. The links of the Romanian from overseas with the country will broaden and consolidate. I urge them to participate more actively in the political, economic and social development of Romania¹⁶¹”.

Ion Iliescu, 2001

The historical message from 2007, moments before Romania joined the EU, includes thick samples of *homeland nationalism*. The targets of Traian Băsescu were precisely the communities from the historical lands of Romania, as they existed before the World War 2.

¹⁵⁷ Ion Iliescu, 1991, the New Year’s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁵⁸ Brubaker Rogers, 1996. *Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe.* Cambridge University Press, p 50.

¹⁵⁹ Brubaker Rogers, 1996. *Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe.* Cambridge University Press, p 6, 7.

¹⁶⁰ Der Spiegel. 2013. Romanian Passports For Moldovans Entering the EU through the back door. Retrieved on 1st of may 2015, from: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/romanian-passports-for-moldovans-entering-the-eu-through-the-back-door-a-706338.html>

¹⁶¹ Ion Iliescu, 2001, the New Year’s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

“(…) today we are ready to be EU members because this was the desire of you: each Diaspora member, each Romanian, each Romanian citizen from Moldova, also the Romanians from Ukraine, the Romanians from Serbia, the Romanians from Bulgaria, the Romanians from Hungary”¹⁶². **Traian Băsescu, 2007**

One can see the clear political goal behind the use of homeland nationalism by the post-communist leaders of Romania. The homeland nationalism is used foremost to internal use. To legitimise internal policies and to confer credibility, legitimacy and votes. For example, almost half of a million of Moldavian citizens also have the Romanian citizenship. Thus they can participate in Romanian elections and vote.

4.3 Links between the national narrative and Europe

This theme captured the techniques used in the official discourse of Romania, to link the representations of Europe, with the national constellations. The coded of this sub-theme were positioned in between the sections dedicated to the nation and to Europe, overlapping with both. Thus, this chapter was a case of Waever`s second layer of discourses on outside world: the intermediary layer between constellations of nation and the representations of the concept of Europe. Let`s notice now the findings.

One way to link Europe with the national identity, was to emphasize the army realisations and the military alliances. For example, King Carol 2 of Romania stated in 1937 that the country is stronger “inside and outside”. The reference was clear to the alliance with Germany. In the same discourse, after referring to allies, the king moved to the national level¹⁶³. Over some decades, president Băsescu did the same, by wishing long life to the “Romanian army whether is at home or involved in the military operations from Afghanistan or Western Balkans”. Klaus Iohannis, its successor had a similar remark¹⁶⁴¹⁶⁵. Thus,

¹⁶² Traian Băsescu, 2007, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁶³ Carol 2, 1937, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁶⁴ Traian Băsescu, 2010, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁶⁵ Klaus Iohannis, 2016, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

emphasising on national institutions importance, was common technique in the official discourse of Romania, as seen through chiefs of state speeches¹⁶⁶.

Between nation and Europe: the regional actor rhetoric

This type of rhetoric was used first by Nicolae Ceaușescu, who proclaimed himself as the protector of Europe. The next section will explain the context of this unexpected ideological stance. The regional actor rhetoric was also used by Ion Iliescu. In 1991, the president expressed the wish that his country will “be an active element in the promotion of international stability, trust and cooperation on the continent”¹⁶⁷. The “stability factor in the region” was used once again in the speeches from 1994 and in 1999¹⁶⁸¹⁶⁹. This was not an unusual strategy. This role definition of a regional actor and of the supporter of liberation struggles were adopted by the large majority of middleweight states¹⁷⁰¹⁷¹.

To sum up, this theme was important for this analysis as it confirmed the correlation between the use of the concept of nation and the use of the concept of Europe. Thus, the dichotomy between these concepts was empirically dismissed.

4.4 The meanings of Europe in the Romanian official discourse

This theme encapsulates Romania`s chiefs of state struggle to justify their statements and their policies, with the help of the concept of Europe. The transcripts brought to light a large list of meanings attached to the concept of Europe. All these connotations are central for this study and they represent the last strata from Waever`s typology: representations of the outside world.

In 1934, Carol 2 of Romania, (1930-1940) proclaimed the need to invest in a stronger Romanian Army : “Today, more than any time, we have the urgent duty to strengthen the army. By strengthening the army, we are strengthening that warm wish of Romanian people, to be here, at the gate of the Orient, eternal defenders of the civilisation”.

Carol 2 of Romania, 1934

¹⁶⁶ Berger, Stefan. 2008. *Narrating the nation. Historiography and other Genres*. In Berger Stefan, et all: *Narrating the nation. Representations in History Media and Arts*. Pp 24, 25.

¹⁶⁷ Ion Iliescu 1991, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁶⁸ Ion Iliescu 1994, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁶⁹ Emil Constantinescu, 1999 the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁷⁰ KJ Holsti, 1970. National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy. *International Studies Quarterly*, 14, p 233 – 308.

¹⁷¹ Graber Appel, Doris. 1976. *Verbal Behaviour and Politics*. University of Illinois Press. Chicago, p 191.

For the King, the civilisation was the European world, the Orient being *the other*. Translated in this context “Orient” means the Asian nations, more accurate the historical enemies of Romania: the Ottoman Empire, the Russians, and the Hungarians¹⁷². Being somehow distanced from Europe, at its borders, the King could justify its military preparations. The king could also depict the nation in nice colours. The concept of Europe was then a tool to address nationalistic messages and a tool to justify internal policies.

