

REPORT OF
SIGNIFICANT CORRUPTION

Liviu Dragnea



Date: January 15, 2019



Visa Restrictions and Sanctions Team

UNISHKA Research Service

File Number: RO181207

AUTHORITY: The Immigration and Nationality Act, Section 212(f), gives the President of the United States broad authority to implement immigration restrictions by proclamation. The statute allows the President to suspend the entry of any aliens or of a class of aliens or place restrictions on the entry of a class of aliens temporarily if the President determines that the entry of such aliens would be detrimental to the U.S. interest. Under this authority, President Bush issued Presidential Proclamation 7750 to suspend entry of persons engaged in or benefiting from corruption. Presidential Proclamation was subsequently codified in the Code of Federal Regulations at 3 C.F.R. 7750. This Report of Significant Corruption (RSC) was collected in furtherance of 3 C.F.R. 7750, subparagraph (a), which reads:

“(a) Public officials or former public officials whose solicitation or acceptance of any article of monetary value, or other benefit, in exchange for any act or omission in the performance of their public functions has or had serious adverse effects on the national interests of the United States.”

This report examines whether available information is sufficient to demonstrate that the Public Official identified in this report solicited or accepted any article or monetary value or other benefit, in exchange for any act or omission in the performance of his/her public function and that such act or omission has or had a serious adverse effect on the national interest of the United States. We make no recommendation concerning the eligibility of any person for entry into the United States. The information contained in this report was collected in accordance with the laws of the United States, its respective states and applicable international agreements.

**OFFICIAL OF
FOREIGN
GOVERNMENT:
BIOGRAPHICAL
INFORMATION:**

Liviu Nicolae Dragnea
DOB: October 28, 1962
City of Birth: Gratia
County of Birth: Teleorman County
Country of Birth: Romania

OFFICIAL POSITIONS: **Current:** President of the Chamber of Deputies in the Romanian Parliament: December 21, 2016 – Present

Current: President of Social Democratic Party: October 12, 2015 – Present

Previous: Deputy Minister of Romania: December 21, 2012 – December 17, 2014

Previous: Minister of Regional Development & Public Administration: December 21, 2012 – May 15, 2015

Previous: Minister of Internal Affairs: January 20, 2009 – February 2, 2009

SUMMARY

Mr. Liviu Dragnea is the leader of the Socialist Democratic Party in Romania, President of the Chamber of Deputies in the Romanian Parliament and informal leader of the government (where his political party has the strongest position). He is precluded from becoming Prime Minister as a result of his convictions for electoral fraud, abuse of office and forgery. He has been investigated and sentenced several times – most recently in June 2018 for incitement to abuse of office. He was sentenced to 3-5 years imprisonment which is currently pending appeal. He is currently under investigation for money laundering by Brazil and Romania and has been connected to an open investigation in the United States concerning money laundering. The governments of Costa Rica and Israel may also have open investigations the Romanian company Tel-Drum of which Dragnea is the beneficial owner. His ex-wife, Bombonica was not an innocent spouse but a co-conspirator in much of Dragnea’s activities. She has also been convicted for her part in the criminal enterprise.

FAMILY MEMBERS: The following individuals are family members of the named foreign official¹

1. No current spouse (divorced Bombonica Dragnea in 2015)
2. Valentin Dragnea
3. Alexandra Dragnea

¹ Unlike 3 C.F.R. 7750, Section 1(d), there is no requirement to demonstrate that the spouse, children or dependent household members benefited from the corruption.

STANDARD OF PROOF: Under Section 3 of the Presidential Proclamation, the Secretary of State or the Secretary's designee shall identify current and former public officials subject to 3 C.F.R. 7750 at his or her sole discretion. Specifically, the regulation states:

“Persons covered by [...] this proclamation shall be identified by the Secretary of State or the Secretary's designee, in his or her sole discretion, pursuant to such standards and procedures as the Secretary may establish.”

