



**NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE  
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

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**BUILDING A CIVIL SOCIETY IN ROMANIA**

**Pro Democracy's 1993 Parliamentary Accountability Program**

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# National Democratic Institute For International Affairs

conducting nonpartisan international programs to help promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions



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## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) was established in 1983. By working with political parties and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions in new and emerging democracies. The Institute is headquartered in Washington, D.C. and has a staff of 120 with field offices in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the former Soviet Union.

NDI has supported the development of democratic institutions in more than 60 countries. Programs focus on six major areas:

**Political Party Training:** NDI conducts multipartisan training seminars in political development with a broad spectrum of democratic parties. NDI draws expert trainers from around the world to forums where members of fledgling parties learn first-hand the techniques of organization, communication and constituent contact.

**Election Processes:** NDI provides technical assistance for political parties and nonpartisan associations to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. The Institute has also organized more than 25 major international observer delegations.

**Legislative Training:** NDI organizes legislative seminars focusing on legislative procedures, staffing, research information, constituent services and committee structures.

**Local Government:** Technical assistance on models of city management is provided to national legislatures and municipal governments.

**Civil-Military Relations:** NDI brings together military and political leaders to promote dialogue and establish mechanisms for improving civil-military relations.

**Civic Organization:** NDI supports and advises nonpartisan groups and political parties engaged in civic and voter education programs.

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This report details the work undertaken by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and its Romanian partner organization, the Pro Democracy Association (PDA), to initiate a post-election civic education program in 1993.

The report was written by NDI Senior Program Officer for Eastern and Central Europe Susan Atwood. The report was edited by NDI President Kenneth Wollack and NDI Director of Public Information Sue Grabowski. Karen Clark, former director of the Romania program, provided invaluable assistance in writing the background section of the report.

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**BUILDING A CIVIL SOCIETY IN ROMANIA**  
**Pro Democracy's 1993 Parliamentary Accountability Program**

**1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) initiated its work in Romania in the spring of 1990 by co-sponsoring an international delegation to observe Romania's first multiparty elections in more than 40 years. In September 1990, NDI helped launch the Pro Democracy Association (PDA), a new civic organization dedicated primarily to conducting voter education and monitoring the electoral process.

In February 1992, PDA mobilized more than 6,000 volunteers to monitor the local elections. The effectiveness of this domestic monitoring effort was such that the new electoral law adopted before the September 1992 parliamentary and presidential elections initially excluded any provision for domestic observers while continuing to sanction international observers. PDA coordinated a campaign urging the parliament to change the draft election law. Despite protests by some Romanian legislators that PDA was "interfering improperly in parliamentary business," the electoral law was ultimately amended to allow a limited provision for domestic observers. This was PDA's first experience in petitioning the legislature.

In the aftermath of the September parliamentary and presidential elections, PDA held a series of town meetings to identify some of the issues concerning the electorate. Many voters expressed a sense of alienation from the parliament and were unsure of how to exercise their rights to hold their elected representatives accountable. At the same time, parliamentarians from all political parties expressed interest in how elected representatives in other countries balanced their legislative duties with their responsibilities to constituents. In response to these concerns, PDA decided to broaden its voter education mandate and focus on the establishment of effective two-way communication between elected representatives and their constituents.

To launch this new phase of its work, PDA requested NDI's assistance in organizing a "Parliamentary Dialogue on Constituent Liaison." The Parliamentary Dialogue, which took

place from September 2 to 4, 1993, was designed to enhance communication between parliamentarians and their constituents and to increase the accountability of elected officials.

The Dialogue allowed Romanian deputies and senators to exchange practical information on the importance of constituent service with their counterparts from Belgium, Ireland, Portugal and the United States. The program began in Bucharest and was then conducted simultaneously in two outlying *judets* (administrative districts) where local civic leaders discussed issues with their elected representatives in "town hall" settings. The international parliamentarians shared personal experiences about balancing national and constituency demands, and provided practical advice on incorporating constituent concerns into legislative initiatives.

The Dialogue represented the first in a series of activities initiated by PDA as part of its "Voter Month" planned for September. The program helped PDA to secure a higher profile with parliamentarians and the general public, and also served to underscore in Romania the principle of representative government and the public's right to petition its elected officials.

During the course of Voter Month, PDA clubs around the country organized a series of follow-on town meetings on constituency servicing, conducted roundtable debates on the election system and hosted a national television debate involving an exchange between politicians and political scientists on the characteristics of different political ideologies.

In October 1993, PDA launched a campaign to promote accountability and transparency in the legislative decision-making process. The campaign encouraged public admission to parliamentary debates and public input to the lawmaking process. Materials produced by PDA for this campaign included flyers, posters and a video describing the legislative process and the ways in which citizens could become more involved in influencing this process.

The campaign was officially inaugurated on December 11, 1993, at a series of town meetings attended by constituents and parliamentarians. The following week, Speaker of the Senate Oliviu Gherman invited PDA to organize groups to observe the Senate plenary debates. PDA was also asked to compile a mailing list of nongovernmental organizations that should

receive copies of draft bills for comment. Subsequently, in January 1994, the Chamber of Deputies agreed to not only open its plenary sessions to the public but, in addition, to invite nongovernmental organizations to attend and testify at committee hearings.

1993 was a busy and productive year for PDA and NDI in their ongoing cooperative efforts in the challenging field of civic organization. As PDA and NDI plan their 1994 work in Romania the theme of communication continues to characterize all of their joint efforts.

## **2. BACKGROUND**

On May 20, 1990, a 60-member international delegation, jointly organized by NDI and the International Republican Institute (IRI), observed the presidential and parliamentary elections. These elections were held less than six months after Romania's long-reigning dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu, was ousted in a bloody revolution. Ion Iliescu, the candidate of the ruling National Salvation Front (NSF), was elected president, and the NSF garnered 66 percent and 67 percent of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate respectively.

In their final statement, the international observer delegation concluded that the May elections represented "an historic opening and necessary first step toward the achievement of a democratic political system. Nonetheless, there were very significant flaws that affected the overall fairness of the electoral process and that underscore the need for major structural reforms in the Romanian political environment."

The adoption of the new constitution in late 1991 precipitated preparations for holding local and national elections in 1992. The 1992 elections offered the first real opportunity to build and consolidate institutions that would be responsive and accountable to the population.

The 1992 elections challenged all of Romania's political parties to educate, mobilize and motivate an electorate for whom elections had symbolized a purely ceremonial act rather than a genuine exercise of political choice. Nonpartisan civic groups such as the Pro Democracy Association also emerged to assume new functions within the electoral process, such as election

monitoring and voter education, that many Romanians had previously left to the state or the international community. These elections therefore represented a critical benchmark to gauge the development of an environment conducive to genuine political competition, and the degree to which Romanian citizens assumed ownership of the electoral process.

