



ORIGINAL PAPER

The General Election in 20th of May 1990 in the County of Constanța

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Abstract:

The first free election in Romania, after the coup d'état in 1989 represented a crucial moment in the Romanian history. The results of these first post communist free elections can not be analysed and explained without the presentation of the socio-economic and historical contextual which is specific both the forty five years of the communist dictatorship, and the five months of Post-Communism. The paper "The general election in 20th of May 1990 in the county of Constanta" which is my proposal for this conference contains a presentation in a chronological succession of the main events during the coup d'état in 22nd December 1989, and after the coup d'état till the election of may 20th 1990. I also included some juridical and political analysis and consideration about the election law system. On the basis of the documents from the personal archive of the honorable judge Dan Iulian Drăgan, a member of County Election Bureau, and his oral testimony, I succeeded to have a clear image of the development of the 20th may 1990 election in the county of Constanta. Regarding the speculation of election fiddle, during the election, I can state that according to documents, there were some attempts, but the final result was not very much influenced. I also try to answer to the question why the electorate gave a massive vote to the National Salvation Front?

Keywords: *free election; County Election Bureau; Constanța; Romania*

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The first free election in Romania, after the coup d'état in 1989 represented a crucial moment in the Romanian history. The results of these first post communist free elections can not be analysed and explain without the presentation of the socio-economic and historical contextual which is specific both the forty five years of the communist dictatorship, and the five months of Post-Communism. (Ohanisian, 1991: 43). In the National Salvation Front's Communiqué to the Romanian people, read at the Romanian television by Ion Iliescu during the evening of 22nd of December 1989, they claim that „all the political power in Romania was assumed by the National Salvation Front Council”. At 27th of December 1989 was edited The Decree –law no. 2 regarding the organization and the operation of the National Salvation Front Council and the local Councils. This decree was a kind of a small revolutionary constitution and contains provisions about the organization of the new revolutionary power. It proclaims the principle of the democratic pluralism which was developed by the The Decree –law no. 8 from 31st December 1989 regarding the foundation of the political parties and collective organization in Romania. (Official Gazette no. 9 of 31 December 1989).

The organization of the Romanian political parties were made on the basis of the respect of the independency and sovereignty of Romania, and the democratic orientation of the country. They claim that they will respect the freedom and human rights of the Romanian citizens. There were no limitation of race, nationality, sex, religion, in internal organizations of these political parties. The fascist and nazi parties were forbidden, as well as those parties who claims against the state order of Romania. With a view to its registration as a political party had to submit status and political programme, to declare premises and financial resources and to have at least 251 members. Military and civilian personnel of the Ministry of defence and Ministry of Internal Affairs, judges, prosecutors and diplomats as well as operative staff of Television, they were forbidden to belong to political parties. Political parties were required to register with the Bucharest Courthouse. At 24th of January 1990 the FSN announcement that they will go to the polls provoked a political crisis and some protest from the old political parties (Drăganu, 1998: 399).

The leaders of the FSN were forced to negotiate a new formula of the organization of the political power with the representatives of the others political parties. At 1st February they agreed a new formula which replaced the National Salvation Front Council. In the new organization of the state political power the members of the old Council had 50% and the remaining 50% were shared by the other political parties and the representatives of the national minorities. As a result of this agreement was adopted Decree-Law No. 81 of 9 February 1990 (Official Gazette no. 27 of 10 February 1990) concerning the Provisional Council of National Unity which has been said to express "the political reality of Romania legislature determined the emergence of political parties and the need for their participation in the political governance of the country" (Muraru, Tănăsescu, 2001: 123).

This first parliamentary structure was quickly altered by Decree-Law No. 82 of 13 February 1990 that increases the number of members at 253. It was organized the executive bureau with 21 executive members including the Chairman, 5 Vice-Presidents, 1 Secretary and 14 members. They also have created specialised commissions: the Commission C.P.U.N. for reconstruction and economic development, the Committee on agriculture, Commission for human rights, the Commission on youth, the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Committee on education, science and Technology Commission, the Commission for culture, the Committee on the environment and ecological balance, the

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Commission for national minorities, the Commission for local administration, Commission for health, the Commission for labour and social protection, the Commission for investigation of abuse and to rehabilitate the victims of the dictatorship. National Salvation Front was established as an independent political structure registered in the electoral race. In a very short period of just a few months before the elections in Romania were about 75 of political parties that presented themselves for election.

In Romania, since January 1990, the number of political parties has grown at a rapid pace. The most significant factors for the determination of this trend are: a. one-party system failure (negative reference: the PCR was a formation of the mobilization and identification of dictatorship); b. the pluripartidist tradition before 1938; c. efficiency of the multi-party system in relation to the guarantee and exercise of democratic rights and freedoms (positive experience: the experience of democratic States); d. the diversity of policy options, economic, ideological, and strategies of economic and social development; e. diversity of interests (personal interests that have acquired the possibility of designing into political parties until the interests of communities) (Ohanisian, 1991: 58.)

