

Development of the Rural Problem in Romania: an Interpretative Frame

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Abstract: The *underdevelopment* of agricultural sector in *Romania* was and still is an important topic in the relations with the European Union. Throughout this article I approach the problem from a historical perspective, arguing that the backwardness of *agriculture* can be traced in the nineteenth century development model applied of Romania. The foundation of national state during the nineteenth century was directly connected with the integration of the provinces which formed the modern Romania in the *capitalist trade system*. The economic and cultural exchanges which followed supported the development of national state but worsened the living conditions of the majority of population, consisting in *peasants*. As the grains became the main export products, the *transformation* of the rural area followed a specific path, different of *modernization*.

Keywords: capitalist trade system; modernization; Romanian agriculture

The underdevelopment of Romanian agriculture and rural area was an important subject during the negotiations for country's accession to the European Union. For both partners agriculture was a sensitive problem. The Common Agricultural Policy promoted by the EU was one of the most important instrument of financial intervention and a key element of European supranational policy. In Romania, the countryside was traditionally regarded as the least modernised part of society, retaining strong elements of backwardness. (Pasti, Miroiu, & Codita, 1997, pp. 49-50) The process of accession transformed the underdevelopment of the Romanian countryside from a local problem to a European one. From the EU perspective there was the risk that the agricultural sectors of Romania and other Eastern European states would absorb important financial resources from the EU budget, without any real gains in terms of economic profits or development.

Yet, despite it came to attention during the last decade, the problem of backwardness in the Romanian rural area is much older than it may seem at a first glance. Through this text I propose an interpretative frame for the reform of the Romanian agriculture in the context of EU accession in 2007, by connecting the endemic problem of its underdevelopment with the wider problem of the modernization process that begun in the first half of the nineteenth century. Understanding the origins of backwardness in the rural area is an important precondition for the study of the transformation of agriculture during the twentieth century. The dispersion of property which took place through the redistribution of land in 1919/1921 and 1945 was a direct result of the social pressure developed during the nineteenth century in the countryside. In turn, the reconstruction of the land property after 1989 recreated the

structural problems of the interwar agricultural such as the dispersion of property and the predominance of small households focused in subsistence production.

Defined from a historical perspective, modernization represents the deep transformation of society that has its economic and social roots in the English industrial revolution from the second half of the eighteenth century and its political origins in the French Revolution in 1789.¹ From the sociological point of view, modernization means the development of specific, “modern”, conceptual structures, strategies of action and social institutions which converge toward the extension of economic capacity of production and political participation in a given society.² In the last several decades the concept is used in the social field of research to describe the efforts of development undertaken by the states perceived as less developed. Its usage marks a difference of perception between the evolution of the less developed states and the already industrialized ones. The former are regarded as evolving toward the actual level of the latter, which in turn evolve in an “open future”, without having a specific model of development.³

Romania’s road to modernity begun roughly at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century and ended in a first phase with the creation of the Principality of Romania in 1866. The new political entity that came into existence on the European stage was formed through the union of Wallachia and Moldova in 1859. Seven years later, in 1866, Carol I, a member of the German dynasty of Hohenzollern, was given the throne, establishing the first modern dynastic line of Romania. The most noticeable historical factor leading to the creation of the Romanian state was the political context: at the end of the eighteenth century the Ottoman power in the area began to weaken and both the Russian and the Habsburg empires tried to extend their influence over the two principalities of Moldova and Wallachia. The application of the “balance of power” principle to the European international relations during the eighteenth century meant that regional political developments in South Eastern Europe took place under the close scrutiny of the Western European powers. Therefore, the first constitutional texts known as “Regulamentele Organice” (roughly translated as the “Organic Statutes”) were promulgated in 1831-1832 under the close supervision of the Russian imperial authorities represented by general Kiselyov and the 1859 union was also decided by the European Congress following the Crimean War (1850-1853).