Although opposition parties in particular questioned the extent to which power could be exercised at the local level, they nevertheless viewed the February local elections as an opportunity to strengthen their young and re-emergent parties at the grassroots level and to elect a new generation of political leaders. The local elections also represented a test of the previously fragmented opposition's ability to remain united.

With the September 1992 presidential and legislative elections, Romania completed what was an essential first full cycle of elections. However, free and transparent elections alone do not necessarily create the conditions required to anchor a democracy. One of the most fundamental challenges requires establishing the processes necessary to generate genuine political participation among a significant portion of the population. Creating this new behavior requires reforming those democratic institutions that are essential components of a fully functioning democracy.

### **3. NDI ACTIVITY IN ROMANIA**

Before the May 1990 elections, NDI's initial efforts in the country involved sending to Romania teams of civic organizers from Bulgaria, Chile, Nicaragua, Paraguay and the Philippines to promote cooperation and coordination among representatives of established Romanian civic groups (students, trade unions and intellectuals). However, the distrust among these groups prompted NDI to work with individuals committed to creating a new organization, which subsequently became the Pro Democracy Association (PDA).

Throughout the latter half of 1990 and all of 1991, NDI provided technical assistance to PDA. Elections and election-related activity served as an organizational focus for this work, the main objective being to encourage informed citizen participation in the political process.



NDI established a permanent field office in Romania in August 1991, which was augmented by the regular input of experienced civic trainers from Western and Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America and the United States.

NDI provided training and material assistance to help establish a network of PDA clubs in towns and cities around the country. NDI also sought to broaden the exposure of Romanians to election monitoring and civic education programs in neighboring countries, particularly Bulgaria. In 1990 and 1991, NDI sent delegations of PDA organizers to Sofia to observe the activities of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR).

Once a February 1992 date was established for local elections, NDI assisted Pro Democracy's efforts to produce thousands of copies of training materials for volunteer pollwatchers. Those manuals were also shared with and utilized by other Romanian civic organizations, notably the League for the Defense of Human Rights (LADO), active in the monitoring effort.

Working closely with NDI resident program staff, PDA created and distributed brochures explaining the voting process and the offices being elected; organized public forums at which the competing parties presented their platforms and candidates to the electorate; and produced a voter education and domestic observer recruitment advertisement that was aired on national television.

PDA mobilized more than 6,000 domestic observers for the February 1992 local elections and about 2,000 for the September 1992 legislative elections. The reduced numbers of observers recruited by PDA for the September elections was not due to diminished interest by PDA volunteers but was instead attributable to restrictions introduced into the new electoral law that allowed only one PDA observer at any one polling station.

By early 1993, with the first full cycle of elections essentially completed, PDA was in a position to organize other activities to engage the citizenry in taking an active interest in the public decisions that affect their daily lives. In seeking to define this new and broader mandate,

PDA decided, with the help of NDI, to organize a series of activities that would demonstrate how citizens could usefully and successfully demand accountability from their elected representatives. Such activities sought to demonstrate to political party representatives the necessity of taking the public interest into account when formulating legislation.

In February 1993, NDI's newest field representative began working with PDA as it sought to promote those issues necessary to develop a civil society in a post-election transition period. During the next six months PDA concentrated on strengthening its network of 35 local clubs. The national staff, with the assistance of the NDI field representative, conducted a series of training programs around the country to ensure that PDA volunteers developed the skills that would allow them to act as an effective bridge between parliamentarians and their constituents in the post-election environment. A number of the clubs organized public meetings, offering elected representatives a forum where they could communicate directly with their constituents.

#### **4. DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSTITUENT LIAISON PROGRAM**

##### ***Introduction***

In the aftermath of the September 1992 elections, feedback from the meetings that PDA began to hold with parliamentary party representatives and constituents, as well as reports from its countrywide civic network, provided a detailed picture of current attitudes in Romanian society. On one hand, voters expressed a sense of alienation from the parliament, which was perceived as isolated from the daily concerns of constituents. On the other hand, the deputies and senators appeared to lack both the necessary experience and resources to operate an effective constituent liaison network.

In order to address these concerns, PDA decided to organize a "Parliamentary Dialogue on Constituent Liaison" in the fall of 1993. Rather than address all members of parliament simultaneously at a large conference in Bucharest, PDA and NDI concluded that it would be more effective to concentrate, at least initially, on a limited number of deputies, senators and constituents from selected *judets*. Teams of parliamentarians from other countries would travel

to the *judets* to conduct the Dialogue simultaneously over a two-day period. This format would allow the international parliamentarians to observe their Romanian counterparts interacting with their constituents and render the Dialogue a truly practical exercise.

In organizing this program, PDA drew on NDI's experience elsewhere in the world in conducting programs that address constituent liaison and public accountability. It was agreed that issues should include such topics as the responsiveness and accessibility of members of parliament to their constituents and the accountability of lawmakers to both individual citizens and organized groups, such as PDA. Emphasis would be placed on the two-way nature of communication, including the importance of explaining party positions to voters and introducing the views of constituents into the parliamentary debates.

### ***Program Preparation***

PDA and NDI staff conducted a series of consultations with leaders of the parliamentary groups to discuss the program concept. The initiative received a warm welcome and was considered timely. Parliamentarians stressed that the credibility of such a program would depend on NDI and PDA working with all parties. They received assurances that, in accordance with the nonpartisan nature of PDA's and NDI's work, the program would include representatives from all parliamentary parties.

As the next step, PDA and NDI identified two *judets* where the Dialogue would take place simultaneously. The following criteria were used in the selection process: 1) *judets* where PDA has strong clubs; and 2) *judets* to which representatives from a diverse range of parties had been elected. NDI and PDA staff subsequently travelled to the *judets* of Bihor and Dolj to meet with local party activists, the mayors and the PDA clubs. (See Appendix I for profiles of *judets*.)

As a result of the consultations in Bucharest and the *judets*, a program was drafted that stressed the practical and concrete nature of the Dialogue through the presentation of case studies and the organization of a town meeting. Invitations, translated into Romanian, were distributed

by PDA in Bucharest and in the two *judets*. Two different briefing books were also prepared. The one for the Romanian participants contained materials, translated into Romanian, explaining the duties of elected representatives in the United States and in Western Europe, particularly with regard to constituent liaison. The briefing book for the international experts contained materials translated from Romanian about the two *judets*, the structure of local and national government, the political parties, the Romanian electoral system and general background information about Romania.

The PDA clubs in Bihor and Dolj identified local opinion leaders to invite to the public meeting, and PDA in Bucharest developed a simulation exercise that would require parliamentarians to solicit and assess the views of their constituents on a hypothetical issue before voting in parliament. Meanwhile, NDI identified a team of four international parliamentarians, from Western Europe and the United States, representing parties that spanned the democratic ideological spectrum.