In the elections of 20 May 1990, was recorded a high political involvement on the part of citizens. So, a month before the election an IRSOP opinion poll show that 8 percent of voters were registered in a political party, and 12% were poised to do so. (Datculescu, P. (1991). *Alegerile postdictatoriale în perspectivă sociologică internațională cu referire specială la cazul României.* (Post-Dictatorial Elections in International Sociological Perspective with special reference to Romania's case) în Datculescu, P., Liepelt, K. (editors). *Renașterea unei democrații, Alegerile din România de la 20 mai 1990*, (The Revival of a Democracy, The Romanian Elections, May 20, 1990), Bucharest: IRSOP, p.: 22) Must, however, be pointed out that the representation of political parties has been extremely uneven, and can distinguish the parties: a. national; b. regional; c. local. Only four political parties have candidates in all 43 constituencies. (Garbis Ohanian, 1991: 59.).

The internal situation in Romania in the run-up to elections five months has been characterized by instability and tension. However we agree with the view expressed by the researcher Garbis Ohanian that "general policy although somewhat confused and agitated, marked by the crisis did not affect in any way the dramatic public optimism about the positive evolution of Romanian society and sense of confidence early in the May 20 election" (Garbis Ohanian, 1991: 58). The vote there was a turnout of about 85%. (Petre Datculescu, 1991: 26).

The most important document adopted by the Temporary Council of National Unity was the Law –Decree nr. 92 from 14th marc 1990 (Official Gazette no. 35 of 18 March 1990, pp. 1-11) about the elections of Parliament and the Romanian President. This Law –Decree reorganised Romanian political institution, by providing the separation of state power. According this Law –Decree legislative power to be established from a Parliament compound of the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies and the Executive was a Government led by a Prime Minister and President. Bicameral Parliament established by Decree-Law No. 92 resume a tradition begun in 1866 and broken up in 1940. The elections were taking place on the basis of the vote list, lawmakers are elected through universal suffrage, equal, secret and free suffrage. The organizations of national minorities which were not represented in Parliament, were also entitled to a Deputy mandate. This first Parliament created after the events of December 1989, serving both functions of a legislative Assembly, as well as those of a Constitutional Assembly. Once the Constitution is adopted, new elections should be held within a period not exceeding one year. The President designate Prime Minister in the person of the representative of a party

or political party alliance which won the most seats in Parliament, after consultation with the parties represented in Parliament. The President could not remain a member of any political party or political parties alliance.

President-Parliament relations were well defined and with very little self-control possibility. The President could not be removed from Office only if they have committed acts, which would have made him unworthy to occupy such a state dignity. The President did not have the power to dissolve Parliament unless the Constitution had not been adopted in the nine-month period (Drăganu, 1998: 404). The election campaign took place from 28 March-20 May 1990 (Bejan, 1991: 83).

Provisions of Decree-Law No. 92 of 14th march 1990 concerning the holding of elections

According to the article. 5 the citizen have the right to one vote for the election of the President, the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies. Next article establishing the number of members of both Chambers. Thus, the number of members of the Assembly of Deputies was 387. Also, the Senate was composed of elected Senators according to counties: population in counties with a population exceeding 500,000 inhabitants chose two senators; in counties with a population of 750,000 inhabitants the 500001 elected three Senators; in other counties choose 4 Senators; in Bucharest were elected 14 senators. (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida (1992): 15-16).

Article 11 regulating two categories of candidates: candidates proposed by political parties or independent candidacies and political formations in the sense that if a citizen wanted to run individually for a mandate could do this. In terms of the number of candidates that could be entered on a list, he could not be greater than the number of Deputies and senators, who were elected in the constituency. The provisions of this article regulated some conditions, in principle, to the proposal of candidates. Thus, a candidate for the Presidency had to be supported by at least 100,000 people. Some conditions were laid down for the independent candidate for Deputy or senator mandate, meaning that it had to be supported by 251 to citizens with voting rights. With regard to minorities, the law provided for the possibility to associate their lists of independent candidates. The last paragraph of this article within the meaning of rule which provided for Parliament can be run only in a single constituency. According to the article. 13, each county and Bucharest had been an electoral constituency. Specialists have defined the constituency as the organizational framework for the elections of Deputies, Senators and of the head of State. From the wording of art. 13 it is concluded that any candidate shall submit to the County and the municipality of Bucharest, understood as constituencies, and in some parts of their territory. From here it follows that to be elected as an independent candidate had to meet a much larger number of votes than would have been necessary in the hypothesis in which the electoral district would have represented only a portion of the population of the County, bounded to the criterion of residence in a particular portion of its territory.

