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Romania can be considered a monarchy from 1919 to 1939. Ferdinand I of the House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen ruled as King from 1914 until 1927. Ferdinand I's son Carol II abdicated his birthright in favor of his son Michael (US Library of Congress) and moved to France. Prince Nicolae, Carol II's younger brother, took power as Regent for Michael from 1927 when King Ferdinand died until 1930. This is not a SOLS change.

In 1930 Carol II changed his mind, returned from exile, and became King. "The Liberal Party lost control of the government to the National Peasant Party in fair elections after Bratianu's death in 1927, and Maniu soon invited Prince Carol to return to his homeland. In 1930 Carol returned, and Romania's parliament proclaimed him king" (US Library of Congress). This is not a SOLS change since he was from the same dynasty as his predecessor.

Carol's reign was disrupted by internal unrest, including the activities of the fascist Iron Guard and Carol assumed dictatorial powers in 1938 (US Department of State). At the start of World War II, Carol II's appeasement of Hitler cost him domestic support. "On September 6, 1940, the Iron Guard, with the support of Germany and renegade military officers led by the premier, General Ion Antonescu, forced the king to abdicate. Carol and his mistress again went into exile, leaving the king's nineteen-year-old son, Michael V (1940-47), to succeed him" (US Library of Congress). This is a SOLS change, because Antonescu's support lay in the military and the Iron Guard and was supported by Germany.

Sanborne (2004, 43) writes that "Antonescu assumed the grandiose title of Conducator, or leader (analogous to Hitler's Fuehrer), ignored King Michael, and ruled as a military dictator in uneasy alliance with the Iron Guard." The Iron Guard was to be the only legal party "and have the upper hand over the dejected military" (Bideleux and Jeffries 1998, 389). However, the Iron Guard created chaos by massacring and expropriating Jews and killing supporters of Carol. Acting on Hitler's request, Antonescu tried to get the Iron Guard under control, but that prompted the Iron Guard to rise against him and ask for his resignation. Antonescu then received troops from Hitler, which helped him suppress the Iron Guard and purge it of its most militant members (Bideleux and Jeffries 1998, 389). "When the Guard tried to oust Antonescu by force, he was able to crush it and establish a military dictatorship with a cabinet dominated by officers" (Michelson 2007). "Antonescu's own power bases were the army, the gendarmerie, and the intelligence services. Guardist infiltration in the military was limited, and the officer corps stood firmly behind Antonescu in his conflict with the Iron Guard" (van de Grift 2012, 25). Antonescu's rule most closely resembles a military-personalist kind of regime.[1]

The Iron Guard also killed supporters of Carol. Antonescu ruled for the duration of the war. We code Romania as a monarchy through 1939 (according to our Dec. 31 rule) and code mil/per from 1940 to when Antoescu took power (until 1943).

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[1] Given that some sources characterize his regime as a military dictatorship (e.g., Deletant 2006: 69; Hitchins 1994: 465), while other sources also suggest some personalist aspects of his regime (e.g., Deletant 2006: 71 and 81), we consider that Antonescu's rule most closely resembles a military-personalist regime.

By August 1944, King Michael I launched a coup against Antonescu in order to switch the country's alliance from Germany to the Allies, especially the USSR. He achieved this goal, and the USSR exerted more influenced in the country after the end of the Second World War. At the same time, Georghe Gheorgiu-Dej became head of the PCR in 1944. By 1947, the PCR dominated Romanian politics and the King was a nuisance in PCR plans. As a result, Michael I was forced to abdicate in December 1947, and Gheorgiu-Dej as First Secretary of the PCR officially took control of the country.

GWF begin coding Romania as a single party-personalist regime under the PCR in 1945. This system lasts until 1989. We code a SOLS change to this system when Michael overthrows Antonescu with Soviet help. We code no specific autocratic regime type in 1944, but begin coding sp/per in 1945. The transition from Michael to Gheorgiu-Dej is not a SOLS change.

Gheorgiu-Dej governed Romania until 1965 when he was followed by Nicolae Ceausescu as First Secretary of the PCR who exacerbated the personalist character of the regime because of the cult around his personality. So, this is not a SOLS change because both were part of the single-party–personalist regime.

By the end of the eighties, there was an erosion in the legitimacy of Ceausescu because the country was in the middle of a severe economic crisis and international isolation. At the end of 1989, Ceausescu was overthrown. Note that while the single-party-personalist regime of Ceausescu is coded as ending in 1989, Romania does not become a democracy by our coding rules until 1996. (Cheibub et al. do code a mixed democratic system however). This means that we need to code by the pre-designated successor rule until 1996.

