

# EVENT CONTRIBUTION

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.

RULE OF LAW PROGRAM

SOUTH EAST EUROPE

DR. STEFANIE RICARDA ROOS  
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November 2009

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## "Anticorruption Policies in the Justice System"

### Debate and Book Launch

17 November 2009, Bucharest, Romania

**Ensuring the independence of the judiciary and the integrity of the justice system constitutes a focus area of the Rule of Law Program South East Europe (RLP SEE). Corruption in the judiciary remains one of the major obstacles to the creation of an independent, effective, and transparent justice system in the program countries of the RLP SEE. This still holds true for Romania as well, despite the fact that the country joined the European Union (EU) three years ago. The RLP SEE, in its efforts to help tackle judicial corruption in the region, has just released its most recent publication entitled "Corupția și Anticorupția în Sistemul Juridic" ("Corruption and Anticorruption in the Justice System") by Romanian judge Cristi Danileț, which was presented in the context of an open discussion on "Anticorruption Policies in the Justice System" in Bucharest, Romania, on November 17. The publication can be downloaded from the website of the RLP SEE at [http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\\_18040-544-19-30.pdf](http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_18040-544-19-30.pdf).**

The debate is part of a series of events which the RLP SEE has organized in Romania since its creation in 2006 to allow greater public discussion on the factors which hamper the development of a judiciary that is both independent and accountable.

#### Participants

Among the participants in the November 17<sup>th</sup> debate were representatives from both key public judicial and justice institutions, and civil society, including the Vice-President of the Romanian Superior Council of

Magistracy (CSM), Bogdan Licu, the former Chief Prosecutor within the Criminal Investigation Section of the National Anti-Corruption Department (DNA), Elena Cherciu, Judges with the Court of Appeal in Bucharest (among them Lavinia Valeria Lefterache), the Chief of Section of the General Prosecutors' Office, Constantin Sima, the Executive Director of Transparency International Romania, Victor Alistar, and the Vice-President of the National Union of Romanian Judges (UNJR), Dr. Cătălin Mihai Chiriciă, as well as the author of the book presented, Judge Cristi Danileț. The conference and book launch was attended by almost seventy representatives from the justice system, civil organizations, the diplomatic corps, the media, and students.

#### Objectives

The objectives of this conference were three-fold: First, to provide a forum for key stakeholders throughout the justice system to openly discuss the highly sensitive issue of vulnerabilities with regard to corruption in the judiciary, and strategies to fight it. Secondly, to present and discuss the above-mentioned book "Corruption and Anti-Corruption in the Justice system", which is one of the first attempts from within the justice system (the author himself is a judge) to address integrity issues. And thirdly, the conference was an opportunity for the organizers, the RLP SEE, to renew ties with people such as Cristi Danileț (President of SoJust – the Society for Justice Association), Lavinia Lefterache,



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judge and former Deputy Director of the Romanian National Institute of Magistracy, INM (in charge with the training of magistrates), Professor *Valeriu Stoica* (former Romanian Minister of Justice), and *Viorica Costinu* (Honorary President of the Romanian Association of Magistrates) who have cooperated with the program from its very beginning.

**The debates**

The main topics addressed during the debate were, generally speaking, problems in the activity of both the courts and anti-corruption institutions (such as the random allocation of cases in courts, the state's "monopoly" over forensic expertise, the selection and training of judges, and shortcomings in the functioning of anticorruption institutions).

**Training of Magistrates**

One major issue raised during the debate concerned the continuous training of magistrates so as to ensure an ethical and incorruptible standard of behavior in the judiciary. The proposed solutions ranged from continuous ethical training to repeated participation in integrity testing for magistrates throughout their careers, the adequate financing of the judiciary, as well as the creation of a special institution or a specialized department within the CSM which would supervise the activity of the magistrates and punish cases of corruption. Such measures, it was argued, could help make the system more corruption-proof, and at the same time increase the accountability of the magistrates towards the society. The latter is still needed, given that many judges in Romania and neighboring countries in transition continue to interpret "judicial independence" as freedom from just about anything, including their responsibility towards the parties involved and society.

