

Country: Romania

Years: 1945-1946

Head of government: Ivan Zakharovich Susaikov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2018) identifies Susaikov as a Soviet military general and therefore a leftist: “Feb 1945 - 15 Sep 1947 Ivan Zakharovich Susaykov (b. 1903 - d. 1962) Mil (Soviet Union)”

Years: 1947-1964

Head of government: Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the Romanian Communist Party (*Partidul Comunist Român – PCR*). DPI identifies PCR’s ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006: 951) elaborates, writing that “Romania's third postwar constitution, adopted in 1965 and amended in 1974, declared the nation to be a “socialist republic,” with an economy based on socialist ownership of the means of production. All power was ascribed to the people, but the PCR was singled out as the society's leading political force”. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Gheorghiu-Dej’s ideology as leftist. Lentz (1994: 660) identifies Gheorghiu-Dej’s ideology as leftist, writing that “[Gheorghiu-Dej] was active in the labor movement as a young man and joined the outlawed Romanian Communist Party in 1930”. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Far-left” (-4.284) in 1975.

Years: 1965-1988

Head of government: Nicolae Ceausescu

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the Romanian Communist Party (*Partidul Comunist Român – PCR*). DPI identifies PCR’s ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006: 951) elaborates, writing that “Romania's third postwar constitution, adopted in 1965 and amended in 1974, declared the nation to be a “socialist republic,” with an economy based on socialist ownership of the means of production. All power was ascribed to the people, but the PCR was singled out as the society's leading political force”. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Ceausescu’s ideology as leftist. Lentz (1994: 661) identifies Ceausescu’s ideology

as leftist, writing that “[Ceaurescu] became active in the Union of Communist Youth in 1933 and became a leading organizer in the outlawed Romanian Communist Party”. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Far-left” (-4.284) in 1975, “Far-left” (-4.284) in 1980, and “Far-left” (-4.284) in 1985.

Years: 1989-1990

Head of government: Petre Roman

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the National Salvation Front (*Frontul Salvării Naționale – FSN*). DPI identifies FSN as centrist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1199) elaborates, writing that “at its first national convention held March 16–17, 1991, the FSN ... approved a free-market reform program”, but that “in 1996 Roman ... proclaimed his intention to stand on a social-democratic platform”. Armingeon et al. (2018) identify FSN’s ideology as leftist. Pop-Eleches (2008: 466) confirms this by writing that the National Salvation Front “had emerged in 1990 as the unofficial successor to the Romanian Communist Party”. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1199) identifies Roman’s ideology as leftist, writing that “in February 1996 Roman accepted nomination as the PD-FSN candidate in the November presidential election, proclaiming his intention to stand on a social-democratic platform”. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Roman’s ideology as leftist. Döring and Manow (2019) identify FSN’s party family as liberal. Hass (2006: 1122) writes that “throughout 1991 Roman had been moving toward some cleansing of the FSN, with the idea of replacing old Communist-era elites (the supporters of Iliescu); further, while Roman was no proponent of shock therapy—he consistently claimed that the state needed to intervene in the economy and that rapid economic liberalization brought only pain elsewhere in Eastern Europe—he did call for increased reform”.

Year: 1991

Head of government: Theodor Stolojan

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1194) identifies Stolojan as non-party in 1991. Lansford (2017: 1247) writes that “Stolojan and others were expelled from the PNL in October and subsequently formed the PLD”. Armingeon et. al (2018) identify PNL’s and PLD’s ideology as rightist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 24 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the National Liberal Party (PNL) as 7.75. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PNL’s

oppose-support market score as 6 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 6 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PNL's party family as liberal.

Years: 1992-1995

Head of government: Nicolae Vacaroiu

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as FSN until 1994, and SDPR in 1995. The Washington Post (2007) identifies Vacaroiu as a leftist: "A member of the opposition left-wing Social Democratic Party, Vacaroiu was prime minister in 1992-1996." Turner (2015: 1020) identifies party as the Party of Social Democracy from Romania (*Partidul Social Democrat Român* – PSDR). Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1197) identifies PSDR as leftist, writing that "Socialist Democrats were a leftist formation that had once been closely allied with the FSN". Armingeon et al. identifies PDSR and FSN as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 24 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Party of Social Democracy of Romania – Social Democratic Party (PSD) as 3.9. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PSD's oppose-support market score as approximately 3.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as 3 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify FSN's party family as liberal and SDPR's party family as social democracy. World Statesmen clarifies Vacaroiu's party affiliation, stating it as none from 1992-1996 and PDSR in 1993. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.607) in 1992.