However, explaining the creation of the modern Romanian state only by the favourable international conjuncture would be a rather reductionist approach. Alongside with political changes, important transformations took place in both the mentality of the ruling class and the social structure of the two principalities. The change of traditional oriental mentality is initially visible at the beginning of the nineteenth century as it is reflected in the adoption of

¹ STERBLING, Anton: *Eliten, Realitätsdeutung, Modernisierungsprobleme: Aufsätze 1987-1988* (from now on: *Eliten, Realitätsdeutung...*), Universität der Bundeswehr, Hamburg, 1991, p. 3-4.
² GROTHAUSEN, Klaus-Detlev: “Modernisierung und Nationsbildung: Modelltheoretische Überlegungen und ihre Anwendung auf Serbien und die Türkei”, in *Südost-Forderungen*, 43(1984), p. 137.

³ STERBLING, Anton: *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³ GUMBRECHT, Hans Ulrich: „Modern, Modernität, Moderne“, in BRUMAR, Otto/CONZE, Werner/ KOSELLECK, Reinhart: *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Bd. 4, Mi-Pre, Stuttgart, 1978, p. 129.

Western clothing,¹ also known in the epoch as German clothing, as the German and the Austrian space was the Western region closest to Romania. At the middle of the century, an important part of the leaders of the 1848 revolution had been taken contact with modern ideas during their education in the Principalities. They studied thereafter at the universities in Western Europe: Nicolae Bălcescu Ion Ghica and Ion C. Brătianu, the future leader of the National Liberal Party, in France, Nicolae Golescu in Switzerland, etc. The influence of the Western political thought can be easily observed in the revolutionary documents, especially the ones in Wallachia, where the revolution had initially some success. The Proclamation of Islaz was the first program made public by the Wallachian radical liberals and contained modern political stipulations such as freedom of speech, equal political rights or land granting for the peasants.²

Therefore, a comprehensive explanation regarding the modernization of the Romanian space is impossible if one takes into account only the European international relations of the nineteenth century. Instead, the interpretative frame that I propose is the world-system theory developed by Immanuel Wallerstein, according to which the capitalist socio-economic system developed in the Western Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries slowly expanded by incorporating new regions of the world as peripheries or semi-peripheries to the Western European core regions.³ In the case of the two Romanian principalities, such a process took place roughly between the fourth and seventh decades of the nineteenth century. At the political level it was reflected by the Adrianople treaty, the commercial agreement concluded between the British and the Ottoman Empires in 1838 and the peace treaty signed at the end of the Crimean war in 1853-1856.⁴

By applying the theory of Wallerstein to the particular case of the two Romanian principalities during the nineteenth century, it would be possible to explain not only the change of their political status as a result of the international conjuncture, but also the social and economic transformations and their continuity until nowadays. This approach would also have the advantage of explaining the failure of modernization in the whole Balkan area. Indeed, when interpreted from the world-system perspective, the Western influence didn't take place with the aim of transforming the Romanian principalities into capitalistic states. Instead, they become providers of raw materials, specifically agricultural products, for the developed core regions. Under these circumstances, the local elites were still in a

¹ The decline of the workshops that produced traditional oriental clothing and the development of the workshops qualified in producing Western clothing is visible beginning with 1830. See IONESCU, Adrian-Silvan: *Modă și societate urbană în România epocii 56apita [Mode and Urban Society in the Romania of the Modern Epoch]*, Paideea, București, 2006, p. 466 and 472-473.

² See the programs of 1848 Wallachian revolutionaries in BODEA, Cornelia: *1848 la români [The Year 1848 for Romanians]*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1998, vol. I, p. 533-539.

³ WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel: *Agricultura 56apitalist și originile economiei mondiale europene in secolul al XVI-lea [Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century]*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1992 (1974), translated by Dorel Abraham, Ilie Bădescu și Marcel Ghibernea, vol. II, p. 280-285.

⁴ MURGESCU, Bogdan/BONCIU, Florin: "Consideratii asupra abordării mondiale a proceselor istorico-economice [Considerations Regarding the Worldwide Approach of the Historical-Economic Processes]" in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol“ [Yearbook of the “A. D. Xenopol” Institute of History]*, XXX, Iași, 1993, p. 542.

position of transforming the principalities into a core region,¹ especially with the help of the incoming flow of capital from the Western area.