By decision No. 283 of 21 March 1990 (Official Gazette no. 39 of 21.03. 1990) the Romanian Government established the number of Deputies and senators were to be elected in each constituency. According to this regulatory action in the Constanta County were to be elected 12 deputies and 3 Senators (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida, 2001: 28) Article 19 stipulated the conditions for setting up a polling station, which evoke the notion where each voter can exercise his right to vote. This article provides the Organization of polling stations in cities, villages and municipalities. From the first two letters of the provisions of this article, it appears that in municipalities with a population

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under 2,000 inhabitants is organizing a single polling station, and in the towns and cities they hold, one polling station at least 1,500 people and a maximum of 3000 inhabitants. For example, in a municipality that have compact villages at distances of less than 5 miles from the City Hall and a total population of 2,900 inhabitants, was to organize a single polling station. On the contrary in a neighbouring municipality, which has the same grouping of villages, but a population of 3010 people will organize two polling stations. Paragraph 2 provided for an exception to the above rule, admitting the possibility to organize polling stations in villages for up to 500 inhabitants, provided they are placed at a distance of 5 km from village center (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida, 2001: 28).

Art. 18-19 allowed for the possibility of organizing polling stations for certain special categories of voters-military, citizens hospitalized students in hospitals, in addition to the diplomatic and consular missions, ships under the Romanian flag in sailing on election day (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida, 2001: 28) According to the 21 article jurisdiction for the delimitation and polling station numbers belongs to the county councils (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida, 2001: 28).

For the elections a definite utility operation, was drawing up electoral lists. Voter lists was utility documents in which the records of all Romanian citizens who, having the right to vote, participate in the election of the President and Parliament. Preparation of voter lists was entrusted to the mayoralties, municipal law, city, municipal and other sectors of Bucharest, for that town halls had records of citizens who were residing in the settlements. Voters lists should be allowed to clear identification of voters, so that they were intended to contain the name and surname, age and place of residence and the number of the constituency in which each voter. Each voter may be entered only in one electoral roll. Article 28 provided for setting up the Central Electoral Bureau, bureaus and offices, constituency polling station. Central Electoral Bureau was composed of seven judges of the Supreme Court of Justice chosen by drawing lots and 10 representatives of political parties (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida, 2001: 40-42).

Art. 31 stated that the Bureau of the Electoral District was of 3 judges, and no more than 6 representatives of political parties participating in elections in the County and in the city of Bucharest appointed in descending order of the number of candidates who have proposed (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida, 2001: 47) In accordance with article 34, Polling precinct are comprised of a President, a Deputy and not more than 7 members. The President and his Deputy were normally judges or other lawyers who were not part of any political party or political party designated by the President of the Courthouse and of the Bucharest County by drawing lots (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida, 2001: 28).

Article 39-40 established the conditions under which they could be submitted lists of candidates for the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate. Thus, they could be made only on electoral constituencies and not later than 30 days before the election. The proposals of the candidates were written in triplicate by the political parties who were participating in the election, under the leadership signature or, in the case of independent candidates, on the basis of lists of supporters. Independent candidate was required to submit a notarized statement by the State notary system stating supporters signatures (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida, 2001: 58-59). Articles 54 to 64 provided a series of organizational measures for the proper conduct of elections, such as the location of polling stations, the security, the time interval in which voting takes place, the conditions for suspending the vote, etc. (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida, 2001: 71).

After the closing of the voting, the Chairman of the electoral board proceed to set aside the remaining unused ballots and open ballot boxes, in the presence of members of

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the bureaux and where appropriate of persons referred to in article 56, paragraph 1. 3. The President read aloud, at the opening of each bulletin, the name and surname of the candidate and will show the ballot of those present. In addition, ballots were declared void for several reasons: the bulletin wore the stamp of the Department were different model than the one legally approved; to which stamp was applied votes more quadrilaterals; Which were opened in error before being included in voting ballot (Iorgovan, Muraru, Vasilescu, Vida, 2001: 82).

Elections of 20 May 1990 in Constanța County

On 3 May 1990, the Commission established, in accordance with article 5. paragraph 1 of Decree-Law No. 93./1990 proceeded to: retrieving the list of persons designated by the city of Constanta, by decision No. 176/90; the establishment of judges and persons will be placed on County Electoral Bureau; preparation of drawing of lots: typing numbers corresponding to those shooting 439 precincts; typing the name of 63 municipalities in the County including polling stations; Group of numbers corresponding to those in table of proposed persons, centres and localities and the formation, in this way, lots of shooting; operations by drawing lots by removing the tickets with the numbers on the settlements, according to polling station, first time for Presidents and, then, for Parliament; completing the nominal table on the wards, locations and functions. The materials used, and the Town Hall's decision, and a copy of the list of drawing lots have filed for conservation at first Registrar. (*The personal archive of Judge Dan Iulian Drăgan. Minutes of May 3, 1990*). On May 4, in accordance with article 5. 31 of Decree-Law No. 92/1990 was held the meeting to complete the County Electoral District Electoral Office 14.

