



International Foundation for Electoral Systems

1620 I STREET, N.W. • SUITE 611 • WASHINGTON, DC 20006 • (202) 828-8507 • FAX (202) 452-0804

PN-ABP-223

MAY 9, 1990

**Romania in the Wake of Ceausescu:
An Assessment of the Romanian
Electoral System on Election Eve**

May, 1990

Team Members

Mrs. Anca Hassing
Mr. John Surina
Mr. Merrill Wigginton

*This report was made possible by a grant
from the National Endowment for Democracy*

*Any person or organization is welcome to quote information
from this report if it is attributed to IFES.*

BOARD OF
DIRECTORS

F. Clifton White
Chairman

Charles Manatt
Vice Chairman

Patricia Hutar
Secretary

John C. White
Treasurer

James M. Cannon

Richard M. Scammon

Robert C. Walker

Randal C. Teague
Counsel

Richard W. Soudriette
Director

ROMANIA IN THE WAKE OF CEAUSESCU: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ROMANIAN
ELECTORAL SYSTEM ON ELECTION EVE

I Pre-Election Survey

II Appendix A: The Decree Law in English.

III Appendix B: Chronology of Events - December 15, 1989
through March 23, 1990

IV Appendix C: Schedule of meetings with names and titles of
attendees.

V Appendix D: The sample vote tally in English.

VI Appendix E: The Listing of Judets and the number of
Deputies and Senators allocated to each.

VII Appendix F: The Brasov Voter Registration List.

VIII Appendix G: The ballot specification as announced in
the Official Monitor of Romania.

IX Appendix H: Listing of Parties of Party leaders as of
the third edition from the Bucharest
Municipal Court.

X Appendix I: Equipment Needs of the Central Electoral
Bureau

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
I.	Scope and Purpose of the Survey	1
II.	Background Information	2
III.	Purpose and Structure of the Decree Law	
	A. Constitutional Assembly	7
	B. Provisional Government	8
	C. Evolution of the Law	10
	D. Impact of the Proportional Representation Scheme	10
IV.	Conduct of the Campaign	
	A. Party and Candidate Registration	11
	B. Campaign Financing	12
	C. Miscellaneous Rules	14
	D. Tone of the Campaign	14
V.	Conduct of the Election	
	A. Organization of Electoral Bureaus	14
	B. Registering of Voters	15
	C. Election Day Procedures	16
	D. Tabulating the Votes	17
VI.	Interview Summaries	
	A. The Group for Social Dialogue	19
	B. The National Peasants Party	21
	C. <u>Fratia</u> Independent Trade Union	23
	D. The Students' League	24
	E. The National Liberal Party	26
	D. The National Salvation Front	27
VII.	Conclusion and Recommendations	28

c1

**PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT REPORT
ROMANIA**

I. Scope and Purpose of the Survey

From March 31 to April 7, 1990, a three-person team sponsored by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) conducted a survey of the legal, institutional and political framework for the May 20 election in Romania. The project was funded by a grant from the United States Agency for International Development. The team was comprised of John Surina - Staff Director of the US Federal Election Commission, Merrill Wigginton - Chief Electoral Officer of Prince Edward Island, Canada, and Anca Hassing, a Romanian-American linguist with continuing ties to the academic community in Bucharest. Prior to arrival in Bucharest, the team studied pertinent official and press accounts of both the events that shaped the provisional government and the Decree Law on Elections under which the upcoming elections are to be held. While in Romania, the team conducted nine interviews with electoral officials, spokesmen for several major political parties, and members of social organizations with a vital interest in the process. Meetings were also held with the Canadian and US Ambassadors. A schedule of meetings and attendees is shown as Appendix B to this report; summaries of those meetings are provided as Appendix C.

The team set several objectives for its research. First, the team had to master the technical intricacies of the Decree Law and the role of the administrative organizations created to conduct the elections. The former proved no little challenge given the complex allocation methodology that drives the proportional representation scheme under the provisional law. The latter was interesting in that the embryonic Central and District level electoral bureaus¹ were established only the week before the team arrived. The Central Electoral Bureau (CEB) was moving into its offices as the first post-revolution occupants of the old Headquarters of the Communist Party Central Committee on Monday, April 2. The team met with the seven Supreme Court justice members² the following day. The Bureau

¹ The Decree Law refers to electoral "offices," however the organizations established are referred to as "bureaus." For easy reference, this paper will employ the term "bureau" hereafter.

² Ten party representatives will not be appointed until after all parties file their candidate lists by their April 19 deadline: see Section V.

members, both in Bucharest and in the one District visited, were themselves still studying the Decree Law and defining their own scope of responsibility.

The team also addressed the "tightness" of the law and the procedures contemplated by its administrators to guard against election fraud or manipulation. Beyond the objective assessment of the vulnerability of the process from a technical point of view, the team interviewed several political parties to ascertain their confidence in a fair election. The political parties, as the contenders in the election, have the greatest vested interest in the integrity of the process. In particular, the perception of the opposition parties as to how freely and fairly the election would be run would prove to be the acid test to the team members. Beyond our concern with the election law, the principal and peripheral players in the election were asked to comment upon the manner in which the election campaign is being conducted. The campaign, by law, commenced on March 20 and must conclude two days prior to the election.

Discussions with the Central Electoral Bureau went beyond interpretations of the law and contemplated procedures. On behalf of IFES, the team offered a willingness to consider lending material assistance to the CEB's task. An extensive "wish-list" of hardware was provided and it is outlined in Appendix I. The team was pleased with the receptivity of the CEB to extensive observer participation in the election-day and post-vote tabulation processes.

It is the final objective of the team that this report will serve to provide observers with a fundamental understanding of the election they will be witnessing. The experience of the survey team leads us to believe that an ill-prepared observer delegation would otherwise likely waste two or three days retracing the same ground as did we. An English translation of the law is included as Appendix A. The law is very specific and, therefore, can be relied upon to answer many questions regarding specific election-day procedures.

II. Background Information

The Communist regime that consolidated power over Romania in 1947 and held on to that power until December 22, 1989 is generally considered to have been, with the possible exception of Albania, the most repressive in Europe. During the mid-1960's, Romania exerted its independence from the Soviet Union, and thereby attracted political overtures from the West; however, Romania's domestic policies remained oppressive. In 1965,

a new constitution changed the nation's name from the Romanian People's Republic to the Socialist Republic of Romania, renamed the party from the Workers Party to the Communist Party, and totally reorganized the government. Also in 1965, Nicolae Ceausescu assumed the Chairmanship of the Communist Party Central Committee and in 1974, Ceausescu was named President. Communist Party membership reportedly approached 15% of the population, well beyond the rate of participation in other Communist countries. The Ceausescu regime's reliance upon both uniformed and secret security forces (Securitate) became more and more pervasive as he and his regime aged.

The Romanian economy was almost totally socialized, from the extraction of raw materials, through the means of production, to product distribution and sales. There was no allowance for cooperatives, not even for retail stores and restaurants. Ceausescu's direction also led to an economy seeking maximum self-sufficiency without apparent regard to whether such economic independence was economically rational. This same economic nationalism led to the insistence to being free of foreign debt. Liquidating the debt that occurred in the early 1980's required great sacrifices by the population as needed goods and services were exported to gain the requisite foreign exchange to retire the debt.

In recent years even more sacrifices were exacted by Ceausescu. In an apparent effort to leave an indelible mark on the face of the country, entire villages and older sectors of major cities were razed and replaced with large, personally approved, structures of questionable utility. Such massive demolition and construction projects further taxed a failing economy and angered many persons dispossessed in the process.

Ceausescu's Romania continued with its hard line domestic policy despite the liberalization of social and governmental policies among its neighbors and in the Soviet Union. The rapid but peaceful fall of postwar Communist governments in the rest of Central and Eastern Europe made Romania's repressive regime, by contrast, even more offensive. It was clear that Ceausescu's power would not be willingly diminished or surrendered.

The spark that ignited the popular revolt began in Timisoara on December 15 during demonstrations in support of a Hungarian Protestant Minister, Laszlo Toekes. The violence that was meted out to the demonstrators after December 17 appeared to be coming from the Securitate and the army's loyalty to the regime was perceived by the populace to be wavering. Word of the inability of the Securitate to regain control of Timisoara and exaggerated rumors of civilian massacres spread to other parts of Romania. Part of Ceausescu's hard line response to events in Timisoara was an effort to stage a popular demonstration of support before him at the Central Party Headquarters

on December 21. It backfired. Dissent was voiced by elements in the mass rally and soon the streets filled with protesters. In the ensuing fighting, some troops refused to fire on the demonstrators and others joined the revolt. By December 22, Ceausescu had to flee by helicopter from the Central Committee Building. The fighting, however, continued. During these hours, the National Salvation Front was formed. Ion Iliescu and Siviu Brucan enlisted the support of Army General Stefan Gusa and moved to the television station already under the control of demonstrators led by Mircea Dinescu. The fighting around the television station continued until the capture, rapid trial, and execution of the Ceausescus' on Christmas Day.

The Romanian revolution was born primarily of desperation. This distinguishes it from the radical changes elsewhere in Eastern and Central Europe. Eliminating Ceausescu and his clan was the single goal uniting those who rose up against the regime in December of 1989. This did not provide a positive political program. While Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia had enough time and resources to prepare for alternative systems, and while the Soviet Union and Bulgaria were trying to change theirs from within, Romania remained under Ceausescu's obsessive grip on tyrannical power. The regime's violent response at Timisoara to the predictable effects of reform in Eastern and Central Europe triggered massive confrontation between the population (including the army) and the loyalists. The Romanian revolution of December 21-25, 1989 was the largest armed uprising in the history of communism. It put an end to the most bizarre and repressive communist regime in present-day Europe, with the possible exception of Albania.

The National Salvation Front formed a "Council" to serve as a provisional government. In the first days after the revolution, the Front enjoyed strong popular support. During the most intense fighting (from the night of December 22 through December 24), the Front kept the country together through continuous transmission from the besieged television station. More importantly, the Front appeared to be sincerely committed to democracy. On December 28, they announced an eight-point program affirming the basic rights and procedures of free democratic governments. In public statements, leaders expressed the desire that Romania return to Europe as a genuine democracy.³ The Front, they said, would be an interim steward, preparing the transition to democracy and then stepping aside after the elections. On January 3, the front proclaimed the restoration of rights of free assembly and, of special significance, travel. By January 18, 13 new political parties

³

December 28, 1989 Financial Times interview with Iliescu, Mazilu and Brucan.

had been registered. Remnants of the political parties which the Communists had tried to eliminate in the late 1940's, including many expatriates, were included in the burgeoning party movement.

The Front's initial decrees, however, were confused and it vacillated in the face of street opposition. For example, the Council initially banned the death penalty; but later reversed itself upon recognition that the ban was being interpreted as a self-serving tactic to protect some of its own members. Similarly, an early decision to outlaw the Communist party was overturned and it was decided to submit the question of the existence of the Communist Party to the people in a referendum. This referendum, with which the question of the death penalty was also to be decided, was later canceled. The remaining Securitate forces were folded into regular army units, but there was no public accounting of all the Securitate's members. Initially, the Front disavowed any pretenses for power as an organized party. During the middle of January, there were several anti-Front demonstrations and at least one major counter-demonstration by Front supporters.

On January 23, the Front principals announced that they would form a political party and seek popular support to rule under the upcoming elections. On February 1, The National Salvation Front Council was dissolved and a multi-party National Unity Provisional Council (PNUC) was formed. This council is comprised of 253 members: half of whom are from the Front and the balance is from the other political parties. Certain ministries were filled with notables from other political parties. The PNUC debated and enacted the provisional election bill as a Decree Law on March 14; the law was agreed upon by 250 of the council members with only one vote against and two abstentions.

The political mood of the population in early April was difficult to gauge. A good deal of suspicion and general paranoia exists among the populace in part due to the repression of the last forty years. A virulent rumor mill tends to keep matters in flux. Most political rumors deal with supposed coalitions among the parties and speculation on candidates.

The National Salvation Front, both as a party and as an amalgam of a good portion of the government work force, has been criticized for maintaining the middle and lower ranks of the old regime intact. The public perception that the government has not taken effective action against the Securitate - only 33 had been arrested by February - further damages the Front's image, and has been the source of public demonstrations. Conflicting statements about the tenability of a multi-party system made in January and early February by members of the Front have made the commitment to multi-party democracy appear suspect. Much of the street graffiti is far less forgiving. Reform Communism is not

in the popular will and all parties, including the Front, recognize this. Our discussion with a Front spokesman evidenced not the confidence one would have expected from possessing the most extensive infrastructure, but rather a defensive, siege mentality.

Concern was also apparent from discussions with the the Peasants Party-Christians and Democrats. The aging leadership of the Peasants Party spent 17 years in jail under the pre-Ceausescu Communist regime. The bitterness and distrust of those who suffered in this manner, therefore, extends beyond the Ceausescu government and reaches the entire legacy of the Communist regime that took power in 1947. The Front is assumed by this group to control and be employing the same Securitate apparatus that persecuted them in the past. The political expressions of this group appears less along the lines of what lies ahead for Romania and more towards conflict with the Front as, in their perception, an extension of old regime.

Other political parties span the spectrum of mildly left to center-right philosophies. All the parties are reportedly apprehensive about the inevitably painful disruptions that will flow from dismantling the old economic order and replacing it with a more efficient model. In order to garner popular support, platforms vaguely seek to reassure the understandably nervous factory and government workers. What is truly contemplated for the peasantry is also not clearly spelled out by many of the parties. These realities lead some of the intellectual community to believe that the government that flows from the May elections will be compelled to take the form of a broad coalition. The thinking goes that only through power sharing can the political will to engage in tough decision making be found. The flip side of this reasoning is that power sharing also diffuses the inevitable objection by the population as they witness what may be large scale unemployment and inflation.

A number of activist groups choose to distance themselves from politics in general and party politics specifically. The students with whom we spoke appeared particularly disenchanted with the Front and partisan politics in general. While they remain active, they, by their own charter, declined to put forth or endorse candidates or political parties at this time. The Group for Social Dialogue is serving as a non-partisan "think-tank" and is comprised of members both from within and outside the government. This group purposely remains small (under 50 persons) and works to propagate its ideals to politicians and members of the intelligentsia. This group has vowed to remain above the political fray. The newly formed independent trade union, Fratia, by contrast, will field a few independent candidates in the upcoming elections.

One result of all this distrust and rumor is the degree to which civil authorities have distanced themselves from the use of repressive or arbitrary tactics. For fear of being accused

of stifling political assembly and debate, the police appear hesitant to break up residual groups of demonstrators blocking traffic well after approved rallies appear to have concluded. Reportedly, routine traffic laws are not being enforced. This fear of old-regime characterization also appears to extend to the Central Electoral Bureau and the Brasov District Bureau we visited. The judges assigned gave us an extraordinary amount of time in view of the organizational demands they currently face. Further, the CEB announced their willingness to open up the electoral process to observers well beyond the requirement of the Decree Law.

Another issue which continues to be the sources of public debate is media access. The only television station in Romania is run by the government, and although all parties are guaranteed airtime the government leadership is widely thought to enjoy a decided advantage in its level of public exposure. Parties and other political and civic groups have taken full advantage of the new freedom of the press, and currently over 100 papers are reportedly published. This freedom, however, has only served to highlight a severe paper shortage, and smaller papers have suffered disproportionately to larger, established papers from the recent 20% across-the-board reduction in publication volumes.

No backgrounder on Romania can avoid the nascent ethnic strife. The reemergence of serious ethnic conflict in Transylvania is a major factor in the Romanian situation. On March 19, in Tirgu Mures, about 2,000 ethnic Romanians attacked a demonstration of about 5,000 ethnic Hungarians, leaving three dead and dozens injured. This was the culmination of rising tensions over the Transylvanian Hungarian's attempt, beginning in January, to reestablish Hungarian-language schools and cultural centers. Similarly, A large Gypsy minority population also presents a traditional target for ethnic animosities. Attribution of Securitate violence during the revolution to Libyan and Iraqi nationals serving therein and rumors about the ethnic background of some political personalities and the Ceausescus' themselves are further evidence of ethnic concerns.

III. Purpose and Structure of the Decree Law

A. The Constitutional Assembly

The fundamental purpose of the upcoming elections is to elect a Constitutional Assembly charged with drafting the new constitution of Romania. This assembly will be comprised of all Senators and Deputies elected to serve in the bicameral parliament meeting in joint session. The Chairmanship of the Constitutional Assembly will rotate between the respective chairmen of the two chambers. Should the President, the Prime Minister and the Presidents of both chambers jointly conclude that the lack of progress on the Constitution so warrants, the Constitutional Assembly may be dissolved after nine months. If a new constitution has not been adopted within 18 months, the

Assembly is automatically dissolved. The law is silent on the manner in which the final draft of the Constitution is to be adopted or promulgated. No reference could be found for a specific voting margin required to adopt the draft constitution or a popular referendum.

B. Provisional Government

The same individuals serving in the Constitutional Assembly will be charged with serving in the Parliament and establishing a provisional government which, unlike the Provisional National Unity Council, will have the legitimacy of being popularly elected. The parliament will have two chambers.

The upper chamber, or Senate, will have 119 seats. Each Senator represents roughly 250,000 citizens. Unlike members of the lower chamber, the Senators are selected exclusively within the County⁴ and thus are presumed to be more constituent-oriented than Deputies. No county will have fewer than two Senators and Bucharest will have 14. Election is by proportional vote within the multi-member district. Candidates at the top of Party lists which garner the required votes to win a mandate (the coefficient) are elected. Should any seat not be filled in this manner, the party/candidate with the highest total under the coefficient is deemed elected. There is no spill over of unfilled seats for national competition. (See Section V.D. for an explanation of the vote tabulation). Some observers noted the insistence on a bicameral parliament with a smaller upper chamber as a throwback to the history when a "House of Lords" analog existed.

The lower chamber, or Assembly of Deputies, is comprised of 387 seats representing roughly 60,000 citizens each. Each Judet is assigned as many Deputies as their population warrants within a 15% tolerance. Deputies are elected from multi-member-districts as are Senators; however, with an important distinction: any seat not clearly won at the Judet level is thrown into a nationwide competition. This system is roughly patterned after the Belgian D'Hondt system.

The number of Deputy seats per Judet ranges from four to 14 with Bucharest assigned 39. The number of votes required to win a seat (the coefficient) is determined after the fact and equates to the sum of the total valid votes cast divided by the number of seats assigned. Any party/candidate which achieves the coefficient wins a mandate for a seat. A given party may win several seats within a district if their votes total up to

4

There are 40 counties and the municipality of Bucharest making up the electoral subdivisions of Romania. The Romanian term for county is Judet. The law and procedures we encountered also employ the term "district" and "constituency" as additional synonyms.

multiples of the coefficient. The mandates are filled by candidates in order from the party's ranked list; a list representing a cartel of independents; or individual independent candidates. Any "remainder votes" beyond an even multiple of a coefficient, or any votes achieved by a party inadequate to meet the coefficient in the first place, are put into a national pool and attributed to the respective national party. Mathematically, every Judet will have at least one vacant seat remaining after the first round of counting; some will have several unfilled mandates. Through a complex algorithm, all these excess votes are computed to distribute these unfilled seats in a manner proportional to the number of excess votes held by the several parties.⁵ The Deputies are thus considered to be more accountable to the nation at large rather than to any given county. Registered minority populations are assured at least one Deputy slot even if not elected in the manner described above. Any seats so assigned to minorities will be above and beyond the 387 elected Deputies. The entire process is designed to assure proportional representation to the maximum extent possible.

The President is elected by nationwide popular vote requiring an absolute majority of all registered voters. Should no candidate meet that test, a run-off of the top two candidates will be held two weeks later with a simple plurality determining the winner. The provisional President appears to most observers to possess less authority than the Prime Minister and some characterize it as more of a ceremonial "head-of-state" position. While the law does confer emergency decree powers, any such decrees must be cosigned by the Prime Minister. The President can be suspended by a vote of parliament and removed by popular referendum thereafter. The President is supposed to be non-partisan and must disavow any party affiliation upon election.

After adoption of the Constitution, the provisional government must be replaced by the permanent structure through new elections to be held within twelve months. The Parliament is to adopt a new election law under the terms of the new Constitution for this purpose. Consequently, the maximum life span of the provisional government is two and a half years.

