HAS ROMANIA FALLEN INTO THE HANDS OF ANARCHISTS?

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Instead of offering solutions for Romania to overcome the crisis, the main leaders squabble using subversive slogans: *refusal of elections* vs. *refusal of census*. Since there were shortcomings from both sides on the impeachment referendum, the Constitutional Court has asked for a six week delay before giving its ruling.

On Sunday, July 29th, 7.4 million Romanians have asked for the elected president to be impeached (87% of votes cast). But participation did not reach the 50% threshold necessary to validate the vote (46.26%, according to the Central Electoral Bureau). After the publication of the official results on August 1st 2012, the Constitutional Court had asked for a first delay for ruling on the validity of the referendum. Then, on August 2nd 2012, the Constitutional Court postponed its ruling for September 12th.



The suspended Romanian President belonging to the centre right had called for a refusal of the vote on account of the confiscation of power by the Government. This recuperation of the most radical leftist arguments by a head of state belonging to the centre right is quite paradoxical.

For the right: a refusal of the universal suffrage

The polls were very bad for the suspended President. By calling for a refusal of the vote, he took the risk to give the impression that he was clinging to power at all costs.

The suspended President is now claiming victory, alleging the support of all the abstentions (nearly 54%). However, during the referendum, 7 400 000 Romanians voted for his impeachment (87%), while only 950 000 voted against it (13%).



In fact, the suspended President cannot pretend to add up the 9,8 million people who did not vote, since the participation rate (46.3%) is higher than that of the previous referendum on his impeachment (44.5% in 2007). In Romania, for the last ten years the participation rate at elections did not exceed 60% (see chart).



In the best case scenario (the fall of participation from 60% to 46%), he can assess that 2.5 million voters followed his call not to take part in the vote. It seems more prudent to use the 56% participation rate in the local elections in June 2012 to count 2.3 million people that would have followed the suspended President in his refusal of the vote.



Adding the 950 000 votes against the impeachment, it amounts to a total of 3.25 to 3.5 million supporters. Which is much less than the 5.2 million votes that reelected him in 2009. And most significant, it is twice less than the 7.4 million Romanians who voted in favour of his impeachment last Sunday.

Challenged results and a climate of tension

The results are challenged especially due to the opportunity given during the summer to Romanians to vote on their vacation site even without being inscribed on the electoral lists (with the verification of their identity code). However, the tourist sites are not the only ones that showed high participation rates (see map and graph).



The advantage of organising a referendum in the summer is therefore to be able to have an advanced review of the geography of tourism in the country. In three counties (see map), the participation rate was far higher that the national average (46%): Mehedinti (69.24%), Teleorman (70.23%), and Olt (73.89%), each time over 10 to 15% more than for the last elections (June 2012). The tourist areas were not the ones with the most voters.



Within those counties, small villages showed surprising results. For instance, the election office in the kindergarten of the village of Colonia (municipality of Gogosu, Mehedinti county) had 88 people on the electoral roll. Before the vote, it had received 403 ballots. On Sunday, 233 ballots were cast, which means a 284% participation rate. Also, the village of Batareni (Colonesti municipality, Olt county) had 168 people on the electoral roll, it received 465 ballots and 362 ballots were cast, meaning a 216% participation rate. The village of Vlaici (Colonesti, Olt) had 299 people on the electoral roll, it received 609 ballots and declared 605 ballots cast, i.e. a 202% participation rate, etc. Hospitals, prisons, isolated villages have participation rates much higher than 120% and it is difficult to understand why they received so many ballots or why almost all the ballots in stock were used. These results can be checked in the official Central Electoral Bureau database put online on Wednesday, August 1st 2012.



The Social Democrat Government in office that initiated the impeachment procedure is pleading for the validation of the impeachment. First, it had tried to annul the 50% participation threshold necessary for the impeachment of the President. Now, it says that participation is in fact much higher since the electoral lists have been oversized: had there been less than 18 million voters (number given by the official electoral lists), the participation could have been higher than 50%, the referendum would be valid and the impeachment of the President would be final.



However, the Social Democrat Government is in office since the beginning of May. It is therefore this Government that set the electoral lists for the local elections in June 2012 and for the referendum. It seems odd that the government would challenge after the ballot the electoral lists it had validated before the vote. Now they say the population has shrunk in order to maintain that the electoral lists have been oversized (see chart). The point is to see if the participation rate for the referendum was over the 50% threshold necessary to validate the impeachment of the centre right President.

For the left: a refusal of the census

The Social Democrat Government uses the preliminary results of the October 2011 census to state that, in Romania, the "stable population" is only 19 million people. In this case, there would be only 16 million people with a right to vote, much lower than the 18 million people on the electoral lists.



National Institute of Statistics (Romania): <u>http://www.recensamentromania.ro/</u>

However, this "stable population" corresponds to the people residing at the same address for 12 consecutive months. By definition, it excludes the people who have changed address recently, people who spent time abroad, etc. The Government also suggested comparing these numbers with the data from Social Security in order to show that the population is lower than what the electoral lists say. But this means excluding those who do not contribute (unemployed, inactive people, etc.), which was interpreted as an attempt to reintroduce census vote.

The main problem with the "stable population" argument is that it tends to exclude Romanians residing abroad or having changed address recently. In any case, the Romanian National Statistics Institute (NSI), whose high management was fired in the beginning of July by the Social Democrat Government, has declared that it couldn't provide official results before mid 2013.

On August 1st 2012, the NSI published a communiqué recalling the difference between "stable population" and total population in order to end the controversy: people who have changed address or who have spent some time abroad are not counted in the stable population. It is in a way a heritage of the former communist regime: Romanians who haven't spent 12 consecutive months (as of January 1st or July 1st of a year) are not counted as "stable" population. The NSI announcement ends as follows:

"For Romania today [after 1990], confronted to a massive external migration, the fact that the stable population is significantly lower than the legal population is a technical aspect that shouldn't surprise anyone."



Moreover; in Romania, there are no electoral lists for expatriates, as well as for people who have moved from their former residence to a new one. They are still inscribed on the electoral lists of their original residence. Which automatically increases the difference between the "stable" population of municipalities and that from the electoral lists.

What is more, there is no vote by proxy in Romania. People who are abroad or in another city during the ballot cast their vote without being inscribed on the lists. Usually, those "supplementary" voters are counted separately, but last July, the Social Democrat Government decided not to make separate lists, which makes it very difficult to stop voters from voting several times (after the vote, the identity code would need to be compared to that of 8 million people who have voted).



Anyway, the Social Democrat Government and the National Liberal interim President have already tried on Sunday night to blame the Hungarian minority (see map and figure) and the expatriates responsible of the failure of the referendum.



However, over 75 000 Romanians have voted abroad for the referendum, of which 62 000 in almost every European country (see map). It's twice less than for the last presidential elections (148 000 voting in 2009), but it is the same mobilisation as for the previous referendum in 2007.



But since the NSI says that there are between one million and one and a half million expatriates, the participation rate is very low (between 0.5 and 0.75%). It is therefore tempting to ignore them in order to boost the participation rate to the referendum and to validate the impeachment of the President. The Social Democrat Government seems to forget the Romanian expatriates, although it has organised over 300 polling stations abroad for the referendum. However, Romanians living and working abroad (just like those voting on the vacation site) are still full rights citizens.

Even when adding up Romanians residing abroad, the NSI counted only 20.25 million people in October 2011, while it estimated in July 2011 the total population at 21.35 millions. How is it that over a million Romanians have disappeared last summer? This is the equivalent of all the Romanian losses during the two World Wars. What kind of war was held in Romania last summer?

In fact, the social democrat leaders had asked Romanians to refuse the Population and Household Census in October 2011. Back then, they were in opposition. They have also been using some anarchist axioms, arguing that the census was a domination instrument in the hands of the rulers.