The unexpected defender of Europe: the communist dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu

Twelve years later, Romania became a communist regime. The nation moved suddenly under the Soviet Union umbrella, being highly isolated from the Western World, as a member of the Warsaw Pact. The concept of Europe disappeared from the presidential speeches, for more than two decades. It was to return in force. Its reoccurrence was in a significant year for the European history: 1968, the year of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. In the speech from that year, the dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu, appealed for the termination of all global and European conflicts. The ultimate was addressed in order to enable each nation to establish its destiny, in the name of the principles of sovereignty, national independence and self-determination¹⁷³. This finding matches the assumptions from the existing literature. 1968 was the year when Ceaușescu clearly opposed the invasion of Czechoslovakia. This was the start of a new chapter in the relation with the Soviets: *the diversity phase* (1968 - 1989). By opposing its *Big Brother*, Ceaușescu gained a special status in the world.

This situation was strongly speculated by the dictator. Ceaușescu started to depict Romania as a peace defender, as a protector of stability on the European continent. Since this moment, the protection of Europe never disappeared from the speeches of Ceaușescu. In 1977 the dictator stated that peace in Europe is the pre-condition to a world-wide, eternal peace¹⁷⁴. This line culminated in 1983, when the president urged both United States and the Soviet Union to stop the military race and the use of nuclear weapons, in order to defend Europe. A “united” Europe:

¹⁷² Umut Korkut, ‘Nationalism versus Internationalism: The Roles of Political and Cultural Elites in Interwar and communist Romania’, in *Nationalities Papers*, 34 (2/2006), 132–133.

¹⁷³ Nicolae Ceaușescu 1968, the New Year’s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation.

¹⁷⁴ Nicolae Ceaușescu 1977, the New Year’s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation.

“United States - Soviet negotiations must be restarted, in order to reach an appropriate agreement which will lead to the elimination of all nuclear weapons, in order to realize a United Europe, in order to bring peace and collaboration on our continent”.

Nicolae Ceaușescu, 1983

The transcripts revealed that, Romania was positioned somehow at a distance from Europe, an advocate, a protector, a bodyguard. Meanwhile, Ceaușescu terminated his regime, being executed by a military court, at Targoviste, near Bucharest, in December 1989, after a violent revolution with over 1000 casualties. “The road towards socialism”, the famous cliché of the communist leaders, became senseless.

The transnational elements within the national narration

The first post-communist president, Ion Iliescu did not use the concept of Europe at the start of his rule. But when he did it, in 1994, the meaning was full of significance. Since Romania was affected economically by the collapse of *Council for Mutual Economic Assistance*¹⁷⁵ and was in the proximity of the military conflicts from ex - Yugoslavia, Moldova and Transnistria, Europe became “*a new path in history*”.

“The most important political moment of the year was the elaboration, then the presentation of the *National Strategy of Adhering to the European Union* (...). This document is a clear statement of our option to integrate in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures, to put our national destiny on *a new path of the history*”¹⁷⁶.

Ion Iliescu 1994.

The turn was significant. From the previous status of protector of Europe, Romania became a protégée. This rhetorical line was there to stay. In the speech from 1999, president Emil Constantinescu stated that:

“By starting negotiations with the EU and with NATO alliance we are to become effective part of a union of sovereign and prosperous states, whose security is not doubted by anyone or anything”¹⁷⁷.

Emil Constantinescu 1999

This quote is also an account of transnational flow of elements from different narratives. I mean here, as inferred from the theoretical assumptions of this thesis, an element spread in Europe after *the Enlightenment period*. At that time, the Christian redemption story was replaced with a secular version. The new story emphasized on the growing freedom and

¹⁷⁵ The council was the socialist

¹⁷⁶ Ion Iliescu 1994, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁷⁷ Emil Constantinescu 1999, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

advancing culture to be accomplished within a system of nation states¹⁷⁸. This finding is important in consequences. If the national narratives contains a flow of transnational elements, they potentially accommodates easier the concept of Europe. This is one of the reasons behind the politician's choice to use the concept.

From the road towards socialism, to “the road of our joy and freedom”

Soon Europe was labelled as a “new International Relations chapter for Romania”, a situation that offers “opportunities”¹⁷⁹. In 2007 the president Traian Băsescu celebrated the moment when Romania` joined the European Union. The speech held in the University Square, at a gathering of 100.000 people was broadcasted live on all media channels.

“It was hard, but we reached the end of the road and now we are just starting to step on a new road: *the road of our freedom, the road of our joy*”. **Traian Băsescu, 2007**¹⁸⁰.

The EU, and Europe, were again “a new road”. Moreover, Romania was depicted as being “inside” Europe and the EU. Another meanings attached to Europe were: “self-determination”, “freedom”, “independency”, and “security”¹⁸¹. In addition, in 2010, Romanians were “recommended by their culture and traditions as one of the strongest member of the Union”¹⁸².

Finally, in 2016, moments before the 10 years celebration of the EU membership Klaus Iohannis transmitted the usual New Years` Eve Message to the Nation. Interestingly enough, the speech was outside of the previous rhetoric line. The discourse stated that the inheritors of “European Romania”, have the duty to keep and to strengthen the inherited legacy¹⁸³. “European Romania”. Although this expression lacked continuity, therefore could potentially be short of credibility¹⁸⁴, it was still displayed. Apparently, this was not a concern. This is because the national narrative was simply juxtaposed with supra-national ideological symbols. This time the inserts were from the European Union, not from the Soviets.

“A decade ago, our parents started to build, for their children, a better world. Romania`s European option had a strong public support. This is because people had joined first of all to a

¹⁷⁸ Megill Allan. 2002. Historical narration, identity , allegiances., p 25.