In the County, according to the provisions of the Decree law No. 92/1990, was founded the constituency Constanța No. 14 which contain bureaux of 439 precincts of the municipalities and cities within the County and the municipality of Constanta. After the establishment of the Central Electoral Board were held by the President of the Countyhouse Court, judge Marin Voicu, the election of the County electoral Board by drawing lots (ticketed with the name and surname of the judges were extracted from a Busby by Mrs. Maria Camilleri principal clerk). There were appointed three judges namely: Mrs judge Victoria Barozi, Ms Judge Dumitru Mihaela and Mr judge Dan Iulian Dragan. Those three judges were elected as the President of the Office of the electoral district Mrs. judge Viorica Barozi.

Previously, on the basis of electoral provisions, no Decision 142 of 6 April 1990 of Constanta Prefecture signed by County prefect, Adrian Radulescu and the Prefecture Secretary Vasile Rusescu has been issued.. Through this decision polling stations were divided within the County of Constanta, in locations with the following configuration: - Constanța at no. 1-151 (pp. 1-39 of the decision); the city of Basarabi; 152 to 156 (p. 40 of the decision); the city of Cernavoda from 157 to 164 (pp. 41-43); the city of Eforie from 163 to 172 (pp. 44-46); the city of Hârșova from 173 to 177 (pp. 46-47); the city of Mangalia from 178 to 196 (pp. 47-52); the city of Medgidia from 197 to 216 (pp. 53-61); the city of Năvodari from 217 to 228 (pp. 61-64); the city of Negru-Vodă from 229 to 231 (pp. 64-65); the city of Ovidiu from 232 to 237 (pp. 65-66); the city of Techirghiol from 238 to 241 (pp. 68-69); all municipalities in the county-from 242 to 405 (pp. 70-85);polling stations to vote in the military units, for conscriptors; 406 at 439 (Archive Drăgan, pp. 85-86).

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After the election of the judges for the Office of the Electoral District No. 14, was necessary to supplement it with the representatives of political parties, so that the report concluded on 4 May 1990 were nominated: Cojocaru Aurelian National Peasants ' Christian and the Democratic Party; Niculescu Paul Democratic Unity Party; Muncaciu Sorin Titus, National Liberal Party; Muflic Adrian The Draftsman Party; Mihai Nicolae Democratic Union of Roma from Romania. In the same report of 4 May 1990 they quoted: "were recorded and became the definitive list of candidates:

Table 1. Candidates for the Chamber of Deputies

<i>Party of origin)</i>	<i>Assembly of Deputies</i>	Senat
Turkish Muslim Democratic Union of Romania	2	1
Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania	1	-
Romanian Social Democratic Party	10	2
National Peasants 'Christian and Democratic Party,	12	3
Lipovan community of Romania	2	-
Cooperative Party	12	3
Democratic Unity Party	12	3
Socialist Party of Justice (independent)	1	-
The Hellenic Union of Romania	1	-
The Christian Democratic Union	5	1
The Socialist Democratic Party of Romania	12	3
The National Liberal Party	12	3
Roma Democratic and the rudars musicians Union Party, of Romania	1	-
National Salvation Front	12	3
The Draftsman Party	12	3
Environmental movement in Romania	12	3
Romanian Peasant Party	3	-
Democratic Union of Roma from Romania	12	3
The Republican Christian Party of Romania	1	1
National Reconstruction Party	3	-
Social Democratic Christian Party	9	3
Alliance for Unity of the Romanians (AUR) – Party of Romanians in	4	2
Transylvania and the Republican Party		
Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania	12	3
The Liberal Union Bratianu	1	-
The democratic centrist group	8	2
Union Party "Orthodox Christian"	1	-
Labour Party	4	1
The Alliance for democracy party	5	1
Democratic Labour Party	9	3
Independent Candidates	2	2
TOTAL	193	49

Source: Author's own compilation

The report was signed by: Viorica Barozi, president, Dumitru Mihaela and Dan-Iulian Drăgan – judge members, and representatives of political parties and political formations, namely: Cojocaru Aurelian, Butoi Bucur, Cuciuc Mihaela, Bostacă Toma, Muncaiu Sorin-Gheorghe, Târșoagă Niculina, Stoleru Gheorghe, Nicolae Gheorghe, Trașcă Constantin, Panait Vasile, Paul Niculescu, Drezaliu Nicolae, Mihai Relu.

On the same day may 4, 1990 at 12.00 at the Headquarters Office of the Electoral District No. 14, in the presence of the three judges and representatives of political parties has been made to the drawing of lots, for printing in the order used in the lists of candidates

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on the ballots. The draw was conducted by Panait Vasile representative of the Christian Social Democratic Party. The order of the lists of candidates participating in the elections parties in ballot was as follows:

