# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgements</th>
<th>page xi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biographies</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms</td>
<td>xix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps</td>
<td>xxii–xxiii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Introduction 1

Chapters

1. Democracy constrained by Backwardness, 1866–1945 18
   * A legacy of backwardness 18
   * The road to independence 20
   * A promising début: constitutional monarchy 22
   * Oligarchy and the masses 24
   * Reformist stirrings and peasant rage 26
   * The First World War and the onset of Greater Romania 28
   * Old habits undermine the new Romania 29
   * Absence of consensus 31
   * Romania’s intellectuals: foes of liberty 33
   * The rise of the Iron Guard 35
   * The road to dictatorship and war 36

2. Return to Underdevelopment: the Imposition and Consequences of Communist Rule, 1945–1989 44
   * Romanian Communism: from sect to ruling force 44
   * Sovietization 46
   * Aspects of political culture conducive to takeover 48
   * Dej and the emergence of a Romanian brand of communism 51
   * Moving out of the Soviet orbit 53
   * Guarded openings to the West 55
Contents

The triumph of the Biggest Zero 56
Deceiving gullible democracies 58
Communist pharaoh on the Danube 59
Family power and catastrophic policy errors 60
Playing the ethnic card 62
Socialism in one family, totalitarianism at all levels 62
Orthodox Church compliance 65
Party regulars challenge Ceausescu 66

3. Comrades Discard the Ideology but Conserve the Power, 1990–1992 70
The fall of the Ceausescus 70
Enter the FSN 71
Minority rights overshadows the agenda for change 75
The FSN becomes a contender for power 78
Manufacturing inter-ethnic conflict 82
The violence in Târgu Mureș and its aftermath 84
Romania’s stormy electoral début 89
A broken-backed opposition 92
The FSN’s poll triumph 94
Post-electoral violence and international isolation 95
The authoritarian spirit persists 97
The September 1991 crisis and the fall of Roman 98
The imperative of unity 99
The 1991 constitution and the collapse of FSN unity 100
Nationalist advances 101
The September 1992 elections and a new political balance 104

Iliescu’s management style 110
The men around Iliescu 110
Virgil Maogureanu-man of secrets 113
Hostility to reform at the top 114
The new oligarchy 116
The PDSR and the nationalists 119
Slow emergence from international isolation 121
The strengthening of Romanian democracy 125
Normalisation of Romanian-Hungarian relations and Euro-Atlantic integration 127
Nationalists rebel as social hardships increase 130
The taint of corruption 132
Electoral defeat 135
Anatomy of Romania’s 1996 electoral shift 139

5. ‘In Office but not in Power’: Constantinescu’s Honeymoon, 1996–1998 142
The CDR makes itself electable 142
The coalition takes shape 144
Ciorbea and Constantinescu 145
Reconciliation is the watchword 148
Slaying the dragon of corruption 150
Bringing the Hungarians in from the cold 152
The algorithm principle 155
The NATO chimera 158
Introspection and disension 162
Capitulation before vested interests 164
Death agonies of the Ciorbea government 168
Radu Vasile 170
Quis custodet custodes? Tigareta II 172

6. A Broken-backed Coalition 178
External disillusionment 178
An unyielding IMF 179
Who governs Romania? The case of Renel 181
Slow-motion privatization 182
Government adrift 183
A judiciary ambivalent about a law-based state 185
Confronting totalitarian legacies 187
The UDMR: a constructive force in government 192
The PD: Trojan horse of the coalition 194
Society loses patience with the coalition 196
The mishandling of the Jiu Valley miners 199
The fifth mineriada 202
Post-mineriada anxieties 205

7. Staggering to the Finishing Line 212
No fresh start after the Mineriada 212
Romania and the Kosovo conflict: the coalition’s finest hour? 213
## Contents

8. Taking Things to Extremes: the 2000 Elections and their Outcome
- The June 2000 local elections
- Constantinescu’s bombshell
- Suicide of the centre
- Grassroots alienation at danger level
- The new look PDSR
- The PRM taps into mass alienation
- Romania’s new electoral landscape
- Stopping Vădim
- Romania draws back from the brink

- Vădim in the gallery of European extremism
- The PRM and the communist heritage
- A world full of anti-Romanian conspiracies
- Grievances to be exploited
- Irresolute opponents and ruthless allies
- Vădim escapes from his sponsors’ control
- Recurring anti-Semitism
- România Mare: the formula for success
- Vădim and Băsescu
- Vădim’s Achilles Heel
- Post-2000 successes and controversies

---

Romania and Kosovo: a missed opportunity 216
The Stability Pact: less than meets the eye? 219
Kosovo prompts a PDSR comeback 220
Constantinescu at bay 222
The IMF adds to Romania’s woes 222
Privatisation’s new lease of life 225
Deposing Vasile 226
Mugur Isărescu and Romania’s EU application 227
EU pressure for reform bears fruit 229
Isărescu’s approach to government 232
Isărescu at bay: the FNI scandal 234
Băsescu shrugs off the Costea affair 235

---

8. Taking Things to Extremes: the 2000 Elections and their Outcome
- The June 2000 local elections
- Constantinescu’s bombshell
- Suicide of the centre
- Grassroots alienation at danger level
- The new look PDSR
- The PRM taps into mass alienation
- Romania’s new electoral landscape
- Stopping Vădim
- Romania draws back from the brink

- Vădim in the gallery of European extremism
- The PRM and the communist heritage
- A world full of anti-Romanian conspiracies
- Grievances to be exploited
- Irresolute opponents and ruthless allies
- Vădim escapes from his sponsors’ control
- Recurring anti-Semitism
- România Mare: the formula for success
- Vădim and Băsescu
- Vădim’s Achilles Heel
- Post-2000 successes and controversies

---
Contents


11. Conclusion: the Crucial Role of the E.U. Epilogue, August 2005 331

Notes 359
Bibliography 405
Index 418