¹⁷⁹ Ion Iliescu 1994, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁸⁰ Traian Băsescu, 2007, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁸¹ Traian Băsescu, 2007, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁸² Traian Băsescu, 2010, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁸³ Klaus Iohannis, 2016, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

¹⁸⁴ Berger, Stefan. 2008. *Narrating the nation. Historiography and other Genres*. In Berger Stefan, et al:

Narrating the nation. Representations in History Media and Arts. pp 3

set of values and principles. A reinforced democracy, rule of law, a dignified life, a living in peace and in wellbeing. The progresses achieved until now, shall not be lessened, but continued with determination and responsibility”¹⁸⁵. **Klaus Iohannis, 2016**

Of course, the context was different as compared with the communist regime. Yet, this mix between the supranational and national elements was observable and comparable. The discourse shows also the radicalisation of the pro-European stance.

Chapter Summary

The interrelationship between the concepts of nation and of Europe can be best explained as a chain reaction. The official discourse of Romania always started by enumerating various structural problems. Some were internal, as economic crisis, famine, regime changes or lack of legitimacy. Other were external, as the *Second World War*, or the supranational influence of the Soviets. Although these factors were different, all chiefs of state appealed to the nationalist rhetoric to move the attention away.

The official discourses of Romania were heavily influenced by the type of the political cultures. Thus, in the pre-communist regime, the rhetoric was based on ethnic nationalism, on traditions, on Christian heritage and on underlining the importance of moral values. The socialist regime started with an anti-nationalistic representation of the state, imposed by the Soviets. This discourse was supplemented with nationalistic elements. Most were invented, to avoid references to the old regime, a regime replaced by force labelled as illegal, imperialist and wrong. Another reservoir for nationalism was the use of protochronism to delimitate the Romanian nation from the Soviet world.

Protochronism, the cult of personality of the dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu, plus the mix of old commemorations with new ones were the main features of this period. The references to Europe were the most striking feature of the Ceaușescu`s rule. This is because one could not expect that during the Cold War, one of the socialist compound member to deviate from the isolationist ideology. And to strongly protect the peace on Europe, even with the cost of opposing the Soviet Union ideology.

However, the communist legacy was toxic for the next regime. Some speeches referred back to the pre-communist narration, other relied on some socialist elements. As shown, the debate was whether to forget, or to purge the communist rule. A third way followed, with none of the presidents addressing the issue anymore. The transcripts revealed

¹⁸⁵ Klaus Iohannis, 2016, the New Year`s Eve Speech, addressed to the nation

that representations of the nation and of Europe overlapped at some points. This was done on purpose by referring to global peace, regional situation, or diplomatic alliances. The chiefs of Romania conferred several different meanings of Europe. At the start, Romania was represented in the official discourse as Europe`s protector and somehow distanced from the European space. This was observed in the transcripts from the royalist era and from Ceaușescu`s dictatorship. A significant shift occurred after the termination of the communist rule. The national narration continued with Romania as being Europe`s protégée. And ended with the nation being European. This very last public discourse was done by simply adding ideological elements from the European Union set of values and present them as a Romanian way of living.

5. Conclusion

So far the interrelationship between the concepts of Europe and of nation was often depicted as a dichotomous relation. This was done by some academic researches, by the European far right parties, or by the Eurosceptic camp. The study established that this idea, although deserves respect, it is superficial. The concepts of Europe and of nation are linked in a more complex and problematic manner. This was demonstrated by inspecting this interrelationship in an area not often examined. I refer to the Romanian official discourses transmitted by this country chiefs of state. More accurate, the data collection consisted of 25 New Year`s Eve Messages addressed to the Romanian nation from 1931 to 2016. Underestimated by the existing literature, the New Year`s Eve Messages, are short summaries of the political year, transmitted by the chiefs` of state, to the nation. Each of the New Year`s Eve Message represented for this study a great photography of the Romanian official discourse. The political events of the year were summarized. The expectation for the next year were presented. The state of the nation depicted. Also the internal and external challenges to be overcome together, by the head of the state and their nation. Taken together, the collection of 25 New Year`s Eve messages formed a high quality film, which accurately illustrated the complexity of the researched interplay. In this film, the images of Europe and of the nation, reinforced each other, or demarcated each other. Sometimes they even overlapped.

Accordingly, considering the research area and the research problem, the next main research question was addressed:

How has notions and ideas about Europe been used in the official discourse of Romania, as expressed in the speeches of chiefs of state from the period 1931-2016?

The second sub-research question addressed the relationship between these concepts:

To what extent have the concept of Europe and the nation reinforced or contradicted each other, in the speeches of chiefs of state for the period 1931-2016?

After this, in order to grasp the peculiarity of the chosen case study: Romania, a third sub-research question was addressed:

How has notions and ideas about Europe been affected by the regime changes occurred between 1931 and 2016?

To reach the aim of the study and to answer the research questions the next steps were done. First, was displayed an overview of my case selection: Romania, which clarified the context of the study. An insight to the topics of the research was offered by positioning this study into the larger context of the existing literature. Then, the conceptual map of this research was drawn. Using relevant theories and concepts, I had located this study in the fields of European studies, collective memory studies and not least nationalism studies. From a theoretical perspective was emphasised that the concepts of Europe and of nation should not be seen in a dichotomous relation. The method chosen for this research, *thematic analysis* was then justified. Special attention was given to the description of the process of coding and to explain how the chosen themes relate to each other. The data consisted of transcripts from 25 New Year's Eve messages, communicated between 1931 and 2016, by 11 Romanian chiefs of state. Thus, I could explain how Romania positioned itself in the relation with the concept of Europe, under three political regimes: a constitutional monarchy, a communist regime and a democratic rule. All these steps were conducted in order to observe the relation between the variables from the research questions. Accordingly: the *national narrative of Romania* is my independent variable and *the meanings of Europe* is my dependent variable.