Such a vision might be contradicted by the fact that the Romanian space was subject to a strong direct international political influence after 1829. This influence was initially reflected by the adoption of the Organic Statutes in 1831-1832, which, despite the fact that were drafted under the close supervision of Russian representatives, embodied modern political notions regarding state organization. In 1859 the Union took place under the scrutiny of the International Powers, according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris in 1856. At a first glance, this might contradict the idea that the local elites were the ones that coordinated and promoted the modernization process and support the “nationalistic” assertion according to which Romania’s underdevelopment was (and still is) a consequence of the external (Western) influence. However, when accepting this powerful external political influence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, one must also notice that the volume of Romanian grains exported towards the international markets did not show a consistent advance until 1861-1864.² This might be strange when analyzed against the general background of the world-system theory, but it is easier to explain through the reduced potential of the production and the underdeveloped transport infrastructure present in the first half of the nineteenth century.³ Furthermore, despite the world-system theory that postulates a greater gap between the elites and the producers in the periphery⁴, in both cases in which the direct political influence took place it tried to close the gap between the peasants and the elites by improving the social and the economic status of the first ones.⁵ Therefore, I consider that Romania reached a clear status of periphery only in the second half of the nineteenth century, after a transition period which lasted roughly between 1830 and 1866.

The transformation of the two principalities in a periphery of the European core didn’t take place as a politically coordinated process and despite the connotations of the term “periphery” the process was not entirely harmful since it still triggered the modernization. The Western influence acted rather in a selective manner, differently affecting the region at the socio-economic, political, and cultural levels. A useful tool to gain some insights in this process is Stein Rokkan’s model on the major components of the boundary transactions between two territorial systems and the strategies used to resist them. According to Rokkan, the external influence takes place at three main levels: economic, cultural and military-

¹ In this assertion I contradict Wallerstein, especially with regard to the negative vision about periphery. In my opinion the status of periphery doesn’t necessarily involve large scale social disparity and poverty. The low standard of life in the periphery regions is directly connected with the strategies used by the local elites to promote the transformation of society.

² LAMPE, John R./JACKSON, Marvin R.: *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950: From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1982, p. 188.

³ MURGESCU, Bogdan: *România și Europa: acumularea decalajelor economice (1500-2010) [Romania and Europe: Accumulation of Economic Disparities]*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2010, p. 118-120.

⁴ MURGESCU, Bogdan/BONCIU, Florin: *op. cit.*, p. 531.

⁵ ROSETTI, Radu: *Pentru ce s-au răsculat țărani [Why Did the Peasants Rebel]*, Atelierele Grafice Socec, București, 1908, p. 58-64 and 321. PĂTRĂȘCANU, Lucrețiu: *Un veac de frământări sociale: 1821-1907 [A Century of Social Unrest: 1821-1907] (from now on A Century...)*, Editura Politică, București, 1969, p. 234-235.

administrative (political) (see attachment I.1), through various types of agents with different intensities (ex. goods have less impact than soldiers). Furthermore, the change of a political system takes place in two different stages: a primary, innovative one and a secondary, transformative one (see attachment I.2).¹

When applying this layout to Romania, one can easily notice that the only level on which the Occidental influence continued throughout the whole nineteenth century was the cultural one. On the military-administrative level it had been exerted since 1829, when the treaty of Adrianople, through which Russia obtained a decisive influence over the policy of Wallachia and Moldavia, was signed. It continued until 1859, when the Union of the principalities was supervised by the Great European Powers. This influence began to weaken after the Old Kingdom was formed in 1866 and ended when the Ottoman suzerainty was put to an end in 1878. On the economic level, the usage of Rokkan's model may seem problematic, as the commercial flux was rather orientated from the Romanian principalities to the Western Europe, with grains as the main export product.² According to Stein Rokkan's theory, this would have meant that the principalities exerted a strong economic influence over the capitalist core, leading to the change of the economic system in the Western area. However, the paradox is easily solved if one takes into account the share of the Romanian grains in the Western imports, a share that never exceeded 13 percent of the total European consumption.³ The West was indeed the destination of most Romanian exports, but these Romanian exports represented only a small percent of the grains imported by the core regions. Therefore, the Romanian principalities were in no position to economically transform the core regions.