Table 2. Candidates for Parliaments

<i>No.</i>	<i>The name of the party</i>	<i>The parliamentary houses</i>	Nominee
1	The Draftsman Party	Senate Assembly of Deputies	Albu Constantin Părvulescu Zamfir Cârnici Costică Cuciuc Mihaela Sgarcea Valentin Gheorghe Petre Todea Nicoleta Postelnicu Mihai Țopârdea Monica-Luminița Țoringhibel Marius Vasile Florin Enescu George Ichim Enuță Tănase Felician-Liliana Tănase Ion
2	The Republican Christian Party of Romania	Senate Adunarea Deputaților Senate	Bocancea Mihai Aporcășoaiiei Viorel
3	The Alliance for democracy party	Assembly of Deputies Senate	Zamfirescu Florea Ghinescu Petre Urcu Petrișor Dumitru Romeo Nichi Neguțu Gheorghică Dima Dumitru Dumitrașcu Gheorghe Rahău Nicolae Lascu Stoica Manole Adrian
4	National Salvation Front	Assembly of Deputies Senate	Radu Alexandru Dumitru S. Nicolae Moinescu Dumitru Dumitrescu Ioan Mangiurea Marin Anton Țurlacu Ioan Georgescu Ioan Simatiuc George Nemirschi Nicolae Moise Ștefan Marinescu Călin Dragomir Drezaliu Nicolai Dumitru Vasile Anghel Petre Cioroiu Costel Dănilă Ivanciu Constantin Dumitru Garabet Ion
5	Democratic Union of Roma from Romania	Assembly of Deputies	Petrache Ivanciu Căldăraru Petrache Mihai Bică Drezaliu Florea Avădanei Adrian Petre Ion Cercel Titi Cristea Nicolae Fără candidat Țăranu Ion
6	The United Democratic Party of Roma people, Rudars, Musicians from Romania	Senate Assembly of Deputies	Țăranu Ion
7	Alliance for Unity of the Romanians (AUR) – Party of Romanians in Transylvania and the Republican Party	Senate	Pilcă Teodor Constantin Todociuc Boris

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		Assembly of Deputies	Clocean Mihai Mârșu Valentin Ionescu Valentin Gheorghe
		Senate	Tănăsescu Gabriela Șerban M. Ion Manole Dumitru Lup V. Aurel Surdu D. Victor Iuruc Șt. Nicolae Palan V. Ștefan Florea I. Dumitru Gota P. Gheorghe
8	Democratic agrarian party of Romania	Assembly of Deputies	Stere I. Ion Stoica D. Victor Marcoșanu M. Leonard Tușa Gh. Stere Păunescu A. Justin Mândilă H. Ion Bucur N. Ștefan Pitciu Ortansa
9	The Christian Democratic Union	Senate	Lazăr Laurențiu Berlea Gheorghe Caraniciu Maria Ioniță Dumitru
		Assembly of Deputies	Cîmpeanu Zamfira Albița Gheroghe Bosoi Constantin Dumitru Cornelia Bujeniță Alexandru Mihalcea Aurel-Codruț Ciumbargi D. Rifat Marinescu V. Ion
10	The Democratic Socialist Party of Romania	Senate	Chirilă Aura-Lucica Păvălucă Traian Cătălina Georgeta Grigore Laurențiu Viorel
		Assembly of Deputies	Brănescu Valentin Săndulescu Vasile Năstase Gheorghe Grigorie Claudia Băluț Lucian
11	The democratic centrist group	Senate	Popescu Nicolae Butușină Cristian Moga Nicolae Melicescu Roland Mirea Gheorghe Mocanu Elena Tolea Stelea Melincovici Adrian Constantinescu Nicușor
		Assembly of Deputies	Greavu Nicolae Bucur Cornel Pașa Tănase Zaițu Nicolae Vasile Dumitru
12	Social Democratic Christian Party	Assembly of Deputies	Mocanu Corneliu Ardelean Vasile Mocanu Mihai Niculescu Vasile Zlate Dumitru Moțoi Petre Petraru Sandu
13	Democratic Labour Party	Senate	Bătrînu Nicolae Jurja Ioan Trăstaru Traian Popescu Ioan Diaconescu Dumitru
		Assembly of Deputies	Tudorică Ion Lupșor Vasile Zdru Mihai Petre Florin