Whether the provisional government will have the popular authority or political will to immediately undertake the economic and social restructuring of Romania is problematic. Those wishing for rapid and dramatic change hope for a broad "popular front" type of government in order to share the power and the blame necessary to facilitate these decisions. Absent such post-election coalitions, it is likely that the provisional government will serve only as a caretaker until the constitutional government takes charge.

⁵

Section V.D. and the tabulation sample shown at Appendix D should be helpful in grasping this process.

C. Evolution of the Decree Law

The present Decree Law started out as a detailed draft in late January. It was not adopted by the Provisional National Unity Council until March 14 after four days of public debate. It appeared in the Monitorul Oficial⁶ on March 18. The amendments made during the debate and the television and print media coverage thereof appears to have bolstered the population's confidence in the law and perhaps in the deliberative process of legislative bodies generally.

The initial draft proposed single member districts elected by plurality, much like the US and Canadian models. Such majoritarian models tend to work to the disadvantage of minority parties and to the benefit of the majority party with the broadest based infrastructure. The Liberal party takes credit for successfully amending the Law into the mathematically near perfect proportional representation system adopted.

The Group for Social Dialogue takes credit for the amendment that raised the petition threshold for Presidential candidates up to 100,001. The group is also responsible for the amendment which permits independent candidates to form a "cartel list" to improve their chances against organized parties. The only rub here will be determining whom among the cartel is to get the first position on the list.

D. Impact of the Proportional Representation Scheme.

For the purposes of drafting a Constitution, proportional representation assures that all sectors of society participate. This may prolong the deliberations, but may prove important if the permanent government elected after adoption of the Constitution hopes to have the support of the entire population. As noted earlier, ethnic minorities are assured some measure of representation even if their numbers would fail to elect a Deputy outright. During the drafting process, one may expect multiple, overlapping coalitions in support of or against given provisions.

Employing ranked lists of candidates within each party serves to instill strict party discipline. Suspected mavericks will be placed on the bottom of the list, virtually assuring their defeat unless their party wins every seat in the multi-member district. Should the permanent election law employ a list-type proportional representation method, the party leadership will recount each candidate's conduct in the provisional government before ranking the candidate lists.

There is a disincentive for parties, even those with

⁶

The Monitorul Oficial is the equivalent of the Federal Register in the US.

similar platforms, to form coalitions before the election. It simply is not necessary for minor parties to combine their forces to defeat a major party. In proportional representation schemes, if you garner 20% of the vote, you win 20% of the seats. Furthermore, employing party lists in rank order dissuades pre-election coalitions in that disputes arise as to which party's candidates take the first position on the list. None of this, however, impedes the formation of coalitions after the election.

The final observation on this representation system is its complexity, both in concept and in application. As can be seen in Appendix D, the steps required to allocate unfilled Deputy slots at the national level verges on the arcane. The statistical support staff for the Central Electoral Bureau were still testing the computer software to perform this task when the team departed. Vote tallies at the District level (i.e., for Senators and clear victors for Deputy seats) will be run on IBM-PC-AT compatible computers. The tabulation at the national level will be on a mainframe. The Student League expressed their concern that this was way over the head of the average voter. Countering this concern were statements by the electoral officers and the Group for Social Dialogue that none of this complexity is present on the ballot. At the voter level, all one sees is the opportunity to cast one vote each for President, Senator and Deputy. Voting simplicity notwithstanding, the full process is intimidating. This fact, combined with the recognition that the population is suspicious to start with, gives rise to concern over the complexity threatening voter confidence. The CEB is trying to dispel this through televised explanations and has even employed a call-in talk show approach. Further confidence can be instilled by the parties themselves reassuring the voters and by party observers tabulating the results in parallel with the official tabulation following the election.

IV. Conduct of the Campaign

A. Party and Candidate Registration

All political parties wishing to participate in the upcoming elections must register with the Municipal Court of Bucharest. As of our departure, 64 parties had registered (see Appendix H). While only 251 signatures in support of the party are required to gain recognition, parties must also declare their officers, location and treasury balances upon registration. As noted above, this low threshold has generated a great many splinter parties. Some of these are believed by the major opposition parties to be "shadow" parties intended to confuse the voters and divert their votes. Others appear to be single issue groups, such as several of the ecology parties. In the suspicious mood of Bucharest, a higher threshold for registration might have also generated charges that the law was exclusionary towards smaller parties. Despite the low threshold for registration, the larger parties (as indicated by the number of

districts in which it has submitted lists of candidates) are recognized by providing them with higher standing to be represented on the electoral bureaus. The size of the party is also afforded some small recognition in the size of the public stipend provided for operating expenses. Once registered, parties are given automatic standing to submit lists of candidates to the Judets.

Candidates for Deputy must be at least 21 years old and those for Senate and President must be at least 30. They must be Romanian citizens, qualified voters, legally employed and not active members of the military. Candidates for Deputy or Senator need not be residents of the Judet they propose to represent, but a candidate may appear on the ballot in only one Judet. A unique provision is the bar on candidacy for any individual who abused power or violated human rights under the old regime.

Lists of candidates for Deputy or Senator by registered parties are due at the Judet Electoral Bureaus by April 19. Independent candidates must file at the same time and place and present a petition signed by 251 supporters. These lists are held out for public inspection for ten days. If a challenge is filed regarding the qualification of a candidate, it must be resolved within three days by a local court. No later than May 3, the final lists are to be forwarded to the Central Electoral Bureau in Bucharest.

The challenge provision, particularly on the grounds of past sins under the old regime, appeared to the team to present an opportunity for competing parties to harass one another, particularly given the likely number of candidates who may have been employed by the government in one capacity or another. The parties interviewed, however, did not appear particularly concerned. Having reserve candidates ready to back fill successful challenges may be one tactic. Alternatively, there may be a silent understanding between the major parties only to employ this provision on truly offensive candidates.

Candidates for President must file directly with the Central Electoral Bureau in Bucharest by April 19. Presidential candidates, whether independents or party nominees must have over 100,000 signatures in support.

B. Campaign Financing

Each party is awarded a start-up sum of 400,000 lei (about US\$19,000 at the official rate). A campaign stipend of from 100,000 to 500,000 lei (US\$4,750 to US\$23,500) follows depending upon the number of Judets in which the party has submitted candidate lists. The Central Electoral Bureau has nothing to do with the disbursement of funds and assumed this was handled by the Finance Ministry. In addition, the government provides each party with a rent-free headquarters building.

Each party is afforded at least 30 minutes a week of free air time on the government-run television station. The law doesn't specify the amount of time, but we heard this figure more than once. It appears that time scheduling is far from rigorous on Romanian television, and we were told that many such party broadcasts well exceeded thirty minutes. The Peasants Party complained of an instance in which their time slot slipped from prime time to 1:30 a.m. The Liberal Party expressed no problem with the provision of air time for each party, but did complain of the extensive news coverage afforded President Iliescu, who also heads the National Salvation Front. The Liberals also indicated that workers at the TV station, on their own initiative, appear to be biased towards the Front. Free radio air time is also to be provided; however, no party staff with whom we spoke appeared concerned with radio air time.

Foreign financial support to the parties was to be banned under the draft law. This provision was later amended to permit contributions from foreign sources if declared. The Liberal Party is receiving support from the Liberal International. The Peasants Party is receiving support from the Christian Democrats International and were donated large sums from Ion Ratiu who, until his return to run for the Presidency, was a very successful expatriate in London. No one was able to tell us where or how declarations are filed. The Central Electoral Bureau is not the receipt point and assumed that the Office of the Prime Minister is the proper filing point.

The team found the declaration requirement rather cavalierly circumvented. One party noted the foreign donation of a broadcast radio transmitter that was directed to a non-party affiliate organization. Another party noted that foreign cash contributions were effectively laundered by directing them first to Romanian nationals, who then passed them on to the party. A Front spokesman noted his objection to US support for opposition parties, but didn't seem troubled enough to seek out the nominally required declarations for he also couldn't tell us where they would be filed.

While there are no restrictions or disclosure requirements for domestic financial support, there is very little domestic financial support available.

Party newspapers are a key vehicle to appeal to the party faithful and to recruit new members. These papers broadcast their respective platforms and report the news from their own perspective. There is, however, only one government-owned printing facility. Paper shortages are blamed for a recent across-the-board cut of 20% in printing volumes. Whether this shortage is due to the explosion of new newspapers throughout Bucharest or a contrived ploy to partially mute the opposition parties is open to speculation.

C. Other Miscellaneous Rules on Campaigning

The law specifies a campaign period starting 60 days before election day and concluding two days before the election. Access to the voters through TV, radio, the print media and mass assemblies shall be extended in a non-discriminatory fashion. Each Mayor shall designate public places for the parties to place their posters. Postings elsewhere shall be only with the approval of the location's owner or caretaker. Buying votes, intimidating voters or candidates, stuffing the ballot box, stealing ballot boxes and an extensive list of other election-eering abuses are specified criminal offenses with specific terms of imprisonment (see Chapter VII of the law at Appendix A for a full accounting).

D. General Tone of the Campaign

As of April 7, the campaign appears to be taking on a decidedly negative tone. The parties are accusing one another of "disinformation" campaigns which slander the opposing party's platforms and personalities. The Peasant's Party shared some leaflets with cartoons showing their leadership in an unflattering manner and questioning the sincerity of their promise to return land to the peasantry. The National Salvation Front is the target of graffiti and postings which equate it to the old Communist Party of Romania ("FSN=CPR") and which equate Iliescu with Ceausescu. The most serious charges were levied by the Peasants Party against the Front wherein the latter was accused of reactivating two divisions of the Securitate to spread disinformation and intimidate the populace. The most serious documented occurrence of intimidation was the apparently coordinated, over-zealous demonstrations against the Peasants Party headquarters and many of its district headquarters on January 29. Some parties also appear to be playing somewhat upon the ethnic divisions in Romania. During the violence that occurred in Tirgu Mures, Iliescu initially chastised the ethnic Romanians involved, but later had to recant when the Peasants Party made an issue of it. Conversations with some individuals indicated a desire for a conciliatory campaign with an objective of unifying the country. As the campaign heats up, however, this is unlikely, given the real divisions we observed.

V. Conduct of the Election

A. Organization of the Electoral Bureaus

The Central Electoral Bureau consists of seven justices of the Court of Justice and ten representatives of the political parties and groups. The seven justices were drawn by lot under the supervision of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Justice from the thirty-eight members of the Supreme Court of Justice. Once designated, the justices chosen elected from among themselves a Chairman, Mr. Zarnescu, who became the Chairman of the Central Electoral Bureau. The ten representatives of the political parties and groups will be chosen in

decreasing order related to the party/group having the largest number of lists of candidates which that party or group has proposed throughout the entire country. The addition of these ten representatives will take place after the date of expiration for proposing lists of candidates.

The electoral office at the Judet (District) level shall be composed of three judges and no more than six representatives of political parties and groups which are participating in that Judet. The three judges are drawn by lot under the supervision of the Chief Justice of the court for the Judet from the judges of that district. Once designated, the members shall elect a chairman who will then become Chairman of the Electoral Office of the district. The six representatives of the political parties and groups will be chosen in decreasing order related to the party/group having the largest number of lists of candidates which that party or group proposed throughout that Judet. This selection will take place after the expiration date for proposing lists of candidates.

The electoral office of the voting places (polling stations) shall be composed of one Chairman-President, one Vice Chairman-Deputy President and no more than seven representatives of the political parties or groups. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the polling station will be, as a rule, a judge or professional person (lawyer, etc.) who is not a member of any political party or group. The polling station personnel will be selected by lot by the Chairman of the Electoral Office of the Judet. The polling station personnel must live within the Judet, although not necessarily within the polling station area. The seven representatives of the political parties and groups will be in decreasing order related to the number of candidates proposed in the respective electoral district.

B. Registering or Enumerating the Voters

The right to vote shall be granted to every Romanian citizen who is eighteen years of age or who will have their eighteenth birthday within the election year. Persons are not entitled to vote if they are mentally ill, retarded and are officially prohibited or restrained, as well as persons convicted by a judicial decision.

The electoral lists shall be prepared by the mayor's offices of the villages, cities, municipalities and the municipal sectors of Bucharest. (See the sample lists from the Brasov District at Appendix F). The list shall contain the last name, first name, age and residence of the voter, arranged in alphabetical order, as well as the number of the electoral district to which the voter belongs. Military personnel stationed in units apart from their domicile and students attending universities shall have special lists prepared and shall vote at these special locations. The enumerators of these special lists must advise the mayor's office of the Judet where the voter has his domicile that the voter was registered on a special list. A

voter may be registered on one electoral list only. In the Judet, the mayor's office prepares the list from old lists and checks for accuracy by physically attending at each residence to determine the number of voters. The electoral lists shall be posted in public places and in a visible manner 30 days prior to the date of the election. Citizens shall have the right to verify the registration of the electoral lists. Appeals as to errors and omissions in the list shall be filed with the preparer of the list. These offices must decide the appeal within three days. If a decision is contested, the court of first instance shall make a decision within three days, and this decision is final and enforceable.

C. Election Day Procedures

All the polling shall be done in one day and the polling station will be open at 6 a.m. and close at 11 p.m. Before the opening of the poll, the polling station Chairman, in the presence of other members, will check the ballot boxes, electoral lists, ballots and stamps. After determining that the ballot boxes are empty, the Chairman will close and seal the ballot boxes and apply the control stamp on all the ballots. Voters may enter the polling station in as many numbers as there are polling booths. Each person will present an identification card to the Chairman or one of his staff will then be issued the ballots and the voting stamp. The voters will individually proceed to a polling booth and inside the booth they will cast their ballots by placing the "Voted" stamp on the box carrying the name of the party or independent candidate they selected. After their selection, the voters will fold the ballot in four so that the blank side bearing the control stamp is on the outside, and then the voter will place the ballot in the ballot box making sure that it does not open. No one may be present in the polling booth other than the person casting his/her vote. Although a voter who has sound reason, verified by the Chairman of the polling station, may request the assistance of any other voter to help the voter in the booth to cast his/her vote. The voting stamp is then returned to the Chairman.

The candidates or voters may contest the identity of any voter coming into the polling station, and the Chairman may use any means deemed necessary to establish the person's identity. It would appear that the Chairman's decision is final. The Chairman of the polling station may suspend voting for a period of not more than one hour if he has a valid reason to do so. During the break, all polling station materials must remain under permanent guard, and the polling station personnel may not all leave the polling station at the same time.

Upon the request of voters who cannot reach the polling station due to reasons of health or infirmity, or upon the request of the management of health or social welfare institutions to which such voters are confined, the Chairman of the polling station will designate no less than two members of the polling station personnel to take a special ballot box and the

required material to the specified voters to allow the voters to cast their ballots.

At 2300 hours or 11 p.m., the Chairman of each polling station will declare the polling station closed. After the closing of the polling station the Chairman will cancel all unused ballots and then open the ballot boxes in the presence of the polling station personnel. Upon opening the ballot boxes, the Chairman will read aloud the party or independent candidate selected on each ballot and show the ballot to those in attendance. Ballots not bearing the control stamp of the polling station, not bearing the "Voted" stamp and ballots having more than one box stamped will be voided. The results will be noted on two separate lists, one will be kept by the electoral office and one by the candidates' representatives. The lists will show the total number of voters, the number of voided or canceled ballots and the first and last name of the candidates and the number of votes cast for each party or independent candidate. The Chairman will then draft a report in two copies for each of the Assembly of Deputies, Senate and Presidency noting voting procedures and the number of votes received by each candidate. The reports will be signed by the Chairman and members of the polling station (i.e., representatives of the political parties or groups). Throughout polling and the counting of the vote, challenges may be made; they must be in writing and submitted to the Chairman who will issue a receipt and if necessary rule immediately on challenges that cannot wait. These challenges must be noted on the reports of the polling station. The reports will be filed with the electoral office of the Judet. The ballots used, unused and canceled along with the stamps and all election material will be turned over to the court of first instance. These two functions will take place within 24 hours.

D. Tabulating the Votes

The elections of an electoral district shall be valid if the total number of voters participating is 50% plus one. If less than one-half plus one of the total number of voters registered in an electoral district has participated in the election, the result must be reported to the Central Electoral Bureau in order to organize new elections. The new elections shall take place within two weeks following the previous election based on the same electoral lists.

The tabulation of the votes for the President of Romania will be done by the Central Electoral Bureau. The candidate who obtains at least 50% plus one vote cast by the voters registered on the electoral lists shall be declared elected to that office. If none of the candidates obtain this majority, a run-off election shall take place on the second Sunday following the election, between the two candidates having the highest number of votes. The candidate who obtains the highest number of votes in the second election shall be declared elected.

Senators are elected in a proportional manner within the Judet. In a Judet that will elect three Senators, the tabulation will be as follows: the total number of valid votes will be divided by the number of Senators for that Judet to establish the coefficient for that Judet. If any party or group obtains senate votes twice the coefficient, that party or group elects two Senators for that Judet and the last seat for that Judet will go to the party or group with the next highest number of votes. If no party or group obtains more than one Senate seat in a Judet, then the seats are awarded by simple plurality. Because the Senate represents the Judet, no excess votes are transferred.

The tabulation for the Deputies is quite complicated and based on proportional representation which will give the best representation to all parties/groups, independents and minorities. A sample vote tally for Deputies was provided by the CEB and an English version of this sample appears at Appendix D. In the first stage, a coefficient or election index is determined by dividing the total number of valid votes cast in the electoral district by the number of seats attributed to that electoral district. The electoral office of the district shall allocate a seat as often as the election index is contained in the total number obtained by that respective list (i.e., party, group or independent); the allocation of seats to each list (i.e., party or group) shall take place in the order in which the candidates were registered on that list. Unused votes are those which are left after the allocation of the seats and those which are less than those of the electoral index. In the second stage, the Central Electoral Bureau shall totalize for the entire country the number of unused votes for each political party or group. The number of votes obtained in this manner shall be divided successfullly by 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., and by making as many divisions as the number of seats which have remained unallocated for the entire country. The quotients shall be listed in decreasing order and the quotient opposite the equivalent number of remaining seats shall be the new electoral allocation index. Each political party or group shall be allocated as many seats as the electoral allocation index is contained in the number of total votes centralized for the entire country for that respective party or group. The assignment of seats will begin with the party or group whose list of candidates won the most votes and will continue down to the complete allocation of seats. The seats won by a party/group under the second stage will be allocated to the qualifying Judet in order of the parties popularity per Judet.

Candidates on lists who were not elected after the distribution of seats will be declared substitutes for their respective lists and if a deputy seat becomes available for that list, then the first listed substitute will take the seat.

VI. Interview Summaries

The following brief summaries seek to recapitulate the comments tendered by the three political parties and three non-political organizations interviewed during the survey. The results of our meetings with the Central and Brasov Electoral Bureaus comprise the body of the report and need not be repeated here. Necessarily, these summaries provide only the highlights of the discussions. In several cases the interviewees strayed from the primary focus of the Decree Law on Elections and their assessment of their prognostications for a free and fair election. Those tangential discussions may or may not be reflected below depending upon the interest level assigned by the survey team member who prepared the summary. The information provided by these groups, particularly the political parties, was often styled to buttress their respective positions and to discredit the positions of their opponents. No effort was made to edit out any such hyperbole or outright distortion; however, misstatements about the Decree Law are pointed out with a "[sic]."

A. The Group for Social Dialogue

The Group for Social Dialogue is a loosely structured independent group of approximately 50 pro-democracy intellectuals, many of whom are long-time dissidents, which appear to enjoy broad general respect. According to Dorian Tudoran, editor of the Romanian-language magazine Agora, as quoted by Juliana Pilon (Romania: A revolution Highjacked", Uncaptive Minds, Jan.-Feb. 1990) "One of the main reasons for the importance of this group is that its members are prominent in their professions. They have proved to be the most articulate spokesmen for democracy in Romania. Their theoretical basis is most advanced. The question now is whether they will be able to advance on a practical level." Although so far, it seems that no platform as such has been published anywhere, the Group stands for fundamental rights and freedoms. Itself a nonpartisan force, "its endorsement confers legitimacy to political parties, student groups or other organization which earn it" ("A Political Assessment of Romania", Ceci Cole McInturff). Among the members of the Group for Social Dialogue are Gabriel Liiceanu, a philosopher and director of Humanitas Publishing House, Minister of Culture Andrei Plesu, Minister of Education Mihai Sora, architect Mariana Celac-Botez, and Stelian Tanase, editor of the Group's weekly newspaper, 22.