## **5. PARLIAMENTARY DIALOGUE ON CONSTITUENT LIAISON**

The "Parliamentary Dialogue on Constituent Liaison" took place in Romania from September 2 to 4, 1993. (See Appendix II for agenda.) The international team comprised Michael Creed, an MP from the Fine Gael Party in Ireland; Joao de Menezes Ferreira, an MP representing the Socialist Party from Portugal; Christopher Kelly, a Democratic state legislator from Missouri; and Annemie Neyts-Uttebroeck, an MP and former leader of the Liberal and Democratic Party from Belgium. (See Appendix III for biographical details.)

### ***Briefings***

The day before the program opened, the international parliamentarians received a half-day briefing in the Pro Democracy office from NDI and PDA staff. The briefing opened with the screening of two videos filmed by Pro Democracy clubs in Bihor and Dolj. These videos presented informal interviews with constituents regarding their knowledge of, and their opinions about, their local parliamentarians. The level of dissatisfaction expressed was high. Most

constituents did not know their local parliamentarians or the parties they represented and expressed general disgust with corruption in parliament (the week of the Dialogue coincided with a special parliamentary session on corruption).

The videos introduced the international parliamentarians to the areas they would be visiting, as well as to the concerns of voters there. The videos demonstrated that the Romanian parliamentarians were likely to face a dissatisfied and largely uninformed audience at the public meetings organized by Pro Democracy in the *judets* as part of the Dialogue program. Upon viewing the videos, however, the international experts all commented that similar interviews conducted in their own countries would have probably elicited identical sentiments.

In reviewing the program, PDA and NDI staff stressed the need to encourage a real dialogue. The plenary sessions were designed to allow the Romanian speakers to precede the international speakers so that the non-Romanian parliamentarians could respond with relevant and concrete examples from their own experiences. PDA representatives chaired those sessions at which the Romanians were the principal speakers, and NDI chaired sessions where the international parliamentarians presented their reactions and minimized the necessity for the moderator to rely on simultaneous translation, allowing for more spontaneous dialogue.

Considerable time during the briefing was devoted to discussing a case study on the death penalty prepared by Pro Democracy. The organizers shared their concerns that representatives of different political parties might not openly debate among themselves such a controversial, topical issue in an open forum. Therefore, PDA offered to prepare an additional hypothetical case study for use if necessary. However, in both *judets*, the case study was well received and prompted lively debate.

### ***Media***

On the day before the program opened, NDI and PDA representatives held separate press conferences, both of which were well attended by representatives from the written media and

radio. Interviews conducted during the previous days by the PDA press officer and executive director had already secured considerable favorable publicity for the Dialogue.

Excerpts from the opening session were broadcast on the national news that evening. In the *judets*, the international parliamentarians and NDI and PDA representatives were extensively interviewed. In Dolj they participated in a radio call-in show and were featured in two articles a day in the local newspaper; in Bihor they were featured on local television, as well as in the local newspapers. PDA established important contacts with many journalists as a result of the Dialogue.

### ***Program***

The opening session of the Dialogue took place in Bucharest in the House of the Republic, destined to be the new home of the Romanian parliament. Leading Romanian legislators from the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, along with the four international parliamentarians, led off the program with presentations on different aspects of the role of a parliamentarian to an audience of Romanian lawmakers, reporters, and representatives from the U.S. embassy, U.S. AID and the nongovernmental community.

That evening, the international parliamentarians split into two teams to simultaneously conduct a two-day "Parliamentary Dialogue" with elected representatives and constituents from the *judets* of Bihor and Dolj. Annemie Neyts-Uttebroeck and Michael Creed visited Craiova, in the district of Dolj, and Christopher Kelly travelled with Joao de Menezes Ferreira to Oradea in the district of Bihor.

In Bihor, 10 of the 13 deputies and senators participated, which represented five of the six parties. Only the governing party, the Social Democracy Party, chose not to participate. In Dolj, nine of the 14 parliamentarians from five of the six parties participated. (See Appendix IV for participant list.) In addition, local councilors, local party activists and representatives of nongovernmental organizations and the press attended the sessions as observers and were invited to receptions hosted by NDI and PDA, where lively, informal discussions took place.

In the *judets*, the Romanian parliamentarians opened the sessions by sharing their personal experiences with providing constituent services. During the afternoon session small, all-party groups worked on a case study. (See Appendix V.) In introducing this session, the PDA moderators emphasized that the exercise was structured to explore the ways in which parliamentarians might consult with, and consider the views of, their constituents when deciding an issue rather than relying solely on the individual parliamentarian's opinions. The parliamentarians were also asked to consider whether they would favor a secret vote or an open vote (with their position recorded for the voters) when the issue came before parliament.

Responses from the working groups, not surprisingly, reflected a diverse range of approaches. All of the parliamentarians favored consulting constituents but varied in the degree and the means by which to reach this goal; town meetings and opinion polls constituted the most popular methods. Some considered a vote on an issue such as the death penalty a matter of personal conscience and others indicated that they would be influenced by their constituents. In most cases, those who believed the vote was a matter of personal conscience opted for a secret vote while the others preferred an open recorded vote.

On the morning of the second day of the Dialogue, PDA organized public meetings in Dolj and Bihor. These public meetings lasted for well over three hours with parliamentarians from all parties responding to questions from leaders of interest groups, including trade unionists, students and the unemployed. In setting the stage for these public meetings, the international representatives played an important role in reassuring the Romanian parliamentarians that all elected representatives find such public meetings a daunting but essential aspect of constituent service.

At the public meeting in Craiova, Dolj, an industrial, blue-collar city in the southwest, the parliamentarians initially felt obliged to answer all questions individually. These ranged from queries on accountability, corruption and electoral systems to education, employment and housing. However, by the end of the meeting, some of the parliamentarians realized that indicating agreement with a colleague's previous answer was often more effective and popular with the constituents than repeating the same points.

In general, both the questions and the responses were too vague and lengthy. The PDA moderator did not impose time limits on the speakers in Craiova, the result being that a considerable number of questions were not addressed even though the meeting ran well over the scheduled time. However, these unanswered questions offered PDA an opportunity to invite constituents and parliamentarians to attend a follow-up town meeting the following week. By contrast, the PDA moderator imposed strict time limits in Oradea, Bihor, a relatively affluent, white-collar city in the northwest of the country.

In Craiova, it was difficult to distinguish any ideological differences among the answers. Regardless of their party affiliation, parliamentarians tended to present similar answers from the point of view of elected officials defending their records to constituents. However, some parliamentarians in Oradea used the opportunity to distinguish their approach from that of representatives from other parties. In addition, some invited the questioner to follow up with them personally after the meeting.

During the final, closed session of the Dialogue, the international parliamentarians offered comments, advice and suggestions for follow-up to their Romanian colleagues on the basis of their observations from the morning meeting. The international guests described the organization of town meetings in their own countries and how they handled questions.