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14	Lipovan Community in Romania	Senate Assembly of Deputies	Vasilescu Ioan Brătescu Savi Voicu Elena Fără candidat Samoilă Vartolomei
15	Socialist Party of Justice (independent)	Senate Assembly of Deputies	Epsiș Sidor Fără candidat Coteș Florentina Florica
16	The Hellenic Union of Romania	Senate Assembly of Deputies	Fără candidat Antoniadis Eftimie
17		Senate	Mihăescu Gheorghe Manu Ioan Trocan Dorin Zaharia Valentin Stelu Porcescu Adrian Ragan Nicolae Tomnaru Petre Viorel Mihălcescu Dan Ghegelu Alexandru Caragheorgheopol Dumitrache Caraban Iulian Secară Eugeniu Popescu Gheorghe Paraschiv Coșofână Anton Lischievici Alexandru Lungu Costel Guter Constantin Sallo Ștefan Lițu Costel
18	Democratic Unity Party	Assembly of Deputies	Ana Doru-Claudius Deleanu Virgil Vlăducă Marin Dorneanu Constantin Aurel Constantin Georgescu Mihai-Petre Fără candidat Doxan Adrian
19	"Orthodox Christian" Union Party	Senate Assembly of Deputies	No candidate Erdős Arpad
20	Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania	Senate Assembly of Deputies	Mehmet Ali Mustafa Gemil Tahsin Baubec Sucri Sabin Ivan
21	Muslim Turkish Democratic Union of Romania	Senate Assembly of Deputies	Harlambie Remus Purcărescu Constantin Roșculeț Radu-Voicu Ivănescu Victor-Șerban Cojocaru Petre Constantin Culețu Dan Boboș Mihai Zamfir Cătălin- Constantin
22	The National Liberal Party	Assembly of Deputies	Iustian Mircea-Teodor Mărgineanu Robert Agop Daniel-Edmond Preda Ovidiu Zlate Nicolae Lungu Virgil Bucur Gheorghe Davidescu George Ghișerel Ion
23	The Labour Party	Senate Assembly of Deputies Senate	Basno Heidun Icebord Trașcă Constantin Bavaru Adrian Marin Mincu Nicola D. Gheorghe

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24	Environmental movement in Romania	Assembly of Deputies	Mazilu Gheorghe Dimoftache Constantin Adrian Tîrnoveanu Ioan Panas Ioan Teofil Arsenie Mihai Sababei Grigore Oglindă Nicolae Predea Alexandru Andronescu Maria Dumitru Virgil Stoleru Gheorghe
25	Romanian Peasant Party	Senate Assembly of Deputies	Fără candidați Smason Constantin Pantelimon Marin Bogatu Mihail Decu Paul
26	National Peasants 'Christian and Democratic Party,	Senate	Rafte Pasca Dumitriu Nicolae Lup Ioan Pariza Mihai
27	National Gratitude Party in Romania	Assembly of Deputies	Frățilă Constantin Enache Neculai Luca Nicolae Dogaru Gheorghe Mihail Ștefan Sava Neculai Sachir Tair Virgil Puiu Mier Ioan Udrea Ilie
28	The Liberal Union Brătianu	Senate Adunarea Deputaților	Fără candidați Limona Alexandru Gogan Nicolae Nădrăgu Corneliu
29	Cooperative Party	Senate Assembly of Deputies	Fără candidați Ivan Nicolae-Victor Căliminte Moisi Biciușcă Aurel Voican Ionica Ionescu Paul Șerban Gheorghe Giurcă Traian
30	Independent candidates in elections	Senate Assembly of Deputies	Bostănaru Gheorghe Boghici Neculai Dimancea Gheorghe Năstase George Moșoiu Traian Nedelcu Mihaela Lia Crăciun Țiriac Vasile Țuțuianu Gheorghe Stănescu V. Gheorghe Racu Constantin

Source: Author's own compilation

In the ballot for the election of the President of Romania were placed in the order of drawing of lots at the national level, the following candidates: National Salvation Front-Ion Iliescu; The National Liberal Party - Radu Câmpeanu; National Peasants ' Party Christian and Democratic Party - Ion Rațiu.

The leadership of the County Courthouse and Constanța Municipality in order to meet the requirements of election Law have drawn up a plan titled Activities from 7-16 May 1990.

All activities according to the law and the plan, above, have been carried out within, without major incidents. There was a good cooperation between the institutions concerned to the elections of 20 May 1990. In whole County, on 16 May 1990 were

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enrolled in a total of 445 983 voters. This also included Constanta (197 647) and the military persons in the performance of the service (20117). It was like the day of May 20th, 1990 to be enrolled in a total, in County 556 723 voters.

Office of the Electoral District No. 14 had its headquarters on the third floor of the building who was known by the name of the White House.

In front of this building at all times, day and night were made not knowing by whom, manifestation of groups of people chanting and threatening everyone, including members of the Office of the Electoral District No. 14. In order to prevent violent events or the penetration into the Electoral Office in order to take the documents it was requested, in accordance with the legal provisions, the securing of the representatives of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of national defence, who were acted with responsibility for the mission.

At 7 in the morning of 20 May 1990, all the polling stations were opened allowing the voters present to exercise their right to vote, which was made until 23, when it was finished by the voting activity, according to the electoral law.

Mention that at polling stations, from those laid down by the Office of the electoral district No. 14, according to the Central Electoral Bureau, received telephone briefings about the presence and behavior of voters and of incidents.

Members of the county electoral board in relation to the parties ' reports, journalists, others, traveled, at the polling station in question, observing that the majority of cases were resolved positively and promptly by the heads of polling stations by the Ministry of the Interior. The news in some journals were simple exaggerations or to create the impression of election fraud.

Most of those who refer to the different incidents, under the justification of the election fraud, do not fear knew that fraud is carried out by members of the polling station, which, especially in rural areas, had family ties (godparents, fini, kids at school) connections of friendliness or subordination relations, etc.