To illustrate the extent to which the Western influence manifested, the "two steps" conceptual schema designed by the same Stein Rokkan proves to be of great use. As summarised in the table (see Table II from attachment), Rokkan takes into account two different phases for each level of influence: a first phase that leads to innovation and a secondary one that leads to the real transformation.

In the particular case of Romania, the only field in which the Western influence reached the "secondary exit" was the cultural one and the result was the successful process of nation building. The international control over the policy of the principalities determined the enactment of the reformist legislation in 1831-1832 and even the Union in 1859, but lasted too little to be of a significant relevance for the whole nineteenth century. The economic

¹ FLORA, Peter/KUHNLE, Stein/URWIN, Derek (eds.): *State Formation, Nation-Building and Mass Politics in Europe: the Theory of Stein Rokkan*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, p. 101-103.

² On the importance of cereal exports for Moldova, Wallachia and later Romania see ROSETTI, Radu: *op. cit.*, p. 102, CHIROT, Daniel: Schimbarea social într-o societate periferică: formarea unei colonii balcanice [*Social Change in a Peripheral Society: the Creation of a Balkan Colony*], Corint, București, 2002 [1976], traducere de Victor Rizescu, p. 154 and 200-201, ZELETIN, Ștefan: *Burghezia română: originea și rolul ei istoric (1925), Neoliberalismul: studii asupra istoriei și politicii burgheziei române (1927)* [*The Romanian Bourgeoisie: Its Origins and Its Historical Role (1925), the Neoliberalism: Studies Regarding the History and Politics of Romanian Bourgeoisie (1927)*], Nemira, București, 1997, p. 95.

³ MURGESCU, Bogdan/BRATOSIN, Viorel: "Ponderea cerealelor românești în comerțul European (secolele XVI-XX) [The Weight of the Romanian Grains in the Flow of the European Trade (the 16th-20th Centuries)]", in MUREȘAN, Maria (ed.): *Experiențe istorice de integrare economică europeană [Historical Experiences of Economic European Integration]*, Editura ASE, București, 2006, p. 46.

influence proves to be more interesting, as because of it the Western European area became Romania's main trade partner. It really changed the technology of production but didn't affect the agrarian character of the economy. The innovation of the technology of production actually meant the development of a specific agricultural system based on the production of grains for exports by means of an intensive use of the rural population as cheap workforce. Indeed, the increase of the peasants' economic obligations and the overall deterioration of the living standards in the rural area during the nineteenth century are noticed by many authors.¹ Meanwhile, the industrialisation which would have led to a switch to alternative products (the secondary exit according to Rokkan's theory) was never successful until the middle of twentieth century.

The peculiarity of the economy meant that a huge social gap developed between the peasants and the elites that consisted mostly of noblemen that held special rights and privileges with regard to land and were known as "boieri [boyars]". It was followed by a cultural gap between the elites educated in the West and the more traditionally orientated peasants, a situation noticed by the former as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. A satisfactory solution for these two problems was initially difficult. In fact the emancipation of the peasants was endangering the very existence of elites, whose socio-economic status was closely connected with the exports of low-priced grains toward the Western markets.

At the middle of nineteenth century, the general problem of modernization and subsequently the rural backwardness were important enough to divide the elites into two groups. The conservatives were striving to preserve the existing situation by emphasising a traditionalist, paternalist vision regarding the political system, controlled by "boieri" as traditional elites. The liberals wanted the rapid adoption of Western democratic ideas among which the emancipation of peasants. The cleavage between the two groups reached a peak during the 1848 revolution, when the radical programs of the Wallach liberals were opposed by the more conservative groups.