5.1 Main Findings

The answers to the first research question showed that concept of Europe participated actively in the process of narrating the Romanian nation. In the interwar period, Romania was depicted as a protector of Europe, being at the gates to the Orient. Then, for more than two decades, the concept of Europe was completely erased from the official discourse, due to the communist rule and related Soviet influence. A change of strategy was then observed. Unexpectedly, the dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu advocated for a nuclear-free Europe, also for peace on continent. Astonishingly, this was done with the price of opposing the Soviets. Since that moment, for Ceaușescu, the peace of Europe become a bounding policy. Continental peace was advocated disregarding the membership to the Warsaw Pact and the ideological divide imposed by the Iron Curtain. The concept of Europe was also used by Nicolae Ceausescu to delimitate Romania, from the Soviet influence. Thus, Europe was used as a tool to promote nationalistic messages.

The post-communist regime changed the meaning of Europe. From the bodyguard of Europe, Romania became the protégée of Europe. Furthermore, Romanians became “Europeans”, a “part of the European family”. Not least interesting, the distance between Europe and Romania shortened in time. From being at Europe`s borders, occupied to defend it from Orientals, Romanians moved inside Europe, once they became members of the European Union. Other references to Europe were made by stressing the common Christian heritage. Or by referring to the secular rationalist values, such as progress, rule of law and principle of self-determination. This is an evidence of the transnational character of national narratives.

The answers to the second research question indicated that the concept of Europe was always in good terms and correlated with the concept of nation. The analysis revealed the continuation of the process depicted in the earlier research section, which started before the creation of the Romanian modern state. European dimension was always highly important for the Romanian intelligentsia and for the Romanian heads of the state.

Interestingly, was revealed that the communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, linked these two concepts. In an unexpected ideological move, the communist dictator proclaimed the superiority of the Romanian nation, in order to delimitate itself from the Soviet supranational narrative. In the same time, Ceaușescu became overnight a fierce defender of Europe. In this context, the claims to independency appeared as natural. The correlation between the rise of

nationalistic claims and the use of the concept of Europe was clearly indicated by the thematic analysis.

Another point of meeting between Europe and nation was the use of protochronism, a concept unfairly overlooked by the literature. Once the superiority of Romanian nation and its roots in the ancient Greek and Roman civilisations were proclaimed, Ceaușescu accomplished two goals. First, the Romanian nation became depicted as an isle of Latinity surrounded by a Slavic sea. Second, the dictator conferred a European dimension to Romania.

The concept of Europe reinforced the national narrative one more time during the post-communist regime. Europe was displayed as "a new path of history". The European Union membership was seen as a guarantee for security, prosperity and independence. In exactly the same time, *homeland nationalism* flourished. References to the "Moldavian brothers" floated the narration. Moreover, the EU membership was dedicated to all of the Romanians from the historical Romanian provinces situated now in Moldova, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Serbia, or Hungary. Thus, Roger Brubaker's theoretical assumptions have found another clear empirical example in this study.

The answers to the third research question indicated that the regime changes affected the concept of Europe. When the Soviet Union installed by force a communist regime in Romania, the national narrative was initially modified after a Soviet cannon. Being floated with Soviet supranational inserts, the national narrative excluded Europe.

The second regime change had the same effect for the concept of Europe. Ion Iliescu, the first post-communist president, referred in his first messages strictly to the Balkan region and the ex-socialist compound. Europe was one more time erased from the official discourse. This was to change radically. Europe became increasingly important. The message from 2016, when Romania was minutes away to celebrate 10 years of membership European Union revealed an interesting situation. The import of supranational elements, as was the case in the 50's or the 60's, returned. This time the EU supra-national elements were juxtaposed to the national narrative. Words as "common set of values and principles", "a reinforced democracy", "rule of law", makes a lot of sense in English language. Also makes sense for a scholar of European Affairs, as the author. Yet, translated in Romanian, and addressed to the nation, the metaphors just appear as an unexplainable addition to the story. Another effect of the regime change relates the stance towards the past of the actual ruling elite.

5.2 Evaluation and future discussions

The main achievement of the study was to capture the full set of meanings attached to Europe in the Romanian public discourse. The theoretical implications of this study, challenge the view that the concept of Europe and of nation are positioned in a dichotomous relation. The overall picture is more complex. In the Romanian public discourse, the concept of Europe was used as a shield which delimited this nation from the Slavic world and from Orient. The concept of Europe was also a scapegoat used to legitimize internal policies and austerity measures. Homeland nationalism was enhanced in the Romanian discourse with the help of the concept of Europe. Thus, European Union membership was considered a great way to improve the relation with the citizens of Republic of Moldova and with the rest of Romanian diaspora.

As a general rule, for the Romanian chiefs of state was easier to change completely the meaning given to Europe, than to justify in another way the internal austerity policies. Thus, this study confirms the assumption of the International Relations School of Copenhagen. As predicted, the national narration clearly influenced the depiction of the outside world. The study also discovered twice a mix between the supranational elements and national elements in the official discourse of Romania. The first time was during the Soviet era. The second time was in 2016, when elements from the European identity were juxtaposed to the national narration. Of course, the pattern cannot be established, just from one example. Yet, future researches can be orientated towards this interesting issue.

The peculiarity of the case study: Romania, had a major impact on the results. The regime change from 1947, imposed by the Soviet Union lead to the creation of a new, surrealistic, invented national narration. Facing this problem, the dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu revitalised the nationalistic character of the public discourse. But the rise of nationalist rhetoric occurred only after Nicolae Ceaușescu proclaimed himself as the protector of the European peace. Thus, the concept of Europe was used again to justify the anti-Soviet and pro-nationalistic discourse.

This is another finding of this study which challenge the existing opinion of the academic world. So far, the researches stressed the strong pro-Soviet, anti-imperialistic and anti-European rhetoric of the countries from the eastern part of the Iron Curtain. Without trying to underestimate this position in the field, I just want to point out that the European

orientation of communist Romania was completely overlooked. The concept of protochronism and its European dimension was also unnoticed until this study.

The consequences of this study` results are as predicted, important. One might expect a consistent decrease of credibility, in the concept of Europe, from the Romanian demos. This will be a direct consequence that the Romanian official discourse attached so many meanings, to the concept of Europe. Being used to change so often the meaning attached to the nation, due to objective reasons, the chiefs of state used the same method for the concept of Europe. The connotations were often different and in contradictory. Sometimes even juxtaposed without any logic. In the view of future cooperation within Europe, it is important not to forget these cultural aspects between Romania and Europe.

5.3 Limitations and future research

This study can be used as a starting point for future researches, other from those already indicated. The topics can be: 1) the role played by the concept of Europe for members of the ex Warsaw Pact alliance 2) a comparison on different countries, with similar data: the New Year's Eve Messages of the chiefs of the states 3) how representations of the past are modified by each type of political culture 4) the use of protochronism and its European dimension.

Limitations of this study resides in the fact that the study cannot be generalised, beyond the selected data. However, the results shows a clear account of the studied social phenomenon: the interplay between the concepts of Europe and of nation. The final conclusion to be addressed is that as long as the actual relationship between the concepts of Europe and in nation reigns, a full European integration becomes problematic for Romania. This is because the lack of credibility towards the national narrative, one too often modified, might transfer to the concept of Europe.

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24. Klaus Iohannis 2014
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¹⁸⁶ This message was used as evidence for the chapter regarding Romania`s “Homeland Nationalism”. However, I did not included in the analysis section, as it had a different audience.

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Appendix 1

Coding the data: table one, from codes to initial themes:

CODES	ISSUES DISCUSSED	INITIAL THEMES
<p>Administration Liberalism, Liberal regime, rule of law re-shape society democracy institutional trust good governance rule of law Rule of law , Trust in state institutions,</p> <p>Hard times, External circumstances, Fear of war Peace, careful Romania ,</p> <p>Romania in alliance stronger Country</p> <p>National duty, Duty</p> <p>Sacred duty,</p> <p>Christians,</p> <p>Spiritual nation Cultural heritage Peaceful nation,</p> <p>Morality</p> <p>Invoking God</p> <p>Romanian resistance Determination to resist, perpetuation Romanian resistance Romanism lasted, Shield, country</p> <p>preparation Heroically, soul, army, Army praised, army pride , devotion, military country call,, Praise the army, army importance, liberated Romania, reunification Transylvania, honoring, flag, motherland,</p> <p>noble cause, mankind cause. Bravery, pride</p>	<p>Economic and administrative reforms depiction by Carol 2 of Romania.</p> <p>Depictions of regime type characteristics after 1989.</p> <p>External conjuncture from the interwar.</p> <p>The measures taken by Romania to external threat.</p> <p>People`s obligation to the country. (Carol 2 of Romania)</p> <p>Ceaușescu nationalistic statement.</p> <p>Self-description as a Christian nation with high spirituality and a great heritage. Plus peaceful.</p> <p>The king explains to the nation the importance of a moral behaviour and of morality.</p> <p>Old tales as “A Romanian does not die”, examples form past resistance, perpetuation of Romanian nation.</p> <p>Pre and during the WW2 evaluation of the army military facts and its importance. Stating that the alliance with Red Army, and UN, will bring better peace conditions.</p> <p>Iliescu`s speech from 1989, address official gratitude to the army that they joined the revolution.</p> <p>Romanian Army participation in conflicts from Afghanistan and</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Regime type: liberal. 2. External circumstances. 3. Need for internal mobilization. 4. Christian nations family. 5. Moral obligation to protect the nation. 6. Christian heritage. Inheritors of a great culture. 7. Assessing the importance of moral values in hard times. 8. Historical depiction of an everlasting population, in a pre- communist era. 9. Gratitude the army, while attempting diplomatic strategies. 10. Stressing the external pacts of Romania. 11. Army being together with the nation. 12. Stressing Romania`s participation in military alliances. 13. Severe discontinuities in regime type with violent changes 14. Communist regime depiction and search for legitimacy 15. Anti-nationalism.