The circumstance that many polling stations in villages and municipalities have done during lunch choices, were justified by the members of the polling station by the massive presence of voters on the morning of May 20, 1990. However, the final data collection, it was found that the National Salvation Front was given a large, impressive number compared to other parties, which created the suspicion of fraud in the sense that other people have voted in place of many voters.

Of course, that no one has demonstrated in concrete terms the actions of fraud, but I appreciate that outside voting instead of other people, there are the following explanation: voters, especially in rural areas, recognized in the National Salvation Front's candidates in the lower echelons of the former Romanian Communist Party, which became very influential in the aftermath of the coup of 1989, and that continues, under the forms, disguised their promotion in the structures of the State, to fill the void of great power; - voters had a negative perception of old or new political parties, taking into consideration the spread of aggressive exerted against them in about 5 months after the coup d' état; candidates from other parties, most of them were strangers to most voters, being elected in the end only the neighbors at home or work colleagues; in the case of parties or unions, final election results showed that there were no candidates who were supported by members of that party, some receiving fewer votes than the number of members from regional, although attendance has been on the list of candidates and not the first. After the conclusion of the elections and of the protocols, the final results have the following configuration:

The General Election in 20th of May 1990 in the County of Constanța

Table 3. The general election for the Romanian President

<i>I. The general election for the Romanian President</i>		
No.	The voters situation	No of votes
1.	Number of voters according to the check list	556 723
2.	The absolute majority of the voters in constituency	278 362
3.	The number of electorate who voted	501 110
4.	The total number of electorate	489 792
5.	Number of invalidate votes	11 318
...		
8.	Repartition of the ballot for the Presidential candidates	
1.	Ion Iliescu	439 435
2.	Radu Câmpeanu	31 553
3.	Ion Rațiu	18 804

Source: Author's own compilation

Table 4. The minutes of the election for the Romanian Lower House in the County of Constanța in the 20th of May 1990. The final results

No.	<i>The voters situation</i>		No. Of votes
1.	Number of voters according to the check list		556 723
2.	The absolute majority of the voters in constituency		278 362
3.	The number of electorate who voted		500 954
4.	The total number of electorate		462 112
5.	Number of invalidate votes		38 842
6.	The number of representativess elected on the constituency		12
7.	Number of electorate necessary for a representative election		38 509
8.	Repartition of the ballot and the Parliamentary mandate on election list		
Nr. crt.	The name of the political parties/ The name of the independent nominee	Numbers of votes obtained	Number of the representative mandate obtained
1	National Salvation Front	321 559	8
2	Democratic agrarian party of Romania	38 200	-
3	The National Liberal Party	37 146	-
4	Environmental movement in Romania	9 790	-
5	Turkish Muslim Democratic Union of Romania	8 600	-
6	National peasants ' and the Christian Democratic Party	7 391	-
7	Free Party-Assistant	4 245	-
8	Democratic Labour Party	3 705	-
9	The Socialist Democratic Party Of Romania	3 025	-
10	Lipovan community of Romania	2 472	-
11	The democratic centrist group	2 365	-
12	The Democratic Party of Roma, and the Rudars musicians of Romania	1 966	-
13	Union Party "Orthodox Christian"	1 923	-
14	Br[tianu Liberal Union	1 808	-
15	The Republican Christian Party of Romania	1 795	-
16	Social Democratic Christian Party of Romania	1 760	-
17	Romanian Social Democratic Party	1 728	-
18	The Labour Party	1 437	-
19	Racu Cnstantin	1 400	-

Marian ZIDARU

20	Alliance for The Romanians – AUR- National Unity Party of Romanians in Transylvania and the Republican party	1 337	-
21	Stănescu V. Gheorghe	1 147	-
22	The Hellenic Union of Romania	1 055	-
23	Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania	972	-
24	The Alliance for democracy party	888	-
25	Democratic Union of Roma from Romania	791	-
26	Cooperative party	769	-
27	The Christian Democratic Union	673	-
28	Democratic Unity Party	625	-
29	Romanian Peasant Party	603	-
30	Socialist Party of Justice (independent)	515	-
31	National Gratitude Party in Romania	382	-
	TOTAL	462 112	-

List of the electee representatives

Nr. crt.	The name of the electee representatives	Political party
1	Manole Adrian	National Salvation Front
2	Radu Alexandrescu	National Salvation Front
3	Dumitru S. Nicolae	National Salvation Front
4	Marinescu Dumitru	National Salvation Front
5	Dumitrescu Ioan	National Salvation Front
6	Mangiurea Marin-Anton	National Salvation Front
7	Turlac Ioan	National Salvation Front
8	National Salvation Front	Frontul Salvării Naționale

Source: Author's own compilation

**Table 5. The minutes of the election for Romanian Senat in the County of
Constanța in the 29th of May 1990. The final results**