**Surveillance mechanisms**

The discussions also touched upon the legal mechanisms used in order to obtain information with respect to magistrates' professional behavior, and possible cases of corruption. The participants in the debate agreed that the existing surveillance mechanisms could become a dangerous tool because it was difficult to ensure their proper and lawful use. The example of the Internal Protection and Anti-Corruption Service (*Serviciul de Protectie Interna si Anticoruptie - SIPA*) working under the Ministry of Justice was named as a case in point for unjustified infringements in the private life of magistrates under the pretext of anti-corruption investigations.

**Random Allocation of Cases**

Among the factors which were mentioned repeatedly during the debate as reasons for the continuous corruption in the judiciary was the random allocation of cases in the courts. Ironically, the random allocation-system – which is an element of the Romanian judicial reform – was introduced in order to ensure that files were assigned to judges without any personal preference or other subjective justification. Unfortunately, according to the participants in the debate, this well-intentioned system is often manipulated in order for certain cases to reach specific judges who would then pass a favorable decision. The discussions regarding this issue were very heated as some judges – most commonly chiefs of sections – felt they were under the spotlight because they are the ones who control the random allocation. The proposed solution was to create a handbook for each court (or for all courts) which described the deadlines for each case, and the type of allocation of files so as to avoid both suspicion and manipulation.

The list of the above-mentioned challenges confronting today's Romanian judiciary when it comes to effectively fighting judicial corruption is not inclusive. Rather, other factors have been mentioned as well during the debate which cannot all be listed here.

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### **Conclusions of the debate**

One conclusion from the discussions is that the human resources in the justice system, as well as the training of legal personnel, are key to the proper functioning of the system and the fight against corruption. As *Victor Alistar*, Executive Director of Transparency International Romania, put it, the guiding principles of the anticorruption strategies and the justice system in general should be transparency, mutual control among the bodies within the system, external control, and checks and balances (limiting the concentration of powers with a single institution).

Furthermore, the participants in the debate also considered corruption in the justice system to be a question of public perception, as opinion surveys can only measure perceptions and social trust in the justice system, and not the dimensions of the phenomenon. Therefore, as important as public trust might be, the true extent of corruption was not to be found in opinion surveys. The participants did, however, agree that misperceptions or mistrust are a consequence of the difficulties and barriers citizens face when dealing with the courts.

A final point which is worth mentioning is the fact that corruption in the justice system not only occurs among magistrates, but also among other branches of State administration that influence the justice system. These are, *inter alia*, the police forces, the gendarmerie, forensic and other experts, the lawyers, and others. Therefore, any anticorruption strategy should pay attention to the intricate environment in which justice is delivered and corrective measures should be carried out in a concerted fashion.

### **Assessment**

All in all, the seminar provided to the participants an important insight into various problems regarding judicial integrity in Romania in general (and judicial corruption in particular) as well as possible solutions for

the problems. The debates throughout the conference were very lively. This clearly showed that the actors involved in the justice system today are much more open and more likely to publicly discuss the problems of the judiciary than they were several years ago. They also showed that there was a need for providing for open debate like the one offered by the *RLP SEE* on sensitive issues regarding the justice system. At the end of the conference, the participants expressed their interest in the continuation of similar events, saying they are not offered often enough in Romania: In Romania, judges, prosecutors, experts, NGO representatives, and the interested public have few opportunities to meet with and present issues to key actors in the justice system, as seen from their perspective.

It was, therefore, regrettable that high ranking representatives of the Ministry of Justice and the General Prosecutor's Office – all of whom had been invited – did not participate in the debate. This is made even more important because many of the proposals expressed during the conference concerned both the Ministry of Justice and the Prosecutor's Office.

The book presented during the conference was highly appreciated by the attendees, and was seen as a useful tool for all stakeholders in the system and for students of law. This general assessment has been shared by the media present during the conference, reporting on both the conference and the publication (among which was, *inter alia*, the correspondent for Romania of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and the correspondent for *Agence France Presse*, both of which reported about the conference and its topic, see, e.g. <http://www.infolegal.ro/dezbater-politici-anticoruptie-sistemul-de-justitie/2009/11/12/>) and the attachment at the end of this document.

In sum, one can say that the conference helped achieve the overarching goal of the Rule of Law Program South East Europe to

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further strengthen the principle of separation of powers, in particular an independent judiciary, and the specific goal that judges and other actors in the justice

system be made aware of the pressures and influences which might negatively impact the independence of the judiciary.