### *Evaluation*

The Romanian parliamentarians expressed extremely positive assessments in the closing evaluation sessions. Oral comments offered by the Romanian parliamentarians were supplemented by a written questionnaire. The parliamentarians welcomed the inclusion of a town meeting in the program and applauded the use of a real-life case study rather than a hypothetical scenario. In general, the practical nature of the Dialogue and sharing of experiences with parliamentarians from other countries were considered very positive.

Several Romanian parliamentarians admitted to initial skepticism about the utility of the experiences of international parliamentarians in the Romanian context. However, they had been



impressed with the level of understanding demonstrated by their international colleagues and the pertinent exchange of experiences. They also welcomed the variety of countries and systems represented by the parliamentarians, all of whom had relevant but different lessons to impart.

For example, they felt that Michael Creed empathized with them regarding lack of resources available for constituent services since parliamentarians from his party also operate without constituency offices. Annemie Neyts-Uttebroeck on the other hand brought a first-hand understanding of the particular difficulties inherent in representing a multi-member constituency. The relatively recent Portuguese experience of transition to democracy as explained by Joao de Menezes Ferreira allowed them to share some of the difficulties of balancing the demands of creating a completely new body of legislation in a transitional democracy with the demands of constituents. Finally, the concrete and practical examples of well-defined and professional constituent services in the United States provided by Christopher Kelly offered the Romanian parliamentarians something to which to aspire.

Parliamentarians in both Bihor and Dolj expressed their appreciation for PDA's role in organizing this event. One of the representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Union (UDMR) expressed the opinion that "it was especially important to have a Romanian organization such as PDA moderating."

## **6. FOLLOW-UP WORK**

Transparency and accountability composed two of the main topics of discussion between the international parliamentarians and their Romanian counterparts during the Dialogue. Constituents expressed a clear desire to be informed about what the parliamentarians were doing and to be accorded access and input, via their elected representatives, into parliamentary debates and lawmaking. In conducting follow-up work, PDA and NDI, therefore, decided to focus on concrete ways to encourage parliamentarians to communicate their work more effectively to their constituents.

The Dialogue presented PDA an excellent opportunity to establish and build upon contacts with a limited number of parliamentarians from all the different parliamentary groups. Following the Dialogue, PDA staff and the current NDI field representative who brings congressional staff experience to the position, conducted follow-up meetings with all the parliamentarians who attended the Dialogue. The consolidation of contacts between PDA and this core group of parliamentarians from Bihor and Dolj subsequently led to introductions to their respective parliamentary colleagues, allowing PDA to establish a much broader base of contacts in the parliament.

As a result of these follow-up meetings, PDA and NDI decided to launch a "legislative transparency initiative" one month after the Dialogue. This initiative was designed to focus on two components of the legislative process, both of which were criticized by constituents during the Parliamentary Dialogue: the lack of public admittance to legislative debates and the need for greater public input into lawmaking.

Beginning in October, PDA designed and launched a five-month campaign on the issues of transparency and accountability. A series of meetings was arranged with members of the permanent bureaus of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate to discuss the two issues. These bureaus have the power to amend the Rules of Procedure to permit the opening of parliamentary debates to the public and to authorize a comment period on draft bills.

To publicize the campaign, PDA produced training materials, including a 15-minute video, a poster and a four-page flyer. The video introduced the work of PDA and highlighted the need for greater public participation in the legislative process. The video included an endorsement of the initiative by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, who said that "the effort of the Pro Democracy Association, aiming at a better awareness on the part of the nongovernmental organizations and citizens on the importance of their involvement in the legislative process is welcome and compatible with our efforts. Therefore, we salute the campaign on transparency initiated by PDA and wish them success in fulfilling the civic ideals that guide them."

The poster, which was displayed around the country by the PDA clubs, depicted the parliament behind a half-closed door with a caption explaining that citizens can gain access to the legislative process by opening the door. The four-page flyer described the structure of the parliament and the various stages of the current legislative process. The following issues were addressed on the final page: 1) how citizens can influence the current legislative process -- by sending letters to parliamentarians, by holding town meetings in the constituency and by monitoring the voting record of their elected representatives; and 2) how the current process could be improved -- by supporting the opening to the public parliamentary plenary debates and committee sessions. The two-page insert rendered an artistic depiction of how a bill becomes a law, explained how citizens can contact their parliamentarian and their local party office, and listed the addresses and phone numbers of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. (See Appendix VI.)

The campaign was formally launched on December 11, 1993 when 22 of the PDA clubs around the country invited parliamentarians and constituents to attend simultaneous town meetings to discuss the initiative. The video was screened at each of the town meetings and the written material distributed. In addition, PDA drafted a letter addressed to parliamentarians in support of the transparency and accountability initiative that participants at the town meetings were asked to sign.

One week after the campaign was launched, PDA received written notification from the chairman of the Senate, Oliviu Gherman, that plenary debates henceforward would be open to organized groups of up to 30 citizens. PDA accepted the initial responsibility for organizing such groups. In addition, an agreement was reached with the permanent bureaus that draft bills would be published in the official parliamentary newspaper for distribution to selected nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). PDA has been asked to compile a mailing list of up to 500 NGOs that should initially receive free copies of the newspaper. Subsequently, in January 1994, the Chamber of Deputies, citing the PDA campaign, agreed not only to open plenary debates to the public but, in addition, to invite nongovernmental organizations to attend and testify at committee hearings.

In 1994, PDA and NDI will continue to work on the issue of strengthening two-way communication between parliamentarians and constituents at both the national and local levels. At the national level, PDA staff, with NDI assistance, will join with representatives from all parliamentary groups to identify and implement practical means of increasing the transparency of the process. PDA plans to publish a parliamentary directory to inform citizens and NGOs about the legislative process and the structure of parliament, and about how to contact the key members of different parliamentary commissions. In addition, PDA will organize a training session for Romanian NGOs with international experts on the techniques of reading and amending draft legislation. At the local level, the PDA clubs will work both with parliamentarians and local councilors in organizing a regular series of town meetings and civic education seminars on the legislative process and the electoral system.

## **7. CONCLUSION**

In the aftermath of the 1989 'revolutions' in East and Central Europe, NDI viewed elections as the beginning of the process of democratic transition. A stable, democratic society depends on a strong civic culture. Recognizing this, in the post-election period NDI sought to build confidence among Romanians that they could exercise the rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship. This posed an enormous challenge after communist regimes had all but destroyed any vestige of civic life.

This report has outlined the concrete steps the PDA and NDI took to confront this challenge. Tangible progress toward strengthening civic culture can be measured by PDA's successful transparency and accountability campaign that opened public accessibility to parliamentary plenary and commission sessions. Among parliamentarians, PDA has now become one of the most well-known civic organizations in Romania.

Less tangible, but in some ways even more dramatic, is the involvement of PDA activists as trainers for a number of NDI civic organizing programs in Russia, Ukraine and Yemen over the past 12 months. Romanian civic activists are not only strengthening their own civic culture but also conveying their experiences to others who are just starting down this road.