No.	<i>The voters situation</i>		Number of votes
1.	Number of voters according to the check list		556 723
2.	The absolute majority of the voters in constituency		278 362
3.	The number of electorate who voted		501 175
4.	The total number of electorate		469 978
5.	Number of invalidate votes		31 197
6.	The number of senators elected on the constituency		3
7.	Number of electorate necessary for a senator election		156 659
8.	Repartition of the ballot and the Parliamentary mandate on election list		
Nr. crt.	The name of the political parties/ independent nominee	The name of the Numbers of votes obtained	Number of the senator mandate obtained
1	National Salvation Front	342 895	2
2	The National Liberal Party	38 117	1
3	Democratic agrarian party of Romania	15 981	-
4	Environmental movement in Romania	15 691	-
5	National peasants ' and the Christian Democratic Party	9 345	-
6	Turkish Muslim Democratic Union of Romania	8 489	-
7	Free Party-Assistant	6 202	-
8	Țuțianu Gheorghe	5 732	-
9	The Socialist Democratic Party Of Romania	3 925	-
10	Alliance for The Romanians – AUR-National Unity Party of Romanians in Transylvania and the Republican party	3 134	-

The General Election in 20th of May 1990 in the County of Constanța

11	The democratic centrist group	2 890	-
12	Țiriac Vasile	2 700	-
13	Democratic Labour Party	2 525	-
14	The Labour Party	2 032	-
15	The Republican Party of Romania Christian	1 802	-
16	Romanian Social Democratic Party	1 793	-
17	Social Democratic Christian Party of Romania	1 516	-
18	Democratic Union of Roma from Romania	1 455	-
19	The Alliance for democracy party	1 169	-
20	The Christian Democratic Union	1 077	-
21	Cooperative party	1 001	-
22	Democratic Unity Party	567	-
List of the electee senators			
Nr. crt.	The name of Senators	Political party	
1	Dumitrașcu Gheorghe	National Salvation Front	
2	Rahău Nicolae	National Salvation Front	
3	Sabin Ivan	Partidul Național Liberal	

Source: Author's own compilation

After summarizing final results protocols with dossier was submitted to the Central Electoral Bureau, with a military guard. Assembly of Deputies and the Senate, on the 20th day after the date of the election, have validated the mandates of Senators and deputies in the joint meeting, was established, as a constituent Assembly to adopt the Constitution, according to the article. 80 of law No. 92 of 14 March 1990. For the Assembly of Deputies according to the number of voters lists of registered voters was 556723. The electoral quotient was 38509. FSN has obtained 321559 and 8 seats of Parliament as follows: Have obtained seats deputies: Amet Hogeia, turkish minority, Gemil Tahsin tartar minority, Nicolae Iuruc, PDAR, Victor Surdu, PDAR Voicu Radu Roșculeț, PNL. The number of voters to the Senate according to lists of voters was 556723. The absolute majority of the voters in the constituency was established in 278362 voters. The number of voters who have showed up at the polls was 501175. The total number of valid votes cast was 469978. The electoral quotient has been 156659. FSN won 342895 votes and the Liberal National Party 38117. The following candidates were elected Senators: Dumitrașcu Gheorghe Frontul Salvării Naționale, Rahău Nicolae, Frontul Salvării Naționale, Sabin Ivan, Partidul Național Liberal. (Arhiva Drăgan, Procesul Verbal cuprinzând rezultatele alegerilor pentru Senat de la 20 mai 1990; *The Minutes including the election results for the Senate on May 20, 1990*)

Conclusions

On May 20, 1990, elections were held on the Sunday of the blind, being the 6th Sunday after Easter, the Christian holiday, that day, healing man blind from birth, opening the eyes and receiving the light from our Savior Jesus Christ. The name "Sunday blind" was speculated by the pamphlet of some commentators of the election, meaning that the NSF – new political movement after the Romanian Communist Party – has achieved yet another 67.2% of the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies 66,3% of the votes cast by the electors present to vote, due to the fact that they voted blindly, anyone unable to open eyes to vote in favor and at the expense of other parties in this Front. We believe that this appreciation to Blind people at a worldwide deluge of voters is out-reality. The Romanians have voters perceived as "Sunday spooky Judgments" and not "Blind" since Sunday to power was done by people who, through their harsh actions present or future foreshadow directly or indirectly coercive actions under the guise of democracy. Voters were not blind,

but frightened by the "crisis" (judgement) of the Romanian State and its institutions, as well as shortages of materials, etc., remembering about recent actions of shooting of former leaders following a mock trial, committed in violation of the most basic laws, as well as statements and speeches of Ion Iliescu, who has led the voters to understand the continuation of the old regime, maintaining rules or the return of socialism. The Romanians were not blind during the elections but wary attitude, frightened by the "crisis" (Judgement) was born in the aftermath of the coup. In summary, we must consider that voters "saw" as a single solution, to support the new powers so that this date of 20 May 1990, should be considered "Sunday Spooky " Judgements and not "Blind" Sunday as derogatory (even if in the form of a pamphlet) were made remarks unfavorable to voters.

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