Such standards and procedures are generally identified in 9 FAM 302.14; however, neither the Foreign Affairs Manual nor 3 C.F.R. 7750 establish the degree of evidence necessary to determine ineligibility (i.e. standard of proof). Therefore, for purposes of this report, the standard adopted, is the same as required for Public Law 115-141, that is: is there *credible information* that the public officials or former public officials solicited or accepted an article of monetary value, or other benefit, in exchange for an act or omission in the performance of his/her public functions which had serious adverse effects on the national interests of the United States. Public Law 115-141 does not specifically define *credible information*; however, at 32 C.F.R. 105.3, *credible information* is defined as *“Information that, considering the source and nature of the information and the totality of the circumstances, is sufficiently believable to presume that the fact or facts in question are true.”* While this is not dispositive for Public Law 115-141, it does provide some guidance. A common standard of proof used in some criminal law proceedings is the *credible evidence* standard.

According to Justia, *credible evidence* is *“evidence that is not necessarily true but that is worthy of belief and worthy of the jury’s consideration.”*² At Federal Register: 59 FR 54306 (October 28, 1994), a commenter representing State regulatory authorities opined that “credible information” and “credible evidence” are not synonymous but that “credible information” is a broader concept than “credible evidence.” For purposes of this report, we have adopted the following standard: **“Credible Information” is information that is worthy of belief, considering the source and nature of the information, and/or considering the totality of the circumstances.** This standard is not imputed to The Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) or the U.S. Department of State but is used solely for purposes of this report.

Serious Adverse Effects on the National Interests of the United States

At 3 C.F.R. 7750, Section 4, “serious adverse effects on the national interests of the United States” is defined to mean serious adverse effects on the international economic activity of U.S. businesses, U.S. foreign assistance goals, the security of the United States against transnational crime and terrorism, or the stability of democratic institutions and nations.

² An example of a state statute (Illinois) defining the term “credible evidence” appears at 89 Ill. Adm. Code 300.20: *“Credible evidence of child abuse or neglect” means that the available facts, when viewed in light of surrounding circumstances, would cause a reasonable person to believe that a child was abused or neglected.”*

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FINDINGS

EDUCATION AND EARLY EMPLOYMENT

With one exception, Liviu Dragnea’s educational diplomas and degrees appear to be generally valid based on available research although his educational claims are subject to hyperboleⁱ. Nearly all of his biographies indicate that he was graduated from The Faculty of Transports at the Polytechnic Institute of Bucharest in 1987ⁱⁱ. There are five majors within The Faculty of Transportsⁱⁱⁱ and in no biography does Dragnea indicate his major; however, given that his first employment after leaving school was as head of the “mechanical workshop” for a heavy equipment company^{iv}, it appears that his degree from the Institute was probably in some type of diesel mechanics. In practical terms, his education at the Polytechnic Institute appears to be Dragnea’s only formal schooling post high-school. Some of Dragnea’s biographers indicate that he “studied at the Public Administration School of the Italian Ministry of the Interior,” or the “School of Advanced Administrative Studies in Rome, Italy^{vi}.”

In his own *curriculum vitae* dated 2012, Dragnea lists the school as the “Public Administration Higher School of the Italian Ministry of Interior^{vii}”. This educational claim appears to be factual but overstated. Research indicates that Dragnea attended a two-week seminar at La Scuola Superiore dell’Amministrazione dell’Interno^{viii} in July 1997^{ix}. Dragnea’s claim to have attended the *Faculty of Management and Public Administration at the Ecological University of Bucharest* appears to be a complete fabrication and has subsequently been removed from his resume^x, although it still appears on his Wikipedia cite^{xi}. His claim to have attended the National Defense College, while true to some extent, is greatly exaggerated^{xii}.

ORIGINS OF POLITICAL POWER

Following his education at the Polytechnic Institute, Dragnea worked for three years as a shop supervisor at the “Enterprise of Heavy Equipment and Transports for Construction” in Craiova, Romania (1987-1990)^{xiii}. On August 14, 1990, Dragnea began his business career with a friend from college, Vasiliică Petcu^{xiv}. Together they opened a bar called the “Bachus Business Association^{xv}” in Giuvărăști. On June 18, 1991, Dragnea and Petcu, create a limited liability company called Com Orizont SRL^{xvi}, through which they opened four more bars in and around Giuvărăști over the next 18 months^{xvii}.