## **APPENDICES**

## Appendix I

### THE JUDETS OF BIHOR AND DOLJ

#### Bihor

Bihor is located in Transylvania in northeastern Romania. It is one of Romania's wealthier agricultural *judets* and has a population of 634,000. While the *judet* is fairly equally divided between urban and rural communities, one-third of the inhabitants (221,000) live in the capital city, Oradea. In close proximity to the Hungarian border, Oradea is a sophisticated, industrial city with a diverse mix of inhabitants.

Of a total of 754,000 hectares of land, 493,000 hectares are arable while the remainder is forest and woodland. The major crops are wheat and corn, although there are small vineyards and orchards throughout the region. Eighty-eight percent of the land is now privately owned, and of this, 15 percent is maintained by farmers' associations, which group together land and machinery to create more viable economic units.

Industrial production in Bihor includes principally furniture, textiles, glass, machinery, food processing, energy and chemicals. The *judet* has major marble and bauxite deposits, and the aluminum plant in Oradea accounts for 40 percent of Romania's total aluminum production. There are currently more than 400 joint ventures with foreign capital in the *judet*. While German, Hungarian and Italian investment predominate, a Coca Cola bottling plant was recently built west of Oradea.

In Eastern Europe, Bihor is already known as a tourist location due to the large number of travelers by car that come through Oradea from Hungary. There are many architectural sites in Oradea, including a 12th century citadel, a baroque Roman Catholic cathedral, and the national theater. Nearby Baile Felix and Tinca have natural springs and spas, in the mountains west of Beius a ski resort, and in the wooded hills around Marghita, hunting lodges. The transportation network includes major highways to Arad and Cluj, railways to Hungary, and an airport in Oradea that handles domestic flights.

The major political parties represented in the parliament reflect the diverse population of the *judet*. In the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate the breakdown is as follows:

	<u>Deputies</u>	<u>Senators</u>
Party of Romanian National Unity (PUNR)	2	2
Social Democracy Party (PDSR)	1	
Democratic Party-National Salvation Front (FSN)	1	
Civic Alliance Party (PAC)	1	
Hungarian Democratic Union (UDMR)	3	1
National Peasant Party-Christian Democratic (PNT-CD)	1	1

## **Dolj**

The *judet* of Dolj lies in the southwestern part of Romania in an area called Oltenia. A largely agricultural region of some 600,000 inhabitants, Dolj spreads south to the River Danube and the Bulgarian border. The capital and largest city in Dolj is Craiova, a bustling economic, cultural and political center for the region, and home to more than 480,000 people.

Agriculture and heavy industry provide the economic foundation for Dolj, with most industries located in and around Craiova. The industries represented include textiles, chemicals, canning, locomotive and railway spare parts, and auto and aircraft manufacturing. The extraction of crude oil, natural gas and coal is becoming increasingly important to Dolj, although these infant industries are in an early stage of development and have yet to impact upon the economy. Agricultural development, on the other hand, provides a major economic stimulus to Dolj as most citizens engage in the farming of grain, corn, vegetables or grapes.

Trade is also very important to Dolj, due in large part to the well-developed network of roads and rail. In addition, Danube ports of Calafat and Bechet provide Dolj with access to a pivotal channel of European commerce.

The State Education Network operates 215 schools in Dolj for children ages seven through 14. More than 11,000 students attend the Craiova University, while some 3,000 students attend private universities. Culturally, in Dolj there are six "Houses of Culture" which oversee a diverse offering of activities highlighted by Craiova's national theater, symphonic orchestra, children's theater, and youth and student's clubs. There is also one daily newspaper, a weekly journal and one radio station. The Dolj health system is dominated by the state-run clinics and hospitals, but some private practices are operational.

Most of the population of the Dolj *judet* are Christian Orthodox, but other religions such as Roman Catholic and Baptist are practiced. In Craiova, for example, there are almost 300,000 Christian Orthodox, as compared to 1,300 Roman Catholics and 220 Baptists. The citizens of Dolj are mostly of Romanian descent. In Craiova, however, there is a diverse mix of ethnic Macedonians, Hungarians, Germans, Gypsies, Greeks and Russians.

The political party structure in Dolj mirrors the structure found throughout Romania. The major political parties represented in the Chamber of Deputies from Dolj include the Social Democracy Party (PDSR), the Democratic Convention (DC), the Democratic Party-National Salvation Front (FSN), the Socialist Labor Party (PSM), and the Liberal Party (PL). Of the 12 members of the Chamber of Deputies from Dolj, the breakdown of their party representation is as follows: PDSR-4, DC-3, FSN-2, PSM-2, PL-1. There are also five senators from the region, bringing to 17 the total number of Dolj parliamentarians.

*Appendix II*

**AGENDA**

**Parliamentary Dialogue on Constituent Liaison  
September 2-4, 1993**

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1**

- 12 Noon Working lunch at the Continental Hotel
- 1:30-5pm Briefing for international team by National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Pro Democracy (PDA) representatives, including the viewing of film featuring informal interviews w/ citizens from Bihor and Dolj, produced by PDA
- 7 pm Reception for international team, seminar participants, political parties, embassies, and media representatives.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2**

- 9 am Meeting with parliamentary staff from the Senate and the House of Deputies - in the Senate building
- 12 noon Working lunch at the Continental Hotel
- 2 pm Welcome to the Dialogue  
NDI Senior Associate for Governance Thomas O. Melia  
PDA President Marian Tata
- 2:20 pm Introduction to the terms of reference of the Dialogue  
NDI Senior Program Officer for East Central Europe Susan Atwood
- 2:30 pm The Role of Deputies and the Parliamentary Groups in the Chamber of Deputies - chaired by PDA
- Adrian Nastase, Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, Social Democracy Party (PDSR) (formerly the Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN)
- Petre Roman, leader of the Democratic Party - National Salvation Front (FSN)



- 3 pm            The Role of Senators and the Parliamentary Groups in the Senate
- Oliviu Gherman, President of the Senate, PDSR  
                  Corneliu Coposu, leader of the opposition in the Senate,  
                  National Peasant Party - Christian Democratic (PNT-CD)
- 3:30 pm        The Role of a Deputy in the National Legislature  
                  Presentations of four different perspectives - chaired by PDA
- "A young Deputy in the Dail of Ireland"  
                  Michael Creed, TD, Fine Gael, Ireland
- "A Congressman during a period of low public regard for government"  
                  Dennis Eckart, former Member of Congress, USA
- "An elected representative's role vis-a-vis his constituents"  
                  Joao de Menezes Ferreira, MP, Socialist Party (PS), Portugal
- "A party leader combining national responsibilities with constituency  
                  responsibilities"  
                  Annemie Neyts, MP, Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang (PVV), Belgium
- 4:30 pm        Dialogue between Romanian deputies, senators and international  
                  representatives
- 5:30 pm        Two international teams depart for Bihor and Dolj