Opinion of the Election Law: During the discussion with the IFES team, representatives of the Group for Social Dialogue indicated that by-and-large the Group is pleased with the new electoral law. Mariana Celac-Botez, one of the Group's leaders, who had witnessed its evolution from draft to law, was satisfied with the way in which the draft was discussed, broadcast and analyzed. She considers it "unbelievably good, the only really good thing the Provisional National Unity Council has done. The discussions around the law changed people's mentality; the

people say that different points of view can coexist. Many issues took a long time to solve, including minor issues and details. While everybody had been extremely skeptical before, after the publication of the law everybody became more confident in the system." Mariana Celac-Botez also thinks that the law can provide the structure for free elections. However, in her opinion the implementation of the law will not be easy and voter education is necessary. She mentioned that a few international organizations have already announced their participation as observers: The European Community, The Council of Europe, the United Nations (unofficially). She feels there is no major motive to resort to fraud during the elections. According to her, "the situation is very difficult, if not dramatic. Tensions are quite high in this period of transition to an open system. Rather than cheating, there is more interest in sharing responsibility. Although there is, among some intellectuals, a prevailing pessimistic feeling that everything is doomed, the prevalent point of view should be that these elections do not decide everything about Romania; they will only elect a government to keep things going and to write the Constitution."

Concerning a possible alliance between the Front and the Liberal Party before the elections (rumor of which had reached the IFES team), she said: "The Front doesn't need a partner. They aren't likely to ally themselves with the Liberals before the elections. They do, however, want a coalition government" (i.e. after the elections). She also mentions that "The economic situation is abysmal. The pace of change is very slow. The free market economy scares a lot of people away, and a lot of people fear spectacular moves." The Group is generally skeptical that any kind of coalition will be formed before the elections.

The Group's representatives also explained the basics of the new electoral law, including the complicated vote tabulation system to be used, which is based on a Belgian system devised by D'Hondt. They touched upon registration of minorities as parties, and on the legal conditions necessary in order to be recognized as a minority. In this context, they mentioned the Gypsies, whose strong underground structure as a clan makes it easy for them to get organized. That, added to the fact that there may be over 2,000,000 Gypsies in Romania (as opposed to the official census tally of only 200,000), can give them political clout. A contributing factor is also the relatively significant intelligent, well-educated and articulate people among them. A peculiar aspect of this minority is that the Gypsies, unlike other minorities, are spread out throughout the country. Other aspects of the new election law were discussed, including the fact that deputies do not have to reside in the respective district there they run.

The Group for Social Dialogue claims credit for the introduction in the election law of the amendment allowing for independent candidates to run for Deputy on a "cartel" list wherein the members of the cartel determine the order of

candidates by mutual agreement, as well as of the amendment on mandatory endorsement of each presidential candidate by 100,000 signatures.

B. The National Peasants Party-Christian & Democratic

The National Peasant's Party dating back to 1869 in Transylvania and to 1895 in Romania (Wallachia and Moldavia), was created to represent the peasants' interests. In the last so-called "free" elections of November 1946, although neutral observers estimated the NPP had won approximately 70% of the votes, its representatives, together with representative of all other democratic parties, were excluded from the government. Soon afterwards, the party was outlawed and its leaders were put in jail for 17 years. On December 26, 1989, the National Peasants' Party was re-established, with Cornel Coposu as president and Ion Puiu as vice-president, both former leaders of the party immediately after the war. Ion Ratiu is the NPP's candidate for Presidency under the Decree Law. After the Christian Democratic Youth organization joined the NPP as its youth branch, the party added the designation "Christian and Democratic" and announced its intention to adhere to the Christian Democratic International in Brussels, in February 1990. The NPP's platform calls for dismantling collective farms within three years and distributing the land to individual peasants and free peasants' associations, a market economy, re-establishing pre-communist values and Christian precepts, and observing Romania's commitments under the Warsaw Pact. The party's publication is Dreptatea (Justice), which appears daily. (RFE Report, 16 February 1990)

Meeting with the National Peasants' Party: In the meeting with the leadership of the National Peasants' Party, Cornel Coposu, president of the NPP, spoke mainly about the tremendous difficulties which the party has to endure. According to him, the current government, which he equates with the National Salvation Front, has reactivated two Securitate divisions to monitor the upcoming elections and the preceding electoral campaign. One such division is in charge of disinformation, the other of violent activities against opposition parties in general, and the Peasants' Party in particular. Calling this "Stalinist tactics", the NPP mentioned the simultaneous attacks on and vandalizing of 23 NPP headquarters throughout the country on January 29, 1990. As part of the disinformation campaign waged by the Front, Cornel Coposu mentioned the threat that the Peasants' Party intends to give the land back to prewar landlords and to sell the industrial units in the cities to Americans. As a consequence of this campaign of slander and intimidation, Coposu said that enrollment in the Peasants' Party, originally estimated by NPP at 80% of the peasant population, has slowed down. The NPP president exemplified his statement by the case of a village in Transylvania where 1,200 members signed up over a short period of time, in contrast to the adjacent village where, in spite of strong similarities of conditions, number of inhabitants, etc., only 80 persons signed

up, all women, after the village had been "visited" by National Salvation Front agitators. He then emphasized that the various obstacles used by the Front to bar the NPP's access to the media are also of major concern to the leaders of the Peasants' Party. From December 22, 1989, to February 5, 1990, publication of the NPP organ was impossible because of so-called "printers" opposition to the contents of the newspaper. The Peasants Party had to go to court to overcome this opposition. Speaking about difficult access to the media, Ion Puiu, Secretary General of NPP, said that on one occasion their 30 minute TV slot, promised for 8 to 10 p.m., was moved to 1:30 a.m. On another occasion, they were denied access to the TV studio and had to enter by force.

The initial ban on foreign money contributed to the political parties was, in the opinion of the NPP leadership, aimed directly at the Peasants' Party and its main contributor of foreign money, Ion Ratiu. According to the NPP, President Iliescu made a public statement in connection with this provision of the electoral draft law, in which he said: "We'd better change this article, since with or without it, Mr. Ratiu will still contribute money to the Peasants' Party." Ion Puiu, vice-president of the NPP, considers it more dangerous today to say you are a member of the NPP than it was under the old regime. President Iliescu called the NPP "a far right party," a characterization which he had to change later. The NPP also took credit for compelling Iliescu to back off his initial statements regarding the violence at Tirgu Mures. The NPP believed Iliescu public statements favored the ethnic Hungarians' in this conflict and only when the NPP made a public issue of his position did he back off this stance.

Regarding the NPP's view of the electoral law and the likelihood that the upcoming elections can be free and fair, the comments of the NPP's leaders indicated that they consider the final law an improvement over the initial draft, but still deficient. In their opinion, there will not be enough justices to oversee (as provided by the law) the 10,000 to 15,000 polling stations throughout the country. These Justices were all appointed in their positions by the old regime precisely because they were Communists. In addition, the polling station electoral commission will include up to seven representatives of the parties, pulled by lot [sic: see Section V.A.], but can operate with as few as four representatives. The NPP leaders expressed their concern that since the law does not guarantee all parties as observers, and since of the 64 parties registered at that date, many were considered to be "shadow" parties, there is a good chance that at some polling sections there will be no representatives of real opposition parties.

Meeting with the Youth Branch of the National Peasants' Party: Radu Chesaru, one of the leaders of the Youth Branch of the National Peasants' Party, expressed concern regarding the possibility of fraud in counting the votes at the polling station level on May 20. In his opinion, there will be too many polling stations throughout the country to be properly monitored. He cautioned against a possible reiteration of the

1946 events, when although party representatives had been officially allowed to be present, there were prevented from doing so by hooligans planted there by the Communist Party.

The NPP's Youth Branch sees Iliescu's support diminishing even among blue collar workers. According to them, more and more trade-unions are against him. The NPP and its Youth Branch are trying to gain this section of the society on their side, but they are aware that especially due to the apolitical character of the unions, their members should vote the way their conscience dictates.

Together with TUNT (The National Peasant University Youth), the NPP's Youth Branch claims a membership of 500,000.

C. The "Brotherhood" (Fratia) Independent Trade-Union Confederation

The "Brotherhood" Independent Trade-Union Confederation was founded immediately after the Revolution to defend the economic and social rights of its members and to eliminate all Communist centralized structures in the trade-union movement. Although its members are mostly white-collar workers, "The Brotherhood" also includes sizable blue-collar workers' unions, such as the truck drivers' union and the Bucharest local of heavy machinery manufacturing workers. Its program calls for a market economy and the introduction of modern forms of management and marketing, the transfer of assets from the old (Communist) trade-unions to the independent trade-unions, and condemnation of any attempt to replace the Communist system by a similar one under a different name. Although not a political organization, "The Brotherhood" reserves its rights to lend support to political parties to the extent that the latter act in the interest of the trade unions. As of April 1990, 25 federations had joined "The Brotherhood". The Confederation's newspaper is the weekly Argument (Argument), with a circulation of 50,000.

The leaders of "The Brotherhood", a trade-union confederation claiming 1,000,000 members organized in 25 federations, are of the opinion that Ion Iliescu and the National Salvation Front will win the elections in Romania. As basis of their prediction, they quoted the full credibility which, according to the union leaders, both Iliescu and the Front enjoy throughout the country and the forty-five years of political indoctrination which has succeeded in making a lot of people believe the anti-capitalist propoganda. In their opinion, however, the Front will avoid taking all the responsibility and will seek an alliance. The union leaders could not say how free and fair the elections will be.

Although as a non-political organization the Confederation cannot present its own candidates, "Brotherhood" members can run as independent candidates. The Confederation has filed a request with the Central Electoral Office to send representatives to the electoral commissions (under the law, only parties can send

representatives) but at that time, they had not yet received an answer.

The union leaders emphasized the necessity to disseminate information throughout the country and especially among peasants, who do not know anything about the electoral process. They mentioned the lack of technical communication equipment which keeps them from getting the word out. Their only tool is the Confederation's weekly Argument, a costly enterprise which sends them scrambling for money every week. (Even that had been cut down 50% because of high cost and then an additional 20%, because of paper shortages). They expressed their dissatisfaction and aggravation with the old Communist trade-union organization (UGSR - The General Trade Union Organization of Romania), currently operating under a different name (Sindicatete Libere din Romania - The Free Trade-Unions of Romania), which has maintained the old Communist management and structures in place. The old union organization has also kept in the "Brotherhood" leaders' opinion illegally - a wide array of assets of considerable value.

The "Brotherhood" leaders are aware of the importance of establishing strong ties with the international independent union movements. Among the organizations with which they already have contacts are the strong Bulgarian union "Pokrepa", which they highly praised, and the U.S. AFL-CIO.

D. The Students League

The Students' League is an independent, union-like organization, open to all college and university students irrespective of their political views. Forged in the heat of the Revolution, it was officially founded on December 25, 1989. It is organized on the principle of democratic representation and its platform stands for fundamental freedoms (of speech, political opinion, religion, information and movement) of all students. Their charter also calls for democratic structures within higher-education establishments (which will allow students to participate directly in the decision-making process); the separation of scientific and professional values from political ones; the admission of students based on academic standard; and appointment of faculty exclusively on the basis of professional competence. As of March 1990, ten colleges and universities from all over the country had adhered to the League, the most numerous members being the University of Bucharest. The leaders of the Students' League are Marian Munteanu, its founder, and Mihai Gheorghiu. The League's newspaper Glusul (The Voice), is published weekly. (Glusul, Declaration-Program 3/6/90)

Opinion on the Election Law: Students' League leaders Marian Munteanu and Mihai Gheorghiu think that the new election law is general and the chapters of the election of deputies in particular, are not clear enough to be easily understood by the masses at large. In their opinion, the law's authors did not

account for the lack of sophistication of the population in such matters. Consequently, two questions arise: 1. Who will benefit from the law's lack of clarity? 2. Who would have benefited from a very clear law? According to Marian Munteanu, while the answer to the first question can only be inferred, the answer to the second questing is definitely democracy.⁷ The students' leaders consider that the population is not prepared for free elections. In their opinion, from a technical point of view, the elections might be fair. The real problem is not technical though, but one of civic awareness. In their context, the mechanics of the elections might be irrelevant. People do not know for what to vote.

Opinion on the General State of Affairs: The populace know they are against communism, but they are not equipped to recognize communism under its hidden forms. The new system is still a mystery to all. Everyone talks about a free market economy, but no one knows exactly what it means. In the past 45 years, there have been no studies on comparative governments. Likewise, the history of Romania is a mystery to all. No one remembers any longer, for instance, that before the war, Romania had quite a few foreign immigrants and that it was only after 1945 that it started to export people. Hence, the imminent need to recover the memory of Romania, a task which the students' leaders admit is very hard given the small number of qualified teachers which can help their nation accomplish it. After the war, many valuable professors were either killed or forced to emigrate. The only worthwhile scientific and cultural activity was underground. The dialogue and the exchange of information and ideas, so indispensable to the progress of the human mind, was almost non-existent. The "new" professors, who replaced the valuable ones that were gone, were and still are worthless. After the Revolution, 70% of the faculty at the School of Philosophy were dismissed. The problem now is to replace them with competent professors.

In the opinion of the Student's League leaders, the fact that it took the Romanian Revolution, the most radical in all Eastern and Central Europe, only 20 hours to ban communism, indicates that communism as such cannot be reinstated in Romania. (In their words, "the wheel can't turn back"). However, with all the remainders of the old system and their consequences still surviving, the fight must go on. "The students do not want a reformed communism. They do not want any kind of communism, period. And they do not want any former Communist activists in any kind of leadership positions."

7

The implication of these observations is that the FSN would benefit from this complexity. In fact, however, the complexity of the law flows from the amendment providing for proportional representation as demanded by the Liberal Party. The initial draft law would have provided for single member districts elected by simple plurality vote.

(Marian Munteanu)

While the Student's League platform bars students from endorsing parties' candidates, they consider that educating the public in the spirit of liberty, competence, democracy and legality is indeed their role. In the same spirit, the students have been trying to establish closer links with independent workers' unions. The students' leaders voiced their concern over the lack of technical means of communication, a major obstacle which prevents them from fulfilling their educational role.

E. The National Liberal Party

The Liberal Party is one of three prewar political parties revived after the Revolution. It was initially founded in 1876. Its platform calls for private ownership of land, gradual privatization of industry, the creation of favorable conditions for foreign investment and a continuation of Warsaw Pact membership. The Liberal party claims some 500,000 members to date. In our interview, it styled its appeal as the party of "quietness and rationality." "The first enemy is fear, particularly among workers." The party is also appealing to "old Communists", such as the interviewee, who have nothing to fear from them. The leader of the Liberal Party is Radu Campeanu who has reportedly gained considerable positive public recognition through the televised debates of the Provisional National Unity Council. Campeanu was an expatriate living in France before the revolution and is a candidate for the Presidency. The Liberal Party's Mihnea Marmeliuc serves as the Minister of Labor in the provisional government. The Party's official newspaper is the weekly, Liberalul.

Opinion of the Election Law: As one of the primary drafters, the party is satisfied with the law. The Liberal Party prevailed in modifying the draft law to provide for proportional representation. No concern was expressed over fair administration of the election, but they did endorse the concept of inviting many observers.

Opinion of the Conduct of the Campaign: The greatest problem is TV access. The problem was not with each party's access to its allocated live broadcast slot, but rather with taped news coverage. The volume of coverage given Iliescu and the type of editing given coverage of the Liberals evidences manipulation. This tilt was believed "not by order, but in the mentality of the workers" [at the TV station]. An example given was the minimization of a pro-Liberal Party demonstration in Timisoara while Iliescu's recent visit there was given extensive coverage with large crowds being shown on the screen. Suspicion was also voiced on the number of small parties that might confuse the voters, a suspected shadow party with "liberal" in its name was given several day's coverage in the TV news. Also noted was the rumor of Lisle Toekes declaring for the Presidency. It was asserted that Toekes might be in league with Iliescu and that such a candidacy would divert ethnic Hungarian votes away from

Campeanu. [Other observers noted that such a candidacy, if true, would likely hurt only Iliescu.] Leaflets with "slanders" about the Liberal party leaders have been distributed and there is no law forbidding political slander. Finally, it was noted that the Liberals were delaying the distribution of their campaign posters until the last two or three weeks before the election for fear that they would be torn down.

Campaign Finance: The Liberal Party was receiving support from the Liberal International, although the interviewee could not tell us how much or how declared. The declaration provision of the law did not seem a great concern and was believed to be easily circumvented.

F. The National Salvation Front

The National Salvation Front is the political party created by those participants in the December revolution who subsequently filled the governmental void left by the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime. Many of these individuals had ranking positions within the old government, but were at odds with Ceausescu. Initially, the Front was the interim government as the National Salvation Front Council and its leaders asserted no pretensions to organize politically. On January 23, however, after the revival of the old traditional parties, the Front's principals announced the formation of their own party. At that point, the Front relinquished its exclusive control of the interim government and invited other parties to join in the Provisional National Unity Council. The Front maintains control over half of the 253 members of the PNUC. The Front's platform calls for abolishing the leading role of the Communist party, free elections, an economy based on efficiency and profitability, protection of minority and religious rights, and adherence to the Helsinki accords. The Front's leader, Ion Iliescu, is the interim President and is one of three candidates for the Presidency under the Decree Law elections. Another Front leader, Petre Roman, serves as Prime Minister in the provisional government. The Front's Official newspaper is the daily, Dimineata.

Opinion of the Election Law: The Front spokesman found the law generally acceptable; no further elaboration was offered.

Opinion of the Conduct of the Campaign: In order to elicit a response, the Interviewee was asked to respond to the charge that the Front, as the party in power, had inordinate advantages in the campaign. The response centered on two elements. First, the Front ought not be faulted for becoming a party. It would be "abnormal" not to seek election particularly after "facing the tanks" during the revolution and filling the void of power after the fall of Ceausescu. While other parties were forming, the Front was busy maintaining services. Second, the present government (the Provision National Unity Council) is not monolithic, the Front

is but one of thirty parties participating and several ministries are headed by persons from other parties. Therefore, the Front is a political party; it is not the government. Furthermore, since the PNUC is a coalition of parties, the Front is also not the party in power. "The Front created the opportunity for other parties to exist."

The interviewee believes other parties will form a cartel against the front. The front is the object of slander equating it with Communists and Iliescu with Ceausescu. "A few older Front personalities" in the government were from the old regime; but they are not the party. The average age of party members is reportedly 35.

The United States and the US media were accused of acting against the Front. The Front believes it is being unfairly characterized as "Sandinistas" and that the US is aiding the political opponents of the front in the same manner as the opponents of the Sandinistas were supported. The spokesman cited a conference held by an American interest group to instruct Romanian parties on how to wage a political campaign. The organizers invited 20 representatives of the Peasants party but only one representative from the Front. At the meeting, the instruction was on how to defeat the Front. Mention was also given to President Bush's promise of \$52 million to "advance democracy in Romania." The spokesman asked us to draw our own conclusion where the money must be going. Another example of US prejudice against the front was that three member delegation of the Romanian Education Association who went to Berlin on an international conference was not recognized on the motion of the US participants due to the accusation that they represented the Front and the Front are Communists.

Campaign Finance: Recognizing that accepting foreign financial support may be a political liability for its opponents, the spokesman, nonetheless, expressed no knowledge or concern as to where one would find the required declarations of foreign support.