## **Attachment:**

### **Media Coverage on Corruption in Romania**

Following the conference organized by the Rule of Law Program South East Europe on „Anticorruption Policies in the Justice System“, several prominent newspapers and news agencies, respectively, have reported about both, the conference and publication presented, and the topic of corruption in Romania in general. In the following, we have gathered a selection thereof. Please note that the opinion expressed in these articles is that of the authors. It does not necessarily represent the official position of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

New Romanian president faces corruption battle

**Despite progress in tackling graft, country remains EU laggard**

EPA

**An elderly Romanian woman walks past an election poster for Romania's incumbent President Traian Basescu, who is running for a second term, in Bucharest, Romania, yesterday. The poster reads: 'You are the true majority. Basescu fights for you!'**

By Isabelle Wesselingh - Agence France-Presse

BUCHAREST – Romania is in a tough battle against corruption which is casting a shadow over the country's presidential contest on Sunday as the European Union is impatiently waiting for results.

According to the latest Transparency International index, Romania is one of the most corrupt countries in Europe – with rake-offs taken for the award of public contracts and ministers and magistrates all accused of taking bribes.

And the stakes are high. If Romania does not step up the fight and reform its justice system, it could suffer the same fate as neighboring Bulgaria which last year lost hundreds of millions of euros in potential EU aid for going soft on corruption. A European Commission report in July criticized Romanian lawmakers for not being tough enough on graft.

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But experts say that progress has been made in a country that up until 20 years ago lived under Nicolae Ceausescu's dictatorship.

Laura Stefan, anti-corruption coordinator of the Romanian Academic Society (SAR), said: "We've seen changes that were thought to be impossible only five years ago. We've seen progress we did not dare to hope for: important people being investigated, important cases reaching courts."

Romania is not the only European country facing political corruption scandals, but the key is how these cases are investigated and judged, legal experts said.

A special anti-corruption prosecution office, known as the DNA, was set up in 2002 but only brought its first major case against a politician in 2005.

Since the appointment of chief prosecutor Daniel Morar, cases have been brought against 21 former lawmakers and ministers accused of corruption and blackmail, according to official figures.

Stefanie Ricarda Roos, director of the Rule of Law Program South East Europe for the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, said Romania has made clear strides.

"If you look at the cases of ministers who have been dismissed or placed under investigation, even if some allege that the cases have been politically manipulated, it created a common sense that such behavior cannot be accepted," she said.

Since 2005, 620 people – magistrates, directors of public companies, former mayors – have been convicted for corruption, according to the DNA.

But the European Commission criticized the speed at which major corruption trials are handled. "It seems courts need more time to judge cases involving politicians," DNA spokeswoman Livia Saplakan said.

Out of 21 cases sent to court, there have been only two convictions and one acquittal. The rest are awaiting trial.

European experts said defense lawyers abused the use of "constitutional exceptions" to trials and have demanded a law change to improve the judicial process.

Victor Alistar, Transparency International's executive director in Romania, told AFP more openness was badly needed in public procurement.

Opinion is divided over which of the presidential candidates would be tougher in the fight against corruption. Some experts say the center-right incumbent, Traian Basescu, has backed efforts to make it possible to prosecute politicians, but others claim he has "politicized justice" to serve his own interests.

Alina Mungiu, president of the SAR, highlighted how some of Basescu's party colleagues were involved in corruption scandals. But Mungiu warned that the opposition candidate Mircea Geoana's Social Democrat Party (PSD) had opposed anti-corruption measures. "If he is elected president, Geoana will have to give a clear signal that the fight against corruption will continue," she said.