### **FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3**

- 9 am            Welcome remarks by Dan Nicolae, mayor of Craiova
- 9:15 am        Welcome and introduction by NDI and PDA representatives
- 9:30 am        Personal Experiences of Constituent Service  
                  Presentations by one deputy/senator from each of the six parties  
                  with national representation in Dolj - chaired by PDA
- Democratic Party - National Salvation Front (FSN)  
                  Liberal Party (PL)  
                  National Peasant Party - Christian and Democratic (PNT-CD)  
                  Social Democracy Party (PDSR)  
                  Social Democratic Party (PSDR)  
                  Socialist Labor Party (PSM)

- 11:15 am     **A Personal Experience of Constituent Service**  
Presentation by elected representatives from two each of the following:  
Portugal, Ireland, the US and Belgium - chaired by NDI
- 11:45-12:45   **Dialogue**
- 12:45-2 pm    **Lunch**
- 2-4 pm        **The Demands of the National Legislature vs. Constituency Demands** Four  
working groups will discuss a case study - chaired by PDA
- 4-5 pm        **Summary and discussion of working group decisions**
- 7 pm          **Reception hosted by NDI and PDA for seminar participants as  
well as city councilors and representatives from the media and  
interest groups**

#### **SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4**

- 9 am          **Public meeting for local opinion leaders with Romanian deputies and senators.**  
International team, local party activists and city councilors to  
observe - chaired by PDA
- 12 pm         **Lunch**
- 2-5 pm        **Dialogue on follow-up techniques conducted by international  
team with Romanian deputies and senators - chaired by NDI**
- pm            **International team returns to Bucharest**

#### **SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5**

- 9 am -12 pm   **Debriefing session for two teams**
- pm            **Departure of international representatives**

### *Appendix III*

## **INTERNATIONAL EXPERTS**

### **Michael Creed**

**Michael Creed** was elected to the Dail (Irish Parliament) on his first attempt in 1989 at the age of 26 to represent a three-seat constituency in North West Cork. His party, Fine Gael, which is a member of the Christian Democratic International, holds two of the three seats. Mr. Creed is currently the Party's spokesperson on Youth Affairs and Sport and is chairperson of the Party's Enterprise and Economic Strategy Committee. He has been a member of Cork County Council since 1985. Mr. Creed received his BA from Cork University College in 1985.

### **Joao de Menezes Ferreira**

**Joao de Menezes Ferreira** has been a member of the Portuguese parliament since 1991. A lawyer by profession, he was a legal advisor in the Portuguese Permanent Representation to the EC from 1986-1991. Mr. de Menezes Ferreira was a negotiator for Portuguese accession to the EEC and head of the delegation that drafted the Treaty of Accession and European single Act in 1985. He has lectured and written extensively in the field of international and community law.

### **Christopher S. Kelly**

**Christopher S. Kelly** is an attorney and a six-term elected member of the Missouri House of Representatives. Currently, in the Missouri Congress, Mr. Kelly serves as the chairman of the Budget Committee and co-chairman of the Joint Committees on Capital Investment, Federal Funds and Block Grant Oversight, and Small Cities Block Grant Oversight. As an attorney, Mr. Kelly deals with domestic, juvenile, criminal and corporate structure issues. Before being elected to the Missouri House of Representatives, Mr. Kelly was the Boone County Clerk and managed the county's participation in two major bond issues.

### **Annemie Neyts-Uttebroeck**

**Annemie Neyts-Uttebroeck** has been a member of parliament from Belgium since 1981. She has also served as the state secretary for the Brussels region (1981-1985), the local Councillor for the city of Brussels (1983-1990), and the leader of the Flemish Liberal Party (1985-1989). Her extensive experience at both local and national level also includes chairing her local branch of the Flemish Liberal Party (1977-1987), and membership in numerous parliamentary (Foreign Affairs, Institutional Reform), Flemish Council (Culture, Media, Education), and Brussels Regional Council (Urban Development and Environment) standing committees.

*Appendix IV*

**OFFICIAL PARTICIPANT LIST**

**Parliamentary Dialogue on Constituent Liaison  
September 2-4, 1993**

**BUCHAREST**

Doru Dobrescu	PDSR	Deputy
Constantin Dragomir	PL'93	Deputy
Ervin Szekely	UDMR	Deputy
Cornel Gavaliugov	PD (FSN)	Deputy
Oliviu Gherman	PDSR	Senator
Horia Pop	PUNR	Deputy
Andrei Potcoava	PL'93	Senator
Ludovic Rakoczi	UDMR	Deputy
Petre Roman	PD (FSN)	Deputy
Nicolae Valeanu	PDSR	Deputy
Nicu Vintila	PDSR	Deputy
Zsolt Szilagyi	UDMR	Deputy

**CRAIOVA**

Alexandru Brezniceanu	PD (FSN)	Deputy
Doru Dobrescu	PDSR	Deputy
Constantin Dragomir	PL'93	Deputy
Gheorghe Ionescu	PDSR	Deputy
Marin Lungu	PSM	Deputy
Mihai Panait	PDSR	Deputy
Andrei Potcoava	PL'93	Senator
Silviu Somicu	PSM	Deputy
Nicu Vintila	PDSR	Deputy

**ORADEA**

Nistor Badiceanu	PNT-CD	Senator
Florian Bercea	PD (FSN)	Deputy
Iozsef Csapo	UDMR	Senator
Doina Ignat	PUNR	Deputy
Craciun Floruta	PUNR	Deputy
Mircea Mancia	PUNR	Senator
Gheorghe Rosu	PNT-CD	Local Councilor
Florian Serac	PDSR	Deputy
Ovidiu Suta	PUNR	Deputy
Zsolt Szilagyi	UDMR	Deputy
Gabriel Tepelea	PNT-CD	Deputy

## *Appendix V*

### CASE STUDY

#### **Parliamentary Dialogue on Constituent Liaison September 2-4, 1993**

*Evenimentul Zilei* is a popular Romanian newspaper, with a circulation of 800,000. The newspaper has started a campaign in favor of the death penalty. It has published a series of articles about various horrible crimes committed in Romania. Presently the Romanian Constitution states that the death penalty is illegal.

In addition, it gathered 500,000 signatures to ask parliament to amend the constitution. The Romanian Constitution states that when the parliament receives a citizen legislative initiative, parliamentarians must debate and vote on the initiative. If the parliament adopted the legislative initiative, a referendum on this issue would be held. Citizens seem to support the initiative of *Evenimentul Zilei* while the politicians seem not to agree with the death penalty. Before voting on this issue, parliamentarians must decide whether their vote will be public or private.

#### Questions:

1. How are you going to take the decision on how you should vote on this issue?
2. Are you going to consult your constituents? If so, how will you do it?
3. What will you do if the public opinion in your constituency is different than your personal one?
4. Do you think the vote in parliament on this issue should be private or public? Why?