Years: 1996-1997

Head of government: Victor Ciorbea

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the Romanian Democratic Convention (*Convenția Democrată Română* – CDR). Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1200) identifies CDR as rightist: "At the time, the center-right CDR included the PNȚCD, the National Liberal Party (PNL), the PNL–Democratic Convention (PNL-CD), Romania's Alternative Party (PAR), the Romanian Ecologist Party (PER), and the Ecological Federation of Romania (FER)." Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PNL's oppose-support market score as 6 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 6 on scales from 1-7. Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that CDR's ideology is rightist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Ciorbea's ideology as rightist. Döring and Manow (2019) identify CDR's party family as Christian democracy.

Year: 1998

Head of government: Radu Vasile

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the Romanian Democratic Convention (*Convenția Democrată Română – CDR*). Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1200) identifies CDR as rightist: “At the time, the center-right CDR included the PNȚCD, the National Liberal Party (PNL), the PNL–Democratic Convention (PNL-CD), Romania's Alternative Party (PAR), the Romanian Ecologist Party (PER), and the Ecological Federation of Romania (FER).” Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PNL’s oppose-support market score as 6 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 6 on scales from 1-7. Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that CDR’s ideology is rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1193) identifies Vasile’s ideology as rightist, writing that “Himself an economist, Vasile promised to strengthen the market economy by accelerating privatization efforts”. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Vasile’s ideology as rightist. Döring and Manow (2019) identify CDR’s party family as Christian democracy.

Year: 1999

Head of government: Constantin Murgu Isaescu

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1200) identifies Isaescu as nonparty. Maxfield (2010: 173-174) writes that “Isaescu was acceptable to the National Liberals because he accepted the party’s economic programme”. Armingeon et al. (2018) identify the National Liberal Party’s ideology as rightist. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PNL’s oppose-support market score as 6 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 6 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PNL’s party family as liberal.

Years: 2000-2003

Head of government: Adrian Nastase

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the Party of Social Democracy from Romania (*Partidul Social Democrat Român – PSDR*). DPI identifies PSDR’s ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1197) elaborates, writing that “the left-of-center PSDR descended from the historic party founded in 1983 but was forced to merge with the Communist Party in 1948. Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that PSDR is a leftist party. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 24 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Party of Social Democracy of Romania – Social Democratic Party (PSD) as 3.9. Rohrschneider and

Whitefield (2009) identify PSD's oppose-support market score as approximately 3.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as 3 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PSDR's party family as social democracy. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.061) in 2000, and 5 experts identify ideology as "Center-left" (-1.569) in 1996.

Years: 2004-2007

Head of government: Calin Popescu-Tariceanu

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1194) identifies Popescu-Tariceanu's party as the National Liberal Party (*Partidul Național Liberal – PNL*). Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1201) identifies PNL as rightist: "Founded in the mid-19th century but banned by the Communists in 1947, the PNL was reconstituted in 1990 as a right-of-center party that, in addition to supporting a free-market economy, endorsed resumption of the throne by the exiled King Mihai." Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that PNL is a rightist party. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Popescu-Tariceanu's ideology as rightist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 24 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the National Liberal Party (PNL) as 7.8. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PNL's oppose-support market score as 6 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 6 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PNL's party family as liberal.

Years: 2008-2011

Head of government: Emil Boc

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1194) identifies Boc's party as the Democratic Liberal Party (*Partidul Democrat-Liberal – PD-L*). Freedom House (2015) identifies the Democratic Liberal Party as rightist: "The shifting political alliances were seen as part of preparations for the November presidential election, which pitted Ponta against Klaus Iohannis, leader of the PNL and joint candidate of that party and the center-right Democratic Liberal Party (PDL)." World Statesmen (2018) confirms: "PDL = Partidul Democrat Liberal (Democratic Liberal Party, center-right, merger of PD and Partidul Liberal Democrat [Liberal Democratic Party], est.2007)." Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that is a rightist party. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 119) identifies PD-L as centrist, writing that "although the PD and PLD had defined themselves as social-democratic parties, the PD-L has been described as a "populist" and centrist formation". Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1200), however, further writes that "Basescu was succeeded as

PD chair by Emil Boc, who in 2005 convinced the delegates at a PD national convention to adopt a platform favoring promarket economic policies, a shift to the center from its former left-leaning doctrine”. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Boc’s ideology as rightist. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PD-L’s party family as liberal. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.223) in 2008.

Years: 2012-2014

Head of government: Victor Ponta

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1195) identifies Ponta’s party as the Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat – PSD*). Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1197) identifies the PSD as leftist, writing: “The Socialist Democrats were a leftist formation that had once been closely allied with the FSN” and “left-wing Social Democrats.” Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that PSD is a leftist party. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Ponta’s ideology as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 24 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Party of Social Democracy of Romania – Social Democratic Party (PSD) as 3.9. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PSD’s oppose-support market score as approximately 3.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as 3 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PSD’s party family as social democracy. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.083) in 2012.

Years: 2015-2016

Head of government: Dacian Julien Ciolos

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Khan (2019) writes that “formerly a conservative politician, Mr. Ciolos has rebranded himself as a liberal, anti-corruption force in Romania, railing against Bucharest’s centre-left government. He founded his own political movement in December in 2018 promising to transcend left/right politics, earning him the nickname ‘Romania’s Macron’”. The European Parliament (2019) identifies Ciolos as the new leader of “the liberal-centrist Renew Europe”. In an interview for PressOne, a Romanian news outlet, Ciolos identifies his new party (PLUS+) as centrist, saying that “We address man in his capacity as a citizen, in his capacity as an entrepreneur, with the aim of creating opportunities for him to fulfill himself: to have a job, to get out of the poverty zone, to develop his family here in the country. We also want to create opportunities for people in rural areas, who are now isolated

from the benefits that the state must offer to its citizens. So, we are in the center, center-right area: we rely heavily on the dynamism of entrepreneurs, not only to create jobs, not only to boost the economy and bring money to the budget, but also to help the state solve certain problems in society.” Balkan Insight (2019) writes that “Former Romanian Prime Minister Dacian Ciolos was elected on Wednesday as leader of Renew Europe, the new central-liberal political grouping in the European Parliament launched by French President Emmanuel Macron. Ciolos’ election puts him at the helm of the parliament’s third-largest grouping after the centre-right European People’s Party and the centre-left Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats.”

Year: 2017

Head of government: Mihai Tudose

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Politico (2018) identifies Tudose’s party as the Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat – PSD*) while in office. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1197) identifies the PSD as leftist, writing: “The Socialist Democrats were a leftist formation that had once been closely allied with the FSN” and “left-wing Social Democrats.” Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that PSD is a leftist party. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Tudose’s ideology as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 24 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Party of Social Democracy of Romania – Social Democratic Party (PSD) as 3.9. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PSD’s oppose-support market score as approximately 3.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as 3 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PSD’s party family as social democracy. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.083) in 2016. DPI identifies PSD as leftist.

Year: 2018

Head of government: Viorica Dancila

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2019: 1303) identifies Dancila’s party affiliation as the Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat – PSD*), writing “Prime Minister: Vasilica-Viorica Dancila (Social Democratic Party).” Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1197) identifies the PSD as leftist, writing: “The Socialist Democrats were a leftist formation that had once been closely allied with the FSN” and “left-wing Social Democrats.” Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that PSD is a leftist party. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Dancila’s ideology as

leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 24 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Party of Social Democracy of Romania – Social Democratic Party (PSD) as 3.9. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PSD's oppose-support market score as approximately 3.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as 3 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PSD's party family as social democracy. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.083) in 2016. DPI identifies PSD as leftist.

Year: 2019

Head of government: Ludovic Orban

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) and Perspective Monde (2020) identify Orban's party affiliation as the National Liberal Party (*Partidul Național Liberal – PNL*). Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1201) identifies PNL as rightist: "Founded in the mid-19th century but banned by the Communists in 1947, the PNL was reconstituted in 1990 as a right-of-center party that, in addition to supporting a free-market economy, endorsed resumption of the throne by the exiled King Mihai." Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that PNL is a rightist party. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Orban's ideology as rightist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 24 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the National Liberal Party (PNL) as 7.8. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PNL's oppose-support market score as 6 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 6 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PNL's party family as liberal. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.259) in 2016. DPI identifies PNL as rightist.

Years: 2020

Leader: Florin Citu

Ideology: Right

Description: Varieties of Democracy identify party ideology as the National Liberal Party (*Partidul Național Liberal—PNL*). Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1201) identifies PNL as rightist: "Founded in the mid-19th century but banned by the Communists in 1947, the PNL was reconstituted in 1990 as a right-of-center party that, in addition to supporting a free-market economy, endorsed resumption of the throne by the exiled King Mihai." Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that PNL is a rightist party. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 24 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the National Liberal Party (PNL) as 7.8. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify PNL's oppose-support market score as 6 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 6 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow

(2019) identify PNL's party family as liberal. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.259) in 2016. DPI identifies PNL as rightist.

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