The article is also online available at:

- [http://ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/\\_w\\_articles\\_world\\_1\\_04/12/2009\\_113026](http://ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_world_1_04/12/2009_113026)
- <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/romania-vote.1ru>
- <http://www.romaniannewswatch.com/2009/12/new-romanian-president-faces-corruption.html>
- <http://www.focus-fen.net/index.php?id=a1046>
- <http://www.herald.co.zw/inside.aspx?sectid=13075&cat=2>
- <http://www.poten.com/NewsDetails.aspx?id=10218083>
- <http://www.infolegal.ro/dezbatere-politici-anticoruptie-sistemul-de-justitie/2009/11/12/>

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**On October 3, 2009, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* published the following article on the topic:**

Richter wie die Götter

Auch das ist Europa: Die Korruption in der rumänischen Justiz und ihre Folgen

Zu lange war das Thema in der rumänischen Richterschaft mit einem Tabu belegt: Wer es verletzte, riskierte ein Disziplinarverfahren wie der junge Richter Cristi Danileti. Danileti hatte vor zwei Jahren vor Journalisten über "Korruption im Justizwesen" gesprochen, den Gegenstand seiner Dissertation auf der Babes-Bolyai-Universität in Klausenburg (Cluj). Es ging ihm darum, die Mechanismen der Korruption von Richtern, Staatsanwälten und Gutachtern zu erklären, nicht um die Schilderung konkreter Fälle oder die Nennung der Namen einzelner Richter. Dennoch zeigten ihn seine Kollegen beim Obersten Magistratsrat (CSM) an, dem mit nahezu unbeschränkter Macht ausgestatteten autonomen Organ der Richter und Staatsanwälte. Sie fühlten sich, klagten die Richter, in ihrer Standesehrge beleidigt, weil Danileti die Richterschaft mit Korruption in Verbindung gebracht habe.

Seine damalige Verteidigungsschrift legte der junge Richter nun in erweiterter Form als Buch unter dem Titel "Korruption und Antikorruption im Justizwesen" vor. Erschienen ist es - vorläufig nur in rumänischer Sprache, eine englische Übersetzung soll bald folgen - in der Schriftenreihe des Rechtsstaatsprogramms Südosteuropa der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

Bei der Buchpräsentation in Bukarest waren zahlreiche Richter und Staatsanwälte anwesend, die sich zum ersten Mal öffentlich zu diesem Thema äußerten. Der stellvertretende Vorsitzende des CSM, Bogdan Licu, sagte, das Gremium habe sich in der Vergangenheit mancher "Unterlassungen" schuldig gemacht.

Andere wurden deutlicher, unter ihnen Elena Cherciu, die sechs Jahre lang als Staatsanwältin in der Antikorruptionsbehörde DNA diente. Frau Cherciu schilderte ein System, in dem Richter beim Pokerspiel sagenhaft reich werden können oder deren Kindern als Taufgeschenk dicke Kuverts in die Wiege gelegt werden. Sie erklärte, wie sich das Computerprogramm umgehen lässt, das Fälle nach dem Zufallsprinzip an die Richter zuteilt, und wie Dossiers bei Gericht einfach "verschwinden". Bei politischer Großkorruption werden Verfahren aus formalen Vorwänden oft so lange verschleppt, bis alle Fristen abgelaufen sind und sich der Fall von selbst erledigt.

Wie weitverbreitet korrupte Praktiken sind, schilderte Danileti anhand der Bestechung von medizinischen Gutachtern, die etwa den Alkoholgehalt im Blut nach Verkehrsdelikten rückwirkend so herunterrechnen, dass härtere Strafen gar nicht mehr verhängt werden können.

Zwar wird nun offen über Korruption gesprochen, aber die Erpressung des Landes und der Steuerzahler durch die Richterschaft als solche bleibt aus der Selbstkritik der Richter weiter ausgespart. In Rumänien verstehen viele Richter ihre Unabhängigkeit als eine ständische Autarkie, die nicht nur jede Art von gesellschaftlicher Verantwortung für ihre Tätigkeit ausschließt, sondern sich auch über die Grenzen erhebt, die die Gewaltenteilung den Kompetenzen der Justiz zieht.