*Appendix VI*

**PDA EDUCATIONAL FLYER ON PARLIAMENT**

Following the Dialogue, PDA launched a five-month campaign on the issues of transparency and accountability. To publicize the effort, PDA created a four-page flyer that described the structure of parliament and the various stages of the current legislative process. A two-page insert rendered an artistic depiction of how a bill becomes a law. A copy of these documents follows.

# PARLAMENTUL ROMÂNIEI

Este singura autoritate legiuitoare a țării. Este ales o dată la 4 ani.  
Este bicameral fiind format din Camera Deputaților și Senat.

## CAMERA DEPUTAȚILOR ȘI SENATUL

Sunt 330 deputați (1 la 15.000 locuitori) și 147 senatori (1 la 150.000 locuitori) care au ajuns în Parlament în urma alegerilor parlamentare.

## GRUPURILE PARLAMENTARE

Parlamentarii sunt organizați în grupuri parlamentare care au din ele până la 30 membri în Camera Deputaților și 6 membri în Senat. În cadrul grupurilor parlamentare se organizează lucrările în care vor vota parlamentarii și în cadrul grupurilor parlamentare se pot reuni cu excepția cazurilor în care reprezentanții alți grupuri în cadrul aceluiași parlament.

## COMISIILE PARLAMENTARE

Parlamentul are două comisii parlamentare: Comisia de Control și Comisia de Intermedieri. Comisia de Control este formată din 13 membri și are rolul de a controla activitatea guvernului și a autorităților publice. Comisia de Intermedieri este formată din 13 membri și are rolul de a media conflictele dintre guvern și cetățeni.

## COMISIILE DE INVESTIGAȚIE

Parlamentul are două comisii de investigație: Comisia de Investigare a Abuzurilor și Comisia de Investigare a Crimelor. Comisia de Investigare a Abuzurilor este formată din 13 membri și are rolul de a investiga abuzurile comise de guvern și de autoritățile publice. Comisia de Investigare a Crimelor este formată din 13 membri și are rolul de a investiga crimele comise de guvern și de autoritățile publice.

## COMISIILE DE AȘEZARE

Parlamentul are două comisii de așezare: Comisia de Așezare a Deputaților și Comisia de Așezare a Senatorilor. Comisia de Așezare a Deputaților este formată din 7 senatori și 7 deputați și are rolul de a discuta un proiect de lege și să-l adopte sau să-l respingă. Comisia de Așezare a Senatorilor este formată din 7 senatori și 7 deputați și are rolul de a discuta un proiect de lege și să-l adopte sau să-l respingă.

# DRUMUL LEGII TRECE §

Modul în care decurge procesul legislativ în România este reglementat de Constituția României și de regulamentele de funcționare ale celor două Camere ale Parlamentului.

Legile se împart în trei categorii:

- a. LEGI CONSTITUȚIONALE - legi de revizuire a Constituției.
- b. LEGI ORGANICE.
- c. LEGI ORDINARE.

Procesul de creare a unei legi cuprinde trei etape:

- I. Inițiativa legislativă;
- II. Adoptarea legii;
- III. Promulgarea legii.

## I. INIȚIATIVA LEGISLATIVĂ

Inițiativa legislativă poate aparține:

- **ÎN CAZUL LEGILOR ORGANICE ȘI A CELOR ORDINARE -**
  - Guvernului
  - deputaților și senatorilor
  - unui număr de cel puțin 250.000 de cetățeni cu drept de vot care să provină din cel puțin un sfert din județele țării, iar în fiecare din aceste județe sau în municipiul București să fie înregistrate cel puțin 10.000 de semnături în sprijinul acestei inițiative.
- **ÎN CAZUL LEGILOR CONSTITUȚIONALE**
  - Președintelui României
  - deputaților și senatorilor în proporție de cel puțin o pătrime din numărul total
  - unui număr de cel puțin 500.000 de cetățeni cu drept de vot care să provină din cel puțin jumătate din județele țării, iar în fiecare din aceste județe sau în municipiul București să fie înregistrate cel puțin 20.000 de semnături în sprijinul acestei inițiative.

## II. ADOPTAREA LEGILOR

**PASUL 1** — Orice proiect de lege este înaintat *BIROULUI PERMANENT* al uneia din cele două Camere ale Parlamentului, care îl trimite la comisie.

**PASUL 2** — Fiecare proiect de lege, în funcție de domeniul de activitate la care face referire, trebuie dezbătut în prealabil de una din comisiile respectivei Camere - *COMISIA SESIZATĂ ÎN FOND*.



# PE LA UȘA NOASTRĂ

SA O DESCHIDEM

Aceasta poate cere și avizul altor comisii, după care trebuie să întocmească un raport pe care îl înaintează Biroului Permanent și prin care poate propune păstrarea proiectului de lege în forma inițială, modificarea sau respingerea lui.

**PASUL 3** — După ce este discutat în comisii, proiectul de lege, împreună cu raportul comisiei sesizate în fond, este supus dezbaterii **PLENULUI CAMEREI**, chiar dacă acest raport propune respingerea proiectului de lege.

**PASUL 4** — După ce proiectul de lege a fost adoptat de una din Camere este înaintat celeilalte în care urmează același traseu.

Dacă una din Camere adoptă proiectul de lege într-o redactare diferită de cealaltă, se trece la procedura de mediere. În acest scop se formează o comisie - comisia de mediere - în care sunt reprezentate ambele Camere. În cazul în care comisia de mediere nu ajunge la un acord sau dacă una din Camere nu aprobă raportul acesteia, textele aflate în divergență se supun dezbaterii Camerei Deputaților și Senatului reunite în ședința comună.

● **LEGILE ORGANICE SE ADOPTĂ CU VOTUL MAJORITĂȚII MEMBRILOR FIECĂREI CAMERE.**

● **LEGILE ORDINARE SE ADOPTĂ CU VOTUL MAJORITĂȚII MEMBRILOR PREZENȚI DIN FIECARE CAMERĂ.**

● **LEGILE CONSTITUȚIONALE SE ADOPTĂ CU O MAJORITATE DE CEL PUȚIN DOUĂ TREIMI DIN NUMĂRUL MEMBRILOR FIECĂREI CAMERE.**

Înainte de promulgarea legii, **CURTEA CONSTITUȚIONALĂ** se poate pronunța asupra constituționalității ei la sesizarea:

- Președintelui României.
- unuia din președinții celor două Camere
- Guvernului
- Curții Supreme de Justiție
- unui număr de cel puțin 50 de deputați
- unui număr de cel puțin 25 de senatori
- din oficiu.

În caz de neconstituționalitate, legea se trimite spre reexaminare Parlamentului. Dacă este adoptată în aceeași formă, cu o majoritate de cel puțin două treimi din numărul membrilor fiecărei Camere, obiecția de neconstituționalitate este înlăturată.

### III. PROMULGAREA LEGILOR

Legea se trimite, spre promulgare (semnare), Președintelui României. Înainte de a o semna, Președintele poate cere Parlamentului, o singură dată, reexaminarea legii. În cazul în care Parlamentul decide să nu modifice legea, Președintele este obligat să o promulge.