VII. Conclusions and Recommendations

While the team found the political situation in Bucharest confused and fluid, based upon the information gathered we did not see direct evidence that the election law or the bureaus created to administer it would be manipulated. The Peasants Party did note some concern over the composition and rules for the polling station bureaus; however, a closer reading of the law appears to obviate their concern. On balance, the parties and groups contacted believe the law is fair and that it will be fairly administered. As the Student League pointed out, however, the greater the number of foreign observers, the less opportunity for isolated or orchestrated problems. The Central Electoral Bureau noted its willingness to open the process up to as many foreign observers as are willing to register. The more open the process and the greater the number of observers should also generally bolster the Romanian

peoples' confidence in the integrity of the process, particularly the secrecy of the ballot. Establishing this confidence is at least as important as gauging the technical adequacy of the election administration apparatus. Properly reassured, the voter turn-out and the willingness to vote one's convictions should follow as a matter of course. To facilitate this, the following recommendations are proffered:

- The majority of representatives with whom the delegation met from the electoral bureau, the political parties and the civic groups underlined the importance of a strong international election observer presence. This presence will help the Romanian electoral process gain international legitimacy, and validate the subsequent government. The United States should actively encourage its citizens to observe the May 20 election and should encourage other nations to do likewise.
- The United States should lend as much material aid as it can muster to the Central Electoral Bureau to assist it in conducting a timely and reliable tabulation of the vote. Delays in processing the vote at any level may spark unwarranted fears that the ballots are being manipulated. Such delays may flow from equipment failure or equipment shortages. Similarly, if an equipment shortage stalls the processing of observer delegations, confidence levels may decline.
- The Central Electoral Bureau should encourage observers to tally the votes themselves to validate the official tally. Given the mathematical complexity of the proportional representation scheme for Deputies, much of the mystique can be dispelled if a major news organization or one or more of the political parties tabulate the "remainder" votes concurrently with the Bureau. To facilitate this, the Bureau may wish to provide observers with the same software it plans to employ. Observers could have specialists verify the coding of the software.
- Observers should study the Decree Law appended hereto and the sample vote tally to understand the workings of the proportional representation methodology.
- US political and electoral consultants to the parties and interest groups should be cautioned against encouraging excessively negative tactics in view of the demonstrated potential for violent disruption of the election process. Culture sensitivity and prudence should be the rule for those engaged in any political or electoral activities.
- Non-partisan organizations such as the Group for Social Dialogue should be provided international support and encouraged to undertake a broad civic education program to explain the mechanics of democracy to the general populace. Such a program would be helpful to build the necessary confidence and participation in both the May elections and those that follow the adoption of the Constitution.

(h1)Final Version of Election Law
<bat>[MONITORUL OFICIAL 18 Mar]<eat>
(s1)90BA0025A Bucharest MONITORUL OFICIAL in Romanian 18
Mar 90 pp 1-11
(txt)[Text] Decree-Law on the Election of the Parliament
and President of Romania

On the basis of the proposals made and the conclusions reached from the public debate carried out both in the press and on radio and television directly on the draft decree-law, and of the results of the debates held with political parties and groups, the Provisional National Union Council decrees:

(h3)CHAPTER I General Rules

Article 1--The political power in Romania belongs to the people and is exercised in accordance with the principles of democracy, freedom, human dignity, and the inviolability and inalienability of basic human rights.

Article 2--Romania will be governed on the basis of a system of democratic pluralism and separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of power.

Article 3--Romania's Parliament, made up of an Assembly of Deputies and a Senate, and the president of Romania will be elected by universal, equal, direct, secret, and free ballot.

Article 4--All nationalities will be represented in Parliament on the basis of a system of proportional distribution of the seats won in the elections, in accordance with the present decree-law.

The organizations representing national minorities registered on the date of the adoption of the present decree-law, which do not have the number of ballots required to win a seat in the Assembly of Deputies in accordance with paragraph 1, have a right to one deputy seat.

Article 5--Each citizen is entitled to one vote to elect the Assembly of Deputies, the Senate, and the President of Romania.

Article 6--The Assembly of Deputies is made up of 387 deputies, plus the deputies resulting from the implementation of Article 4 paragraph 2.

The Senate is made up of senators elected in accordance with the size of the respective county population, as follows: two senators in counties with a population of up to 500,000 inhabitants; three senators in counties with a population between 500,001-750,000; four senators in the other counties; 14 senators in the Bucharest Municipality.

Article 7-- The members of parliament are elected by electoral constituencies established in accordance with the present decree-law.

The president of Romania is elected by citizens who have the right to vote, throughout the country.

Each party or political group may present only one list of candidates in each electoral constituency.

Article 8--The citizens of Romania, regardless of nationality, race, mother tongue, religion, sex, political convictions, or profession have equal and full electoral rights.

Article 9-- Entitled to vote are Romanian citizens over the age of 18 or who will be 18 in the year of the elections.

Entitled to be elected to the Assembly of Deputies are citizens entitled to vote who are over the age of 21, and for Senate and for the office of the president, citizens entitled to vote who are over the age of 30.

Only citizens who reside in the country and have a legal profession or occupation are entitled to be candidates.

Article 10--Barred from voting and from being elected are certified mentally disturbed or deficient persons and persons deprived of electoral rights for a period established under court sentence.

Persons who have committed abuses while holding political, judicial, and administrative positions, who have violated basic human rights, and who organized or served as tools of repression in the securitate bodies, the old police, and the militia may not be elected.

The same interdiction applies to persons who are barred by law from belonging to political parties.

Article 11--Candidates for Parliament and for the presidency are proposed by legally established parties or other political groups.

Candidates for parliament are entered on lists that may feature at the most the number of deputies or senators that are to be elected in each electoral constituency.

Each party or political group may propose only one candidate for the office of the presidency. Independent candidates may also run. Both parties and independent candidates may run if they have at least 100,000 supporters.

Independent candidates or lists of independent candidates may be entered for the Assembly of Deputies or the Senate in accordance with paragraph 2. Each independent candidate must be supported by at least 251 citizens entitled to vote.

Candidates for Parliament may run in only one electoral constituency.

Article 12--The date of elections will be established by decree at least 60 days prior to election day.

(h3)CHAPTER II. Organization of the Elections

(h3)Section 1

(h3)Electoral Constituencies

Article 13--Each county and the Bucharest Municipality constitute one electoral constituency.

Article 14--The number of deputies who may be elected in each electoral constituency will be established by the government in accordance with the representation quota obtained by dividing the country's population by 387 deputies as stipulated in Article 6 paragraph 1; a deviation of up to 15 percent is allowed in relation to the size of the electoral constituency.

Article 15--The electoral operations involved in electing the president of Romania will take place in the same electoral constituencies established for electing the Parliament.

Article 16--In accordance with Article 12, within five days of the establishment of the date of elections, the government will number the electoral constituencies, establish the number of deputies and senators, and publish the data in the MONITORUL OFICIAL and the press.

{h3}Section 2

{h3}Voting Centers

Article 17--Voting centers will be established in communes, towns, and municipalities, as follows:

a) in administrative-territorial units with a population of over 2,000 inhabitants there will be one voting center per 1,500-3,000 inhabitants;

{txt2}b) in communes with a population under 2,000 inhabitants there will be only one voting center.

Voting centers may also be organized in villages or groups of villages with a population of up to 500 inhabitants, if the distance between the villages and the next voting center is greater than five km.

Article 18--Separate voting centers will be set up near military units, hospitals, maternity wards, sanitariums, rest homes, and homes for the aged with at least 50 voters.

Voting facilities may also be organized in railway stations, ports, and airports for voters traveling on election day.

Voting centers will be set up in the vicinity of dormitories for regular students or students entitled to vote who do not reside in the locality of their school; these centers will serve at the most 2,000 voters.

Article 19--Voting booths will be set up at Romanian diplomatic and consular offices and at economic agencies in countries in which Romania has no diplomatic or consular representation, for members and their families and for Romanian citizens who find themselves abroad on election day. These voting centers will belong to the electoral constituency of Bucharest Municipality.

Voting booths will be set up on vessels sailing under the Romanian flag on election day; they will belong to the electoral constituency in which the vessel is registered.

Article 20--Voters will cast their ballots for both the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate, and for the presidency at the same voting center.

Article 21--The voting centers will be delimited and numbered within 20 days of the establishment of the date of elections by the county mayor's offices and the mayor's office of Bucharest municipality.

The voting centers will be numbered according to municipalities, Bucharest city districts, towns, and communes.

In accordance with paragraph 1, the mayor's offices of the counties and of Bucharest municipality will inform the electorate of the delimitation and numbering of the voting centers, indicating the site of the balloting, too.

(h3)Section 3

(h3)Electoral Lists

Article 22--Featured on the electoral lists are all the citizens entitled to vote of the localities in which they reside.

The electoral lists will be drawn up by the mayor's offices in the comun, towns, cities, and municipalities, and in the Bucharest municipality sectors.

Electoral lists will be drawn up separately for each voting center: in communes by villages, and in towns, municipalities, and Bucharest's sectors by streets, and will feature the first and last names, age, and address of the voters, in alphabetical order, as well as the number of the electoral constituencies to which they belong.

Special electoral lists will be drawn up for military troops on duty and for the students envisaged under Article 18 paragraph 3.

The special lists for the military troops will be drawn up by military units, and those for the students envisaged under Article 18 paragraph 3 on the basis of proposals made by the leadership of educational institutions.

The body responsible for a list is obligated to immediately inform the mayor's office of the administrative-territorial unit where the voter resides that his name appears on the special electoral list.

The electoral lists will be signed by the mayor and the secretary of the mayor's office; the special electoral lists for military troops will be signed by the commander of the respective military unit.

Article 23--Each voter may appear on only one electoral list.

Article 24--The electoral lists will be posted at least 30 days prior to elections day, in public places and visibly.

The public will be informed through the press or any other means of information, by the body responsible for the lists, of the sites where the lists are posted and can be checked; the electoral lists will also be posted at each voting center for the respective voters.

The original copy of the electoral lists will be kept at the courthouse to which the locality for which they were drawn up belongs. The special lists for the military troops will be kept at the respective military unit.

Article 25--Citizens are entitled to verify that they appear on electoral lists. Appeals concerning registration or any other mistakes in the lists may be filed with the bodies responsible for the lists, and the latter are obligated to issue a ruling within at the most three days of the filing.

Decisions challenged will be resolved within at the most three days by the court in whose area the voter lives or, in the case of special lists, where the respective voters have their residence. The court decision is final and must be executed; the decision is communicated to the persons involved within 24 hours of the ruling.

Article 26--Should a voter change his residence after the electoral lists have been posted, or should he be absent on election day from the locality in which he is to vote according to the electoral list, the bodies that drew up the lists will issue him a certificate so that he can exercise his right to vote, and will note the fact on the list.

On election day, the voter will be registered on a special electoral list at his new permanent or temporary residence by the electoral office of the voting center on the basis of the certificate mentioned in paragraph 1.

Article 27--The bodies that drew up the electoral lists will send them to the constituency electoral offices at least 20 days before election day, and to the electoral offices of the voting centers two days before election day. Any later modification will be communicated within at the most 24 hours.

{h3}Section 4

{h3}Electoral Offices

Article 28--To ensure orderly elections, a Central Electoral Office, constituency electoral offices, and electoral offices of voting centers will be organized.

Article 29--The Central Electoral Office will be made up of seven Supreme Court justices and 10 representatives of parties and other political groups designated in descending order by the number of candidate lists they entered for the parliamentary elections throughout the country.

The seven justices will be selected by drawing lots; after they have been selected, they will elect a president of the Central Electoral Office.

The justices and the president of the Central Electoral Office will be elected within five days of the establishment of the date of the elections in accordance with Article 12. The Central Electoral Office will

fulfill all its duties in this formation until representatives of the parties and political groups join it.

Upon expiration of the term by which candidacies may be entered and appeals resolved, the parties and political groups will officially communicate to the Central Electoral Office the total number of lists of candidates finalized for the parliamentary elections, and the first and last names of their representatives. The Central Electoral Office will then proceed to complete its membership in accordance with paragraph 1.

If, in accordance with paragraph 1, several parties or political groups have filed the same number of lists, their representatives will be selected by drawing lots, under the supervision of the president of the Central Electoral Office and in the presence of the representatives of the respective parties or political groups.

Communications made later than the term envisaged under paragraph 4 will be disregarded.

Article 30--The Central Electoral Office will monitor the drafting of the electoral lists, their public announcement, and the legal registration of candidates and will check and register the results of the elections; it will also fulfill the other duties incumbent on it in accordance with the present decree-law.

Article 31--The electoral constituency office will be made up of three judges and at the most six representatives of the parties and political groups participating in the elections in the counties or Bucharest Municipality, designated in descending order by the number of candidates they entered.

The three judges will be appointed by drawing lots among the county judges under the supervision of the president of the county court. After being appointed, they will elect a president for the electoral constituency office.

The judges and the president making up the electoral constituency office will be elected within three days of the public announcement of the electoral constituencies.

Upon the expiration of the term by which candidacies may be filed and appeals resolved, the parties and political groups will officially communicate to the electoral constituency offices the total number of final candidacies for the parliamentary elections. The electoral constituency office will complete its membership in accordance with paragraph 1.

If, according to paragraph 1, several parties or political groups entered the same number of candidates, their representatives will be designated by drawing lots, under the supervision of the president of the electoral constituency office, in the presence of the

representatives of the respective parties or political groups.

Communications made later than the term envisaged under paragraph 4 will be disregarded.

Article 32--Appeals concerning the formation and membership of the electoral constituency offices will be solved by the Central Electoral Office within at the most three days of registration. The ruling will be final.

Article 33--The electoral constituency offices have the following duties:

- a) to register the candidacies filed;
- (txt2)b) to publish and post the required information;
- (txt2)c) to resolve appeals regarding its own activities and the activities of the electoral offices of the voting centers;
- (txt2)d) to distribute to the electoral offices of the voting centers the control stamp and "Voted" stamps;
- (txt2)e) to add up the ballots at the voting centers, note the results of the elections for the respective electoral constituency, and issue the appropriate certificates to the deputies or senators elected;
- (txt2)f) to send to the Central Electoral Office reports on the results of the elections, noting the ballots counted for the seats assigned and the ballots that will be allocated at the national level to each party or political group, including the lists of candidates who were not elected, as well as any appeals and reports received from the electoral offices of voting centers.

Article 34--The electoral offices of voting centers are made up of a chairman, a deputy chairman, and at most seven members.

The chairman and the deputy will all be judges or other jurists who do not belong to any party or political group, and will be designated by the president of the county court and of Bucharest Municipality by drawing lots among the judges and other jurists of the county or of Bucharest.

If the number of jurists available is not sufficient, the chairman of the electoral office of the voting center or his deputy will be determined by drawing lots among other persons with an impeccable reputation who do not belong to any party or political group.

The lists of jurists other than the judges and of the persons envisaged under paragraph 3 will be drawn up by the county mayoralties and of Bucharest Municipality and will be sent to the president of the county or Bucharest court president at least two days before the formation of the electoral offices of voting centers.

The members of the electoral offices of voting centers will be made up of one representative of the parties and political groups participating in the elections in descending order by the number of candidates entered in the respective electoral

constituency. The provisions of article 31 paragraphs 4-6 will be applied accordingly and the drawing will be supervised by the chairman of the electoral office of the voting center.

The electoral offices of voting centers will be formed at least 15 days before election day.

Article 35--Any appeals concerning the formation and membership of electoral offices of voting centers will be solved by the electoral constituency office within at the most three days after registration. The ruling will be final.

Article 36--The electoral offices of voting centers have the following duties:

- a) to receive the electoral lists from the bodies that drew them up and the ballots from the electoral constituency offices for the voters expected to cast their ballots at the respective center, as well as the control stamp and the "Voted" stamps;
- (txt2)b) to run the balloting operations and to ensure order in and around the voting center;
- (txt2)c) to count the votes and enter the results;
- (txt2)d) to resolve appeals regarding their own activities;
- (txt2)e) to send reports to electoral constituency offices showing the results of the ballots, as well as the appeals filed;
- (txt2)f) to send to their respective courthouse the ballots used and unappealed and those cancelled, accompanied by a report, as well as the stamps and other polling material.

Article 37--The electoral offices will work in the presence of one half plus one of the total number of their members and will make decisions with a majority of the members present.

Article 38--Candidates in the elections and persons who do not fulfill the conditions envisaged under Article 10 paragraphs 1 and 2 may not be members of electoral offices.

(h3)Section 5

(h3)Candidacies

Article 39--Candidates for the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate are proposed by electoral constituencies within at the most 30 days before election day.

Presidential candidates are registered with the Central Electoral Office within the same period.

Article 40--Candidacies will be proposed in writing, in three copies, by the parties or political groups participating in the elections, and will be signed by their leadership or, in the case of independent candidates, on the basis of the list of supporters; independent candidates are obligated to file a statement authenticated by the office of the state notary certifying the signatures of the supporters.

Together with the proposal, the candidates will file a declaration of acceptance of the candidacy.

Article 41--The electoral constituency office will verify compliance with the conditions stipulated by the law for candidacies, and will register the valid candidacies.

One copy of the candidacy proposal will be kept at the electoral office, another will be registered at the county or Bucharest municipal courthouse, and a third, certified by the office, will be returned to the filer.

Citizens, parties, and other political groups may contest candidacies within 10 days of the expiration of the deadline for entering candidacies.

Appeals concerning the acceptance or rejection of candidacies will be resolved within at the most three days of registration by the county or Bucharest municipal court. The court ruling will be final and will be carried out; the decision will be communicated to the interested parties within 24 hours of being pronounced.

Registration with the respective courthouse and resolving appeals regarding presidential candidacies fall under the competence of the Supreme Court of Justice; the provisions of the previous paragraph will be implemented accordingly.

Article 42--Upon expiration of the term for entering candidacies, a report will be drafted and will be signed by the members of the electoral constituency office.

The electoral constituency offices will publish the first and last names, address, political affiliation, profession, and occupation of the candidates in the press and by posting them at voting centers.

The day after the expiration of the terms envisaged under Article 41 paragraphs 3 and 4, the electoral constituency offices will send the final candidacies to the Central Electoral Office, specifying the data envisaged under paragraph 2.

Concerning the office of the president, the provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2 will be applied accordingly by the Central Electoral Office.

(h3)Section 6

(h3)Ballots

Article 43--The government will establish distinct ballot models for the Assembly of Deputies, the Senate, and the president of Romania, within at the most 10 days of the establishment of the day of elections. Within the same period of time the government will also establish a model for voting center stamps and balloting stamps.

Article 44--The size of the ballots is established by the electoral constituency office in keeping with the number of candidates lists and independent candidates and the space necessary to print them on.

The paper for the ballots will be white and sufficiently thick so that the names and the vote may not be visible on the reverse side.

The remittance and distribution of the ballots will be accompanied by a written report to that effect.

Two copies each of the ballots, stamped and cancelled by the chairman of the electoral constituency office will be posted one day before the elections at the respective courthouses and at each voting center.

Article 48--Upon the request of parties, political groups, or independent candidates participating in the elections the electoral constituency office may issue two stamped and cancelled ballot forms for each.

{h3}Section 7

{h3}The Electoral Campaign

Article 49--The electoral campaign will begin on the day on which the date of the elections is publicly announced, and will close two days before election day.

Article 50--During the electoral campaign, all the candidates, parties, political groups, social organizations, and citizens are entitled to express their views freely and without any discrimination, through meetings, assemblies, television, radio, press, and other mass media.

The means used in the electoral campaign may not contravene the legal order.

Article 51--Access to radio and television during the electoral campaign will be guaranteed and free of payment.

Article 52--Within five days of the opening of the electoral campaign the mayoralties are obligated to designate special sites for electoral posters, in keeping with the number of parties and political groups that have declared their intention to enter lists of candidates and of independent candidates.

The special posting sites will be located in squares, streets, and other public places frequented by citizens, without disrupting traffic on public roads and other activities in the area.

No party, political group, or independent candidate may use the special posting sites in such manner as to prevent others from using it.

Electoral posters may be displayed in places other than those established under paragraph 1 only with the permission of the respective owners or users.

Article 53--The parties and political groups participating in the electoral campaign will be subsidized from the state budget; the size of the subsidy will be decided at the same time as the date of the elections.

After the enactment of the present decree-law the electoral campaign may not be financed with funds from abroad or from other sources that have not been publicly declared.

{h3}CHAPTER III. The Elections

Article 54--Each voting center must have a sufficient number of booths, polling boxes, and voting stamps.

A sufficient number of boxes for all the candidates will be printed on the ballot pages, except for the last page, which will be left blank for the control stamp.

The boxes will be printed in parallel rows in two columns to the page.