The competition continued for the next two decades and was reflected in the law of the agrarian reform promoted in 1864 by the first ruler of the principalities, Alexandru Ioan Cuza. The law was indeed a premiere for the Romanian society, as it attempted to solve the "rural problem" by granting the peasants land according to the agricultural inventory they owned. Despite the intention to create an economically viable rural category, the reform proved to be unsuccessful in the long run. It was the first law to define land as property in the modern sense, implying that the peasants lost their customary rights of land usage. Since more than 30 percent of them had little or no agricultural inventory, many of them didn't get enough land to ensure their survival.² As for the *boyars*, despite losing the control

¹ ROSSETI, Radu, *op. cit.*, p. 269, CHIROT, Daniel *op. cit.*, p. 170, SCRABA, Gheorghe D: *Starea socială a săteanului: după ancheta privitoare anului 1905, îndeplinită cu ocazia Expozițiunii Generale Române din 1906 de către Secțiunea de Economie Socială [The Social State of the Villager: Following the Enquiry in the Year 1905, Accomplished with the Occasion of the General Romanian Exposition in 1906 by the Section of Social Economy]*, Institutul de Arte Grafice "Carol Gobl", București, 1907, p. 21-25.

² AXENCIUC, Victor: *Evoluția economică a României: cercetări statistico-istorice; 1859-1947 [The Economic Evolution of Romania: Statistical-Historical Researches; 1859-1947]*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2003, vol. II, p. 86.

of one third of their land (which was anyway traditionally distributed to the peasants as a subsistence basis), they obtained the legal property right to two thirds of the land, with the possibility to keep the best surfaces for themselves.¹

The economic dependence was further developed by the laws concerning the “învoielii agricole [agricultural deals]” that regulated the relations between land owners and peasants. According to them, the local estate owners had the right to solve problems related to agricultural working contracts at an administrative level, namely by using the local administration and gendarmerie directly instead of resorting to judicial courts.² Therefore, at the beginning of the twentieth century the economic system used in the Romanian agriculture could be best defined by the term “new serfdom”, used by the socialist Constantin Dobrogeanu Gherea to describe the new economic dependence that was replacing the traditional one.³

Ironically, the intensification of the rural backwardness took place roughly at the same time with Romania's development as a national state. This might seem strange in the light of the 1848 conflicts around the idea of modernisation, especially as the liberals became one of the two dominant parties sharing political power between 1866 and 1916. In fact the political dispute around modernization lost most of its strength during the second half of the nineteenth century, as both parties managed to find a common ground in the nation-building. For the liberals, that meant to postpone the social and political emancipation for an unspecified moment of the future, admitting that their 1848 programs were in fact inappropriate for Romania's development stage.⁴ Therefore, in a typical manner for the South Eastern Europe, nation building became a prerequisite for modernization and not a part of it.⁵ Moreover, such a position was actually less threatening for the conservative party, since the postponement of the social and political emancipation meant the preservation of their social position as elites for an indefinite period of time.

Yet, the extent to which nation-building was indeed a first step toward a later emancipation or just the consolidation of the position of the elites in a new social context is arguable. The main ideological disputes between the two parties were focused on the speed of modernisation, namely nation building and relations with the Western area. In fact, neither of the two groups expressed a clear position against Western influence but rather tried to

¹ LAMPE, John R./JACKSON, Marvin R.: *op. cit.*, p. 188.

² ROSETTI, Radu: *op. cit.*, p. 446-455, DOBROGEANU-GHEREA, Constantin: *Neoiobăgia: studiu economico-sociologic al problemei noastre agrare [The Neoserfdom: Economically-Sociologic Study of Our Agrarian Problem]*, editura Librăriei Socec, București, 1910, p. 71-72, PĂTRĂȘCANU, Lucrețiu: “Reforma agrară în România Mare și urmările ei [The Agrarian Reform in Greater Romania and Its Consequences]” (1925) in PĂTRĂȘCANU, Lucrețiu: *Studii economice și social-politice 1925-1945 [Economic and Social-Political Studies: 1925-1945]*, Editura Politică, București, 1978, p. 28-30.

³ DOBROGEANU-GHEREA, Constantin: *op. cit.*, p. 61-65.