As a result, Dragnea seemed to make money, but Petcu was not so fortunate^{xviii}. On December 20, 1992 Dragnea partnered with another college friend, Florin Mindroc, to purchase a limited liability company called Dacorom SRL^{xix}. Together they purchased a number of businesses in the municipality of Turnu Măgurele, about 20 kilometers Southeast of Giuvărăști and Dragnea’s high school hometown^{xx}.

In addition to the restaurants, Dragnea and Mindroc (using Dacorom SRL) purchase operating rights to a landmark property in Turnu Măgurele called The Turris Hotel & Restaurant. This is where Dragnea's corruption first emerges. At that time, The Turris Hotel & Restaurant, was operated by a state-owned company called SC Vedeia and owned by an employee's association called Turris Hotel SA^{xxi} The Director of SC Vedeia was Dragnea's close friend, Cicerone Constantinescu^{xxii}. In early 1993, Constantinescu conveyed operating rights for The Turris Hotel & Restaurant to Dacorom SRL for 800 million lei (\$27,000)^{xxiii}. Dragnea's wife, Bombonica, becomes an employee as the Hotel Director. As the Director, she is also the head of Turris Hotel SA—the employee association that owns the hotel In 1994 Dragnea created a new limited liability company, Stefimar SRL, of which he was the sole owner. Dragnea then transferred the more profitable assets of Com Orizont and Dacorom to Stefimar SRL, essentially writing Petcu and Mindroc out of their investments^{xxiv}.

As a result, a fight ensues between Dragnea and Mindroc and Mindroc renounced all association with Dacorom, ceding everything to Dragnea^{xxv}. By his 33rd birthday in 1996, Dragnea was running his three primary businesses and employing more than 1,000 people in southern Romania^{xxvi}.

Figures 1-3, Dragnea's Power Base



Turnu Măgurele Border Crossing between Bulgaria and Romania



Map of Romania with Teleorman County (Population ~360,000) in red.



Map of Teleorman County (Population ~22,250) with the Municipality of Turnu Măgurele in red.

On June 2, 1996 Dragnea launched his political career when he ran for and was elected to the city council (local councilor) in Turnu Măgurele^{xxvii}. In December of the same year he again stood for election. This time he was elected a Prefect of Teleorman County, a position he would hold for almost four years^{xxviii} (December 23, 1996 – June 17, 2000).

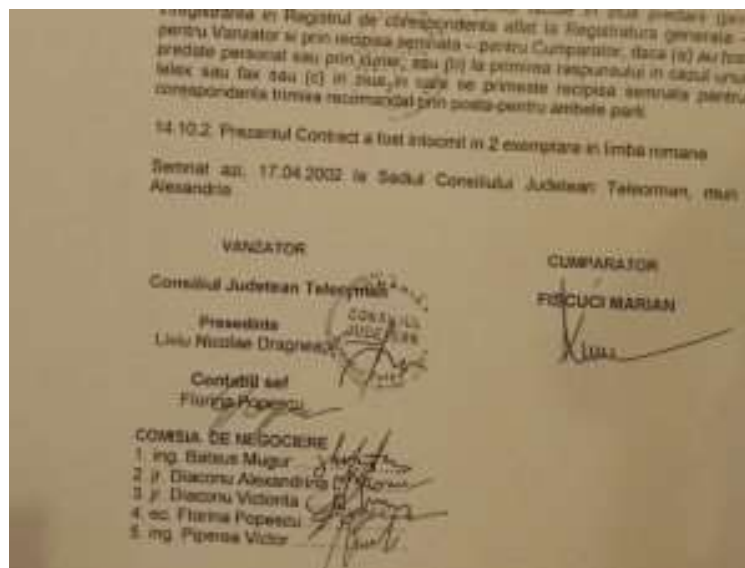
In 1998, the employee association that owns The Turriss Hotel and which is headed by Bombonica, Turriss Hotel SA, conveys 98% of its shares to Bombonica as an individual^{xxix}. At this point, Dacorom SRL, owned by Dragnea, owns the operating franchise and Turriss Hotel SA, of which Bombonica owns 98% of the shares, owns the hotel.