The name of the party, the political group participating in the election, or the notation "independent candidate" or "list of independent candidates" will be printed in the upper left corner.

On the upper right hand corner the box will show the electoral symbol of the parties, political groups, or independent candidates who requested to be identified by a symbol, too.

The boxes on each ballot will feature the lists of candidates identified by first and last name, in the order established by drawing lots, which shall be done by the electoral constituency office. A distinct box will be printed for each independent candidate at the end of the ballot, in the order in which the candidacies were entered.

For the election of the president of Romania the ballot boxes will feature the first and last names of the candidates in the order established according to paragraph 7 by the Central Electoral Office and communicated to the electoral constituency offices within 24 hours of the expiration of the deadline for entering candidacies and resolving appeals.

Article 45--The electoral symbols will be selected by each party, political group, or independent candidate and communicated to the Central Electoral Office within three days of its formation, in accordance with Article 29 paragraph 3.

Should the same electoral symbol be selected by several parties, political groups, or independent candidates, the respective symbol will be assigned by drawing lots.

Electoral symbols may not be selected in violation of the legal order.

The Central Electoral Office will ensure that electoral symbols are published the day after the publication of the model ballot.

Article 46--All the ballots for one electoral constituency office will be printed in letters of the same size, same print pattern, and same ink, in as many copies as there are voters in the constituency plus 10 percent of that number.

The ballots will be printed by the electoral constituency offices through the county and Bucharest mayoralities at the latest 10 days before election day.

Article 47--The ballots will be delivered to the chairman of the electoral constituency office, who will distribute them to the chairmen of the electoral offices of voting centers at least two days before election day.

The booths and ballot boxes must be placed in the same room as the chairman's desk. The booths, ballot boxes, and stamps will be supplied by the communal, town, municipal, and Bucharest district mayoralties.

The chairman of the electoral office of the voting center must be present at the voting center on the eve of the elections at 1800, and is obligated to immediately take the necessary measures to ensure orderly and correct voting operations.

The chairman will decide the deployment of guards around the voting site.

Article 55--On election day at 0500 the chairman of the electoral office of the voting center, in the presence of the other members, will check the ballot boxes, the electoral lists, the ballots, and the stamps, after which he will close and seal the ballot boxes and apply the control stamp of the voting center on them.

The chairman is obligated to ensure the application of the control stamp on the ballots.

Article 56--The chairman of the electoral office of the voting center is obligated to take the necessary measures to ensure orderly elections.

For this purpose, his prerogatives extend outside the voting center, to its yard, yard gates, the area around the voting center, and the streets and public squares within a radius of 500 m.

Aside from the members of the electoral offices of voting centers, candidates, accredited Romanian and foreign press, cinematography, radio, and television representatives, no other person may linger in public places in the voting area or building longer than the time necessary to vote.

The chairman of the electoral office of the voting center will be provided with the necessary means of maintaining order by the county and Bucharest mayor's offices.

Article 57--All polling will be done in one day; it will begin at 0600 and will close at 2300.

Article 58--The voters will cast their ballots only at the voting centers where they are registered, with the exceptions stipulated under Articles 19 and 26.

The voters will enter the polling halls in as many numbers as there are polling booths. Each person will present his identity card to the electoral office of the voting center which, after verifying the registration list or noting the certificate issued according to Article 26, will hand them the ballots and voting stamps.

The voters will cast their ballots individually in closed booths, by applying the "Voted" stamp inside the box showing the list of candidates or the independent candidate they selected.

The "Voted" stamp must be round and smaller in size than the box.

After making their selection, the voters will fold the ballots with the blank page bearing the control stamp on the outside and place them inside the ballot boxes, making sure that they do not open.

Folding the ballot wrong does not void it provided secrecy is preserved.

Should the ballot inadvertently open, it will be voided and the voter will be issued a new ballot, and the fact will be noted in the report on the polling operations.

The voting stamp is then returned to the chairman.

The chairman may take measures to ensure that a voter does not remain longer than necessary in the voting booth.

Article 59--The chairmen, members of the electoral offices of voting centers, and the persons in charge of order will cast their ballots at the center at which they are active, on the basis of certificates attesting their right to vote.

Article 60--The candidates and any voter are entitled to challenge the identity of a voter. In such cases, the chairman may use any means he deems necessary to establish the person's identity. If the challenge is justified, the chairman will not permit the respective person to vote, will note the fact in a report, and will apprise the police of the situation.

Article 61--The chairman of the electoral office of the voting center may suspend balloting if he has valid reasons to do so.

Balloting may not be suspended for more than one hour; an announcement to that effect will be posted on the door of the voting center at least one hour prior to the fact. The overall duration of breaks may not exceed two hours.

During the break in polling, the ballot boxes, stamps, ballots, and all the material of the electoral office will remain under continual guard; the office members may not leave the hall all at the same time.

The persons who under Article 56 paragraph 3 are entitled to attend the polling cannot be forced to leave the hall during that time.

Article 62--No one may be allowed to be present in the polling booth other than the person who is casting his ballot.

A voter who has sound reasons--verified by the chairman of the electoral office of the voting center--not to cast the ballot by himself, is entitled to call upon any other person to help him in the booth.

Article 63--Upon the request of persons who cannot reach the polls for reasons of health or infirmity, or upon the request of the managements of health care or social welfare institutions, the chairman of the respective voting center will designate several members of the center to take a special ballot box and the

48

necessary material to the voter's site to allow him to cast his ballot.

Article 64--At 2300 the chairmen of the electoral offices of voting centers will declare the polling closed.

{h3}CHAPTER IV. Establishing Polling Results

Article 65--After voting is closed, the chairmen of the electoral offices of voting centers will cancel the unused ballots and open the ballot boxes, in the presence of the office members and, according to case, the persons envisaged under Article 56 paragraph 3.

Upon opening each ballot the chairman will read aloud the list of candidates or the first and last names of the independent candidate that were selected and will show the ballot to those present.

Ballots not bearing the control stamp of the voting center; ballots of a model different than the legally approved ones; ballots not bearing the "Voted" stamp, and ballots on which the stamp was applied on several boxes, will be void and will not be counted among the votes.

The results will be marked on two tables: One will be kept by a member of the electoral office, and one by the candidates present.

The total number of voters; the number of void ballots; the lists of candidates or the first and last names of independent candidates, and the numbers of votes won by each one will be noted on the tables.

Article 66--After the ballot boxes have been opened and the votes counted, the chairman of the voting center will write a report for the Assembly of Deputies, the Senate, and the president of Romania, in two copies. The report will show, according to case:

- a) the number of voters, as per voters' lists;
- {txt2}b) the number of voters who came to vote;
- {txt2}c) the total number of valid ballots;
- {txt2}d) the number of void ballots;
- {txt2}e) the number of votes won by each list of candidates or each independent candidate;
- {txt2}f) the number of votes won by each candidate for the office of the president of Romania;
- {txt2}g) a concise report on any appeals and challenges and how they were resolved, and of any appeals filed with the electoral constituency office.

The reports will be signed by the chairman and members of the office.

Absence of the signatures of some office members will not affect the validity of the report. The chairman will make a note of the reasons accounting for any absent signatures.

Article 67--Appeals and challenges concerning the polling and opening of the ballots may be filed throughout those operations.

Challenges will be filed in writing and remitted to the chairmen of the electoral offices of voting centers, who will issue a receipt for them.

The chairmen of the electoral offices of voting centers will immediately rule on appeals that cannot be postponed.

Article 68--A file will be compiled for each category of bodies elected, including: reports and appeals concerning the polling operations of the center, and void and contested ballots. The stamped and sealed files will be sent to the electoral constituency office by the chairmen and members of the electoral offices of voting centers, under military guard, within at the most 24 hours.

The electoral constituency office will send one of the copies of the report to the county courthouse; the parties, political groups, and independent candidates may obtain legalized copies of the report.

(h3)CHAPTER V. Centralizing and Counting Election Results

Article 69--After receiving the reports with the vote counts from all the electoral offices of voting centers and after resolving any challenges and appeals, the electoral constituency office will add up the votes and assign seats as per Articles 71 and 72.

For this purpose, the electoral constituency office will note the number of votes obtained by each list of candidates or independent candidate throughout the constituency.

The number of ballots cast for each candidate for the office of the president of Romania will also be added up.

The proceedings of the electoral constituency office may be attended by the persons listed under Article 56 paragraph 3.

Article 70--The elections are valid in an electoral constituency if at least half plus one of the total number of voters participated in the polling.

Article 71--The seats for deputies will be assigned in several stages, as follows:

a) In the first stage, the number of seats for each list of candidates and for independent candidates will be determined in accordance with the electoral coefficient, which is calculated by dividing the total number of valid ballots cast for all the lists and independent candidates by the number of votes attributed to each constituency; the electoral constituency office will assign to each list as many seats as the electoral coefficient goes into the total number of ballots cast for the respective list; the seats will be assigned to each list in the order in which the candidates appear on it, beginning with the list of candidates which won the most votes; also, the independent candidate who won a

number of votes at least equal with the electoral coefficient will be declared the winner.

Ballots left over after the assignment of seats, and those falling below the electoral coefficient will be viewed as unused votes for each list of candidates of the parties or political groups;

b) in the second stage, the Central Electoral Office will add up the unused votes for the entire country for each party or political group; the number of votes thus obtained by each party or political group will be divided successively by 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., with as many divisions as the number of seats left unassigned throughout the country in electoral constituencies, as a consequence of the provisions envisaged under letter a); a number equal to that of the seats that are to be assigned will be registered from among the quotients thus obtained in order of size; the smallest of these quotients will serve as electoral distributor; each party or political group will be assigned as many seats as the electoral distributor goes into the total number of votes centralized for the entire country for the respective party or political group; the assignment of seats will begin with the party or political group whose lists of candidates won the most votes and will continue down to the complete allocation of the remaining seats, in accordance with the number of votes centralized for each party or political group;

c) in the third stage, the candidates of each list who are to be assigned a seat, following the allocation at the national level, are determined in accordance with the procedure specified under letter b); for this purpose, the Central Electoral Office will establish for each party or political group that won seats in accordance with letter b) the percentage of unused ballots from each electoral constituency, from the total number of unused ballots added up for the entire country for the respective party or political group; the percentage points obtained will be listed in descending order, according to size, for each electoral constituency; the number of seats that will be allocated to the candidates listed at each constituency will be determined according to the above percentage; if the resulting numbers are not whole numbers they will be rounded out, proceeding from an average value established by dividing the sum of all the decimal fractions to their number; fractions under the average value will be ignored. If not all the seats allocated to a list in the second stage can be assigned, the remaining seats will be allocated to the respective list according to electoral constituency, in the descending order of the percentage points won by those constituencies, until the entire number of seats allocated to the respective list has been assigned. If in the course of this last procedure, these percentage

points are equal in two or more constituencies and the number of ballots is not sufficient to be allocated to all those constituencies, they will be assigned by the respective party or political group.

The electoral constituency office will issue certifications of the election of deputies in accordance with the provisions under letter c), on the basis of a communication from the Central Electoral Office, within 24 hours.

Candidates appearing on lists who were not elected after the three stages cited in the present article will be declared substitutes for the respective lists. Should the deputy seats elected on the basis of the lists entered by the parties and political groups become vacant, the substitutes will take the free seats in the order in which they appeared on the lists.

Article 72--The senate seats will be allocated by the electoral constituency office.

The number of seats won by each list of candidates and by independent candidates will be established according to the electoral coefficient, determined by dividing the total number of valid votes cast for all the lists and independent candidates by the number of seats allocated to each electoral constituency; the electoral constituency office will allocate to each list as many seats as the electoral coefficient goes into the total number of ballots cast for the respective list; seats will be allocated on each list in the order in which the candidates appear on the list, beginning with the list which won the most votes; similarly, the independent candidate who won a number of votes at least equal with the electoral coefficient will be declared winner.

In the case that, according to paragraph 2, unassigned seats are left over, the electoral constituency office will distribute them among the lists or independent candidates in descending order of the ballots left unused as a result of the application of the electoral coefficient.

Should senate seats be left vacant, the provisions of Article 71 last paragraph will be duly implemented.

The electoral constituency office will issue to the candidates elected certification of their election as senators.

Article 73--The votes cast for the office of the president of Romania will be centralized by the Central Electoral Office.

The candidate who won at least half plus one of the votes of the voters appearing on electoral lists will be declared president of Romania.

If none of the candidates won this majority, a second round of elections will be organized on the second Sunday after election day between the first two candidates classified by the number of votes obtained.

The candidate who won the largest number of votes at the second round of elections will be declared elected.

Article 74--If less than half plus one of the voters registered in an electoral constituency went to vote, the electoral constituency office will mention the fact in its report, immediately alerting the Central Electoral Office to the situation, with a view to organizing new elections.

The new elections will be held two weeks from the date of the previous elections; the same lists of voters will be used.

Article 75--The electoral constituency office will draft one report each for the Assembly of Deputies, the Senate, and the president of Romania concerning all the electoral operations, the vote count, and the notation of the elections results.

According to case, the report will show:

- a) the number of voters in the respective electoral constituency as per the voters lists;
- (txt2)b) the total number of ballots cast;
- (txt2)c) the total number of ballots won by each list or independent candidate;
- (txt2)d) the number of void ballots;
- (txt2)e) the manner in which the provisions of Article 71 letter a) and 72 were implemented, the first and last names of the candidates elected, and, according to case, the party or political group that ran them;
- (txt2)f) the number of votes left unused as a result of the application of the electoral coefficient to each list separately and the candidates not elected on the lists of each party and political group;
- (txt2)g) the number of votes won by each candidate for the office of the president of Romania;
- (txt2)h) a concise report on the proceedings, challenges, and decisions of the electoral constituency office.

The report, accompanied by the appeals, challenges, and reports received from the electoral offices of voting centers, will be put together into a file closed, sealed, and signed by the members of the electoral office, and will be sent under military guard to the Central Electoral Office within at the most 48 hours.

Article 76--The Central Electoral Office will deal with the appeals and challenges filed and its rulings will be final; after that it will draft a report each for the Assembly of Deputies, the Seante, and the president of Romania, featuring, as the case may be:

- a) the total number of voters as per the electoral lists;
- (txt2)b) the total number of voters who went to vote;
- (txt2)c) the total number of ballots cast throughout the country;
- (txt2)d) the number of void ballots;

(txt2)e) notes on the implementation by the electoral constituency offices of the provisions of Articles 71 letter a) and 72;

(txt2)f) the allocation of ballots according to Article 71 letters b) and c) and the first and last names of the deputies thus elected, as well as each one's electoral constituency;

(txt2)g) the number of votes won by each of the candidates to the office of president of Romania;

(txt2)h) the organizations representing national minorities which, according to Article 71, did not win any deputy seat; the first and last names of the first candidate on the lists of those organizations that won the largest number of votes and which, according to Article 4 paragraph 2, will be designated deputy.

The reports will be signed by the chairman and other members of the office in whose presence they were drafted.

The certification of the deputy cited under letter h) will be issued by the Central Electoral Office.

Article 77--The Central Electoral Office will submit the reports cited under Article 76 to the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate for the purpose of validating the elections.

These reports will be accompanied by the files compiled by the electoral constituency offices.

For the office of the president of Romania the report and the election file will be submitted to the Supreme Court of Justice.

If the court finds that none of the candidates won a majority of votes, the procedure will follow Article 73 paragraph 3.

Article 78--The election results will be published in the MONITORUL OFICIAL and in the press by the Central Electoral Office.

(h3)CHAPTER VI. The Parliament

Article 79--The Assembly of Deputies and the Senate will be legally convened in a first session on the 20th day after election day; each house will separately elect, under the chairmanship of its doyen, a validation commission from among its members, made up of representatives of several parties or political groups.

The validation commissions will check the files and the legality of the elections, after which they will propose the validation or invalidation of the elections of each deputy and senator; validation or invalidation will be decided by each house separately.

After the validation of the representatives and after the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate have been declared legally formed, they will each elect working bodies and adopt bylaws.

Article 80--The Assembly of Deputies and the Senate in joint session will legally form themselves into a Constitutional Assembly for the purpose of adopting

Romania's Constitution. The Constitutional Assembly will be chaired by the spokesmen of the Assembly and the Senate by rotation.

Until the Romanian Constitution comes into effect the Parliament will also work as a legislative assembly. After the enactment of the Constitution the Parliament will decide on the organization of new elections within at the most one year.

(h3)CHAPTER VII. The President of Romania

Article 81--The election of the president of Romania will be validated by the Supreme Court of Justice, in plenum, within 20 days of election day.

The court decision will be announced in a joint session of the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate. From that date the candidate elected is declared president of Romania.

Once elected, the president of Romania may not belong to any party or political group.

Should the office of the president become vacant, or should the president become incapable of discharging his duties, the president of the Senate will become president ad interim of Romania. When the office of the president becomes vacant, elections will be organized within at the most three months.

Article 82--The President of Romania:

- a) Appoints the representative of the party or political group that won the majority of seats in parliament as prime minister; should such a majority not have been obtained, the president will designate another deputy or senator, after consulting with the parties and political groups represented in Parliament; the list of the government is submitted to the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate for approval; the president also accepts the government's resignation from the prime minister;
- b) appoints the president and members of the Supreme Court of Justice, in consultation with the Senate, as well as the Attorney General;
- c) may convene Parliament in special session;
- d) may dissolve the Constitutional Assembly, with the agreement of the prime minister and the presidents of the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate, if a Constitution has not been adopted within nine months; if it has not adopted a Constitution within at the most 18 months of its formation, the Constitutional Assembly will be automatically dissolved;
- e) delivers annual state-of-the-nation addresses in Parliament;
- f) may declare partial or general mobilization of the Army, with prior Parliamentary agreement; in exceptional cases, the president's decision will be sent to Parliament for approval within at the most five days of being issued;

- g) declares partial or general state of emergency, with Parliament's approval issued within at the most five days of the adoption of the measure;
- h) signs international treaties and submits them to Parliament for ratification;
- i) appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives and receives representatives of other states;
- j) grants pardon and commutes sentences;
- k) awards the ranks of general, admiral, and marshal;
- l) awards decorations and honorary titles;
- m) promulgates laws.

The president of Romania issues decrees in the exercise of his office. The decrees are countersigned by the prime minister.

Article 83--Should the president commit actions that make him unworthy of the presidency, he will be suspended by a joint vote of the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate. The president may be impeached only by referendum, organized within at the most one month of his suspension by Parliament.

Parliament may suspend or propose the impeachment of the president only if a decision to that effect was required by at least one third of the members of the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate.

(h3) CHAPTER VIII. Transgressions and Infractions

Article 84--Unless declared as infractions by the law, the following actions will constitute transgressions:

- a) willfully registering a person on several electoral lists; registering fictitious persons or persons who are not entitled to vote on electoral lists, and violating the regulations regarding the posting of electoral lists;
- (txt2)b) unjustified refusal to issue a certificate regarding the exercise of the right to vote to the persons concerned;
- (txt2)c) failure by organizers to take the necessary measures to ensure orderly electoral meetings, and distributing and drinking alcoholic beverages during such meetings;
- (txt2)d) destroying, damaging, soiling, writing on, or in any other way covering up electoral lists, posted platform-programs, or any other printed electoral propaganda material;
- (txt2)e) posting electoral propaganda material in places other than those authorized in accordance with the provisions of the present decree-law;
- (txt2)f) agreement by a person to be registered on several lists of candidates;
- (txt2)g) failure by the members of electoral constituency offices to publicly announce candidacies;
- (txt2)h) refusal to allow access to voting centers to persons such as the ones cited under Article 56 paragraph 3;

(txt2)i) refusal to comply with the instructions of the chairmen of electoral offices of voting centers regarding order in the building and around it, in accordance with Article 56 paragraph 2;
(txt2)j) unjustified refusal to hand over ballots or balloting stamps to persons registered on the electoral lists or who present a certificate attesting to their right to vote, or handing ballots to voters who do not present an identity card;
(txt2)k) reports drafted by electoral offices of voting centers in violation of the provisions of Article 66;
(txt2)l) continuing electoral propaganda after the closing of the electoral campaign in accordance with Article 49, and counseling voters to vote or not to vote for a certain party, political group, or independent candidate on election day at voting centers or in the locations cited under Article 56 paragraph 2.

