CONTENTS

Lis	of Figures and Tables	X
Lis	List of Abbreviations	
Int	roduction	1
1	Under the Sign of Three Dictatorships (1938-44)	3
	When enemies become allies, and nations prey	3
	Dismantling Greater Romania	4
	The Antonescu regime	8
	23 August 1944: from responsibility to adventure	13
	Victims of war and of racial and class hatred	15
Pa	rt I Communism	19
2	The Establishment of the Communist Regime (1944–7)	21
	From the Grand Alliance to the Cold War: the sovietization of Eastern Europe	21
	The first steps in Romania's sovietization	23
	Consolidation of communist power	25
	The PCR: from political sect to mass party	27
	Rigging the 19 November 1946 elections	28
	The Paris Peace Conference and the Peace Treaty	29
	The dissolution of the PNŢ: 'Operation Tămădău'	30
	The removal of the monarchy and proclamation of the Republic	31
3	The Gheorghiu-Dej Era (1948-65)	33
	The new state organization	33
	Avatars of the party-state	35
	Great transformations	39
	Foreign policy: from satellization to 'heresy'	43
4	The Nicolae Ceaușescu Regime (1965-89)	47
	Ceauşescu gains total power	47
	New morphologies of the political regime	50
	The main projects of the Ceauşescu regime	56
	Foreign policy: from autonomy to ostracism	58

Contents

5	Institutions of 'Legitimate Violence'	63
	The justice system	63
	The Securitate	64
	The Miliția	66
	The army	66
6	Society Crushed by Tyranny	68
	From armed resistance to dissidence	69
	The Romanian Gulag	71
	Urbanization and transformation of the rural world	74
	A dictatorial welfare state	76
	Culture, press, art and sport	79
	Ecclesiastical institutions	84
	Policies regarding ethnic minorities	87
7	The Economy	91
	The legacy of war	92
	The command economy	93
	Agriculture	95
	The industrialization of the economy	97
	Transport, post and communications	99
	Trade, services and tourism	100
	Banking sector	103
	A predominantly positive balance?	104
8	The Fall of Communism	105
	Ceauşescu and the 'domino effect'	105
	The unfolding of the Romanian revolution	108
	The victims of the 1989 Revolution	115
Pa	rt II Return to Democracy: Lost in Transitions	117
9	Political Parties	119
	The plural left	120
	Popular conservatives	122
	Liberals	124
	Populist nationalism	125
	Ethno-parties	128
	Agrarians	129
	Greens	129
	Political and electoral alliances	130
	The electoral system	131
	Parties and parliamentary mandates	132

		Contents
	Electoral participation	132
10	Political Institutions	136
	The Parliament	136
	The President of the Republic	143
	Ion Iliescu (1989–96, 2000–4)	144
	Emil Constantinescu (1996–2000)	149
	Traian Băsescu (2004-9, 2009-14)	152
	The government	156
	Local administration	169
11	Main Public Policies	172
	Education	172
	The medical system	174
	The social state	176
12	Foreign Policy and Euro-Atlantic Integration	179
	Stages in Romania's international policy	179
	Political and institutional mechanisms	180
	NATO accession	181
	European integration	184
	Relations with the Great Powers	188
	Regional policy	202
13	The Rule of Law	215
	The judicial system	216
	The Constitutional Court and its controversies	220
	The Ombudsman	222
	The National Integrity Agency	223
	Decommunization by exposing the Securitate	224
	The army and the intelligence structures	225
14	Society under the Pressure of Change	229
	Run through the labyrinth: social and political violence	230
	Non-governmental organizations	240
	Mass media	244
	Ecclesiastical institutions	252
	Policies towards ethnic minorities	256
	Culture, art and sport	259
15	The Economy	266
	The issue of property	268
	Agriculture	270

Contents

	Industry, construction and mining	271
	Transport, post and telecommunications	273
	Trade, services and tourism	274
	Banking sector	275
	Relations with the World Bank and IMF	276
	Physiognomy of Romanian capitalism	278
Par	rt III Social and Demographic Trends	281
16	Social and Demographic Trends	283
	Main demographic data	283
	Secondary social and demographic information	287
	Migration	294
Conclusions		299
Mini-biographies Bibliography		305
		308
Ind	lex	326