Foreword

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This monograph on the Socialist Republic of Rumania by Professor Stephen Fischer-Galati is an empirical analysis and a case study of the relations Rumania has had with the other states ruled by communist parties. As in the other studies in this series—on the U.S.S.R., Communist China, North Korea, Outer Mongolia, and so on*—the focus here is on Rumania as a political unit interacting with the other communist party states. It is not a single descriptive study of a communist ruled country, the Socialist Republic of Rumania; instead, it is a study of Rumania as a unit within the communist party-state system, a part of a collective, systematic intellectual effort to assess empirically the scope, rate, and direction of integration among the states ruled by communist parties. This is why Professor Fischer-Galati's focus of attention is that behavior and data of Rumania relevant to integration and community formation with its neighbors and friends in the East.

Is Rumania slated to follow the tragic fate of Czechoslovakia? Rumania’s more recent relations with the other socialist states, in particular with the Soviet Union, have been of the maverick kind. At times Rumania has behaved, in spite of its geographic location, as if it were indeed an independent, uncommitted state. “The basic factor in evaluating the current, and prognosticating the future, Rumanian policies toward integration and community building [in Eastern Europe],” writes Professor Fischer-Galati, “remains that of irreconcilability of the fundamental political conflict with the Soviet Union. A meaningful reconciliation appears unlikely so long as the present Rumanian and Russian ruling élites remain in power. So long as that situation persists, anything but pro forma reintegration of Rumania into the Soviet bloc is excluded. This is not to say that integration would be detrimental to Rumania were it possible to achieve it under terms safeguarding the Rumanian Party’s vital political interests. In the absence of such safeguards, Rumania’s ‘independent course’ is likely to be pursued, albeit with greater caution and finesse. Should Ceausescu be able to walk the tight-rope successfully, his regime would be assured of ever greater popular support; his ‘socialist nationalist’ goals may, however, prove elusive.”

On the other hand, Rumania’s party leadership has introduced no startling innovations at home which would match its quasi-independent relations with the socialist countries as yet. Unlike Czechoslovakia, Rumania, while effectively pressing for greater freedom of maneuver for itself in Eastern Europe, essentially toes the old line at home. This seems to be perceived by its socialist neighbors as the lesser of two evils. In addition, of course, Rumania on the Black Sea does not pose the kind of “threat to national security of the
U.S.S.R.," as Mr. Kosygin put it, that West Germany's neighbor, Czechoslovakia, did.

Like the other authors in this series, Stephen Fischer-Galati uses the concept of integration to describe such cooperative behavior where coordination—systems of information and adjustment of courses of action—is the efficient basis for joint action leading to a common goal. If all relevant units of the system are so involved, he speaks of integrated behavior; if most are involved, he speaks of extensive integration; and so on. A system may thus be integrated or not in a variety of ways, depending on the number and effectiveness of involved units.

In addition, a system may be integrated at the top level of authority, or it may be integrated on subordinate levels. The authority, furthermore, may be based essentially on coercion, or it may stem essentially from consensus. Which of these variants is more conducive to integrated behavior? Under what circumstances, when, and to what ends?

Stephen Fischer-Galati systematically tries to answer these questions by examining closely the data he has painstakingly collected. He discusses integration of Rumania into the communist party states both as a condition in which he found the country and as a process—Rumania becoming integrated into the system.

Like the other authors in the series, Professor Fischer-Galati analyzes first the data potentially conducive to integration—in this case, Rumania's historical legacy, ecological-physical factors, demographic structure, social system, degree of autonomy, and dependence upon other states. This is the pre-entry period of Rumania—the analytical description of Rumania before it became a communist party state. The entry and postentry years are broken down into four distinct peri-
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ods: intensive socialist development, the post-Stalin era, the thaw, and the present stage. For each of these periods the author examines various elements of the Romanian communist-based society (e.g., the belief system, the political system, etc.) and attempts to detect salient changes in them.

This series is an intellectual product of many creative minds. In addition to the authors of the individual monographs—in this case, Professor Stephen Fischer-Galati—I would like to thank Professor David D. Finley of Stanford University and Colorado College for his original contribution and assistance.

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