In June 2000, Dragnea was elected President of the Teleorman County Council^{xxx}. It was in this election that Dragnea seems to have fully embraced corruption as a modus operandi that would underpin his future elections and business endeavors^{xxxi}. According to Alexandru Mocanu (out-going President of the Teleorman County Council) the deciding factor in the election for President of the Teleorman County Council occurred the evening before the vote when Dragnea invited the members of the country council to his hotel in Turnu Măgurele^{xxxii}. There he allegedly catered to their needs while promising them “positions in exchange for voting for him as president of the country council”^{xxxiii}. For example, “to Marin Almajan, chief of PNL Teleorman, he offered the vice presidency of the county council, and to the others he promised high paying positions as Directors” in exchange for their votes^{xxxiv}.

THE RISE OF LIVIU DRAGNEA AND SIGNIFICANT CORRUPTION

Almost immediately after his election as President of the Teleorman County Council, Dragnea began to develop an organized criminal enterprise over which he ruled with an iron fist and which would make him grossly wealthy^{xxxv}. The Dragnea criminal enterprise first emerges in May 2001^{xxxvi} when he and eight other people “conspired to privatize” a state-owned construction company, Tel-Drum SA, so that it comes under the “influence and control” of Dragnea^{xxxvii}. In the sale of Tel-Drum SA, the Dragnea criminal enterprise suppresses public information about the sale of the company so that when the auction actually occurs, on April 17, 2002^{xxxviii}, only the co-conspirators are present to bid^{xxxix}. Consequently, the state-owned construction company (worth tens of millions of dollars) is sold for \$285,000 to Marian Fiscuci, Dragnea’s personal driver.^{xl} Dragnea himself signed the conveyance document to his driver (see Figure 4 below)^{xli}.

Figure 4: Conveyance Document of Tel-Drum SA signed by Dragnea and his Personal Driver, Marian Fiscuci



The full extent of the corruption of the Dragnea criminal enterprise will probably never be determined, however, in one five-year period researched by an investigative journalist, Tel-Drum received over \$230 million in contracts from the Country Council of Teleorman and other local municipalities^{xlii}. A significant portion of the international funds came from the European Union; however, USAID, and the World Bank also contributed to the rebuilding of Teleorman^{xliii}.

Around November 1, 2002, Dragnea’s personal driver as sole shareholder of Tel-Drum, leases the Dragnea family hotel in Teleorman^{xliv}. The lease agreement provided occupancy of the Turris Hotel to Tel-Drum, provided it completely remodel the hotel (for the benefit of Bombonica, the owner), and pay rent for the entire hotel (for the benefit of Dacorom). After Tel-Drum completed remodeling the hotel, however, Dragnea (through Dacorom SRL) sold the operating rights in the hotel to Tel-Drum for \$1.3

million, nearly all of which was profit since he had only paid \$27,000 when he acquired the franchise from his friend Constantinescu in the dubious 1993 transaction^{xlv}. As part of the agreement, however, hotel ownership would remain with Hotel Turris SA of which Bombonica owned 98% of the shares.

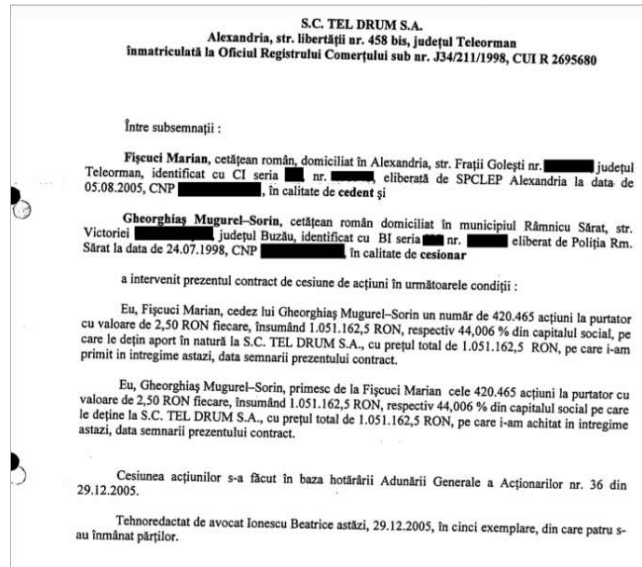
In 2004 the Teleorman County Council applied for EU funding to build a border crossing between Nikopol, Bulgaria and Turnu Măgurele, Romania^{xlvi}. Reporting is scant on this issue; however, it appears that Dragnea owned the land on which the Teleorman County Council selected to build the border crossing. The obvious conflict of interest resulted in the EU refusing funding for the construction unless a new site was selected. The county council selected an alternative location; however, the county then built the border crossing at the first site but Dragnea certified its completion at the second site, prompting the EU to pay its contribution to the construction^{xlvii}.