⁴ PLATON, Gheorghe: “Le libéralisme Roumain au XIX-e siècle”, in ZUB, Alexandru (ed.): *Culture and Society: Structures, Interferences, Analogies in the Modern Romanian History: On Behalf of the “A. D. Xenopol” Institute of History and Archeology of Iași for the 16th International Congress of Historical Sciences (Stuttgart 1985)*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, Iași, 1985, p. 65-78, BARBU, Daniel: *Politica pentru barbari [Politics for Barbarians]*, Nemira, București, 2005, p. 59-60, PĂTRĂȘCANU, Lucrețiu: *A Century...*, p. 254-255.

⁵ GROTHAUSEN, Klaus-Detlev: *op. cit.*, p. 179-180.

contain it, so that it would affect the society only on specific levels. The conservatives emphasised the importance of local culture and manifested caution in embracing the Western cultural model. Nevertheless, they promoted the idea of free international trade, as the exports of the products cultivated on their estates were their main source of economic income. The liberals on the other side advocated the embracement of the Western cultural model, especially with regards to the construction of the national state. They promoted industrialisation as a state policy in economy and tried to accomplish it through internal resources and a strong commercial protectionism meant to prevent the expansion of foreign capital and protect the development of national industry.

If one interprets this policy according to the scheme proposed by Rokkan, one can easily notice that both the liberal and the conservative ideologies have at their core strategies of blocking external influence¹. Furthermore, both the economic and the cultural nationalism had the clear advantage of preserving the status of the dominant elites. In the case of conservatives, the Romanian traditionalism they promoted was focused on a patriarchal vision that considered the boyars the ruling class by virtue of their social origins. The economic nationalism advocated by the liberals is a little trickier, as they indeed promoted democratisation and expansion of political rights to other social categories. However, this would have had to be accomplished within the frame of a strong national state that would promote the industrial development based on the national capital. That meant to continue the domination of the autochthon capital owners, who were, of course, mostly representatives of the local elites. The finality of both dominant ideologies seems to have been the preservation of the elites' status either based on their traditional social position or their wealth.

As a result, at the end of the nineteenth century Romania already presented "two faces"², which would become a constant element in its contemporary history. One was the modernised urbanised upper stratum, culturally linked to the Western European values; the second was the rural area, not modernised and representative for Romanian traditionalism. In fact, the modernization carried out by the national elites after 1859 actually widened the cultural gap between the two parts of society. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the rural area was already considered a part of the country that Romania should be ashamed of and the image of the peasants was very negative among the urban strata.³ The evolution of the term "prost" is representative for this way of thinking: the word was used during the eighteenth century to define the uneducated, lower class person and was transformed into a strong insult during the nineteenth and the twentieth century. The political attempts to transform the rural area were delayed, even when the social pressure to improve the

¹ Using the schema of Stein Rokkan (attachment 1), one can notice that the liberal political program aimed to stop the economic influence and the conservative one the cultural one.

² See for the idea of the „two faces“ BARBU, Daniel: *op. cit.*, p. 171.

³ For the low status of the peasants in the Romanian society see short story *Proștii [The Fools]* (1910) of the writer Liviu Rebreanu in REBREANU, Liviu: *Nuvele [Short Stories]*, Editura Liviu Rebreanu, București, 2006, p. 196-202 or ZELETIN, Ștefan: *Din țara măgarilor: însemnări [From the Country of the Donkeys: Notes]*, Nemira, București, 2006 (1916).