Rumäniens Richter führen sich auf wie Götter, sagt Laura Stefan von der Rumänischen Akademischen Gesellschaft (SAR). Nach dem Sturz des kommunistischen Systems sei das Justizwesen nie gesäubert worden. Noch immer besetze die alte Nomenklatura die Schlüsselstellen im Obersten Gericht, im Verfassungsgericht sowie in den Rechtsausschüssen der beiden Kammern des Parlaments. Bis vor sechs Jahren seien die Richter dem Justizministerium unterstellt und damit politischem Einfluss ausgesetzt gewesen. Dann habe es unter dem Druck der Europäischen Kommission eine Reform gegeben, die gut gemeint gewesen sei, aber katastrophale Folgen gehabt habe, weil durch sie ein "morschtes System konsolidiert" worden sei. Der CSM, der zum Schutz der Unabhängigkeit der Justiz etabliert wurde, erweise sich seither als das größte Hindernis jeder Änderung des Status quo. Als Justizministerin Monica Macovei vor dem EU-Beitritt Rumäniens eine Justizreform wagte und den Kampf gegen die Korruption aufnahm, habe sie

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kaum noch Befugnisse gehabt, die es ihr erlaubt hätten, die Richterschaft in ihr Reformpaket einzubeziehen.

Zuletzt machte diese Erfahrung Catalin Predoiu, Justizminister in der Interimsregierung Emil Boc, als die Richter im Herbst in einen wochenlangen, gesetzlich nicht gedeckten Streik traten, den sie notdürftig als "extreme Form des Protestes" kaschierten und mit der Unterfinanzierung des Justizwesens begründeten. Anlass des Streiks war die Vorlage eines Gesetzes über die Einführung eines einheitlichen Gehaltsschemas für den öffentlichen Dienst, die sich unter dem Druck der Finanzkrise nicht länger hinausschieben lässt. Jahrelang bestimmten sie selbst über Bonuszahlungen und Gehaltserhöhungen, die sie sich gegenseitig durch Gerichtsbeschlüsse zuerkannten. In diesem absurdum und bisher nur aus Rumänien bekannten System erkämpften sich Richter vor Gericht sogar die Übernahme der Kosten für Schönheitsoperationen, Auto- und Hausratversicherungen oder Kindergartenschecks - diese sogar für kinderlose Richter. Im März vorigen Jahres genehmigte der Oberste Gerichtshof allen Richtern, Staatsanwälten und Gerichtsassistenten eine Gehaltserhöhung von 50 Prozent und begründete dies mit dem besonderen Risiko und Stress der ganzen Berufsgruppe. Der Verfassunggerichtshof sprach dem Obersten Gerichtshof zwar die Befugnis zu einem solchen Urteil ab, setzte es jedoch nicht außer Kraft.

KARL-PETER SCHWARZ

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung vom 03.12.2009 Seite 8.

**The FAZ article has also been reproduced in Romanian together with comments on Ziare.co. It is available at <http://www.ziare.com/actual/international/12-03-2009/faz-judecatorii-din-romania-se-considera-zei-autarhici-965827>:**

FAZ: Judecatorii din Romania se considera zei autarhici

**Multi judecatori din Romania interpreteaza independenta drept autarhie, ceea ce exclude orice responsabilitate pentru propria activitate si duce la distrugerea echilibrului generat de divizarea puterilor in stat, scrie Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung intr-un articol critic la adresa justitiei romane.**

Intr-un articol despre "coruptia din Justitia Romaniei si efectele ei", intitulat "Judecatorii, precum zeii", Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung scrie pe larg despre aceasta problema presanta a Romaniei.

"Chiar daca acum se vorbeste in mod deschis despre coruptie, presiunea exercitata de magistrati asupra tarii si a contribuabililor ramane in continuare o realitate. Multi judecatori din Romania considera ca independenta lor este o autarhie, care nu numai ca exclude orice fel de responsabilitate sociala pentru activitatea lor, dar care trece de limitele divizarii puterilor in stat prin care se stabilesc competentele sistemului de Justitie", comenteaza FAZ.

"Tema magistratilor din Romania a fost considerata prea mult timp tabu: cel care se atingea de ea risca sa fie supus unei sanctiuni disciplinare, asa cum a patit si judecatorul Cristi Danilet. El le-a vorbit jurnalistilor, acum doi ani, despre 'coruptia din sistemul de justitie', care a fost si tema disertatiei sale la Universitatea Babes-Bolyai din Cluj", scrie FAZ.

In consecinta, potrivit publicatiei, judecatorul a fost denuntat de colegi la Consiliul Superior al Magistraturii, care, in Romania, "este investit cu o putere aproape nemarginata", se arata in articol. Judecatorii s-au plans la CSM ca le-ar fi fost ranita demnitatea, intrucat profesia lor a fost pusa in legatura cu coruptia.