Adrian Nastase's blog: http://nastase.wordpress.com/2011/10/20/recensamentul-cnp-ul-si-furtul-identitaii/

Last year, the former Social Democrat Prime Minister Adrian Nastase, sentenced in the meantime to two years in prison for corruption, explained on his blog that the census would allow the rulers to steal identities and to defraud elections (see screen caption). The paradox is even more evident since the social democrats were the ones who set the last electoral lists, once they came back in power last May.

When publishing the preliminary results of the 2011 census, the NSI released on February 2nd 2012 a methodological note explaining why it would be very difficult to publish final results: it basically didn't manage to count every household in October 2011. It estimated the total population at 21.35 million at July 1st 2011 but the provisional census data indicates only between 19 and 20 million inhabitants. It should be recalled that, in Romania, the census occurs during one single day (October 20th 2012, March 18th 2002, etc.) in order to avoid double counting. The February NSI methodological note states:

"The weight of households that could not be counted during the 2011 census represents 2,8% of housings, that is circa 1 million people (taking into account entire families being abroad if no one could give information, as well as the people who could not be contacted). This proportion is not the same for the entire territory: it is very high in large cities as Bucharest (6.0%), Timisoara (5.8%), Iasi (3.0%), Constanta (2.9%), etc."

Subversion, why?

The social democrat leaders had themselves called last fall for the population to refuse the census. The Romanian press has shown that the entire families of several social democrat leaders have evaded the census. The fact that roughly 1 000 000 Romanians were not covered by last year's census is hence the result of a deliberate sabotage. That is why the NSI has many checks and balances to make and has already stated that it wouldn't be able to present final results before mid 2013.

The social democrats didn't want a count of Romanians while there were in opposition. Maybe it was in order to destabilise the right, maybe in order not to know what had changed in the past ten years. For instance, to make it impossible to check the number and location of all the buildings built since the 2002 census.

Or perhaps the social democrat leaders simply had planned to prevent the President to use the referendum to overrule the Parliament, as he did in 2009, to impose uninominal polls, the removal of bicameralism and the ineligibility of convicted Parliamentarians (all that should have be applied at next fall elections). And the best way to do it was to sabotage the census, in order to make it almost impossible to reach the 50% participation quorum.

To summarize, the social democrat leaders have consecutively:

- sabotaged the October 2011 census by persuading over 1 000 000 Romanians to refuse it (when they were in the opposition)
- set the electoral lists for the local elections in June 2012 and the referendum on July 29th, 2012 (when they came back in power last May)
- prevented the distinction between voters inscribed on the electoral lists and passing by voters (beginning of July)
- used the comparison between the 2011 census they had sabotaged and the electoral lists of 2012 they had established, to cast a doubt (the past few days)
- challenged the validity of the electoral lists *after* July 29th and convinced on August 2nd the Constitutional Court not to rule on the validity of the vote.

However, the low participation rate and the failure of the referendum is mostly due to the call made by the Centre Right President threatened with impeachment to refuse the vote by denouncing the majority diktat.

Loose ends

- Why would the Head of State underdog in the polls refuse the vote and urge his fellow citizen to boycott the ballot for other than personal interest?
- Why would an opposition party disrupt a census and then use it when it is back in power to contest the elections that he himself organized?
- Why has the Ministry of Interior waited until after results of the vote to denounce post factum the reliability of the electoral lists it had set?
- Why didn't the social democrat rulers challenge the results of the local elections they won in June by a large majority if they found out they had forgotten to previously check the electoral lists?
- In the end, who will be in charge to grant pardon to the convicted former PM Adrian Nastase to prevent him making astonishing revelations on every Parliamentarian?

Without having any other political project than the use of anarchist slogans to win power and keep mouths closed, Romanian political class might be dictated its way out of the crisis by financial markets and the IMF, who is in Bucharest this very moment.