On January 23, 2006, when the value of Tel-Drum was in the tens of millions of dollars, Marian Fiscuci (Dragnea's driver) transferred 88% of the shares in Tel-Drum to Dragnea's long-time friends, Mugurel Gheorghias and Lucian Dobrescu^{xlviii}. In college Mugurel ("The Snail") Gheorghias, Lucian ("The Rat") Dobrescu and Dragnea had started a rock band called Ego and have remained friends over the years^{xlix}. There is no evidence Fiscuci received any personal compensation for divesting himself of 88% of the company^l.



Turris Hotel & Restaurant located in Turnu Măgurele, Romania of which Liviu Dragnea is the beneficial owner.

Figure 5: Document signed by Dragnea's Personal Driver, Marian Fiscuci, Conveying 44% Ownership Each to Members of the Band Ego, of which Dragnea has been a Member³



As his wealth increased, so did Dragnea's political fortunes. He was re-elected President of the Teleorman County Council in 2004, 2008 and 2012. During this period, some of Dragnea's past deeds began to come to light. For example, in 2008, the DNA opened a corruption investigation against Dragnea based on his false certification concerning the border crossing station in 2004. After a review, a decision was made not to pursue prosecution.

In 2009 Dragnea was appointed Romania's Minister of Interior^{li} but in a clash of egos he was forced to resign after only 12 days^{lii}, returning to the sanctity of the Teleorman Country Council and his various business and criminal enterprises. Dragnea saw his power grow substantially after 2009.

Also, in 2009, Bombonica, as a 98% shareholder of Turrus Hotel SA, conveys ownership of the Turrus Hotel to herself individually as compensation for her "social capital contribution^{liii}.." The other employees probably shared a small payment for their 2% interest in Turrus Hotel SA., although there is no available reporting on this. Following the transfer, Bombonica—in her capacity as head of the employee association—legally disbands the employee association.

³ For a copy of the entire document please see

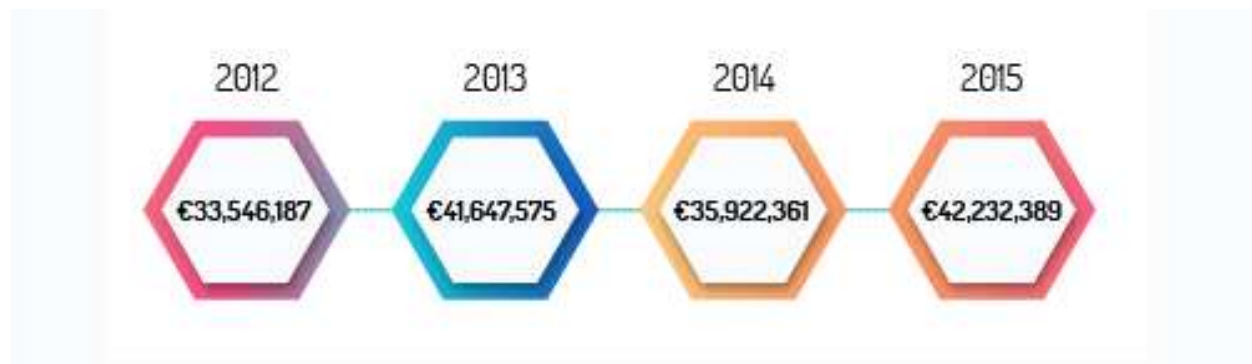
<https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/3677589/BEARER-SHARES-TEL-DRUM.pdf>

On September 19, 2011 Dragnea’s friends, Gheorghias “the snail” and Dobrescu “the rat”, transferred their 88% share in Tel-Drum to an unknown individual through the use of “bearer shares,” that is, shares that are owned by the bearer of the certificates. Romania is one of the few countries that still allows for “bearer shares.”