Article 85--The transgressions listed under Article 84 letters d, e, and h will be fined between 2,000-5,000 lei; those under letters f, g, k, and l 5,000-15,000 lei, and those under letters a, b, c, i, and j will incur disciplinary imprisonment from one to six months, or a 15,000-30,000 lei fine.

Article 86--The transgressions listed under Article 84 will be noted in reports written by:

a) police officers and non-commissioned officers for the actions listed under letters a, b, c, d, e, g, h, i, j, and l;

(txt2)b) mayors and their deputies for the actions listed under letters d and e;

(txt2)c) the chairmen of electoral constituency offices for the actions listed under letters f and k.

In the case of the transgressions listed under letters d, e, f, g, g, k, and l the reporting officer will also note the fine applied in his report.

The transgressions listed in the preceding paragraph are also subject to the provisions of Law No. 32/1968, with the exception of Article 26.

Reports on the transgressions listed under letters a, b, c, i, and j will be submitted to the courthouse in whose area they occurred; the court will hand down a punishment in accordance with Decree No. 153/1970.

Article 87--Using any means of preventing citizens from exercising their right to vote or to be elected is punishable by six months-five years imprisonment and deprivation of certain rights.

The punishment for actions such as those listed under paragraph 1 which caused bodily harm or health damage necessitating more than 60 days of care or which caused one of the following consequences: loss of a sense or an organ or loss of their use, permanent physical or emotional damage, wounds, abortion, or endangering a person's life, is three to ten years imprisonment.

Attempted actions of this kind will also be punished.

Article 88--Any violation of the secrecy of the ballot by members of the voting centers or other persons is punishable by six months-three years imprisonment.

Attempted violations of this kind will also be punished.

Article 89--Promising or giving money or other bribes in order to persuade voters for or against a certain list of candidates or an independent candidate, and accepting such bribes by voters for the same purpose, or exercising the right to vote in violation of the provisions of Article 5 will be punished by six months-five years imprisonment.

Article 90--Using fake ballots, entering into ballot boxes ballots that were not selected by the voters, or using any means to falsify documents from electoral bureaus will be punished by two-seven years imprisonment.

Attempted actions of this kind will also be punished.

Article 91--Any attack on voting centers and the theft of ballot boxes or electoral documents will be punished by two-seven years imprisonment, unless the action constitutes a more serious infraction.

Attempted actions of this kind will also be punished.

Article 92--Opening a ballot box before the time set for closing the polling will be punished by one-five years imprisonment.

Attempted actions of this kind will also be punished.

Article 93--The limits on punishments for the infractions listed in the Penal Code or in special penal laws, with the exception of those envisaged under Articles 87-92, committed in connection with the elections, in accordance with Chapter III of the present decree-law, will be increased by one half of the special maximum punishment.

Article 94--Penal actions against all infractions committed in connection with the election of the Parliament and the president of Romania will be automatic.

(h3) CHAPTER IX. Final and Provisional Rules

Article 95--Electoral expenditures will be financed from the state budget.

Any documents issued within the exercise of the electoral rights envisaged in the present decree-law are exempted from stamp duty.

Article 96--The legally formed organizations of the national minorities which are represented in the Provisional National Unity Council will be viewed as political groups if they enter lists of candidates on behalf of the respective minorities.

Article 97--The Romanian Government will provide statisticians and the necessary auxiliary personnel to assist the electoral offices.

For the duration of their duties, the electoral officers, their members, the statisticians, and the

94

auxiliary technical personnel will be treated as employees on temporary duty.

Article 98--Court rulings on appeals, challenges, or any other requests envisaged under the present decree-law will proceed in accordance with the rules established by the law for presidential ruling, with the obligatory participation of the prosecutor.

Article 99--The present decree-law will be enforced until the adoption of the electoral law drafted on the basis of the new Constitution.

Article 100--Election Law No. 67/1974 and any other contrary regulations are hereby abrogated.

(h4) Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council

(h4) Bucharest, 14 March 1990 No. 92

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- Dec. 15-16 During the night, local protest by Hungarians in Timisoara against the harassment of Hungarian pastor Laszlo Toekes.
- Dec. 16 Romanians join Hungarians in mass demonstrations in Timisoara. Demonstrations continue the following days.
- Dec. 17 Several hundred demonstrators are massacred in Timisoara by army and Securitate troops.
- Dec. 21 In Bucharest, government-organized demonstration of support for Ceausescu's leadership turns into mass protest against Ceausescu and Communism.
- Dec. 21-22 During the night, in Bucharest Securitate troops open fire on demonstrators - mostly students - amassed in and around University Square, killing and arresting hundreds.
- Dec. 22 Demonstrations continue in Bucharest and Timisoara. At noon, Ceausescu and his wife leave Central Committee in a helicopter. They are captured the same night and transferred to a military garrison near Bucharest. Simultaneously, group including many former Communist high-ranking officials and anti-Ceausescu dissidents, calling itself National Salvation Front, takes control of crowd and television station. The Front presents program, which provides for: 1) Establishment of democratic, pluralistic system of government; 2) Transition to market economy; 3) Protection of minority rights; 4) Protection of human rights and adherence to Helsinki accords; 5) Reorganization of education and removal of indoctrination; 6) Observance of commitments to Warsaw Pact.
- Front leaders declare National Salvation will be interim steward, preparing transition to democratic elections.
- Dec. 22-25 Street fighting continues in Bucharest and other cities between pro-democracy forces and Ceausescu loyalists.
- Dec. 25 Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu are tried and executed by firing squad.
- Dec. 26 Fighting abates. National Salvation Front Council starts to appoint by decree its first members. Many are holdovers from old regime. National Peasants' Party announces its formation. National Salvation Front abrogates some of the most unpopular laws and decrees of Ceausescu's regime.

- Dec. 27-28 International media comment on predominance of old Communist activists in new government and throughout infrastructure, down to local committees and workplace cell.
- Dec. 28 In interview with Financial Times, President Iliescu, Vice-President Mazilu and Front chief ideologist Brucan declare that Romania will rejoin Europe as genuine democracy.
- Dec. 29 National Salvation Front presents second version of program. Previous reference to the "elimination of ideological dogmas that have been so harmful to the Romanian people" are dropped. Sections on religious liberty and environmental protection are added. Explicit stipulation of guaranteed freedom of press, radio and television.
- Jan. 1 In New Year address on national television, Iliescu confirms free and democratic character of Romania, including allocation of 1.25 acres of land to each peasant family for use. He announces abolition of death penalty.
- Jan. 3 Rights of free assembly and travel are restored.
- Jan. 6 National Peasants' Party and National Liberal Party are given their first television time.
- Jan. 7 Students' League and other student organizations hold meeting at Polytechnic Institute of Bucharest, demanding genuine representation in NSF Council and purge of Communists from new leadership of Romania. Students express fear that Revolution has been hijacked by Communists.
- Jan. 12 In response to street demonstrations, Iliescu and Mazilu, standing in front of the crowd, outlaw Communist Party and promise reinstatement of death penalty.
- Jan. 13 National Salvation Front reverses Jan. 12 ban on Communist Party and announces both issues (banning RCP and death penalty) will be decided by national referendum on Jan. 28.
- Jan. 23 National Salvation Front votes itself a party and announces participation with candidates in spring elections, thus reversing initial pledge to step aside after elections.
- In statement carried by Tass, Iliescu says that "... the multiparty system is an historically obsolete model. We do not wish to follow any model, and that also goes for the Romanian model of bourgeois democracy of the 1930s. Nor would it be appropriate for us to follow the experiences of neighboring countries."

55

- Jan. 24 Protests against Front's decision to participate in elections. The Front responds with decree banning all spontaneous demonstrations and threatening protesters with jail sentences of 15 to 30 days and stiff fines. The decree also restricts all demonstrations to the city's periphery.
- Jan. 25 In nationally televised speech, Iliescu warns of "separatist" threat in Transylvania.
- Jan. 28 Largest anti-Communist demonstration (15,000) since overthrow of Ceausescu, caused by popular anger over Front's decision to compete in May elections. Hundreds of factory workers arrive in buses, saying that Front leaders told them "foreign elements and bands of hooligans" are trying to destroy the Front. The crowd was told 200,000 more workers were on the way to defend the Front.
- Jan. 29 Several thousand pro-Front counter-demonstrators, suspected of being organized, mobilized and transported by NSF, gather in Victory Square. Some of them declare they were transported there by Front officials at their factories and by local leaders of former Communist unions.
- Headquarters of National Peasants' Party and National Liberal Party ransacked by pro-Front demonstrators.
- Nonpolitical Group for Social Dialogue accuses the Front of "irresponsible tactics".
- Feb. 1 National Salvation Front agrees to form a coalition with 29 parties. The Front splits in one part that joins coalition (called Provisional Council for National Unity), and another part that will run as a party. Opponents accuse the Front of packing the Provisional Council with puppet parties.
- Feb. 9 In interview with John McLaughlin, Prime Minister Romaner emphasizes that Front's Feb. 1 decision to share power was taken because "it was our political option".
- Feb. 11 Two National Peasants' Party workers reported killed, one in Bacau, the other in Calarasi.
- Feb. 18 Rally sponsored by Group for Social Dialogue to protest Front's inadequate policy regarding Securitate turns destructive. Demonstrators and alleged Front provocateurs ransack offices of interim government. About 150 arrested.

- Feb. 19 Pro-Front counter-protest by 4,000 miners who arrive by chartered train from Jiu Valley, 140 miles west of Bucharest. On state radio and television, Iliescu urges that more power be given to police and army to curb protests. He promises thoroughgoing "purge" of secret police.
- Mar. 11 Massive ant-Communist demonstration in Timisoara. Publication of Timisoara Proclamation, which emphasizes anti-Communist character of the Revolution, points to the presence in political life of former high-ranking Communists and Securitate officers as principal cause for tensions and suspicions in present-day Romania, and condemns the Front's use of Communist means of repression.
- Large number of political parties and other organizations publicly adhere to the Timisoara Proclamation.
- Mar. 14 Provisional Council for National Unity promulgates Electoral Law, after lengthy debate with opposition parties and other organizations, during which amendments are introduced.
- Mar. 19 Rising ethnic tensions culminate in violence in Tirgu Mures, as Romanian crowd attacks Hungarian demonstration in favor of Hungarian-language schools.
- Mar. 23 The Group for Social Dialogue endorses Timisoara Proclamation, calling it "a document of reference in the current development of Romanian political life."

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

Sunday, April 1

11:00 a.m. - Grupul Pentru Dialog Social (The Group for Social Dialogue)

Mariana Celac-Botez (architect/curator)
Sorin Antohi (writer, currently with the Department of Education)
Ascanio Damian (architect, president of the Architects' Union)
Constantin Fugaru (lawyer, legal expertise in trade-unions)

3:00 p.m. - Partidul National Taranesc - Crestin si Democrat
(The National Peasants' Party - Christian and Democratic)

Cornel Coposu, President of the NPP
Lup Ioan, General Secretary of the NPP
Ion Puiu, Vice-President of the NPP
Ioan Barbus, Vice-President of the NPP
Prof. Vasile Gionea
Alexandru Herlea, PNN Representative to France

Monday, April 2

9:00 a.m. - U.S. Embassy

Howard Speers, Political Officer
Dennis Curry, Second Secretary/Vice-Consul
Larry Napper, DCM

4:00 p.m. - Confederatia Sindicala "Fratia"
(The "Brotherhood" Trade-Union Confederation)

Marius Avram, member of the Executive Bureau
Adrian Cosmescu, Secretary of the Executive Bureau
Gheorghe Simion - member of the leading Council and representative of the Research & Design Workers' Trade Union Federation
Mircea Popa - Director of the Confederation's newspaper Argument

Tuesday, April 3

11:00 a.m. - Biroul Electoral Central (The Central Electoral Bureau)

Ovidiu Zarnescu, president
Felicia Barcan, member
Constantin Burada, member
Stefan Danes, member
Emil Ghergut, member
Radu Gironveanu, member
Nicolea Plesan, member
Dumitru Tancu, technical advisor
Vasile Gilgau, technical advisor

5:00 p.m. - Liga Studentilor (The Students' League)

Teofan Munteanu, founder and president
Mihai Gheorghiu

Wednesday, April 4

9:00 a.m. - Partidul National Liberal (The National Liberal Party)

Dinu Patriciu, director of propaganda and public relations

11:00 a.m. - Partidul National Taranesc - Organizatia de Tineret
(The National Peasants' Party - The Youth Organization)

Radu Chesaru, head of foreign relations section

3:00 p.m. - U.S. Embassy

Alan Green, Ambassador
Brian Flora, Counselor for Political Affairs

Thursday, April 5

1:00 p.m. - Biroul Electoral al Judetului Brasov
(The Electoral Bureau of Brasov District)

Gheorghe Radu, president
Gheorghe Nicolau, member
Ion Ciltea, member
Dan Dicianu, deputy mayor of Brasov District

Friday, April 6

10:00 a.m. - Biroul Electoral Central (The Central Electoral Bureau)

Felicia Barcan, member
Constantin Burada, member
Stefan Danes, member
Emil Ghergut, member
Radu Giroveanu, member
Nicolae Plesan, member
Dumitru Tancu, technical advisor
Vasile Gilgau, technical advisor
Alexandru Radocea, vice-president, National Commission
for Statistics
Adrian Nica, inspector general, National Commission for
Statistics

2:00 p.m. - Frontul Salvarii Nationale (The National Salvation
Front)

Velicu Radina, director of the commission for
propaganda and the media
Dorina Mihailescu, organization coordinator for the
municipality of Bucharest

DISTRICT RUN-OFF ELECTION (by lists)

1st Stage: Establishing the first category of elected deputies by the electoral bureau of the district electoral office.

Example: 1) Arad district has 157,000 registered voters, 140,000 of whom cast their ballots (therefore, there will be 140,000 cast ballots).

2) This district is entitled to 6 seats.

3) Six lists of candidates participate in the elections, as follows:

List A	-	47,000
List B	-	37,000
List C	-	32,000
List D	-	15,000
List E	-	6,000
List F	-	3,000
		<hr/>
		140,000

- The election index. $140,000 : 6 = 23,333$

- The number of seats is calculated by dividing the total number of votes obtained by each party by the election index.

List A - $47,000 : 23,333 = 2$ with a remainder of 334
(47,000 minus 46,666)

List B - $37,000 : 23,333 = 1$ with a remainder of 13,667
(37,000 minus 23,333)

List C - $32,000 : 23,333 = 1$ with a remainder of 9,667
(32,000 minus 23,333)

List D - 15,000 : No seat Remainder votes: 15,000

List E - 6,000 : No seat Remainder votes: 6,000

List F - 3,000 : No seat Remainder votes: 3,000

a) Four seats have been allocated as follows:

List A	-	2
List B	-	1
List C	-	1

- b) Two seats have remained unallocated. They will be rolled over to the centralized list for the entire country.
- c) Likewise, the following remainder votes (unused votes) will be centralized for the entire country:

List A	--	334
List B	-	13,667
List C	-	9,667
List D	-	15,000
List E	-	6,000
List F	-	3,000

2nd Stage: Establishing the number of seats to which each party is entitled, on the basis of the remainder votes from all district electoral offices centralized for the entire country.

Let us assume that the following number of seats has remained unallocated:

Alba District	1 seat
Arad District	2 seats
Arges District	2 seats
.....	
Vrancea District	2 seats
The Municipality of Bucharest	7 seats

Total: 70 seats have to be allocated in this stage

The remainder votes (i.e., unused votes) resulting from the allocation of seats in the first stage, will be centralized for the entire country.

These remainder votes will include both the votes on the lists which have not obtained any seat (in our case, lists D, E, and F), and the unused votes cast for the other lists, as follows: (See our example of Arad District.)

List A	-	334
List B	-	13,667
List C	-	9,667
List D	-	15,000
List E	-	6,000
List F	-	3,000

All these remainder votes will be added together for the entire country. Let us assume that the total figures for each list will be the following:

- List A - 837,000 votes
- List B - 730,000 votes
- List C - 620,000 votes
- List D - 570,000 votes
- List E - 367,000 votes
- List F - 156,000 votes

The electoral allocation index for the entire country will then be established, in function of the total number of unused votes (see above) and of the number of seats (70) that still have to be allocated. The procedure is as follows:

For each list, the total number of unused votes will be divided successively by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc...up to 70 (which is the number of seats to be allocated).

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>70</u>
List A	837,000	418,500	279,000	.....	12,000
List B	730,000	365,000	243,333	.....	11,990
List C	620,000	310,000	207,000	.....	8,800
List D	570,000	285,000	190,000	.....	8,000
List E	367,000	183,500	123,333	.....	5,500
List F	156,000	88,000	52,000	.....	2,200

The figures resulting from these divisions will be recorded in decreasing order, irrespective of the lists where they originated, as follows:

- | | | | |
|------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. 837,000 | 7. 365,000 | 13. 190,000 | |
| 2. 730,000 | 8. 310,000 | 14. 183,500 | |
| 3. 620,000 | 9. 285,000 | 15. 156,000 | etc. |
| 4. 570,000 | 10. 279,000 |  | ..... |
| 5. 418,500 | 11. 243,333 |  | ..... |
| 6. 367,000 | 12. 207,000 | 70. 50,000 | (presumed electoral allocation index) |

The allocation of the 70 seats will be done as follows:

List A - 837,000 : 50,000 = 16 seats
 List B - 730,000 : 50,000 = 14 seats
 List C - 620,000 : 50,000 = 12 seats
 List D - 570,000 : 50,000 = 11 seats
 List E - 367,000 : 50,000 = 7 seats
 List F - 156,000 : 50,000 = 3 seats

Note: The figure 50,000 was taken at random. Had the exact figure been used, the total would have overlapped the 70 seats to be allocated.

3rd Stage: Establishing to which district candidates on the 6 lists the seats computer as above will be allocated.

To this end, the remainder votes on each list at the national level are considered to be 100%, and the proportion for each electoral district (judet), will be established by taking the percentage.

	<u>List A</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Seats</u>
Alba District	57,000	6%	1
Arad District	90,000	11%	2
Arges District	110,000	12%	2
.....			
Vrancea District	37,000	3%	--
Municipality of Bucharest	217,000	28%	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total:	337,000	100%	16

The percentages thus obtained will be applied to the number of seats allocated in the second stage, as follows:

$$16 \text{ seats} = 100\%$$

Of these, Alba District - 6% : 1 seat (6% x 16 = .96);
 Arad District - 11% : 2 seats (11% x 16 = 1.76);
 Bacau District - 12% : 2 seats (12% x 16 = 1.92); ...
 Vrancea District - 3% : 0 seats (3% x 16 = 4.8);
 The Municipality of Bucharest - 28% : 4 seats (28% x 16 = 4.48)

Note: The allocation is calculated by rounding up by .5.

The same procedure will be applied to the other lists.

Specification: Both in the first and in the last stage, the seats will be allocated in the order in which the candidates were registered.

Ex. Arad District Constituency - List A

1. Popescu	|	Elected in the first stage
2. Ionescu	|	Elected in the first stage
3. Georgescu	|	Elected in the third stage
4. Stefanescu	|	Not elected
5. Marinescu	|	Not elected
6. Niculescu	|	Not elected

The last three candidates are placed on a supplementary list. They can replace any of the elected candidates if a seat becomes vacant.

NUMARUL DEPUTATILOR

ce pot fi aleși în fiecare circumscripție
electorală

Circumscripția electorală	Numărul deputaților
Nr. 1 - Alba	7
Nr. 2 - Arad	8
Nr. 3 - Argeș	11
Nr. 4 - Bacău	12
Nr. 5 - Bihor	11
Nr. 6 - Bistrița-Năsăud	6
Nr. 7 - Botoșani	8
Nr. 8 - Brașov	12
Nr. 9 - Brăila	7
Nr.10 - Buzău	9
Nr.11 - Caraș-Severin	7
Nr.12 - Călărași	6
Nr.13 - Cluj	12
Nr.14 - Constanța	12
Nr.15 - Covasna	4
Nr.16 - Dâmbovița	10
Nr.17 - Dolj	13
Nr.18 - Galați	11
Nr.19 - Giurgiu	5
Nr.20 - Gorj	6
Nr.21 - Harghita	6
Nr.22 - Hunedoara	9

MUNICIPIUL
ORAȘUL
STRADA
COMUNA
SATUL

LISTA DE ALEGĂTORI

Secția de votare nr.