Cetățenii au responsabilități în procesul legislativ, chiar dacă nu participă efectiv la dezbaterile proiectelor de lege. Fără a aduce la cunoștința parlamentarilor ceea ce vrem, nu putem aștepta de la ei rezultatul dorit. Cetățenii, totodată, trebuie să exercite și un control asupra parlamentarilor pe care i-au votat, ei fiind cei care la următoarele alegeri decid dacă parlamentarii respectivi merită să mai stea 4 ani în Parlament sau nu.

Relația dintre cetățeni și parlamentari se poate menține prin:

**a. — Cunoașterea proiectelor de lege de către grupuri de cetățeni care pot propune îmbunătățiri.**

Cetățenii pot lua cunoștință doar de proiectele de lege mai importante înaintate Parlamentului și aceasta doar din săptămânalul "Parlamentul", care are un tiraj foarte redus.

**b. — Accesul cetățenilor la dezbaterile în plen ale celor două Camere, în limita locurilor și în condițiile respectării normelor de securitate.**

**c. — Accesul cetățenilor la lucrările în comisii.**

Lucrările în comisii nu sunt publice. În cazul în care cineva solicită să asiste la lucrările unei comisii, respectiva comisie supune la vot accesul solicitantului la lucrările sale.

**d. — Aducerea la cunoștința publicului a modului în care votează fiecare parlamentar. Numai în acest mod cetățenii pot afla dacă parlamentarii pe care i-au votat le reprezintă interesele sau nu.**

În procesul de legiferare nu există nici o regulă conform căreia anumite proiecte de lege sau articole ale acestora se votează secret, iar altele deschis. În anumite cazuri votul în Parlament este secret, dar nici atunci când se votează deschis, votul nu este înregistrat pentru a fi adus la cunoștința publicului.

**e. — Scrisori trimise de către cetățeni parlamentarilor, întâlniri directe între cetățeni și parlamentari în circumscripții.**

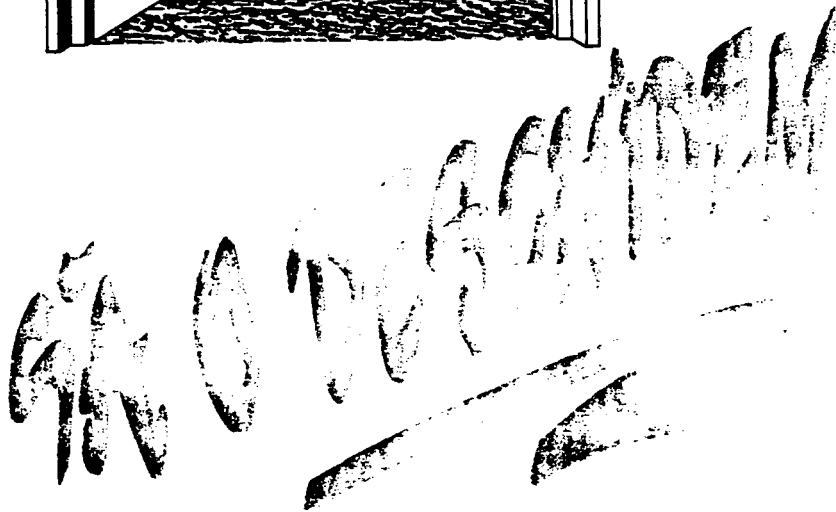
**Prin aceste procedee, cetățenii pot aduce la cunoștința parlamentarilor opiniile și doleanțele lor cu privire la activitatea legislativă.**

COMITETUL DE CONDUCERE: Str. MEMORANDULUI 41, BRAȘOV  
CENTRUL DE COORDONARE: Str. COSTACHE NEGRI 7, BUCUREȘTI - Tel.: 312 0023, 637 6774

# DRUMUL LEGII TRECE ȘI PE LA UȘA NOASTRĂ



A S O C I A Ţ I A P R O - D E M O C R A Ţ I A



**INITIATIVA LEGISLATIVA**

**GUVERN**

**PARLAMENT**

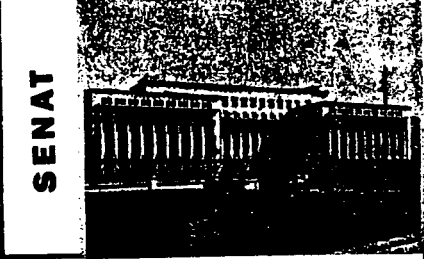
**CETATENI**

**PRESEDINTIE**

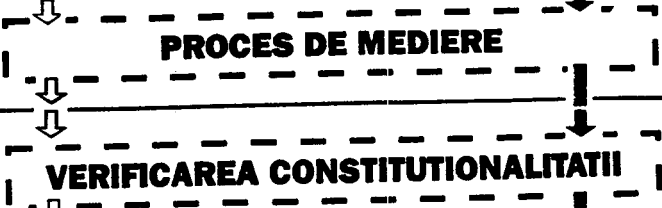
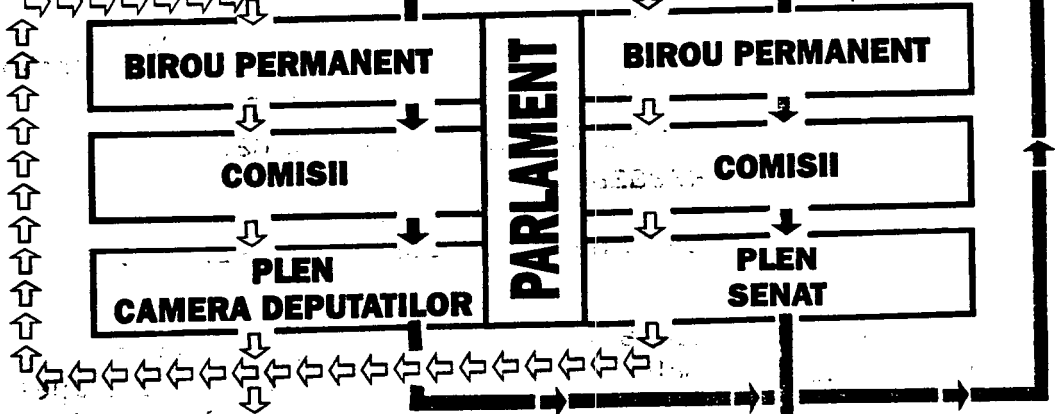
**DEZBATERE SI ADOPTARE**



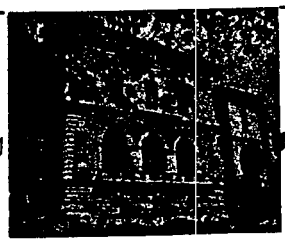
**CAMERA DEPUTATILOR**



**SENAT**



**PROMULGARE**



**PRESEDINTIE**