Nationally, 2012 was a particularly difficult year for Romania. Prime Minister Ponta was in an open fight with President Bănescu. On July 6, 2012, the Romanian parliament overwhelmingly voted to impeach Bănescu, 256 to 114^{lv}. In accordance with the constitution, a national referendum was held on July 29, 2012 where a majority of voters was needed to make up a quorum. In the election, only 46.24% of the electorate voted so Bănescu was retained as President. Dragnea was not impartial in this political war. Dragnea strongly supported Prime Minister Ponta against President Bănescu. Therefore, the Dragnea criminal enterprise was put into action^{lv}. As was later validated in court, Dragnea ordered Prefects in Teleorman to pay bribes to swell voter turnout above the 50% quorum required^{lvi}. He also suggested that they set up polling stations in tourist resorts that were not registered constituencies and pay the tourists to vote^{lvii}. When all else failed, he ordered his network to forge paper ballots^{lviii}.

Although Ponta lost his battle with President Bănescu, the Prime Minister was very pleased with Dragnea’s ability to turn-out the vote on his behalf. Therefore, on December 21, 2012, Dragnea saw his fortunes rise again when he was appointed Minister of Regional Development as well as Deputy Prime Minister^{lix}. At this point, Dragnea finally left the Teleorman County Council, although the Dragnea criminal enterprise still tightly controlled it.

As Minister of Regional Development, Dragnea had much greater power to steer contracts toward Teleorman and Tel-Drum. From 2012 to 2015, the company that Dragnea’s driver had acquired for \$280,000 saw revenue of^{fx}:



Dragnea’s election tampering did not go unnoticed by the DNA and on October 7, 2013, Dragnea was indicted for electoral fraud^{lxi}. Dragnea and Ponta claimed that the prosecution was politically motivated by President Bănescu^{lxii}; however, European capitals were acutely aware of corruption in the Ponta government and ongoing constitutional abuses^{lxiii}.

On May 14, 2015, Dragnea was convicted of electoral fraud and sentenced to one year in jail (suspended)^{lxiv}. As a result of the conviction, however, Dragnea was now precluded from serving as Prime Minister or in any public office. Therefore, the next day Dragnea resigned as Minister of Regional Development and as Deputy Prime Minister^{lxv}. Dragnea subsequently appealed his conviction and lost, with the new court increasing his sentenced to two years (suspended)^{lxvi}.

The 2015 conviction was only Dragnea's first bout with the law. On September 5, 2017, Dragnea and his former wife Bombonica were charged with abuse of office and forgery in a fake jobs scam. Essentially, Bombonica Prodana (formerly Dragnea) was Coordinator of Child and Family Services in Teleorman^{lxvii} in 2009 and 2010. During that period, two of her employees were paid on a regular basis although they never showed up to work. Instead, they were working for Liviu Dragnea at the PSD Party Headquarters^{lxviii}. The employees pled guilty but Bombonica Prodana and Liviu Dragnea protested their innocence. Before the court could render a verdict on the abuse of office and forgery scam, however, Dragnea was charged again on November 13, 2017 for establishing an organized criminal enterprise, embezzling European funds and abuse of service^{lxix}. All of these latter charges stem from the construction contracts Dragnea pushed to Tel Drum.

On November 13, 2017, following two investigations into projects financed by the European Regional Development Fund for road construction in Romania which were concluded by the European Anti-Corruption Office (OLAF), Dragnea was charged with fraud, abuse of office and forgery^{lxx}.