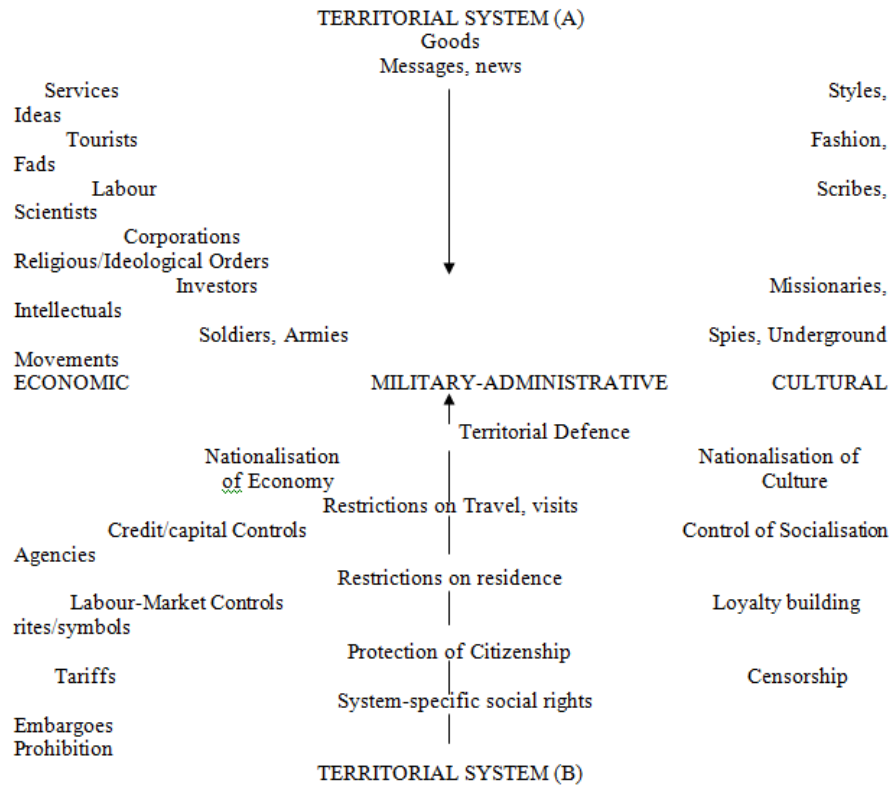
peasants' life was obvious. The peasant uprising in 1907 affected roughly the whole Romanian territory and was suppressed with the price of "thousands of victims".¹

The war and the defeats that the Romanian army suffered in 1916 amplified the need for reform. The support of the peasants, which represented the backbone of the army, was crucial in a moment when the existence of Romanian elites was threatened by the German advance and the spreading of Russian revolutionary ideas. The distribution of land to the peasants after the war was merely a short term solution to calm the unrest in the rural area. It showed little concern for the creation of economically viable households and opened a tradition of granting land to gain the support of the peasants. On long term, it influenced the structure of the property during the twentieth century, which was once more dispersed in 1945 and whose structure was reconstructed in 1991.

In conclusion, the backwardness of the Romania rural area is not due the preservation of traditional structures in the villages, but rather an effect of the modernization process which took place during the nineteenth century. The worsening of the peasants' living conditions was a result of a specific kind of modernization focused on the process of nation building. This was beneficial for the traditional elites, which gained the upper positions in the developing state, but less favourable for the majority of the rural population. The response to the growing social pressure in the rural area came only in the last moment and consisted in hastily redistribution of land. This model of action continued during the twentieth century and contributed to the preservation of the traditional production pattern in agriculture, which in turn further delayed the modernization of the countryside.

¹ The number of victims is debatable since the central documents related to the military actions against peasants were destroyed at the end of the repression. I quote the expression "thousands of victims" as in PLATON, Gheorghe: "Relații agrare. Mișcări sociale [Agrarian Relations. Social Movements], in *** *Istoria Românilor [The History of Romanians]*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2003, Vol. VII, Tomme 2, p. 101. The volumes were published by the Romanian Academy and represent the point of view of the mainstream Romanian historians.

1: A chart for the classification of the major components of boundary transactions and controls between two territorial systems¹



2: Types and levels of exit according to Stein Rokkan²

Type	Boundary crossed by	Medium	Primary exit	Secondary exit
Economic	Commodities	Barter, exchange, money	Innovation in technology of production	Switch to alternative products, alternative exchange partners
Cultural	Messages, Codes	Oral relays, pictograms, scripts	Innovation in technology of communication, organisation of information	Openness to alternative information, alternative sources of moral/religious

¹ FLORA, Peter/ KUHNLE, Stein/ URWIN, Derek (eds.): *op. cit.*, p. 101.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

				guidance
Military-Administrative	People: soldiers, control personnel	Physical coercion	Innovation in techniques of warfare, organisation of physical controls	Subject to alternatives commands, alternatives rulers

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