The power vacuum created by Ceausescu's overthrow was filled by the National Front Salvation (FSN), the main dissident group to the PCR, reform communists advocating a gradual transition. The FSN appointed Petre Roman as Prime Minister. So, this change means a SOLS change because Roman was not the pre-designated successor of Ceausescu and he was supported by moderates rather than Ceausescu's PCR. He also participated in the overthrow of Ceausescu.

However, by the beginning of 1991 the FSN had divided in two factions: the more conservative faction headed by Iliescu and the more liberal groups around Roman. Because economic transition policies did not work, a miners' rebellion threatened the Roman government. Subsequently, the two factions of the FSN faced each other. Iliuescu's faction wanted to oust Roman's and enter the government. The clash between these two leaders was known as "the War of the Roses". As a result, Roman was marginalized in the FSN and lost his base of support. In March of 1991, Roman was forced to resign, and Iliescu appointed the "technocrat" Theodor Stolojan as head of a caretaker government until new elections were held in 1992 (Cook 2001, 1192; Larcon 1998, 128). Stolojan led a coalition composed of FSN, NLP, REM, and ADP. This is not a SOLS change.

Even though the original FSN had divided, Iliuescu's Democratic National Salvation Front (FSND) won the presidency but his new party won just 25% of the votes in parliamentary elections (166 seats out of 484 available in both branches). The Democratic Convention of Romania, the main opposition party, won the second largest vote share (82 out of 341 seats in the lower House and 34 out of 143 seats in the Senate). Surprisingly, two nationalist and one neo-communist parties also gained representation in the Parliament. Some months after parliamentary elections, the "technocrat" Nicolae Vacaroiu was elected as Prime Minister heading a minority

FSND government (Bideleux and Jeffries 2007, 151). Because we are coding under pre-designated successor rules in a non-democratic system, we code a major SOLS change here. Vacariou was affiliated with Illiescu's FDSN which competed with the last regular leader's (Roman's) FSN.

In 1993 the FDSN changed its name into Party of Social Democracy for Romania (PDSR). In 1994, it entered a coalition with the PUNR. We do not code this a minor SOLS change since the country was not democratic at the time. In 1996 the PUNR was ejected from government. This is a minor SOLS change since Romania is considered democratic in 1996.

In 1996 there were new parliamentary elections in Romania and the government was accused of an attempt to defraud and bias public opinion with fake surveys. Ilieuscu ran for the SDPR but was electorally defeated due to its poor performance in the government and some corruption scandals. The voters preferred Victor Ciorbea for the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR) in coalition with the Social Democratic Union (USD or SDU) and the UDMR (Inter-Parliamentary Union). In sum, this change from Vacariou to Ciorbea is a SOLS change because they belonged to different coalitions.

Because of the pressures within the coalition, Ciorbea resigned as premier in March 1998, and President Constantinescu appointed Gavril Dejeu as interim prime minister (A Political Chronology of Europe 2001, 253; Bulei 2005, 227). Some days later, in April 1998 Radu Vasile for the Christian Democratic National Peasants' Party was appointed as the new premier. Thus, the change from Ciorbea to Dejeu is not a SOLS because Dejeu was an interim leader. The change from Dejeu to Vasile is more difficult to evaluate, because the complicated party and party alliance system at the time. Worldstatesmen.org lists Ciorbea, Dejeu, and Vasile as PNT-CD i.e. the National Peasant's Party-Christian Democratic, christian-democratic which is called Christian Democratic National Alliance until 2001. As for a minor SOLS change, the U.S. Department of State claims, referring to Ciorbea's coalition that "The coalition government retained power for 4 years despite constant internal frictions and going through three prime ministers, the last being the Governor of the National Bank, Mugur Isarescu" (U.S. Department of State). Europa World Yearbook (2004, 3510-3512) suggests that the PNT-CD and one of the members of the coalition, the USD, were themselves alliances of multiple parties. CDR was a collaboration of 18 groups (of which the PNT-CD, or National Christian Peasants' Party, was the largest - followed by the PNL, or National Liberal Party). USD was a coalition of the PSDR and the PD. UDMR is the largest political organization of the Hungarian minority. While some members of these party coalition left/entered during Vasile's government,[2] compared to Ciorbea's we code no minor SOLS change here. We treat electoral coalitions/party blocs like parties and the same coalitions participated in Ciorbea's government as in Vasile's.