On July 21, 2018, Dragnea and Prodana were convicted of abuse of office and forgery and sentenced to 3½ years in prison for the jobs scam.^{lxxi} Both Dragnea and Prodana are appealing.

ANALYSIS

Despite his convictions, Dragnea is continuing to fight. On September 22, 2018, he was re-elected head of the ruling Social Democratic Party (PSD)^{lxxii} and has all but declared war on the DNA and anti-corruption laws. With Dragnea's support, the Romanian parliament recently passed legislation to weaken anti-corruption laws in Romania^{lxxiii}. On January 9, 2019, the parliament (led by the PSD) is poised to grant amnesty to politicians convicted of corruption^{lxxiv}, essentially clearing the path for Dragnea to become Prime Minister^{lxxv}. Charges stemming from Dragnea being the beneficial owner of Tel Drum have not been preferred. Additionally, investigations in Brazil and Costa Rica concerning Dragnea's money laundering are still pending. Also, a possible Israeli investigation concerning Tel Drum operations in Libya and Algeria may be underway.

SERIOUS ADVERSE EFFECTS ON THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES

The acts of soliciting bribes and of interference in public processes described here have had serious adverse effects on the following categories of U.S. interests specified in Section 4 of the Presidential Proclamation: stability of democratic institutions and nations, the security of the United States against transnational crime and terrorism, U.S. foreign assistance goals, and the international economic activity of U.S. businesses.

STABILITY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

Fostering stability and strengthening democratic institutions are two of the U.S. Government's top priorities. Fair elections and the rule of law are fundamental to democracy. The information provided above, demonstrates that Liviu Dragnea has undermined both the electoral process (as evidenced by his conviction in electoral fraud) but also has undermined the rule of law by signing false documents, bribing members of the Teleorman County Council and operating a criminal enterprise within the government^{lxxvi}.

Dragnea's attempts to repeal anti-corruption laws and offer immunity to corrupt officials has led directly to domestic instability, a polarized society and the largest public uprisings since the fall of communism^{lxxvii}. These acts reinforce popular perceptions that Romanian's public institutions are irredeemably corrupt, and that justice is determined solely by those with political and economic power. Dragnea's actions undermine the stability of democratic institutions in Romania and seriously and adversely effect the national interested of the United States.



Massive Anti-Corruption Protests in Romania Following the Government Repeal of Anti-Corruption Laws^{lxxviii}

SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST TRANSNATIONAL CRIME AND TERRORISM

A stable government free of corruption is necessary to investigate and prosecute those guilty of money laundering, weapons trafficking, and terrorism—all issues with a direct impact on U.S. homeland security. Dragnea’s assault on the anti-corruption laws of Romania directly undermine these U.S. security objectives. Current U.S. Ambassador to Romania, Hans Klemm, noted in a recent statement that “amendments on the criminal and anti-corruption legislation ... can have a negative impact over the cooperation between US and Romania in the fight against terrorism, arms dealing and human trafficking^{lxxix}”. It might also be noted that the Romanian Directorate for Investigating Organized Crime and Terrorism is currently investigating Dragnea for divulging state secrets^{lxxx}. Additionally, Dragnea is directly linked with Elliott Broidy, a U.S. citizen and political fundraiser currently indicted for laundering money for foreign public officials through shell companies^{lxxxi}. It is unknown whether Dragnea is currently under investigation by the FBI for his activities in connection with Broidy.

U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE GOALS

U.S. Government assistance to Romania has totaled tens of millions of dollars in the past 10 years^{lxxxii}. The corrupt activities perpetrated by Liviu Dragnea, such as contract steering, directly damage the goals and purposes of this foreign assistance. The Mission's attempts to build and sustain democratic, well-governed states that respond to the needs of their people, are subverted when high quality foreign investment is driven away by the type of corrupt influence and perversion of the rule of law that Dragnea has fostered. In the last several years, as corruption has gripped Romania, investment from China, Russia and Iran have increased considerably^{lxxxiii}.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY OF U.S. BUSINESSES

The corrupt activities described in this report hamper U.S. investment in Romania. Conversely with increased investment from China, Russia and Iran, Western investment has fallen precipitously and is expected to continue to contract through 2019 and 2020^{lxxxiv}.