CIRCUMSCRIPTIA
ELECTORALĂ NR. 8
JUDEȚUL BRAȘOV

Nr. crt.	NUMELE ȘI PRENUMELE ALEGĂTORULUI	Vîrstă	Domiciliul		OBSERVAȚII
			Strada	Nr. casei	
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					
21					
22					
23					
24					
25					
26					
27					
28					
29					
30					

MONITORUL OFICIAL

AL

ROMÂNIEI

Anul II — Nr. 42

DECRETE-LEGE, DECRETE,
HOTĂRÎRI ȘI ALTE ACTE, COMUNICATE

Joi, 29 martie 1990

SUMAR

<u>Nr.</u>	<u>Pagina</u>
HOTĂRÎRI ALE GUVERNULUI	
316 —	
Hotărîre privind stabilirea modelului buletinelor de vot, al ștampilelor secțiilor de votare și al celor necesare votării 1—8	

HOTĂRÎRI ALE GUVERNULUI

HOTĂRIRE

privind stabilirea modelului buletinelor de vot, al ștampilelor secțiilor de votare și al celor necesare votării

Pentru alegerile de deputați și senatori în Parlamentul României și a Președintelui României, care vor avea loc la data de 20 mai 1990, în temeiul art. 43 din Decretul-lege nr. 92/1990 pentru alegerea parlamentului și a Președintelui României,

Guvernul României hotărăște :

Art. 1. — Modelele buletinelor de vot pentru alegerea Adunării Deputaților, Senatului și Președintelui României sînt cele prevăzute în anexele nr. 1—3.

Art. 2. — Modelul ștampilelor secțiilor de votare este cel prevăzut în anexa nr. 4.

Art. 3. — Modelul ștampilelor necesare votării este cel prevăzut în anexa nr. 5.

Art. 4. — Anexele nr. 1—5 fac parte integrantă din prezenta hotărîre.

PRIM-MINISTRU
PETRE ROMAN

București, 29 martie 1990.

Nr. 336.

68.

D**ROMÂNIA****BULETIN DE VOT
PENTRU ALEGEREA ADUNĂRII DEPUTAȚILOR****20 MAI 1990**

Circumscripția electorală nr. _____

-69-

1) 3)	2)
4) 6)	5)

- 1) Se trece denumirea completă a partidului, formațiunii politice sau mențiunea „listă de candidați independenți” în ordinea rezultată din tragerea la sorți efectuată conform art. 44 alin. 7 din Decretul-lege nr. 92/1990.
- 2) Se trece semnul electoral; între denumirea partidului, formațiunii politice sau mențiunea „candidat independent” și semnul electoral să se păstreze distanța de 3 litere. (Lista de candidați independenți nu are semn.)
- 3) Se trec numele și prenumele candidaților, în ordinea din lista de candidați depusă, după care se încheie patruleterul.
- 4) Se trece mențiunea „candidat independent”; pentru fiecare candidat independent se imprimă un patruleter distinct, în partea finală a buletinului, în ordinea înregistrării propunerilor.
- 5) Se trece semnul electoral, dacă a fost solicitat de candidat.
- 6) Se trec numele și prenumele candidatului independent.

NOTA :

Hîrtia pentru buletinul de vot va fi de culoare albă și suficient de groasă pentru a nu se distinge pe vers so numele imprimat și votul dat.

Pe paginile buletinului de vot se vor imprima patruletere în număr suficient pentru a cuprinde toate candidaturile, în afară de ultima pagină care va rămîne albă pentru ștampila de control.

Toate numele, prenumele și cuvintele ce se înscriu în interiorul patruleterului se vor tipări cu literă corp 10 verzal drepte.

Paginile buletinului de vot, inclusiv ultima pagină care va rămîne albă, vor fi numerotate.

Pe teritoriul unei circumscripții electorale se va folosi tus pentru ștampile de aceeași culoare.

Semnul electoral se va imprima într-un spațiu grafic de 1,5 cm x 1,5 cm.

S

ROMÂNIA

**BULETIN DE VOT
PENTRU ALEGEREA SENATULUI**

20 MAI 1990

Circumscripția electorală nr. _____

111

1)	2)
3)	

--

--

4)	5)
6)	

1) Se trece denumirea completă a partidului, formațiunii politice sau mențiunea „listă de candidați independenți” în ordinea rezultată din tragerea la sorți efectuată conform art. 44 alin. 7 din Decretul-lege nr. 92/1990.

2) Se trece semnul electoral; între denumirea partidului, formațiunii politice sau mențiunea „candidat independent” și semnul electoral să se păstreze distanța de 3 litere. (Lista de candidați independenți nu are semn)

3) Se trec numele și prenumele candidaților în ordinea din lista de candidați depusă, după care se închide patruleterul.

4) Se trece mențiunea „candidat independent”; pentru fiecare candidat independent se imprimă un patruleter distinct, în partea finală a buletinului, în ordinea înregistrării propunerilor potrivit art. 44 alin. 7 din Decretul-lege nr. 92/1990.

5) Se trece semnul electoral, dacă a fost stabilit de candidat.

6) Se trec numele și prenumele candidatului independent.

NOTA:

Hîrtia pentru buletinul de vot va fi de culoare albă și suficient de groasă pentru a nu se distinge pe verso numele imprimat și votul dat.

Pe paginile buletinului de vot se vor imprima patruleteri în număr suficient pentru a cuprinde toate candidaturile, în afară de ultima pagină care va rămîne albă pentru ștampila de control.

Toate numele, prenumele și cuvintele ce se înscriu în interiorul patruleterelor se vor tipări cu literă corp 10 verzal drepte.

Paginile buletinului de vot, inclusiv ultima pagină care va rămîne albă, vor fi numerotate.

Pe teritoriul unei circumscripții electorale se va folosi tuș pentru ștampile de aceeași culoare.

Semnul electoral se va imprima într-un spațiu grafic de 1,5 cm x 1,5 cm.

P

ROMÂNIA

**BULETIN DE VOT
PENTRU ALEGEREA PREȘEDINTELUI ROMÂNIEI**

20 MAI 1990

Circumscripția electorală nr.

73

1) 3)	2)	

- 1) Se trece denumirea completă a partidului, formațiunii politice sau mențiunea „candidat independent“.
- 2) Se trece semnul electoral ; între denumirea partidului, formațiunii politice sau mențiunea „candidat independent“ și semnul electoral să se păstreze distanța de 3 litere.
- 3) Se trec numele și prenumele candidatului în ordinea rezultată din tragerea la sorți efectuată conform art. 44 alin. 7 din Decretul-lege nr. 92/1990.

NOTA :

Hirtia pentru buletinul de vot va fi de culoare albă și suficient de groasă pentru a nu se distinge pe verso numele imprimat și votul dat.

Pe paginile buletinului de vot se vor imprima patruleterele în număr suficient pentru a cuprinde toate candidaturile, în afară de ultima pagină care va rămâne albă pentru ștampila de control.

Toate numele, prenumele și cuvintele ce se înscriu în interiorul patruleterului se vor tipări cu literă corp 10 verzal drepte.

Paginile buletinului de vot, inclusiv ultima pagină care va rămâne albă, vor fi numerotate.

Pe teritoriul unei circumscripții electorale se va folosi tuș pentru ștampile de aceeași culoare.

Semnul electoral se va imprima într-un spațiu grafic de 1,5 cm × 1,5 cm.

**NOTĂ:**

În cadrul ștampilei de control, după numărul circumscripției electorale se adaugă denumirea județului.
Spre exemplu : „Circumscripția electorală nr. 2 Arad”.



EDITOR : CONSILIUL PROVIZORIU DE UNIUNE NAȚIONALĂ

Adresa pentru publicitate : Combinatul poligrafic București - Biroul de publicitate și difuzare
 pentru Monitorul Oficial București str. Blanduziei nr. 1 sectorul 2, telefon 11 77 01
 17 - Biroul de publicitate București - Biroul de publicitate Monitorul Oficial București
 str. Jilului nr. 163 telefon 68 15 58

Prețuri 1,00 lei

40 816

Monitorul Oficial al României nr. 42/1990 conține 8 pagini.

75

322

9/2/90
C. 1005

T A B E L

privind înregistrarea partidelor politice

Nr. dos.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	Sediu	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
dos.nr. /1990	PARTIDUL NAȚIONAL ȚĂRĂNESC CREȘTIȚ ȘI DEMOCRAT	Președinte: Corneliu Coposu Secretar general: Liviu Petrina Secretar general adjunct: Ion Lup	București, 8-dul Republicii nr.34, sector 2	430	102.000 lei Decizia nr.1/11.01.1990 Admisă Def.
dos.nr. /1990	MIȘCAREA ECOLOGISTĂ DIN ROMÂNIA	Președinte: Toma George Maiorescu	București, str.C.A. Rosetti nr.45, sector 2	253	20.000 lei Decizia nr.2/11.01.1990 Admisă Def.
dos.nr. /1990	PARTIDUL SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC ROMÂN	Președinte: Circiumariu Marius Vicepreședinte: Parciulea Vasile Secretar: Stan Cornel	Pucioasa Telefon:927/60005	338	8.000 lei Decizia nr.3/15.01.1990 Admisă Def.

T A B E L

privind înregistrarea partidelor politice

nr. dos.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u l	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
Dos.nr. 4/1990	PARTIDUL NAȚIONAL LIBERAL	Secretar general: Radu Cîmpeanu Președinte org. București I.V.Săndulescu	București, str. Armenească nr.13, sector 2	287	30.000 lei Decizia nr.4/15.01.1990 Admisă, Def.
Dos.nr. /1990	UNIUNEA DEMOCRATĂ CREȘTINĂ	Comitet: Gheorghean T.Tiberiu Voinea Octavian Fulger Vladimir	București, str. Ing. Zablovski nr.91, sector 1	263	15.000 lei Decizia nr.5/15.01.19 Admisă, Def.
Dos.nr. /1990	PARTICUL DEMOCRAT DIN ROMÂNIA	Cherecheș Liviu Cipac Mihai Coiciu Viorel telefon:15.24.78	București, str. Dr. Staicovici br.8, sector 5 Hotel Palas str. C-tin Mille nr.18, cam.202	255	15.000 lei Decizia nr.7/16.01.99 Admisă, Def.

87

T A U E L

privind înregistrarea partidelor politice

Nr. dos.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
Dos.nr. 17/1990	PARTIDUL UNITĂȚII DEMOCRATICE	Nucleul central al partidului: prin Stăncescu Nicu	București, 8-dul Dacia nr.5, et.4, ap.8, sector 1	255	12.190 lei Decizia nr.8/16.01.1990 Admisă Def.
Dps.nr. 1/1990	PARTIDUL DEMOCRAT DIN CLUJ	Consiliul politic provizoriu: Zăgrean Gabriel Roșoga Ioan Groza Gavrila	Cluj-Napoca, str. Moșilor nr.18 telefon: 11887 11889 15301	255	5.000 lei Decizia nr.6/15.01.1990 Admisă Def.

197

- 2 -

T A B E L

privind înregistrarea partidelor politice

Nr. dos.	Denumirea partidelor	Num. ele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
✓ Dos.nr. 0/1990	PARTIDUL ECOLOGIST ROMÂN	Comitet de inițiativă: Drăghici Iustin Raluca Marinescu Manus Vișan	București, B-dul L.Sălăjan nr.55, bl.M 1 a, sc.8, et.5, ap.58, sector 3 telefon:74.43.84 26.38.67	264	32.000 lei Decizia nr.9/16.01. Admisă Def.
✓ Dos.nr. 0/1990	PARTIDUL UNIUNII CREȘTINE DIN ROMÂNIA	Comitet de inițiativă: Pop Mihai Lazăr Liviu Popescu Adrian	Sediul principal: Cluj-Napoca str.Bisericii Ortodoxe nr.37 Sediul secundar: București, str.Trestiana nr.7 bl.10, ap.31	255	10.000 lei Decizia nr.10/17.01.9 Admisă Def.

T A B E L

privind înregistrarea partidelor politice

Nr. dos.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
Dos.nr. 11/1990	PARTIDUL PROGRESIST BAIA MARE	Președinte provizoriu: Prială Vasile	Baia Mare.str.Oituz nr.6A, județul Maramureș	258	1.000 lei T.17.01.1990 Decizia nr.11/17.01.1990 Admisă Def.
Dos.nr. 12/1990	PARTIDUL SOCIAL DEMOCRAT ROMÂN	Președinte de onoare: Adrian Dimitriu Președinte activ: Sergiu Cunescu Secretari: Mircea Stănescu Mira Moscovici	București, 8-dul Dr. Petru Groza nr.12, sector 5. telefon: 37.70.36	317	20.000 lei T.18.01.1990 D.nr. 12/18.01.1990 Admisă Def.
Dos.nr. 13/1990	PARTIDUL NAȚIONAL DEMOCRAT	Președinte: Cristian Butușină Vicepreședinte: Ion Radu Zilișteanu Constantin Adrian	Golescu, București, 8-dul Dinicu nr.11, bl.11, sc.1, et.3, ap.7, sect.1 telefon: 37.45.42 în locuința D-lui Constantin Frimu,	258	24.800 lei T.18.01.1990 D.nr. 13/18.01.1990 Admisă Def.

I A B E L

privind înregistrarea partidelor politice

nr. / jos.	Denumirea partidelor	Num ele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
---------------	-------------------------	---	-----------	----------------------	---------

os.nr. 4/1990	PARTIDUL LIBERAL (AL LIBERTĂȚII) DIN ROMÂNIA.	Comitet de inițiativă: Constantinescu Mihai Stan Cezar	București, Hotel Dorobanți telefon: 11.08.60/300	315	9.000 .lei T.19.01.1990
------------------	--	--	---	-----	----------------------------

*D. 14.01.1990
Admisă, Definitivă.*

os.nr. 5/1990	PARTIDUL ECOLOGIST UMANIST FONDAT ÎN ARAD	Comitet de constituire: Secretar Gurilă Constantin Membrii: Tătar Gheorghiu Cetei Mihai	Arad, str. Tribunalul Dobra nr.11	283	cotizații T.20.01.1990
------------------	--	--	--------------------------------------	-----	---------------------------

*Dec. 15/01.1990
Admisă,
Definitivă*

18

T A B E L

privind înregistrarea partidelor politice

Nr. dos.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d e u	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
ns.nr. 6/1990	PARTIDUL UNITĂȚII DEMOCRATICE DIN MOLOGVA	Președinte Maftel Dumitru Vicepreședinte Constantin Grădinaru Secretar general Eugen Voicu	I A Ș I, str.Ștefan cel Mare nr.15 telefon:920/35060	365.	1.200 lei T.23.01.1990, ora 10 D.16/23.01.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
ns.nr. 7/1990	PARTIDUL SOCIALIST LIBERAL	Comitetul de inițiativă: Cerveni Niculae Olaru Vasile Calimache Dimitrie Dragomir Petre Arjoceanu Lazăr	București, str.Murelor nr.9, sector 5 telefon:23.00.60	259	20.000 T.23.01.1990, ora 11 D.17/23.01.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
s.nr. /1990	PARTIDUL ȚĂRĂNESC ROMÂN	Președinte: Teofil Teaha Secretar general: Geamănu Nicolae Consilier: Daisa Emil	București, str.Smirdan nr.15, etaj 2, sector 3 telefon:15.77.24	259	5.000 lei T.24.01.1990, ora 10 D.18/24.01.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

T A B E L A

privind înregistrarea partidelor politice

S. nr.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S. e. d. i. u	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
S. nr. /1990	PARTIDUL LIBER DEMOCRAT	Comitet de inițiativă: - președinte Nica Leon - membrii: Chelu Cătălin Emilian Parhon	București, 8-dul Gh. Gheorghiu Dej nr. 25, sector 5	285	2.000 lei T. 25.01.1990, ora 10 <i>D. 19/25.01.90</i> <i>Admisă, Def.</i>
S. nr. /1990	PARTIDUL SOCIAL- DEMOCRAT CREȘTIN ROMÂN	Comitet de organizare: Herghelegiu Decebal Damian George Petcu Alexandru	Constanța, str. Unirii nr. 112 bloc U 2, scD, ap. 61, telefon: 916/42930	251	25.000 lei T. 26.01.1990, orele 1 <i>D. 20/26.01.90</i> <i>Admisă, Def.</i>
S. nr. /1990	PARTIDUL LIBERTĂȚII ȘI DEMOCRAȚIEI ROMÂNE	Comitet de inițiativă: Stelian Cincă Tăpurin Marin Vrîncuți Victor	Craiova, Cartier Rovine, bloc A/62, ap. 11. telefon: 52936 15175 45951	260	500 lei T. 29.01.1990, ora 10 D. 21/29.01.1990 <i>Admisă. Definitivă.</i>

13

s.nr.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: preşedinte vicepreşedinte secretar	S e d i u	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
s.nr. /1990	PARTIDUL DEMOCRAT ..AGRAR DIN ROMÂNIA	Comitet de inițiativă: Teaci Dumitru Surdu Victor Fănuș Neagu..	București, str.C-tin Nottara nr.7, sector 3 telefon:41.47.86	271	2500 lei T.29.01.1990, oral D.22/29.01.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
s.nr. /1990	PARTIDUL REPUBLICAN ROMÂN	Comitet de inițiativă: Antemia Mihaela Căpățînă Vasile Chirilean Aurel	Sedii provizorii: Brașov, str.Lenin nr.10 telefon:921/14922 Timișoara, Piața Victoriei Pasaj Agenția Turistcoop telefon:961/34024 30604 București, str.Doamna Oltea nr.33, sectorul 2, telefon:10.69.61	253	12.000 lei T.30.01.1990, oral D.23/30.01.1990 Admisă.. Definitivă.
s.nr. /1990	SINDICATUL FRATERNITATEA MUNCITORILOR ȘI ȚĂRANILOR DIN ROMÂNIA	Comitet de inițiativă: preşedinte Traian Florea vicepreşedinte Lucian Cojenel	Timișoara, str.Cermena nr.10 telefon:39469	251	15.000 lei T.31.01.1990, ora 11 T.5.02.1990 pentru completarea actelor. D.25/5.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

s.n.r. Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u l	Numărul membrilor.	F o n d u r i
s.n.r. PARTIDUL TINERETULUI /1990 LIBER DEMOCRAT	Comitet de inițiativă: Președinte: Ion Todiraș Prim-vicepreședinte Jankó Lászlo Vicepreședinte Dobre Cristina	Sfintu Gheorghe, Piața Libertății nr.16 telefon:14730;24869/923 telex: 68240	268	2.600 lei T.1.02.1990, ora 10 D.nr.24/1.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
s.n.r. MIȘCAREA PENTRU /1990 RECONSTRUCȚIA NAȚIONALĂ s-a transformat în PARTIDUL PENTRU RECONSTRUCȚIA NAȚIONALĂ	Președinte Chioran Ion Vicepreședinte Feștilă Aurel Secretar Girbea Alexandru	Baia Mare, str.Crișan nr.17 telefon:13088 Decizia nr.37/12.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.	313	1.000 lei T.5.02.1990, ora 10 Termen în continua- re 6.02.1990 7.02.1990, 8.02.1990 12.02.1990, ora 11
s.n.r. PARTIDUL DEMOCRAT AL /1990 MUNCII	Comitet de inițiativă: Bălășoiu Nicolae Albu Teofil Paraschiv Alexandru	București, str.Av.Radu Beller nr.26, sector 1 telefon:33.28.63	266	Chitanță CEC nr.044005 din 5.02.1990 cont nr.13772 Nu indică suma T.6.02.1990, ora 10 D.26/6.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