<p>Heroism, Peace conditions, Red Army, USSR Ally, UN ally</p> <p>Army praised after the revolution. allies, soldiers in alliance</p> <p>Praise the Army,</p> <p>old regime “slaves” of imperialists</p> <p>blame Ceaușescu, blame dictatorship, blame terror of Ceaușescu, praise revolution victims</p> <p>new state regime change democratic regime building the regime, sons of nation, Romania, brighter future popular democracy bright future, hard work, Socialism, economic changes, Societal Development, Scientific discoveries, Better will, Progress</p> <p>popular republic, Regime flourish</p> <p>market economy, stability, transition, stability, normality, trust in institutions, change</p> <p>Transition problems , poverty , economic re-launch, reformation</p> <p>Revolution is constructive Death penalty abolish,</p> <p>legitimacy,</p>	<p>Ex-Yugoslavia, is stressed. Also that fact that is a part of a greater alliance.</p> <p>New communist regime evaluates the old order.</p> <p>New democratic regime evaluates the old order.</p> <p>The re-building of Romania, its regime, its social structure, and the great future connected with this.</p> <p>Wishes addressed not to Romania, but to the Popular Republic. Not to the nation, but to the new regime. (1959</p> <p>Iliescu describe the nation` state.</p> <p>Iliescu assessing the positive parts of a civil war.</p> <p>Proclaiming the abolish of the death penalty, days after Ceaușescu husbands were killed after a military trial.</p> <p>Iliescu seeking for legitimacy for its revolutionary front movement.</p> <p>Explaining that the old communist laws are declared invalid.</p> <p>Iliescu`s successor, Constantinescu, evaluates the state of the nation.</p> <p>The Soviet “new man “ ideology. Can be described as the uniformity phase, or the supranational feature.</p>	<p>16. Post- communist regime depiction and search for legitimacy.</p> <p>17. Violent regime change.</p> <p>18. Depicting internal situation, after elections.</p> <p>19. The Soviet “new man “, supranational ideology, the uniformity stage.</p> <p>20. Regime type: communism.</p> <p>21. Narrating Romania in communist era.</p> <p>22. 5 Y Plan, the problem and the solution to all issues.</p> <p>23 Assuring the people about independency</p> <p>23. Strong Nationalistic statements</p> <p>24. Romania: emergent economy.</p> <p>25. Appeal for national self-determination.</p> <p>26. Romania as an everlasting nation, as depicted in post-communist era.</p> <p>27. Assessing the importance of moral values.</p> <p>28. Inherited national values must be preserved.</p>
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<p>nullify old laws ,</p> <p><i>Minariads</i> , Financial devaluation, External debts, Parliamentary crisis Political crisis Institutional change Administrative reform Lustration law Anti-fraud measures,</p> <p>new man, new, culture, new literature, new spirituality, new life cultural changes, economic changes.</p> <p>Road of socialism construction. working class power, progress. Rationalism peace, working class Enthusiasm, rule of law</p> <p>Party planning.</p> <p>Transformation, state plans, Factories opened, Increased production, Socialist culture, plants, factories, blocks Socialist reconstruction, State plans, re-Technologizing , Agriculture investments , Rebuild of infrastructure, accomplishments</p> <p>5 Y.O plan, agriculture, industry, competition to make the plan, work</p> <p>self determination, self management, sovereignty independency,</p> <p>Rou – developing country</p>	<p>Communist regime` ideological statements. Very often mentioned.</p> <p>In the communist period, Romania was narrated as a huge construction yard.</p> <p>Whatever internal and external problem were depicted in communism, in the selected speeches, the key was to accomplish the Party`s 5 yo plan. It was realized and supplemented all the time, according to the speeches, yet, it was so crucial.</p> <p>Assuring the people about independency (until 60`s). After were strong nationalistic statements of Ceaușescu.</p> <p>Nation depiction, Ceaușescu.</p> <p>Appeal for stop looking for excuses and self-determination (Constantinescu)</p> <p>Romania resisting over time. Nationalistic speech. Examples form past resistance, perpetuation of Romanian nation.</p> <p>Assessing the importance of moral values. Explains that those values must be preserves, as they were from centuries.</p> <p>About the importance of faith, in the national perspective. Christian heritage. Romania being chosen by God for Orthodox – Catholic</p>	<p>29. Proclaiming faith as important and a national characteristic.</p> <p>30. Romania: God chosen for Christian reconciliation between Orthodox and Catholics, in 1999.</p> <p>31. Homage to ancestors, for nation building.</p> <p>32. Romania peaceful country survival of all Empires from proximity.</p> <p>33. Strong leader rhetoric, for Nicolae Ceaușescu.</p> <p>34. Strong leader rhetoric, for king Carol 2 of Romania.</p> <p>35. Depicting the Communist party as the leader of Romanian nation.</p> <p>36. Celebration of the “liberation from Hitlerism” from 23rd of August, 1944..</p> <p>37. Celebration of the communist regime instauration from 1947.</p> <p>38. Celebration in a package of Romanian independence war from 1877 and of the communist regime instauration from 1947.</p> <p>39. Big brother Soviets.</p> <p>40. Depicting the bi-polar global order.</p> <p>41. Socialist compound as peace-keeper.</p>