Additionally, rather than address the issue of corruption that is undermining international investment, Dragnea is supporting corporate tax initiatives that essentially transfer the cost of corruption to the international investment community^{lxxxv}. As a result, U.S. investors are reluctant to risk their resources in Romania knowing that they could be targeted by a corrupt government. The activities of Dragnea and demonstrably and directly harmed the credibility of Romania's government and the Romanian state with the attendant direct damage to the interests of all those subject to Romanian law, whatever their nationality. The impunity with which prominent public officials are able to engage in corrupt practices is a clear menace to any U.S. company doing business in Romania.

CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of the information sources contained in this report indicate that they are credible and that they demonstrate that Liviu Dragnea, while serving as a public official (to wit: President of the Teleorman County Council and Minister of Regional Development) *solicited and accepted articles of monetary value* (to wit: land, money and labor) *and other benefits* (to wit: political appointments) *in exchange for acts and omissions in the performance of his public functions* (to wit: contract steering and electoral fraud) *which acts and omissions had serious adverse effects on the national interests of the United States as described above.*

DATED THIS 15TH DAY OF JANUARY 2019.



Jeffrey Coonjohn

President

UNISHKA Research Service, Inc.

ENDNOTES

Information from newspapers and media sources in Romania contain variations in stories, accounts and even ‘facts’. Where there is a discrepancy, we have used a consensus or the most reliable source taking into consideration reporting biases. All sources are cited below.

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- i <https://recorder.ro/trecutul-lui-dragnea-iii/>
 - ii <https://upb.ro/en/?s=Transports+Faculty>
 - iii <https://upb.ro/en/faculties/the-faculty-of-transport/>
 - iv “Enterprise of Heavy Equipment and Transports for Construction” in Craiova, Romania (see: <https://www1.agerpres.ro/english/2015/07/22/liviu-dragnea-social-democrats-interim-president-biography--19-56-48>)
 - v https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liviu_Dragnea
 - vi <https://www1.agerpres.ro/english/2015/07/22/liviu-dragnea-social-democrats-interim-president-biography--19-56-48>
 - vii http://mdrap.ro/userfiles/cv_liviu_dragnea_en.pdf
 - viii http://www1.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stampaspeciali/viaggio_nella_formazione/ssai/index.html
 - ix <https://recorder.ro/trecutul-lui-dragnea-iii/>
 - x <https://recorder.ro/trecutul-lui-dragnea-iii/>
 - xi https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liviu_Dragnea
 - xii <https://recorder.ro/trecutul-lui-dragnea-iii/>
 - xiii <https://www1.agerpres.ro/english/2015/07/22/liviu-dragnea-social-democrats-interim-president-biography--19-56-48>
 - xiv <https://www.aktual24.ro/partenerilor-de-afaceri-ai-lui-dragnea-le-este-inca-frica-sa-vorbeasca-desi-au-fost-umiliti-si-aruncati-la-gunoi-sunt-multe-lucruri-pe-care-numai-eu-le-stiu/>
 - xv <https://recorder.ro/trecutul-lui-dragnea-i-cel-mai-influent-politician-din-romania-a-fost-caraus-de-marfa-si-a-vandut-bere-la-halba/>
 - xvi https://adevarul.ro/news/politica/liviu-dragnea-implineste-56-ani-1_5bd558cddf52022f75ef2860/index.html
 - xvii <https://recorder.ro/trecutul-lui-dragnea-i-cel-mai-influent-politician-din-romania-a-fost-caraus-de-marfa-si-a-vandut-bere-la-halba/>
 - xviii <https://www.aktual24.ro/partenerilor-de-afaceri-ai-lui-dragnea-le-este-inca-frica-sa-vorbeasca-desi-au-fost-umiliti-si-aruncati-la-gunoi-sunt-multe-lucruri-pe-care-numai-eu-le-stiu/>

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- xix <https://www.libertatea.ro/ultima-ora/astazi-este-ziua-lui-liviu-dragnea-liderul-psd-implineste-56-de-ani-2437531>
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