98

S. nr.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u l	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
S. nr. /1990	PARTIDUL DEMOCRATIC AL ROMILOR LIBERI	Comitet de inițiativă: președinte Daniel Dima vicepreședinte Dima Marton secretar Deme Terezia	provizoriu în orașul Sfintu Gheorghe, str. Garaafei nr.2, județ Covasna	271	10.000 lei T.7.02.1990, ora 10 T.8.02.1990 D.33/8.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
S. nr. /1990	FRONTUL SALVĂRII NAȚIONALE	Președinte Iliescu Ion Membrii: Minculescu Ioan Neacșa Vasile Budura Romulus	București, B-dul Ilie Pintilie nr.5, sector 1	365	5.000 lei T.6.02.1990, ora 11 D.nr.27/6.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
S. nr. /1990	PARTIDUL DEMOCRAT CONSTITUȚIONAL DIN ROMÂNIA	Președinte Lupu Aurel Vicepreședinte Constantin Adrian	București, B-dul Gh. Gheorghiu Dej nr.25, sector 5	260	2.000 lei T.06.02.1990, ora 12 D.nr.28/6.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

18

Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: preşedinte vicepreşedinte secretar	S e d i u l	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
Os.nr.31/1990 ✓ PARTIDUL POPORULUI DIN ROMÂNIA	Preşedinte Popescu Petre Vicepreşedinte Firescu Alexandru Secretar Mihai Dragu	Craiova, str.Lotru nr.4, judeţ Dolj	253	Chitanţa nr.417319 cont 7768 CEC Craiova. Mihai Popescu nu plăteşte suma
Os.nr. 2/1990 FRONTUL POPULAR ROMÂN	Preşedinte Prutianu Ştefan Vicepreşedinte Spiridon Maria Secretar Odobescu Valentin	Iaşi, Hotel Victoria str.9 Mai nr.1 telefon:17430	264 D.29/7.02.1990. ADMISĂ. DEFINITIVĂ. D.30/7.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.	T.7.02.1990, ora 11 Cotizaţii T.7.02.1990, ora 12
Os.nr. 1/1990 ✓ PARTIDUL SOCIALIST AL DREPTĂŢII (INDEPENDENT)	Preşedinte Grigore Tănăsescu Vicepreşedinte Gheorghe Cazacov Secretar general Alexandru Dan Popescu	Bucureşti, str.Nikos Beloianis nr.2, sector 1 telefon: 59.45.18	251 D.31/7.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.	200 lei T.7.02.1990, ora 12

5/10

os. nr.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	Sediul	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
os. nr. 4/1990	PARTIDUL COOPERATIST	Vicepreședinte Simionescu Ion secretari: Berca Dan Ieruv Ion	București, str. Enăchiță Văcărescu nr. 20, sector 4	251	11.475 lei T. 7.02.1990, ora 13 D. 32/7.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
os. nr. 5/1990	PARTIDUL INDEPENDENT MAGHIAR	Președinte Vincze Janos Vicepreședinte Dudás László Bodiss Ferenc	Tirgu Mureș, str. Alba Iulia nr. 54 telefon: 954/44711	258	5.369 lei T. 8.02.1990, ora 13 D. 34/8.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
os. nr. 6/1990	UNIUNEA REPUBLICANĂ s-a transformat în PARTIDUL UNIUNEA REPUBLICANĂ	Comitet de inițiativă: Nicolae Ioana Hristu Cindoveanu Paul Ducneanu	Provizoriu: București, str. Gura Ialomiței nr. 12, bl. H/33, ap. 36, sector 3 telefon: 30.20.63	262	2.000 lei T. 9.02.1990, ora 10 T. 12.02.1990, ora 10 Decizia nr. 38/12.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

198

Os. nr.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u l	Numărul membrilor	F o n d u r i
Os. nr. 1/1990	FRONTUL DEMOCRAT ROMÂN DIN TIMIȘOARA	Comitet de inițiativă: Președinte Morar Petrișor Membrii: Racoveanu Mircea Tomuță Simona	Provizoriu în Timișoara, str.M.Eminescu nr.5, județul Timiș	259	3.000 lei T.9.02.1990, oral D.nr.35/9.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
Os. nr. 8/1990	PARTIDUL DREPTĂȚII SOCIALE LIBER DEMOCRAT BUCUREȘTI	Comitet de inițiativă: Gheorghe Susanu Pompiliu Mateescu Lucica Morariu	București, str. Cuza Vodă nr.158, sector 4	268	12.000 lei T.10.02.1990, oral D.nr.36/10.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
Os. nr. 9/1990	MIȘCAREA DEMOCRAȚIA MODERNĂ înregistrat la 12.02.1990	Comitet de inițiativă: Nisipeanu Marin Deaconescu Ion Popescu Ion	Provizoriu în Craiova, str.Valea Roșie bl.H/5, sc.A, ap.7	251	5.000 lei T.13.02.1990, ora 1 Decizia nr.39/13.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

ef.

os.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u l	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
os.nr. 0/1990	PARTIDUL ALIANȚA PENTRU DEMOCRAȚIE Înregistrat 12.02.1990	Comitet provizoriu: Niculescu Eugen Vlad Romulus Petcu Petre	Provizoriu: București, str.Galați : nr.148, parter, sector 2 telefon: 43.09.97 19.22.05	252	1.000 lei T.13.02.1990, ora 11 Decizia nr.40/13.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
os.nr. 1/1990	PARTIDUL UNIUNEA CREȘTIN DEMOCRATĂ DIN ROMÂNIA Înregistrat 12.02.1990	Comitet de inițiativă: Ciceu Mircea Stelian Orbulov Ioan	Timișoara, str.Splaiul Titulescu nr.2, județ Timiș telefon:961/40350 55921	255	5.000 lei T.13.02.1990, ora 12 Decizia nr.41/13.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
os.nr. 1/1990	PARTIDUL DEMOCRAT PROGRESIST Înregistrat 13.02.1990	Comitet de inițiativă: Președinte: Uță Ion Vicepreședinți: Bălășescu Mihai Popescu Marius	București, Calea Dorobanților nr.39, sector 1 telefon: 82.47.78 86.11.77	251	1.000 lei T.14.02.1990, ora 10 Decizia nr.42/14.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

os. nr.	Denomirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u l	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
os.nr. 3/1990	PARTIDUL REPUBLICAN CREȘTIN Inregistrat 14.02.1990	Comitet de inițiativă: președinte Popilean Gheorghe vicepreședinte Pețengică Eduard membrii: Buda Căliun ș.a.	București, str.Alexandru Sahia nr.38, sectorul 2 telefon: 13.32.38 74.17.32	256	1.000 lei T.15.02.1990,oral Decizia nr.43/15.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
os.nr. 4/1990	PARTIDUL MUNCII ȘI DREPTĂȚII SOCIALE DIN ROMÂNIA Inregistrat 15.02.1990	Comitet de inițiativă: Stegaru Corneliu Vezure Nicolae Cucu Constantin	Provizoriu: București, str.Cosmonauților nr.9 sector 1.	251	5.000 lei T.16.02.1990,ora 10 Decizia nr.44/1990/16.02 Admisă. Definitivă.
os.nr. 5/1990	PARTIDUL UMANITAR AL PĂCII Inregistrat 16.02.1990	Comitet de inițiativă: Tipa Ioader Tipa Anicuța Vlaicu Doinița	Provizorii: București, Teatrul Național - Agenția de bilete telefon: 13.91.75/156 Suceava, ONI Carpați Botoșani, Oficiul PIR nr.1 Ieși, Universitatea Alexandru Ioan Cuza satul Soloneț - Todiștești, jud. Suceava casa Anicuța Tipa cod 5844	267	1.000 lei T.19.02.1990, ora 10 T.20.02.1990, Ora 11 D.nr.46/20.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

23

Dos.nr.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u l	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
Dos.nr. 46/1990	PARTIDUL DEMOCRAT ECOLOGIST înregistrat 16.02.1990	Comitet de inițiativă: Oprea Eugen Cuc Adrian Stancu Stelian	Turda, Piața Republicii, nr.11, județul Cluj	254	60.000 lei : T.19.02.1990, ora 11 Decizia nr.45/1990 din 19.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
Dos.nr. 47/1990	PARTIDUL GOSPODARILOR MAGHIARI DIN ROMÂNIA înregistrat 20.02.1990	Comitet de inițiativă: președinte: Eltes Zoltan vicepreședinte: Csaky Jozsef secretar Tompos Zsolt	Miercurea-Ciuc str.Spicului bl.D/37 ap.60 telefon:16652	409	5.585 lei T.21.02.1990, ora 10 T.22.02.1990, ora 10 Decizia nr.48/22.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
Dos.nr. 48/1990	PARTIDUL RECONSTRUCȚIEI NAȚIONALE DIN ROMÂNIA înregistrat 20.02.1990	Comitet de inițiativă: Tocaciu Oliviu Chiuzbaian Gavril Iosif Limona Alexandru	Provizoriu: București, Calea Piscului nr.16, bl.42,,sc.A,etaj 10, ap.30,sector 4 telefon: 75.74.80	253	5.000 lei T.21.02.1990, ora 11 Decizia nr.47/21.02.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

29

Nr. dos.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u l	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
Dos nr. 49/1990	PARTIDUL DREPTĂȚII SOCIALE (NOUA DEMOCRAȚIE) DE NORD-VEST DIN ROMÂNIA. Inregistrat 26.02.1990	Grup de inițiativă: președinte Matula Dumitru Mircea vicepreședinte Suciu Septimiu Ioan secretar Olteanu Teofil	Sedii provizorii: - Băile Felix, str. Ciheiului nr.66, județ Bihor telefon:992/61102 61556 - Oradea, str.Abacului nr. 23, telefon:991/72744 - Carei, str.Gutin nr.8, telefon:998/61823 63198 - Satu Mare, B-dul Muncii nr.21/11. telefon:997/42316 16416 - Baia Mare, str.Rozelor nr.10/2 telefon:994/11450	279	500 lei T.27.02.1990, ora 10 Decizia nr.49 din 27.02.1990 Admisă.Definitivă.
os.nr. 9/1990	ALIANȚA MUNCITOREASCĂ "LIBERTATEA" ANTICOMUNISTĂ ȘI ANTIFASCISTĂ. Inregistrat 27.02.1990	Purtător de cuvânt: Zbora Constantin Augustin Coordonatori: Pop Gheorghe Pop Mihaela ș.a.	București, str.Romulus nr.36, sector 3 telefon:20.58.79	400	55.000 lei T.28.02.1990, ora 10 Decizia nr.50 din 28 februarie 1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

149

os. nr.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
os.nr. 1/1990	PARTIDUL LIBER SCHIMBIST înregistrat la 28.02.1990	Comitet de inițiativă: Președinte: Cazimir Ștefan Vicepreședinte: Groza Vasile Secretar: Moțiu Stelian	București, str. Transilvaniei nr.12, etaj 2, sector 1 telefon: 13.62.94	266	1.000 lei T.1.03.1990, ora 10 Decizia nr.51 din 1.03.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
os.nr. 2/1990	PARTIDUL UNIT DEMOCRAT AL ROMILOR, LĂUTARILOR ȘI RUDAFILOR DIN ROMÂNIA înregistrat 28.02.1990	Comitet de inițiere: Stoica Octavian Tănase Ion Drăgoi Ioan	Râmnicu Vâlcea, cartier Goranu nr.889, județ Vâlcea	253	3.000 lei T.1.03.1990, ora 11 T.2.03.1990, acte. Decizia nr.52 din 2.03.90 Admisă. Definitivă.
os.nr. 3/1990	PARTIDUL ȚIGANILOR DIN ROMÂNIA înregistrat 2.03.90	Președinte: Mihai Ilie Vicepreședinte: Crăciun Costel și Călin Ioan	Provizoriu: Sibiu (Rampa), str. Ștefan cel Mare nr.8, telefon: 924/33546	261	1.000 lei T.5.03.1990, ora 10 Decizia nr.53 din 5.03.9 Admisă. Definitivă.
os.nr. 4/1990	PARTIDUL NAȚIONAL ROMÂN înregistrat. 5.03.90	Comitet de inițiativă: Di Cezare Ion Stănescu Raimond Bolintineanu Lelia Circă Ștefan ș.a.	Provizoriu: București, str. Elev Ștefănescu Ștefan nr.67, sector 2 telefon: 53.28.92 51.56.34	264	5.000 lei T.7.03.1990, orele 10 Decizia nr.54 din 7.03. 1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

Nr.dos.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: președinte vicepreședinte secretar	S e d i u	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
Dos.nr. 55/1990	PARTIDUL RADICAL DEMOCRAT înregistrat 7.03.1990	Membrii constituenți: Niculae Costel Istrate George Kinghilescu Viorel	Provizoriu: București, B-dul Păcii nr.186,bl.E, sc.1,ap.2,sector 6	251	1.000 lei T.8.03.1990,orelel Decizia nr.55/8.03.199 Admisă. Definitivă.
Dos.nr. 56/1990	FORUMUL CETĂȚENESC CLUJ-NAPOCA înregistrat 13.03.90	Președinte: Coldea Adrian Vicepreședinte: Brașovean Ion Secretar: Sterescu Dan	Cluj-Napoca, str. Moșilor nr.18.	274	cotizații 1.000 k T.14.03.1990,orelel T.15.03.1990,Orelel Decizia nr.56/15.03.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
Dos.nr. 57/1990	PARTIDUL DE UNIUNE NAȚIONALĂ A ROMÂNILOR DIN TRANSILVANIA înregistrat 14.03.1990	Președinte: Ivasiuc Constantin Vicepreședinți: Drugă Alin Mihalache Vasile Popa Nicolae Secretar: Brenciu Mircea	Sediul central: Brașov, str.Crișan nr.7/A telefon: 921/16392 43179	269	5050 lei T.15.03.1990,orele 10 Decizia nr.57/15.03.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

25

nr. inregistrat	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: preşedinte vicepreşedinte secretar	S e d i u	Numărul membrilor	F o n d u r i
nr. 3/1990	UNIUNEA LIBERĂ DEMOCRATICĂ A ROMILOR DIN ROMÂNIA	reprezentanți: Otvos Geza Gerebenes Ilie Zsiga Petru	Cluj-Napoca, str. Maramureşului nr.187, Căminul 23 August, judeţul Cluj.	300	1,500 lei T.15.03.1990, orele T.19.03.1990
Decizia nr.58 din 19.03.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.					
nr. 1/1990	PARTIDUL NAŢIONAL PROGRESIST	preşedinte: Sanda Zambra Iosipescu vicepreşedinți: Marian Ghiulea Nicolae Kendi	Bucureşti, str.C-tin Brincuşi nr.11,bl.0/16, sc.C,et.2,ap.89,sector 3	259	1.150 lei T.16.03.1990,orele Decizia nr.59 din 19.03.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
Decizia nr.58 din 19.03.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.					
nr. 10/1990	PARTIDUL REPUBLICAN DE UNITATE A ROMÂNILOR	Preşedinte: Nahorniac Mihai Florin Comitet de ini- țiativă: și fondatori: Stan Cătălin Gh. Bădulescu Ștefan ș.a.	Sediul provizoriu: Bucureşti, B-dul Victoria Socialismului bl.13,sc.2, et.2,ap.27,sector 5	260	6.500 lei T.20.03.1990,orele 10 Decizia nr.60 din 20.03.90 Admisă. Definitivă.

56

nr. jos.	Denumirea partidelor	Numele persoanelor din conducere: Preşedinte Vicepreşedinte Secretar	S e d i u	Numărul membrilor	Fonduri
11/1990	PARTIDUL CREŞTIN AL LIBERTĂŢII ŞI DREPTURILOR OMULUI înregistrat 21.03.90	Preşedinte: Popa Virgil Vicepreşedinte şi Secretar general: Georgescu Eugeniu Membrii: Mihaleche Vasile ş.a.	Provizoriu: Bucureşti, str. Şipotul Fintinilor nr.4, sector 1 telefon: 16.77.70	260	80.000 lei T.22.03.1990 orele 10 T.26.03.1990 Decizia nr.61/26.03.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.
2/1990	PARTIDUL PENTRU CINSTIREA EROILOR REVOLUŢIEI ŞI SALVARE NAŢIONALĂ înregistrat 26.03.90	Comitet de direcţie: Antonescu Ioan Gozar Ioan ş.a.	Bucureşti, Calea Ferentari nr.72, intrarea A, bl.5, sc.8, et.3, apart.16, sector 5 telefon: 80.64.81	259	36.000 lei T.27.03.1990 orele 1 Decizia nr.62/27.03.90 Respins cererea.
3/1990	UNIUNEA DEMOCRATICĂ "ŢARA OĂŞULUI" înregistrat 26.03.90	Grupul de iniţiativă: Nistor Mihai Iudoran Tiberiu Poptile Toma Mone Gheorghe ş.a.	Oraşul Negreşti Oaş str. Victoriei nr.95 Judeţul Satu Mare telefon: 51113	262	2.000 lei T.27.03.1990 orele 1 Decizia nr.63/27.03.90 Admisă. Definitivă.
4/1990	PARTIDUL MUNCII	Comisia organizatorică: Voicu Ion Mancaş Gabriel Popa Marin ş.a.	Bucureşti, str. Fluierului nr.21/A, sector 2	251	10.000 lei T.27.03.1990 orele 10 Decizia nr.64/27.03.1990 Admisă. Definitivă.

April 8, 1990

**ROMANIAN CENTRAL ELECTORAL BUREAU
EQUIPMENT NEEDS**

The following list of hardware would provide the bureau with the optimum back-up capability for election day and the 72 hour period thereafter during which all counties (Judets) are to have tallied their respective votes and transmitted the results to the CEB in Bucharest. The bureau has been detailed a team from the National Commission on Statistics to assist in their operations. A computer program has been developed to tabulate the votes under the proportional representation scheme to run on an IBM-AT compatible PC. No additional computer equipment needs exist for the central tabulation or to support the Bucharest Municipality. In addition, two PCs each have already been provided to each of the 42 Judets. The provision of two units is to enable independent parallel tabulations for security purposes. The equipment thus far provided to the Judets should be precisely what is needed if all goes well.

Concern remains, however, that things are unlikely to go like clockwork. It is reasonable to expect some Judet-level bureaus being subject to power outages or equipment failure. Concern was also evident over the reliability of the Romanian telephone system to relay the unofficial manually tabulated totals from some 13,000 to 14,000 polling stations to the 42 Judets. These totals would be followed up with a certified hardcopy report.

The Bureau and its support staff are hoping to provide back-up for the anticipated crunch of numbers immediately following the elections. It is anticipated that there will be considerable pressure on all levels to deliver the results as soon as possible by the many varied observers of this process. Used rather than new equipment should be adequate and a loan verses gift would be no less appreciated.

40 ea. IBM-AT compatible PCs with a 5 1/4 floppy drive and an internal hard drive - To serve as back-up to each of the Judets existing two units.

12 ea. Battery-Powered Lap-Top PC's - To provide back up to Judets which might suffer power failures during the tabulation. Judging by the poor quality of utility service throughout Romania, it is likely that some of the 42 widely disbursed Judets may have power outages during the tabulation. In the alternative, some form of battery powered, AT-compatible hardware other than a true lap-top should suffice albeit perhaps not quite so conveniently.

18

1,200 ea. radio-telephones - The wide-spread failure of the Army's communications equipment during the revolution has ruled out that source of back-up for remote polling stations which may not be serviced reliably (or at all) by the spotty national phone system. Some remote stations can fall back on the Forest Ministry's radio-telephone network, but others cannot.

In addition, the Central Bureau seeks the following three items of office equipment:

A Photo-ID kit and attendant supplies for up to 5,000 ID badges - The Bureau is establishing a Public Relations Office to register official observers and a Press Office to accredit press observers. Mention was made of a Minolta system; but any workable system would be appreciated.

A Photo-Copier - mid-range capability assumed

A Tele-Fax - basic capability assumed, however, how well the local phone lines will transmit images is questionable.

The bureau would like to know as soon as possible which if any of these needs might be met so that they may explore alternative sources. In particular, an answer on the photo-identification kit would be appreciated within the next couple days. If this kit can be provided, it should be shipped via the Romanian mission to the UN in New York City.

The team made no commitments.

Beyond meeting such items from the above list as may be within the capabilities of the foundation, it may be advisable to seek the assistance of hardware manufacturers themselves, thus giving them the opportunity to contribute directly to the democratic process in Romania. IBM in particular may have, or have ties to, some stock-pile of pre-PS-2 hardware they may wish to donate or loan to the Bureau. Both IBM (or whomever) and IFES (as facilitator) could take satisfaction in providing this aid.

99