In December 1999 the president dismissed Vasile due to his poor economic performance and his poor image in the survey polls. Alexandru Athanasiu was appointed as an interim prime minister (Jeffries 2002, 46; Europa Publication 2001, 255). Some days later Mugur Isarescu, former president of the Central Bank, was named as Prime Minister. Isarescu formally did not

[2] To be precise, Vasile differed from Ciorbea in the following ways: 1) PD (Partidul Democrat) returned to government (they were gone from the Ciorbea cabinet starting 2 February 1998), 2) CDR lost the Alianța Civică (Civic Alliance), 3) PNTCD lost Ciorbea's faction: Alianța Națională Creștin-Democrat (National Christian Democrat Alliance) (Abraham 2006).

belong to any party, but he was supported by the same coalition as Vasile, headed by the president Constantinescu. Nevertheless, we code a SOLS change here based on our rules.

In 2000 there were new presidential elections in which Constantinescu did not participate. So, the Party of Social Democracy made a victorious return, and its leader Ion Iliescu won the second round and became president. Then, the moderate PDSR candidate Adrian Nastase became Prime Minister in a minority government (but was informally supported by the UDMR) (Gallagher 2005, 263). So, the change from Isarescu to Nastase is a SOLS because they belonged to different parties and were supported by different coalitions. "The PDSR was renamed PSD--Social Democratic Party--at a June 16, 2001 congress after it merged with the tiny yet historical Romanian Social Democratic Party" (US Department of State).

In 2004 there were concurrent presidential and parliamentary elections. The PM Nastase ran for the office of the President against the Justice and Truth candidate Traian Basescu. Basescu won in the second round and Nastase immediately resigned as PM. Eugen Bejinariu then became provisional Prime Minister in 2004 (Cahoon). This is not a SOLS change. Only days later power Basescu entered office as the new President. Here Archigos switches from listing the PM as effective ruler to listing the President. The change to Basescu was a SOLS change since he was from a different party and in fact ran against Nastase. Basescu then appoints Calin Popescu- Tariceanu from the National Liberal Party as PM. Basescu remains in office through 2008. However, worldstatesmen.org shows that he was suspended from 20 April to 23 May 2007. During this period, he was impeached by Parliament for unconstitutional conduct. A nationwide referendum was then held to confirm the impeachment, but Basescu won the referendum, and returned to office ("Basescu wins referendum on impeachment, promises to reform the political class"). During Basescu's impeachment, Nicolae Vacaroiu stepped in as "Acting President". As he was only in power for one month, and was labeled as being an interim leader, we have not coded Vacaroiu's time in office as a SOLS change.

In 2012, the Romanian Parliament voted to impeach President Traian Dumitru Băsescu, who had been president for eight years and had been impeached in 2007 (Associated Press 2012). Băsescu was suspended and George Crin Laurenţiu Antonescu took over as interim president (Associated Press 2012). Impeachment does not remove the president from office but sparks a national referendum to determine whether the president should be removed. Băsescu survived the national referendum in 2007. In the 2012 referendum, while 87% of those that voted in the referendum voted to remove Băsescu, however, the referendum failed to meet the 50% quorum of the electorate needed to remove him from office (Gardner 2014). Thus, Băsescu was reinstated as president (Patran 2012). Because Antonescu was an interim leader, the transitions in 2012 are not considered SOLS changes.

A presidential election was held in 2014. After serving two terms, Băsescu could not run for re-election, and Klaus Werner Johannis was elected president (BBC News 2014). Romania is a democracy, so we use party affiliation to determine whether there was a SOLS change between Băsescu and Johannis. The Romanian Constitution requires that president is not a member of any political party (Associated Press 2012), so The World Statesmen lists Băsescu and Johannis as having no party affiliation. Johannis was a member of the PNL prior to becoming president and Băsescu was a member of PD. Because their previous affiliations are different, there is a SOLS change.

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Pre-1945 coded by Anna Carella (Vanderbilt) on 05/2011
Post-1945 coded by Arturo Maldonado (Vanderbilt) on 08/23/2010
Pre-1945 reviewed by Michaela Mattes (Vanderbilt) 02/10/2012
Pre-1945 revised by Naoko Matsumura (Rice) 06/14/2013
Post-1945 checked by Michaela Mattes (Vanderbilt) 08/31/2010
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