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<p>Don't blame foreigners Self initiative</p> <p>National value preservation patriotism Nationalism is noble die for nation</p> <p>Importance of moral values Better future Values/ nation survival proudness</p> <p>faith is important Christian reconciliation Romanians: advocate for Christian reconciliation</p> <p>homage to ancestors, Homage to ancestors, Past evaluation, Nation-formation, Nation realizations, Nation future, Defend the nation Empire resistant narration Bad historical context</p> <p>Great future Romanian people powerful, bow to ancestors</p> <p>Ceașescu – <i>Lider Massimo</i>, leader-Rou- survival Communist party – leader (x30), Royalty – Romanian, Nation – king bound, Survival - royalist bounded, King - nationalism,</p>	<p>reconciliation, since Pope was visiting.</p> <p>Presidents are expressing the gratitude to the Romanian ancestors for their efforts in nation building. Describing the nation as the survival of all regional empires. Blaming the past, as a old habit. Romania being resistant as a nation.</p> <p>Linking the regimes of Carol 2 of Romania, plus of Ceașescu with country's future, nationalism and survival. Depicting Ceașescu as the Great Leader. Describing the Communist party as the leader of the nation.</p> <p>Parhon, Maurer, Groza Dej, and Ceașescu celebrate at various times the “liberation from Hitlerism” from 23rd of August, 1944. Then, the communist regime. In 1977 the 100 years since the independence, were celebrated in the president Speech at a package with the “liberation”.</p> <p>Presidents Parhon, Maurer, Groza, mention fraternity with the Soviet and the bi-polar order. Bi-polar order was stated in a given context about Ceașescu. Since Dej (1964) Soviets were not mention in the speeches, apart one time, with a negative connotation.</p> <p>The socialist compound as the most developed alliance. As the fighters for the forces of Progress.</p>	<p>42. Socialist compound as anti-imperialist stronghold.</p> <p>43. Multiculturalism in the communist regime.</p> <p>44. Appeals for class reconciliation between workers and peasants, after the forced collectivization and nationalization.</p> <p>45. Communist regime, peace advocate.</p> <p>46. Ceașescu's auto-chronism.</p> <p>47. Iliescu's auto-chronism.</p> <p>48. Regime type inserts: communism.</p> <p>49. Anti-imperialistic war.</p> <p>50. Romania being anti major nuclear power: the US and the Soviets.</p> <p>51. Nuclear Free Europe.</p> <p>52. Advocating Peace in Europe.</p> <p>53. Global peace depending to peace in Europe</p> <p>54. Advocating for Cold War to be stopped</p> <p>55. Anti Us Invasion.</p> <p>56. Free-Palestine pledge.</p> <p>57. Advocate for Israeli retreat from occupied territories.</p>
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<p>Celebrating “liberation”.</p> <p>Celebrating the regime.</p> <p>Celebrating independence plus 30 years of regime</p> <p>Soviet Union Friend Soviet, the model, bi- polarity, Soviet global power,</p> <p>Nations collaborations Socialist community socialist fraternity, unity for compound socialism.</p> <p>Solidarity with all ethnic minorities, wishes for all ethnicities.</p> <p>class separation peasants – workers,</p> <p><i>World cooperation, World peace, eternal peace,</i></p> <p>Increasing nationalism, Romanian family , National superiority,</p>	<p>As the anti-imperialist solution.</p> <p>As peace advocates. As Romania`s allies.</p> <p>All communist presidents, plus some of the post 89 leaders wished all the best for the Romanian citizens with another ethnicity.</p> <p>Appeals make for the fraternity between peasants and workers. Was the result of the forced collectivization.</p> <p>Ideological statements about the external world made by communist leaders.</p> <p>Ceașescu`s nationalistic statements. Can be labelled as auto-chronism.</p> <p>Iliescu`s auto-chronism.</p> <p>Ideological statements in communism</p> <p>Statements against the group from the other side of the Iron Curtain.</p> <p>Ceașescu statements for nuclear free-Europe.</p> <p>Global peace depending to peace in Europe.</p> <p>In favour of immediate stop of the Cold War.</p> <p>Ceașescu being Against US invasion.</p>	<p>58. Advocate for a new economic order.</p> <p>59. Pledge to stop the gap between the emerging economic and the developed country, also between poor and rich.</p> <p>60. Post: communist Ir framework</p> <p>61. Stability factor.</p> <p>62. Romania being important in Foreign Policies.</p> <p>63. Regional, continental and global relaxation.</p> <p>64. New destination for Romania.</p> <p>65. Internal unianimity for EU membership.</p> <p>66. Romania being important for EU.</p> <p>67. OSCE presidency work, garant for EU membership.</p> <p>68. EU: gate to global world for Romania.</p> <p>69. Romania: important regional actor.</p> <p>70. EU means end of isolation.</p> <p>72. EU means preserving the national culture and identity and integrity. The end of territorial fears.</p> <p>74. EU new historical path</p>
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nation superiority, creational forces,	Ceașescu appeal for a Palestinian state	75. EU as a scapegoat for internal unpopular policies.
internal potential, global competition for Rou,	Appeal for Israeli retreat from all conflicts from the Middle East.	76. Homeland nationalism.
Socialist nation, Marxist ideology future, Communism and socialism future	Appeals for a new economic order, as WTO.	77. Appeals for national solidarity and unity.
	Pledge to stop the gap between the emerging economic and the developed country, also between poor and rich. (C)	78. Romania: described as defender of Europe, from Oriental Empires, by pre-communist regime. (Russia plus the Ottomans, the other
Anti-imperialistic	Ion Iliescu`s IR framework.	
	This is how was interpreted the fact that Romania was about to join, then joined the EU and NATO.	
Nuclear free Europe		
Peace in Europe	As the end of isolation, as a prestige, as a merit of Romanians.	
Secure Europe	End of fear to loose identity and, cultural identity and national unity.	
Anti-Cold War.		
Pro peace	Underlying on Romania role at OSCE meetings, from 1999.	
Anti-war in Vietnam, darken horizon		
Middle East Peace	Romania being a regional actor a a factor of stability in Balkan area.	
Free-Palestine	Freedom is ensured. New historical path. New chapter for Romania`s IR. European citizens accepted Romanians.	
Anti Israel		
Global Order		
Anti-social inequalities	EU as an excuse for internal reformation of administration in 2000.	
IR framework Iliescu border tensions Soviet collapse		

<p>consequences , Yugoslavian war , Important FP role , European cooperation , Regional continental. global relaxation</p> <p>European Romania Destination Europe European Union Unanimity for EU EU joining moment Dignity NATO security EU prosperity EU Proud with country Rou Important for EU goals Rou Important for EU Hope to join Europe Hope to join NATO partners OSCE presidency EU accession Global integration regional actor strategy to join the EU</p> <p>national dignity Romania prestige End of isolation Part of sovereign states</p> <p>Eu security End of fear to loose identity and national unity End fear for cultural unity Freedom is ensured External recognition , Interest of nation, solidarity with deprived nation members t Future happiness European option, new historical path , National collaboration, European collective external promises</p> <p>Europeans ask for reform 3New chapter in IR European citizens</p> <p>Homeland nationalism (20)</p>	<p>References to Romanian from abroad, to “Moldavian Brothers”, to Romanian from inside and outside internal borders, to those separated by their families. Made by all post communist chief’s of state.</p> <p>Appeals for national solidarity and unity amongst Romanians.</p> <p>Romania described as defender of Europe in front of invasions from Orient.</p>	
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solidarity (10) , unity (6)		
Stronghold Romania		

Appendix 2

Table Two, Coding the data from sub - themes to final themes

Initial Themes	Organizing themes	Final Themes
<p>Romania: described as defender of Europe, from Oriental Empires, by pre-communist regime</p> <p>Nuclear Free Europe.</p> <p>Advocating Peace in Europe.</p> <p>Global peace depending to peace in Europe</p> <p>EU means end of isolation.</p> <p>EU means preserving the national culture and identity and integrity.</p> <p>The end of territorial fears.</p> <p>EU new historical path</p> <p>New destination for Romania.</p> <p>EU: gate to global world for Romania.</p> <p>Internal unanimity for EU membership.</p>	<p>Protecting Europe</p> <p>EU & Europe as safety place</p> <p>Europe: New destination, on the road to global world</p>	<p>1. Europe as a tool to address nationalistic messages.</p> <p>(the meanings of Europe)</p>

<p>Romania being important for EU.</p> <p>OSCE presidency work, guaranty for EU membership.</p> <p>EU as a scapegoat for internal unpopular policies.</p> <p><i>Romania: important regional actor.</i></p> <p><i>Stability factor.</i></p> <p>Ceașescu auto-chronism</p> <p>Strong leader rhetoric, for king Carol 2 of Romania.</p> <p>Strong leader rhetoric, for Nicolae Ceașescu</p> <p>Severe discontinuities in regime type with violent changes.</p> <p><i>Big brother Soviets.</i></p> <p><i>Depicting the bi-polar global order.</i></p> <p><i>The Soviet “new man “, supranational ideology, the uniformity stage.</i></p> <p><i>Socialist compound as peace-keeper.</i></p> <p><i>Socialist compound as anti-imperialist stronghold.</i></p> <p><i>5 Y Plan, the problem and the solution to all issues.</i></p> <p><i>Anti-nationalism.</i></p>	<p>Deserved participation to the EU</p> <p>Regional actor rhetoric</p> <p>Separating from the Soviets</p> <p>Lack of legitimacy</p> <p>Regime discontinuities</p> <p>Supranational imposed culture, class cleansing, anti nationalism</p> <p>Socialist compound as a safety place.</p>	<p>2.Reasons for nationalistic rhetoric (or context of)</p>
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<p><i>Regime type: communism.</i></p> <p><i>Narrating Romania in communist era.</i></p> <p><i>Multiculturalism in the communist regime.</i></p> <p><i>Appeals for class reconciliation between workers and peasants, after the forced collectivization and nationalization.</i></p> <p><i>Communist regime depiction and search for legitimacy.</i></p> <p><i>Depicting the Communist party as the leader of Romanian nation.</i></p> <p><i>Regime type inserts: communism.</i></p> <p><i>Celebration of the “liberation from Hitlerism” from 23rd of August, 1944..</i></p> <p><i>Celebration of the communist regime instauration from 1947.</i></p> <p><i>Celebration in a package of Romanian independence war from 1877 and of the communist regime instauration from 1947.</i></p> <p>Assuring the people about independency</p> <p>Strong Nationalistic statement</p> <p>Romania: emergent economy.</p> <p>Appeal for national self-determination.</p>	<p>Invented (communist, hybrid) national identity.</p> <p>Socialist nationalism with strong rhetoric.</p>	<p>3. Communist type of Romanian nationalistic rhetoric.</p>
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<p>Communist regime, peace advocate.</p> <p>Pledge to stop the gap between the emerging economic and the developed country, also between poor and rich</p> <p>Anti-imperialistic war.</p> <p>Romania being against major nuclear powers: the US and the Soviets.</p> <p>Advocating for Cold War to be stopped</p> <p>Anti Us Invasion.</p> <p>Free-Palestine pledge.</p> <p>Advocate for Israeli retreat from occupied territories.</p> <p>Advocate for a new economic order.</p> <p>Post- communist regime depiction and search for legitimacy.</p> <p>Iliescu`s auto-chronism.</p> <p>Violent regime change</p> <p>Romania being important in Foreign Policies. . Regional, continental and global relaxation</p> <p>Regime type: liberal.</p> <p>Depicting internal situation, after elections.</p> <p>Homage to ancestors, for nation building. Romania peaceful country survival of all Empires from proximity.</p> <p>Moral obligation to protect the nation.</p> <p>Assessing the importance of moral values in hard times</p>	<p>Peace advocate, “Robin Hood like” rhetoric.</p> <p>Pro Palestine and Vietnam and poor countries.</p> <p>Search of legitimacy by the post-communist regime.</p> <p>Links with the past, traditions, ethnic culture and national values.</p>	<p>4. Linking Europe with the national narrative.</p> <p>Reasons for nationalistic rhetoric (or context of) (Part B)</p> <p>5. Bridge over the past? Genuine Romanian national narrative</p>
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<p>Romania as an everlasting nation, as depicted in post-communist era.</p> <p>Historical depiction of an everlasting population, in a pre-communist era.</p> <p>Assessing the importance of moral values.</p> <p>Inherited national values must be preserved.</p> <p>Proclaiming faith as important and a national characteristic.</p> <p>Romania: God chosen for Christian reconciliation between Orthodox and Catholics, in 1999.</p> <p>Christian nations family. Christian heritage. Inheritors of a great culture.</p> <p>Gratitude to the army, while attempting diplomatic strategies.</p> <p>Stressing the external pacts of Romania. External circumstances.</p> <p>Army being together with the nation. Stressing Romania`s participation in military alliances.</p> <p>Homeland nationalism.</p> <p>Appeals for national solidarity and unity.</p>	<p>Emphasising on faith, Christianity and moral values.</p> <p>Using the army as diplomatic tool.</p> <p>Homeland nationalism and nationalising nationalism.</p>	<p>Linking Europe with national narrative B.</p> <p>6. Homeland, nationalism</p>
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