Danilet si-a dezvoltat disertatia de atunci sub forma unei carti care poarta titlul "Coruptia si anticoruptia in Justitie", ce a aparut in limba romana in cadrul seriei "Statul de drept in Europa de sud-est" a Fundatiei Konrad Adenauer. Ziarul german scrie ca ar urma sa apara si o versiune in limba engleza, iar cu ocazia lansarii acestei carti mai multi judecatori si

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avocati s-ar fi exprimat public pe tema coruptiei pentru prima oara.

Vicepresedintele CSM, Bogdan Licu, a declarat cu ocazia lansarii ca sistemul s-a facut in trecut vinovat de anumite "greseli". "Atii au fost mult mai directi, ca de exemplu Elena Cherciu, care a lucrat timp de sase ani la DNA. Ea a schitat un sistem in care judecatorii devin la un joc de poker incredibil de bogati sau ai caror nou-nascuti primesc cu ocazia botezului plicuri groase de bani", continua articolul.

"Ea a mai relatat si despre programul computerizat destinat atribuirii aleatorii a cazurilor catre judecatori si care poate fi foarte usor manipulat. Sau despre cum unele dosare 'dispar' efectiv din tribunale. De asemenea, judecata este de multe ori atat de mult amanata incat expira toate termenele, iar cazul se rezolva de la sine", noteaza FAZ.

In plus, Danilet a mai vorbit si despre "o coruptie larg raspandita in randul practicantilor, care mituiesc, de exemplu, colaboratorii de la medicina legala, insarcinati sa masoare alcoolemia din sange dupa accidente rutiere, dar care reusesc sa schimbe procentajele retroactiv, astfel incat sa nu mai poata fi aplicate pedepse prea dure".

"Judecatorii romani se credeau adevarati zei", spune Laura Stefan de la Societatea Academica Romana, sustinand ca, dupa caderea regimului comunist, sistemul nu a fost niciodata complet curatat, iar fosta nomenclatura ar detine in continuare pozitii-cheie in inaltele curti, la Curtea Constitutională sau in comisiile juridice din Parlament.

"Pana acum sase ani, judecatorii se aflau in subordinea Ministerului Justitiei si astfel erau expusi influentei politice. Apoi, la presiunea Comisiei Europene, a existat o reforma, care se pare ca a fost bine intentionata, dar care a avut efecte catastrofale, intrucat a consolidat 'un sistem putrezit'. CSM, care a fost creat pentru protejarea independentei Justitiei, s-a dovedit a fi cel mai mare impediment al schimbarii acestei stari de fapt", scrie FAZ.

"Cand fostul ministru al justitiei Monica Macovei a indraznit sa faca, inainte de intrarea in UE, o reala reforma a sistemului, preluand lupta impotriva coruptiei, aproape ca nu a mai avut parhii prin intermediul carora sa poata cuprinde in acest pachet de reforma si judecatorii", observa publicatia germana.

Ziarul mai atrage atentia ca si Catalin Predoiu s-a confruntat cu aceleasi probleme, cand judecatorii au intrat intr-o greva ilegală in aceasta toamna pentru a protesta fata de subfinantarea sistemului judiciar.

"Protestul a fost cauzat de legea salarizarii unice in sistemul bugetar. Ani de-a randul judecatorii au stabilit singuri ce bonusuri isi acorda si ce mariri de salariu vor aplica, recunoscandu-le apoi reciproc prin decizii judecatoresti. In acest sistem absurd si cunoscut numai in Romania, judecatorii au reusit sa obtina in justitie preluarea de catre stat a unor cheltuieli pentru operatii estetice, asigurari auto si de casa sau plata gradinitelor, uneori chiar si pentru judecatori fara copii", subliniaza publicatia.

FAZ mai aminteste de o decizie din martie anul trecut prin care inalta Curte ar fi permis tuturor judecatorilor si procurorilor o marire de salariu de 50%, motivand-o prin stresul si riscul la care se expun magistratii. Chiar daca Curtea Constitutională a decis ca inalta Curte nu are competente pentru o astfel de decizie, aceasta nu si-a pierdut efectele juridice.

**Citeste mai multe despre judecatori lipsa responsabilitate Romania FAZ Judecatorii precum zeii Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung**